CHAPTER 2

SETTLEMENT AT MURRAMARANG

The first two settlers at Murramarang were Sydney Stephen and William Turney Morris.\(^1\) I am still amazed at the speed with which they selected and occupied their blocks. Land fever, indeed! Both arrived in the colony in 1828, a scant 40 years after the first settlement. Yet before the end of that year, both had selected blocks at Murramarang, and Stephen at least sent men and stock to start work on his block in January 1829.

Stephen was a member of a noted legal family, and his father, Mr Justice Stephen, and younger brother, Alfred Stephen, were already in the colony. Sydney Stephen and his wife and four children arrived in the *Albion* in January 1828. According to a sworn statement by Stephen dated 10 November 1837: \`The obtaining of land formed part of the inducement for my emigrating to this Colony.\"\(^3\)

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1. Much of the information on Stephen, Morris and Carr came from a 10-page summary of the area’s history, which unfortunately has no title, date or author’s name. It was almost certainly prepared by the late H. J. Gibbney. In places, I have borrowed the exact wording from this document. I have also had access to copies of many of Gibbney’s notes. See also under ‘Stephen’ on Archives Office of NSW Reel 1184, and *Nulladolla*, Milton/Ulladulla and District Historical Society, 1988, p. 9.
2. William Morris was appointed (or volunteered) to distribute annual rations of blankets to Aboriginal people in the neighbourhood and take an annual census on behalf of the Aboriginal Protectorate. Morris’ blanket distribution census of Aboriginal groups, taken at Murramarang from 1832, is a very significant source of information on the Aboriginal population and the impacts of early white settlement (A.G. and S.F.).
3. Archives Office of NSW, Reel 1184.
Morris arrived in July 1828 on the *Australia*. He had been farming and grazing stock at Romney Marsh (Kent, England), where his health became affected by 'Marsh Fever'. He emigrated after inheriting, with his brother, 'a considerable fortune'.

Stephen's selection was based on reports of surveyor Florance, who visited the area at the end of May 1828. Stephen inspected the area, but it is not clear if this was in person or through an agent. Morris had applied initially for a different block of land. Before this application could be processed, however, he met Stephen, who unwisely discussed with him a plan to secure more land by applying, in the name of a relative, for a block next to his Murramarang land. Morris, no doubt relying on his farming background, offered to act as technical adviser to Stephen's agent. He inspected the land, but covertly applied in November 1828 for the very block which Stephen had in mind.  

Stephen’s original grant was 2,560 acres, and Morris’ was 1,820 acres. The locations, and subsequent ownership to 1930, are shown in the map (see Map 1 on page xxxii) and Table 1 (see also Chapter 3). Both blocks were rectangular, with the longer dimension at least three times the shorter dimension, and with the shorter dimension parallel to the coast. This was part of government land grant policy, intended to ensure that each grantee should receive a just proportion of good and inferior land.

The letters A to H in the top line of each part of the table refer to the blocks of land outlined on Map 1. The three earliest grants are outlined in full lines on the map; the subdivision along the dashed lines was in 1906.

The procedure for grants of land at this time was that a settler simply asked for a certain area of land in a particular county. There were limits to the area, depending on the financial situation of the settler. If the authorities approved, the land was promised to the settler. At a later date, he would be authorised to occupy the land. Surveying was fitted in when it could be arranged; there were not enough surveyors in those days of rapid expansion. Finally the actual deed of grant would be issued. In Stephen’s case, the dates of these various steps were: promise of land, 22 March 1828; authority to take possession, 18 September 1828; actual possession, January 1829; survey (by Hoddle), December 1829; deed of grant issued much later, on 3 February 1837. The area of 2,560 acres (four square miles) appears to have been an upper limit for free grants at the time, though the regulations about grants and sale of land were complex and they changed frequently.

4 ibid.
Table 1: Landowners, 1829–1930, Bawley Point–Murrumarang–Kioloa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>ABFG</th>
<th>CDH</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Morris</td>
<td>Stephen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Stephen</td>
<td>Stephen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Carr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Yates and Evan Evans I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Evan Evans I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>John Evans I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>John Evans I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>EGH</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Trustees for John, Evan, David and William Evans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>David Evans</td>
<td>Evan Evans III</td>
<td>John Evans II</td>
<td>William Evans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Alf Evans)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>F. Guy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td></td>
<td>L. Wilson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1928</td>
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<tr>
<td>1929</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morris also moved quickly. He was promised the land on 10 October 1828, and possession was authorised on 13 January 1829. But he sold to Stephen around 1835, before the issue of the deed of grant for either block, so officially Stephen appears as first owner of the land previously occupied for some years by Morris.

Morris’ selection of land which Stephen wanted was a poor start to their relationship, and they quarrelled vigorously. Morris appears to have lived on his property in a large bark hut, from which he and his men cultivated about six acres; they also ran cattle. Stephen called his property Mt Edgecombe, and soon had a neat cottage on it. It is unlikely that he lived there, but there is
some evidence that he and his family visited. This cottage was probably on Murramarang headland, south of the lagoon, rather than near the present Murramarang House. The location of Morris’ hut is unknown.

The two quarrelled about the possession and use of Brush Island. Morris was given permission to use the island for drying fish. With vague ideas of eventual hunting, he liberated a solitary deer on the island. The deer appeared later among Stephen’s cattle; perhaps it swam ashore. Stephen also thought of hunting, and liberated six pairs of rabbits on the island, where he said ‘they would be safe from predators, and the crops would be safe from them’. It is not clear whether this was self interest, or far-sightedness. Morris was outraged; he threatened an action for trespass, and ordered Stephen’s overseer Garrad to remove the rabbits. Stephen complained to the Colonial Secretary, who decided neither had any property right to the island. Meanwhile, the rabbits thrived, and were mentioned a few years later by Holman:

Twelve miles from the creek brought us to Mr. Morris’ farm, at Mooroomoorang. About half a mile from this part of the coast, there is a small island, where some rabbits had been placed, and with which it is now completely over-run. The only conveyance thither was a slight native canoe, made out of a single piece of bark; in which Mr. Galbraith ventured over and had some excellent sport. He observed many skeletons of rabbits, which he supposed had been seized by birds of prey.7

The rabbits are mentioned again in 1870 by a reporter for *Town and Country Journal* (see Chapter 3), who stated only that ‘the island abounds in rabbits’. Their eventual fate is unknown, and there is no evidence they denuded the island. They have not been present in living memory.

I was brought up to believe Murramarang had been a ‘convict settlement’, and there are legends about whipping posts and harsh punishments. Mrs Isabel Vider (née Walker) recalls finding a leg iron with ball between Murramarang and Kioloa in the 1920s. Her sister, Mrs Lily Veitch, mentioned being shown a man-trap, and the ruins of what was claimed to have been a gallows on Murramarang headland. I recall being shown a suspiciously isolated post alleged to have been a whipping post.

It is not true that Murramarang was a convict settlement in the same sense that Norfolk Island was, but convicts were assigned to the landholders Stephen and Morris to help them work their land. It was the responsibility of the landholders to feed and clothe the assigned convict servants, and no detachment of troops was provided to keep order. The landholders were forbidden to punish the assigned

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convicts unless they were taken before a magistrate, but it was impossible to enforce this in such remote areas. The practice of assigning convicts led to many abuses, and was discontinued in 1839.

In 1837, Sydney Stephen had 18 assigned convicts in the ‘District’ of St Vincent, of whom two held Tickets of Leave. Presumably all of these convicts were at Murramarang. He also had four assigned convicts at Sydney. Morris had moved from the district by this time; he is shown as having seven convicts at Batemans Bay and one in Illawarra. Four of Stephen’s convicts stayed in the district. They were William Carr, Peter Mcguire, Abraham Whittick and Daniel Pierman (Pearman).

The first overseer at Murramarang was Robert Garrad. He had been transported for stealing, and had arrived in Sydney on 29 September 1811. After becoming a free man, he married in October 1826, and worked as assistant overseer for W. C. Wentworth at Camden. Soon after this, he and his family moved to Murramarang as overseer for Stephen. His time there seems to have been short, as he was farming a property in Milton as early as 1830, though the property was not officially granted to him until 1838. The Garrad family remained in the Milton district, where many descendants still live. The Garrad’s second child, Elizabeth Jane, born 1830, has been claimed to be the first white child born in the Ulladulla district.

There was no road access to Murramarang at the time of settlement, so the people, gear and stock must have come by sea and been unloaded directly onto a beach, either at Murramarang, Kioloa or Bull Pup.

As elsewhere, trouble between the Aborigines and the settlers soon developed. In 1830, several letters were sent to the Colonial Secretary by Morris and others, including Flanagan at Moruya, complaining that their cattle were being speared, and asking what steps could be taken to punish the offenders. Morris asked permission to ‘shoot such of the Blacks as are known to be ringleaders’.

In November 1830, the Executive Council decided to send a military party to investigate. In January 1831, Lt J. Macalister reported to the Colonial Secretary on his visit to the area. He found that the coastal tribes were on good terms with the settlers; it was Aborigines from a mountain tribe who had caused the trouble. The reason was trivial: unlike the coastal blacks, those from the mountains had not been issued with blankets, and felt aggrieved. Governor Darling

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9 Dunn, Cathy, personal communication.

10 Nulladolla 1988, pp. 10–1.

requested that blankets be issued immediately. Presumably the blankets were
issued, but this was not the end of the problem. A milking cow was speared at
Murramarang on 10 December 1832. A week later, Joseph Berryman, Stephen’s
overseer (who had replaced Garrad), was told by one of the blacks that three
missing beasts had been speared, and a fourth — a valuable working bullock —
had also been speared. The working bullock was found and the spear removed.

The next day (18 December 1832), four blacks were killed by musket balls.
Two were old, and were man and wife. A third was a younger man, and the
fourth was a pregnant woman. There appear to be only two accounts of the
killings — one by Hugh Thompson, a contractor for Stephen, and the other by
Berryman. Thompson claimed he saw Berryman and his party fire at two blacks
who were running from a hut. One fell, but got up and ran again. Thompson
was not sure if the black man who fell was wounded. The two blacks ran to
a headland where they leapt into the sea and swam to ‘an island a little distance
from the main land’. Berryman’s party fired at them in the water, but Thompson
did not know if they were wounded. He only heard the firing; he did not see the
blacks take to the water, or the firing at them in the water. Thompson said he
asked Berryman if he had been shooting the blacks, and Berryman replied ‘yes’.
Berryman resented Thompson’s interference.

Thompson visited the black’s camp on Morris’ property, ‘where he saw three
blacks … all lying dead from Musket ball wounds and the bodies not cold’. Later,
some distance from the camp, he was shown the body of the pregnant
woman, who had also ‘been killed with Musket balls’. Thompson reported to
Captain Allman, the resident magistrate at Wollongong. On 29 December, Allman
got to Murramarang, obtained a statement from Berryman, then arrested him
and took him back to Wollongong gaol.

Berryman admitted going with others to the blacks’ camp. He said two spears
were thrown, and that one would have struck him if it had not been deflected
by a tree. He admitted firing his musket to frighten the blacks. His men also
fired. He reloaded, and his musket discharged by accident, but he did not know
if this firing caused any injury. The blacks fled. He found a bundle of spears,
which he broke. He and his men went home, where they found Jackey Lowder
(a black who had great authority in the tribe) in the ‘Government Men’s Hut’.
He asked Jackey to follow him to the house, but a little later, after hearing a
shot, found Lowder running over the hill towards the beach. His men said the
shot had been fired to ‘bring Lowder back’. He sent two men to the blacks’
camp to check a report that two men and one woman were found dead there.
His men informed him that they buried the three bodies.
Berryman said he had heard that some of Morris’ cattle had been destroyed, and that ‘he [Morris] a Magistrate had gone out with his men after the Blacks & had fired upon them’. (In other accounts, Morris was described as a Justice of the Peace, rather than a magistrate.) In transmitting the two statements to the Colonial Secretary, Allman stated:

from what I can learn of Berryman’s general character and the terms he always lived on with the Natives, I cannot think that he meditated such consequences as unfortunately happened, on going to the Blacks’ Camp. I am of opinion that when the Blacks threw their spears at him he got alarmed and with a view to intimidating them and protecting himself, fired, the other men being at a distance, magnified the danger and without waiting for any directions from Berryman fired instantly; unfortunately with too much effect.

Berryman was held at Wollongong for some time while officialdom tried to decide what action to take. In late April 1833, Berryman was transferred to Penrith. He appears to have escaped trial. In a letter to the Governor dated 19 March 1833, the Attorney General stated: ‘I have been informed by Mr Sydney Stephen that Thompson is somewhat deranged, and that therefore his evidence is not to be relied on.’

We leave this sorry tale here. It seems certain that four Aborigines were shot and killed at Murramarang in December 1832, but the circumstances remain unclear. Berryman, who had much to lose, did not try to deny the deaths. There is no hint in the papers I have seen that the killings were officially sanctioned, as might be implied from the statement ‘Official permission granted to shoot six’ on page 9 of *Nulladolla* (1988). If permission had been granted, it is hard to see why the Wollongong magistrate acted as he did.12

The letters concerning this incident give some interesting glimpses into who were at Murramarang in 1832, and what they were doing. Thompson was described as ‘under a certain contract for Cultivating Tobacco’, and in December 1832 had been there for five months. There was a carpenter, Joseph Harris, a free man. Morris had a dairyman and an overseer, Mr Fletcher. Besides the cattle, which were the source of most of the trouble, pigs were also mentioned.

Names of some people are given: Thomas Sparks, Abrm Widdick and Richd Nipatich were assigned servants to S. Stephen; Michl Goode is mentioned as a ticket-of-leave man; James Roach and John McQuick are named. (The 1837 Muster includes Michael Good, Thomas Sparks, and Abraham Whittick.)13 Three men appear only with expressive nicknames: ‘Grinning Jack’ the

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12 In *Masters and Convicts: Murramarang and Ulladulla*, local historian Cathy Dunn (2006) also states that the references to sanctioned killings in both editions of *Nulladolla* are incorrect (A.G. and S.F.).
13 Butler et al., op. cit.
milkman, ‘Stockkeeper Jack’, and ‘Cabbage Tree Tom’. The first two of these are described as assigned servants to Stephen, and were in an alleged firing party. The use of nicknames suggests they might have been Aborigines, but if so they would hardly be in a firing party against their own kin, nor would the term ‘assigned servant’ seem appropriate. It is more likely that they were Europeans. Ward points out that in country areas, ‘most working men were known, to mates and masters alike, only by nicknames’.14

The blacks’ camp was on Morris’ property at the time of the alleged killings, but was later on Stephen’s. The island to which some of the Aborigines swam is either the bare rock island in the channel between Brush Island and the mainland, or Brush Island itself.

A house is mentioned, but it seems to have been nearer the coast than the present Murramarang House. The house mentioned was near the ‘Government Men’s Hut’ (convict quarters), which is described as being about a quarter mile from the beach, whereas Murramarang House is more like three-quarters of a mile from the beach. These distances, and the description of the Aborigines swimming to the bare rock island, suggest the site of the earliest settlement was probably Murramarang headland, rather than near the present Murramarang House. This is supported by some studies done by Mr Jack Nicholson (Tabourie Museum) in the 1960s, who found fireplaces made of convict bricks on the headland south of the lagoon, also broken pottery (from 1825–1835?) and a soldier’s button of the 20th regiment.15

Stephen’s plans for the settlement were not clear. He did not appear to have considered having a village surveyed, as Carr did at Kioloa some years later. The following extract from a letter from Stephen to the Colonial Secretary dated 5 December 1829 gives some hint that he might have been already disenchanted, at least with the site of first settlement:

Fearing that he [Morris] should seek further to annoy me, I beg His Excellency’s permission to rent this Government reserve at Mooramarang. It will contain from 50 to 70 acres I conceive, of which three-fourths is between my land and the sea. Should it belong to another, it would occasion me to put up 200 rod of fencing otherwise unnecessary; and this I am now anxious to prevent as there is no chance of my settlement being formed there; there being no Boat Harbour within three miles, and no vacant land for a common within a mile. Besides which there is a narrow strip of land of only two acres which could have fresh water, and there no house could be built as the sea is just fifty yards from the lagoon.

In fact the nearest Boat Harbour except in very fine weather is at Nulladolla where I wish to erect a store to receive supplies from my farm, and at which place I would request His Excellency’s permission to have another allotment.

The ‘Government Reserve’ appears to be the land to the east of blocks B, C, D (see Map 1), and is mostly the area called ‘Wilfords Point’ in later years. This land is about 100 acres if beaches and midden areas are excluded. A possible interpretation of the quoted paragraphs is that the area studied by Nicholson had been the first area settled, but had proved unsatisfactory within the first year.

One other site which might have been occupied at about this time was near the middle of Racecourse Beach, and only about 125 metres in from the shore. This site had apparently been covered by sand for many years, but had been exposed again in the 1970s. My information about it is from a short report by Dr Owen Dent, ANU. The primary activity on the site appears to have been blacksmithing, as evidenced by ‘the prevalence of iron fragments, hand wrought iron objects, brick, slag, fused sand, ash and charcoal’. A gun flint, clay pipe fragments, a lock tumbler, pieces of porcelain and pottery, and bone buttons were also found, and suggest a ‘date of occupation in the nineteenth century’. The absence of any local tradition about the site suggests an early date. We can only speculate about the origins of such a curious site. Some of the objects found at the site have been preserved; these, with Dent’s photographs and description, are likely to be the only record, as the site was bulldozed as part of the dune reclamation programme.

Morris sold to Stephen around 1835, and moved south to Moruya. Stephen then began to spend money on the properties, and on the basis of the resulting improvements he applied in 1837 for a second grant of land at Currumbene Creek near Jervis Bay. When this looked secure, he began to lose interest in Murramarang, and in May 1838 he sold both blocks (Murramarang and Willinga) to William Carr, solicitor, of the firm Carr, Rogers and Owen, of Darlinghurst.

A condition of the sale contract was that Stephen would try to arrange transfer of his assigned convicts to Carr. Carr took possession of the property and the convicts, presumably anticipating the official transfer of the convicts. But Stephen claimed that Carr had seized some personal property belonging to his son James Stephen. He then claimed that the convicts should not have been included in the deal, and ordered his overseer to remove the convicts to the new block at Jervis Bay. Carr promptly sued Stephen for damages arising from the sudden removal of his labour force. This case reached the Supreme Court in March 1839, but was settled out of court.

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16 Dent, O. Notes on a Site of early European Settlement at Murramarang, unpublished MS, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, ANU, Canberra, 1978, p. 10, plus 25 plates.
Stephen moved to Hobart, where he again got into legal difficulties and was forbidden to practise in any of the courts of the colony. This prohibition was reversed four years later. In 1850 he moved to New Zealand, where yet again he clashed with his legal colleagues, and was even challenged to a duel. He died at Auckland in 1858. His biography states: ‘Stephen had his good qualities. He was accessible, frank and genial; thoroughly independent and abounding in generosity to the poor.’

The present Murramarang House is thought to have been built around 1840, but I have seen no clear evidence of date. Hetty Ingold (née Garrad) stated that Robert Garrad had been ‘in charge of builders of Murramarang House’, and that they quarried their own stone on the property. This would date at least the start of building as before 1832, as Berryman had replaced Garrad as Stephen’s overseer before the end of 1832.

The 1841 census shows one house of ‘stone or brick’ at Murramarang, and no wooden houses. There were 23 people (19 male and four female) on the property. Their classifications are interesting (see Table 2).

Table 2: Occupation and civil status of residents of Murramarang (1841 Census).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>(M)</th>
<th>(F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landed proprietors, merchants, bankers, and professional persons</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers and other retail dealers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics and artificers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardeners, stockmen and persons employed in agriculture</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic servants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Condition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in the colony</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrived free</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other free persons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holding tickets of leave</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In private assignment</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18 Archaeological excavations were conducted at Murramarang House when the footings were being replaced. Aboriginal sites, consisting of stone artefacts, were found during the excavations (A.G. and S.F.).
Papers prepared in 1837 in support of Stephen’s application for an additional grant of land give some interesting details of what Murramarang was like at that time, about eight years after its first settlement. The Schedule of Improvements mentions a ‘cottage residence’ worth £400, and an overseer’s house worth £100; a brick barn 70 x 40 feet, worth £380, a slabbed barn 35 x 25 feet, and a stone dairy 36 x 24 feet. There were also a blacksmith’s shop, carpenter’s shop, store, stable, eight men’s huts (some containing two rooms), six piggeries, three stockyards, calf pens, milking sheds, milk house, fowl house, 1,200 rods of four-rail fencing, and 134 acres of land ‘fallen, stumped, cleared and in cultivation’, with an additional 38 acres fallen and cleared. The garden was of four acres, well stocked and planted with fruit trees. Sixteen miles of road had been cleared from the Boat Harbour (Ulladulla) to the farm. There were 600 cattle and 20 horses, but no sheep.

The above improvements are listed in slightly more detail in a notice of sale of the property, in the Sydney Gazette of 20 March 1838. The notice does not mention the name of the property or of its owner, but the location and the area leave no doubt it was Stephen’s Murramarang property. In this notice, the ‘extensive Rabbit Warren’ on Brush Island is mentioned, presumably as an additional inducement to the sport-minded, though of course the island itself was not part of the property. The main building is described as a ‘neat and comfortable brick-built Cottage containing seven rooms’. Farm equipment and produce included three large stacks of wheat, ‘seventy or eighty thousand (super?) feet of sawed timber’, 30,000 bricks, and standing crops of 14 acres of maize and two acres of hops. Twenty assigned servants and three ‘mechanics’ (blacksmith, cooper and shoemaker) would be transferred with the establishment. The notice also calls the attention of any grazier interested in the property to ‘the compact and secure Establishment, which has the benefit of three distinct Cattle Runs, within twelve miles of each other, upon which are erected good Stock-yards’. Where could these be? The property itself (blocks A, B, C, D, F, G, H on Map 1) had a maximum dimension of only about four miles (seven kilometres), so presumably two of the cattle runs were outside its boundaries, but nearer than Ulladulla. Brooman and Durras Mountain (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 5) are possibilities, with the land not officially leased or owned.

The above descriptions show there was a substantial input of capital and effort in the first decade of settlement at Murramarang. Presumably the ‘cottage residence’ is the present Murramarang House, but even if this is correct we have no indication if the other buildings were near it or on Murramarang headland where the settlement seemed to be when the Aborigines were shot. There is some confusion about buildings in another of the supporting papers for the application

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21 Archives Office of NSW, Reel 1184.
— the deposition of William Jagon. He stated: ‘there was a cottage for Mr Stephen’s family, a cottage for the overseer, a stone house besides stone in the overseer’s house, a stone dairy.’ This suggests three residences instead of two.

Figure 7: Murramarang House.
Source: Margaret Hamon, courtesy of Gail Truter.

Murramarang House appears to have been built to a simple design, which has been little modified over the years. Its front, which faced east, showed three gables, with the front door under the central gable. This door opened into a hall, which gave access to the two main rooms, each 4.6 x 5.4 m (main bedroom and drawing/dining room), one on each side. At its western end the hall opened onto a stone-flagged open courtyard. The two outer gables continued to the west over three rooms on each side. These six rooms were the same size, 3.6 x 3.6 m, and were probably all bedrooms. All the rooms had fireplaces. The walls were about 50 cm thick, and were mainly natural boulders of the local basaltic rock, split where necessary to get a more even wall surface. Bricks were used near windows and doors. There was no damp-proof course. The kitchen and toilets would have been separate from the main building. The present roof is corrugated iron, but would most likely have been wooden shingles in the early years.
Carr decided to expand, and in February 1842 bought the 860-acre Kioloa block (block E, Map 1). He held all three of the original blocks for 12 years, until his death in 1854. We know little of Carr, or of what he did with the land. It is likely that Carr himself never lived there. The property was managed for him by Edward Green, who may have built, or at least finished the building of Murramarang House.

Under Green’s management the farm began to produce, but there were considerable difficulties in marketing its output. The main transport available was a fleet of small coastal sailing ships which wandered up and down the coast looking for any cargoes offering. There were no made harbours, and the only natural harbour in our area (Kioloa, or ‘Barclay’s Harbour’ as it is called on early maps)²², which had been commended by surveyor Florance, soon proved unsatisfactory.

![Wall construction, Murramarang House.](image)

**Figure 8: Wall construction, Murramarang House.**

Source: Margaret Hamon, courtesy of Gail Truter.

In spite of the poor harbour, Carr arranged for a village to be surveyed at Kioloa by James Larmer in May 1843.²³ The site was on and at the back of O’Hara Head, south and south-west of the present Kioloa boat ramp. Larmer’s report

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²³ Archives Office of NSW, Maps 3257, 3258, and Larmer’s letters, AO Reel 3074.
soon killed any idea of development. He saw the land as ‘scrubby, barren and unproductive’, and found Kioloa harbour ‘unprotected and shallow’. There were huts on the beach, which served as miniature warehouses ‘to receive bark and other produce from Murramarang until the arrival of a vessel from Sydney’.

Apart from Larmer’s report, there is little written evidence of life at Murramarang in the years, even the decades, following the killing of the Aborigines, and we have to be thankful for any glimpses we can find. One such is in the reminiscences of Ann Rees Jones, who with her husband and young family passed through Murramarang around 1846 on their way from Boro (north of Braidwood) to a farm at Brooman. Their route appears to have been via Nerriga then towards Jervis Bay and south along the coast. They stayed overnight at Murramarang.

The part of the reminiscences most relevant to Murramarang is as follows:

Next day we travelled to Murramarang, a station which belonged to Carr, Rogers and Owen, Solicitors of Sydney. But the manager was Mr Green and his housekeeper, a widow named Taylor who had one little boy. We arrived at this place about 5 p.m. after journeying all day. We were met by Mrs Taylor who said that Mr Green desired her to give us his compliments and that he was very sorry he had to go to Sydney and hoped that we would stay till his return, and that we were to have his room, which we did. Here was a fine selection of books originally belonging to one of the Stephens, who at one time had owned the station but had got into difficulties. We were kindly treated. Fruit was brought to us every morning by the gardener. The second day of our stay we were asked by Mrs Taylor if we would like to take a walk in the garden. It was a good step, she said, but if we cared she would come with us. We did not like to refuse. After leaving the house we went through a gate into a ploughed field. I had my baby with me and their father had to take the two boys by the hand and Mrs Taylor had her baskets. I think I had the heaviest load. So tired was I walking over the rough ground that I wished myself back again at the house. At last we reached the garden, which must have covered acres of ground. The grape vines were all training, hanging over the path, the four sides of the garden, and hanging in rich clusters overhead. We had as much fruit and even more than we could eat. The gardener was gathering grapes into a wheelbarrow, telling us he was about to make wine. Mrs Taylor told us that there were two other young men working in the garden for their rations, one named Rutter, the other Raworth, that we could see the former and not the latter and that if any strangers were there he always hid himself. These young men in time made their way to us saying that they were penniless and would be glad to work for us for their rations. We were at last asked to the gardener’s hut. Rutter was there crushing grapes into a tub. I asked the gardener if sugar was used in the making of wine. It was afterwards told us that all the grapes they gathered were made into wine and then into brandy, and that the three, the gardener and the two young men drank all they made.

Figure 9: Plan of the Village of Kioloa, 1843.
(Archive Office of NSW, Map No 98). This appears to be a copy of a plan by surveyor James Larmer, dated 28 May 1843 (AO Map 3257). The Village Plan was cancelled 28 July 1915 (AO Map 3258).
Source: Archive Office of NSW.

The reminiscences describe their life and hardships at Brooman. Some of these might be relevant to life at Murramarang. There were many Aborigines in the area, and several comments about their way of life, and food. In particular, the Aborigines ate the burrawang seeds after roasting and soaking them to remove poisons. This was not always successful, and many Aborigines came to the hut at Brooman complaining of illness due to eating this food.25

Wattle bark was gathered, chopped up by hand and sent to Sydney, but this was discontinued when a large consignment returned them only two pounds. They also collected and dried wattle gum, and sold it. A large and a small tea chest full of gum brought in nine pounds. The gum would probably have been

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25 The processing of burrawang seeds and those of other forest species to remove toxins involves placing them in moving water for many days. It is deeply grounded in the traditional ecological knowledge of Aboriginal people and poisoning seems an unlikely explanation for the illness. Disease and the other impacts of colonisation may have hampered the passing on of the knowledge, or the sick Aboriginal people may have come from somewhere else (A.G. and S.F.).
exported as a possible alternative source for ‘gum Arabic’, which comes from other species of Acacia. Mr Jones visited Murramarang several times, but the visits are not detailed. The ‘super’ at Murramarang was named as ‘Boage’ or, in another place, ‘Bogie’.

At Brooman they were often short of food. Salt was scarce: the stockman made a 400-mile round trip without being able to get any! One wonders why they did not use sea salt. On leaving Brooman, they called at Murramarang but pushed on to the north without staying overnight. They had a covered ‘buggy’ or spring cart, drawn by two horses. One was between the shafts and the other ‘on an outrigger’, which means harnessed on one side of the shaft horse and pulling on a bar protruding sideways from the front of the vehicle. This vehicle had all their meagre possessions, and carried also Mr and Mrs Jones and their three young children. They also had three Aborigines riding ‘supply horses’. Presumably the vehicle was larger and stronger than the spring carts that were about in the 1920s. We will discuss their route in more detail in Chapter 6.

This text is taken from *They Came to Murraramang: A History of Murraramang, Kioloa and Bawley Point*, by Bruce Hamon, edited by Alastair Greig and Sue Feary, published 2015 by ANU Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.