

Police Matters in Nerrigundah in 1863-4

Extracts from the NSW Police Gazette

15th April 1863

Return of Prisoner discharged free. John O'Neil (Ship Ellen Simpson 1854). Offence assault, cutting and stabbing. Tried December 1862 Nerrigundah. Acquitted S.C. Court 30th March 1863.

14th July 1863

Return of Prisoner discharged free. Robert Lucas. Native of Colony. Charge stealing a Chinese hat. 2 months labour. Tried May 5th Nerrigundah.

6th January 1864

A warrant has been issued (Bench not stated), for the arrest of Emanuel Nash, butcher and horse breaker, wherein he was charged with stealing the mare No. 35 in this week's list, the property of Robert Jones Nerrigundah, on the 8th ultimo; he is about 33 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches high, stout built, sallow complexion, brown hair, grey eyes, large eyebrows, squints, and squeaks when talking quick; dressed, when last seen, in pants, boots, and cabbagetree hat. Supposed to have gone to Geelong, Victoria, where his wife resides.

23rd March 1864

Stolen about 2 am on the 11th instant, from the house of Charles Yoon Kay, Chinese storekeeper, Nerrigundah, 10 Chinese blankets, some scarlet with cotton selvice and silk stripe through centre, some like patchwork quilts, flower pattern, new; Chinese scarlet silk sashes, new; 2 Chinese jumpers; identifiable.

27th April 1864

Ah Hoo (Chinese) has been arrested by Mounted Constable O'Grady, Nerrigundah police, charged with stabbing Wey Gin.

18th May 1864

A Chinaman named Ah Tong, charged with cutting and wounding Ah Wan, has been arrested by Sergeant Hitch, Nerrigundah Police.

8th June 1864

Stolen between the hours of 3 and 4 pm on the 20th untimo, from a hut in Nerrigundah, the property of Ah Chi (Chinese), ten tins of opium, a pipe, saddle with pigskin flaps, bridle and a cotton shirt; identifiable.

Stolen from the store of James Pollock, Nerrigundah, 12 ozs. of find gold; not identifiable.

29th June 1864

Stolen, black horse 16 hands PH near shoulder, Nerrigundah. From Messrs Spence and Facilides, storekeepers Nerrigundah.

Discovery of Gold

By Shirley Jurmann

Around 1851 Alexander McLean Waddell and Henry Hicken went to the goldfields at Ophir to try their luck. They returned empty handed but continued to prospect along the Moruya-Deua River in their spare time. The two men were friends but from very different backgrounds.



Alexander Waddell from
www.goldrushcolony.com.au

Alexander McLean Waddell was born on the Isle of Mull, Scotland, in 1829, the son of John Waddell and Elizabeth Wilkie. Around 1837 the colony of New South Wales was attempting to attract skilled farmers and tradesmen. Up until then many of the settlers were convicts or ex-convicts. The Rev Dunmore Lang travelled

in Scotland to persuade people to come to New South Wales. The idea appealed to Alexander's parents and with their family they arrived in NSW on board the *St George* in 1838. They spent time in Sydney before becoming tenant farmers on Glenduart owned by Captain John Leybourne McLean. In 1851 Alexander married Margaret Robertson at Glenduart. She had been born on the Isle of Skye, Scotland in 1829 and arrived in NSW with her family on the *Henry Porcher* in 1840.

Henry Hicken was born in Birmingham, England in 1821, the son of Humphrey Hicken and Elizabeth Patrick. His occupation was vice maker and blacksmith. In 1838 he went before the Warwick Assizes charged with stealing a shovel. He was found guilty. It was his second offence. He was sentenced to 14 years transportation. He arrived in NSW in 1837 on board the *Theresa*. In 1844 he applied for convict permission to marry Mary Dunn or Dunne. It was granted and they were married Broulee registration 21st November 1844. Five days later the marriage was repeated according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, the ceremony performed at Shannon View. Mary had arrived free on board *Neptune* earlier in 1844. She was a housemaid to the Flanagans at Shannon View, born in County Clare, Ireland. Henry received his Ticket of Leave in December 1845 and his Certificate of Freedom in April 1852. He was 5feet 8 inches tall, with a sallow complexion, brown hair and grey eyes.

After their respective marriages the two couples spent time in the Moruya area before relocating to Araluen.

Alexander and Henry kept up their search for gold along the banks of the Moruya-Deua River without a lot of success but as they got further upstream colours improved. On 1st August 1851 the two men sent a letter to the Colonial Secretary from Kiora informing him of their discovery of gold. The letter said:

Kiora, Moruya, August 1

Sir,- For the information of his Excellency The Governor, Sir Charles Fitz Roy, we beg to inform you we have discovered a most extensive gold field in the bed of the Moruya River, and in the banks on either side of that river, from the point where the river ceases to be navigable, that is, at the western boundary of the estate belonging to John Hawdon Esq. of Kiora, for ten miles up the river, in lands belonging to the Crown, we have found gold in every attempt we made to wash the soil; we had only a tin dish to wash the soil with, but usually got from eight to twelve grains of gold at each washing; the river, as it runs from and through the mountains for twenty miles upwards, runs through a country having the same appearance and formation to that where we have discovered the gold to exist in quantities. We may add that from a dishful of soil we took from the side of the mountain, at an elevation of one hundred feet above the river, we washed out a few particles of gold.

Having been to the gold diggings of the Turon, we were induced to seek for gold on this river from its general appearance being like that of the former; and this day's digging in the bed of the Moruya has more than fully borne out our expectations. We beg leave to enclose for the Inspection of his Excellency the Governor, a few grains of the gold found this day, and trust that when the Moruya gold field is worked to so great advantage to the colony as we anticipate, that his Excellency the Governor will be pleased to award us such award as this discovery and early information of it may merit.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servants

**HENRY HICKEN
ALEXANDER WADDELL**

They had over-estimated their find. Newly arrived prospectors had to move further up the river. Better results were obtained around Badgery's farm on the Araluen Creek. Many prospectors came by land transport to Araluen via Braidwood but most preferred to come to Broulee by ship and make the thirty-five mile journey up the Moruya-Deua River from Mullenderree by packhorse or even on foot. Packhorses could be hired at Mullenderree for 25 shillings for each hundred pounds of baggage. The trip could then be done in two days. Patrick Flynn set himself up as a carrier of goods to the diggings. Finds improved and eventually the goldfields extended from Kiora to Araluen. By September 1851 there were about 100 men at the "upper" diggings and 150 at the "lower" diggings. This soon grew to many thousands. The hotels and dance halls did a roaring trade. There were devastating floods in 1852 and 1857 and many miners lost all their equipment. There were worse floods in February 1860 when the Araluen area was wrecked. Furniture, mining equipment, debris and logs were washed downstream. Bodies of people and animals were seen being washed away along with ruined crops. Bridges were destroyed and bodies of people and animals were found on the beach between Congo and Broulee. More floods in May, July and November followed. Mine workings were again destroyed in 1870. The lure of gold though was strong and the miners returned each time to start again. There was very little underground mining. Most of the gold was found in the river bed by panning and later by dredging equipment. There is no record of huge nuggets being found. Nevertheless Alexander and Henry's discovery led to Araluen becoming one of the three principal gold producing fields in NSW. In 45 years of active production it yielded over eleven million pounds worth (at that time) of gold and remained on the list of considerable producers for 60 years.

Alexander and Margaret appear to have remained based in the Moruya area until at least 1858. They had three children born at Glenduart, (John b. 1852, Mary b. 1854 and Elizabeth b. 1856). Baby John died in 1853. Another child was born at Moggendoura (Christina b. 1858). They then travelled by packhorse to Araluen where five more children were born (Jane b. 1859, John b. 1862, Alexander b. 1864, Neil b. 1866 and Juliet b. 1869). Alexander must have done reasonably well from his prospecting and built "Rose Cottage" in Araluen. He continued prospecting for gold until about 1896. He died in Araluen on 7th November 1898 in Araluen. Margaret died 3rd August 1912 also in Araluen. Both are buried there.

Henry and Mary did not fare so well. They were at first based in the Moruya area where daughter Mary Anne was born in 1851. They moved to the Araluen

area, probably also by packhorse. Gold was discovered in Bendigo in 1852 and many from the Araluen fields decided to try their luck there, including Henry. He made no great discovery there and by 1854 was back in Araluen where in 1857 son John was born. There was another child but it is uncertain where he fitted into the family but possibly he was born and died while the family was at Bendigo. On 2nd May 1858, Henry, better known as Harry the Blacksmith, was returning from Braidwood to the Araluen Valley on a dark night with another man named Armstrong. They were cantering along the road when suddenly Harry's horse stopped, pitching his rider over his head and into a deep prospecting hole. Mr Armstrong dismounted and found there was a prospecting hole in the road. The road was on private property and no check had been kept on miners' activities. He called out but got no answer. He could hear no sounds. He raised the alarm. Help with a lantern, arrived but it was too late. Harry was found dead at the bottom of a six feet deep hole. A newspaper report in the Sydney Morning Herald of 15th May 1858 noted that he had been the first to discover gold in the area and amongst the first to raise their voices against the injustice to diggers being done in the Legislature. His luck had been up and down on the goldfields. At a low point, talk had been made suggesting that some of his fellow miners help him out in recognition of his earlier discoveries. His luck recovered somewhat and this idea was dropped. Early in 1858 he paid a deposit to sponsor his brother Thomas, wife Mary and children, Marianne, Elizabeth and Henrietta, and possibly a nephew also named Thomas, to come to Australia. They arrived in November 1858 on board *Mary Pleasants*. The family eventually settled around the Nelligen area. They had two more children, Jemima and Phoebe. By the time they arrived Henry had been killed. At the time of his death he had apparently struck another bad patch. His wife and two children were left with very little. It was suggested that a subscription be taken up for his widow. Mary later worked at Burke's Hotel in Araluen. Henry is buried in Araluen. Mr Armstrong who was with Henry when he had his accident was a publican at Araluen. He was also the undertaker at Henry's funeral. Mary died 29th June 1889 and is buried in Rookwood cemetery Sydney.

In 1878 there apparently was some discussion about just who was responsible for the discovery of gold in the Araluen area, with some claiming that there were others apart from Hicken and Waddell. Alexander found it necessary to write the following letter to the Town and Country Journal of 7th December 1878:

To the Editor,

Sir, - Noticing a statement made in the TOWN AND COUNTRY of November 2, by someone who signs himself "J.O." saying there were six or seven in the party that discovered the Araluen goldfield, I here with beg to inform you there were only two, myself and Hicken, of which, if necessary, I can give you ample proof.

I also beg to say we have never received any reward for finding the same.

By inserting the above you will oblige,

ALEXANDER WADDELL

Mudmelong, Lower Araluen, November 27, 1878

At the height of the gold rush at Araluen there were around 30,000 diggers, 7000 of whom were Chinese. There were around 38 grog shops in the area.

In August 1857 the first gold finds were made at Mogo, at Cabbage Tree Creek. By the middle of the year there were 200 diggers at work. Early finds were referred to as "Mustard Gold". As the name suggests it was much finer than Araluen gold. Prospectors panned their way up the creeks and gullies. The less determined quickly gave up but some persisted and turned to quartz reef and hard rock mining with some success. It was not an area known for nugget gold although there were some important finds.

In 1856 there was a new gold field opened up opposite the Kiora Estate on Dwyers Creek near where the Womban Creek entered the Moruya River. Some gold and silver was reportedly found at Dwyers Creek as early as 1839 but this had been kept quiet as a gold rush was deemed undesirable. It would tempt farm and convict labourers away from their work. During the 1850s alluvial gold deposits were discovered in Dwyers Creek and gold was noticed in quartz outcrops in the locality. In 1861 the Silver Mine opened at Dwyer's Creek. Ore was shipped to England but it was not a very profitable exercise and the mine closed for a number of years. Later it was operated by Francis Guy and his sons with some success. A new lease was taken out in the first decade of the 20th century and a crushing mill was established at the Little Gem Gold Mine. The shareholders did not make a fortune but provided steady employment for a fair number of men for some years. In 1948 Charlie Stubbs and Dick Foreman erected a five stamper mill and cyanidation plant. This was eventually sold to Ray Hunt after the death of Charlie Stubbs in 1960.

Hints for a trip to Braidwood, &c.

From SMH Monday 21 December 1863

To the Editor of the Herald.

SIR, As the Illawarra Steam Company have advertised Christmas return trips, at single fares, to the neighbourhood of the gold diggings, and as the local Press are unanimous that many visitors will come this way, I have thought the following information might be useful.

There are several routes to Araluen. First, for those who can afford to do it comfortably, by steamer to Nelligen on the Clyde River, thence by coach to Braidwood, and next morning from Braidwood, by horse or hired cart, to Araluen; or again by steamer to Moruya, and by horse only on account of having often to cross the river, to Lower Araluen, distant thirty miles.

Secondly, for those who are not very flush, by walking from Nelligen to Munga, twenty one miles on the road to Braidwood, and then striking off to the left, fifteen miles to Araluen. There is a house of accommodation at Carter's Creek, half way to Munga, and at Reidsdale, halfway between Munga and Araluen. This route is a splendid mountain road, completed two years ago, and which must have cost much labour and money, may be shortened by taking a bush track to the left from Reidsdale, alias Irish Corner.

Finally, there is a bridle road named Shoebridge's Track from Nelligen, turning the south flank of the Clyde River Mountain, and entering Lower Araluen. This road is only twenty five miles in length, the first half is not very distinct, but the Araluen half has been enlarged by Government, on Shoebridge's projection.

He who chooses to walk should wear easy shoes, with thick soles, and carry extra only one shirt. If he gets wet during the day, and rain ceases before evening, his clothes dry on him, should he arrive wet in the evening, let him eat, drink, and go at once to bed in his dry shirt, leaving his clothes to be dried at the fire during the night. Araluen is well worth a visit.

VENATOR. Araluen, December 16.

Section of the Design for Town of Nerrigundah

Drawn 24th February 1868, showing location of buildings at the time and survey bearing marks, with today's Nerrigundah image inserted from Land and Property Information Topographic Map.

Note: Nerrigundah was not proclaimed as a town until 1885.



The Clarke Gang's Raid on Nerrigundah

By Peter C Smith

It is 150 years since the Clarke gang of bushrangers swooped on Nerrigundah, a thriving gold mining settlement on Gulph Creek, inland from Bodalla. A gun battle in the main street saw a bushranger felled by a police bullet and a policeman murdered in the brave discharge of his duty. Earlier in the day a Moruya store-keeper's son was badly wounded, callously treated and robbed and many others were also robbed and assaulted on that day, 9 April 1866. The raid shocked not just the south coast community but impacted on the whole colony of New South Wales.

The bushranging outbreak that led to the raid started in October 1865 when Tommy Clarke escaped from Braidwood Gaol. Previously he had been part of a network of cattle duffers and horse stealers from the upper Shoalhaven River area south of Braidwood. His escape cranked up the crime wave and soon a well armed gang of serious bushrangers were plundering the district, robbing travellers, stores, hotels and homesteads. They met little opposition from the police so as the months passed they became more daring and were looking for bigger rewards for their efforts.

A raid on the Gulph gold field (as the Nerrigundah area was called) had appeal. For a start it was accessible to them without going through any major population centres. Today it is a long drive from the upper Shoalhaven to the south-coast but in the 1860s transport modes were quite different. The area was criss-crossed by bridle tracks and horse travel was via the shortest and most direct route. For the bushrangers to travel from their home country to the coast they used the W D Tarlinton Track which went from the headwaters of the Shoalhaven River via Woila Creek and the Tuross River. The track still exists, but few know how to find it. William Fletcher, a Moruya native who had worked at Jinden near the Clarkes' home turf had also worked at Nerrigundah and knew the lay of the land.

A large gang was gathered for the raid. There were probably six in total. They wore disguises so the identification of all six remains uncertain. However, it is more than likely the gang consisted of Tommy Clarke, his uncles Pat and Tom Connell, William and Joe Berriman and William Fletcher. It is likely John Clarke, Tommy's younger brother was also present.

On 9 April 1866 at about 3pm they took possession of the road at Deep Creek, about 5kms from Nerrigundah. They bailed up all who came along, starting with a number of Chinamen, then Mrs. Groves the inn keeper at Deep Creek, the mail boy Bonham Griffith, Robert Jones the licensee of the Golden Fleece Hotel at Nerrigundah, Donald Sutherland a store keeper, but the best haul came when they bailed up John Emmott a gold buyer and son of William Emmott, a well known Moruya storekeeper.



John Emmott

The bushrangers called on Emmott to stand, but he refused and attempted to gallop off. His horse was shot out from underneath him. As he was disentangling himself several more shots were fired and he was hit in the back of the thigh, the ball

passing right through and exiting at the front. He was robbed of over 25 ounces of gold, over £30 in notes and cash as well as his watch. When he complained he was unable to walk to where the other prisoners were being held a little off the road, because of his wounds, he was hit over the head with the butt of a revolver. Later all the captives were taken to Mrs. Groves' nearby.

Mrs. Groves heard them discussing the fact that Sergeant Hitch, the officer in charge at Nerrigundah was away and the only other constable, Miles O'Grady, was ill with a fever. They did not know about Constable Smyth who had arrived direct from police training in Sydney four days earlier. Therefore it seemed the town was undefended.

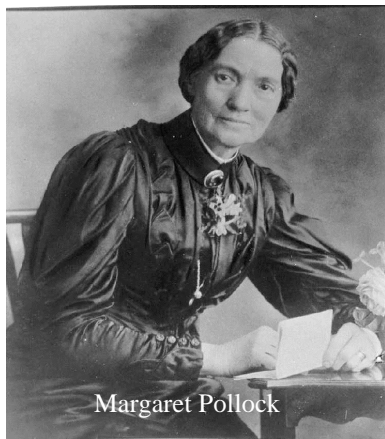
Leaving two men behind to guard the prisoners the others set off for the town where the pickings would be bigger and they could retrieve the other halves of the bank notes stolen from the mail.¹ In 1866 the road to Nerrigundah entered the town from the top of the main street, so that the first public building they came

¹ It was usual practice in the bushranging days to cut bank notes in half and send by different mails. One half was valueless.

to was Wallis's London Tavern. They began bailing up everyone they saw and herded them into the bar of the hotel.

Two of the bushrangers went across the road to James Pollock's store. It was well known that James Pollock was the principal gold buyer at the Gulph and that since the gold escort had been discontinued he was in the habit of taking his gold to Sydney every four or five weeks. He was planning to make the trip the next day and had an estimated 200 to 300 ounces of gold in his safe.² As James was not there they bailed up his wife, Margaret, along with four customers. They took all the ready cash and demanded the keys to the safe. Mrs. Pollock and her customers were then taken to the hotel. No doubt Tommy Clarke intended to go back and open the safe, but when his attention was diverted Mrs. Pollock surreptitiously took the key from his hand and threw it over his head into the street.

Tommy was furious. He slapped her face saying, "If you weren't a woman I'd kill you." By this time it was quite dark. Tommy called for a light and began an unsuccessful search for the key. Local legend has it that, young Pollock, a bare footed boy about 12 or 13 years old at the time was standing in the street and had the presence of mind to put his foot on the key and walk away with it between his toes.



Margaret Pollock

The number of people held captive swelled to around forty as others were brought from nearby houses. About this time James Pollock arrived and was confronted by several armed men. At first he

thought it was a joke before they pulled him off his horse and slapped him about the face. Tommy threatened to blow his head off if he did not go quietly. Robert Drew, the principal butcher, came walking up the street to see what the commotion was about. He was promptly bailed up by Fletcher whose voice he recognized. At the time he had his hand in his pocket clutching a wad of notes, £40 in total. He threw the wad over the bushrangers' heads into the tap room. Just then two shots rang out from down the street.

While the bushrangers were busy robbing the townspeople at Wallis's, a messenger had reached the police station about 200 metres away down a side street. The new constable, Smyth, directed the man to Constable O'Grady's bedside. O'Grady made the decision that in spite of his debilitated condition he and Smyth would do their duty and confront the bushrangers. O'Grady rose from his sick bed, put on his uniform, he and Smyth armed themselves and they headed out towards the main street. This has to rate as one of the bravest acts in bushranging history.

By the time they reached Jones' Golden Fleece Hotel at the corner of the main street O'Grady was so weak he was staggering. Mrs. Jones begged him not to go on but O'Grady replied, "I will do my duty", and staggered on.

By now it was completely dark. The two policemen got to within 10 to 15 metres of the London Tavern and could see what was going on. Pat Connell and William Fletcher were standing guard in the doorway. O'Grady fired and Smyth fired a few seconds later. O'Grady's shot hit Fletcher, glancing off his arm and entering his body just below the armpit. Smyth's shot lodged in the door jamb close to where Connell stood.

Confusion reigned as the bushrangers, along with many of their captives, rushed out of the hotel. Smyth was knocked over by a fleeing horse, but recovered himself. Unable to fire without endangering innocent lives, the police retreated down the street, O'Grady on one side and Smyth on the other. When Mrs. Jones extinguished the lights outside her hotel the street was in darkness. The bushrangers, one kneeling to steady his aim, fired several volleys in the direction of the police.

During a lull in the fusillade, O'Grady inadvertently moved into the bushrangers' line of sight. A shot rang out and he was hit in the side, the bullet entering the region of the left kidney and exiting at the navel. It is believed it was a shot from Tommy Clarke. Mortally wounded, O'Grady made his way towards the Golden Fleece Hotel, telling Smyth he could go no further. Smyth took O'Grady's revolver and told him to go into the hotel while he returned to the police barracks. At the door O'Grady told Mrs. Jones, "I am shot", and fell into her arms. She took him inside.

The bushrangers, shaken by the turn of events, wasted no time in taking their departure from Nerrigundah, but not before threatening to come back

² This would amount to between fourteen and twenty years pay for a mounted constable who was paid 6 shillings a day.

and shoot everyone. They mounted their horses and headed back to Deep Creek, leaving the dying Fletcher behind.

Fletcher lingered for about an hour. On his body were found two watches, a letter from Donald Sutherland that had been posted by that day's mail with the first halves of four £5 notes enclosed, and half-notes to the value of £50 that had also been taken from the mail. In their haste to leave, the bushrangers did not manage to get the other halves.

O'Grady was given what little medical care was available before a group of miners carried him to the barracks where he died in agony three or four hours later. Smyth tried to organize a party of volunteers to attack the bushrangers. After he had armed them, all but one had a change of heart. When the remaining man left, Smyth had to abandon his plan.

When the bushrangers rejoined their mates at Mrs. Groves' Deep Creek Inn their thirst for robbery and violence was still unabated. They took out their aggression on a poor Chinaman who did not appear to 'savvy' giving up his money. They beat him with their fists and with the butt-ends of their pistols. The Moruya Examiner went as far as to say, "They probably would have finished him off had not Mrs. Groves interposed". Eventually they succeeded in robbing the poor fellow, but all he had was few shillings.

They remained for about an hour supplying themselves with rations and grog which they loaded onto a pack horse. While this was going on they were oblivious to the fact that one of the Chinese they had detained managed to make his escape into the darkness. Meanwhile, one of the bushrangers went to the other side of the creek to stick up Thomas Spence's store, but before he had accomplished this task he was called back by his mates saying, "Make haste, the Gulph people are on us!"

The man who escaped had made it back safely to the Chinese camp and aroused his countrymen. A large number of them lit lanterns and proceeded towards the Deep Creek Inn in a display of defiance. When the bushrangers saw the advancing lights they decided it was time to depart. They mounted up and headed in the direction of Cadgee, leading the loaded packhorse.

That night they paid a visit to Charles Byrne's property at Cadgee and the next morning they called at Michael Manusu's farm at Eurobodalla. It was surmised they would make their way back to the tablelands following the river from Cadgee to Belowra, but Eurobodalla was in the wrong direction.

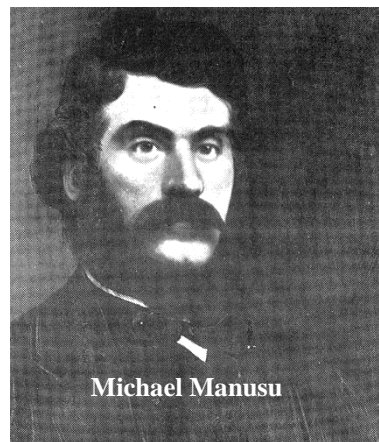
It may have been that without Fletcher to guide them they were not sure where to go.

Sergeant Hitch got back from Moruya shortly after the bushrangers left Nerrigundah. There was much relief at his safe return, as grave fears had been aroused when one of the watches found on Fletcher's body was thought to be his. Michael Manusu, Charlie Nash and Assistant Gold Commissioner Charles Harpur arrived at the police barracks and along with nine other volunteers agreed to form a posse to go in pursuit of the bushrangers. Nash knew a short cut and thought they could intercept the bushrangers before they got too far.

In the meantime news of the outrage had reached Moruya. Sergeant Brennan and Constable Baker set off without delay. On reaching Deep Creek they ascertained the particulars and headed off for Byrne's at Cadgee and continued onto Tinpot where they learned the bushrangers were headed back to the tablelands. They decided it was useless to go any further in pursuit, and knew they were required to take charge of the mess left in the bushrangers' wake at Nerrigundah.

Dr. Arthur Cook, Reverend Birch, Police Magistrate William Caswell and others from Moruya had arrived at Nerrigundah. An inquest was held that day before Caswell in his capacity as coroner. The verdict was:

"Thomas Clarke, Patrick Connell and some other persons unknown to the jurors, did on the night of 9th April, 1866, at Nerrigundah, unlawfully kill and slay Miles O'Grady by shooting him with a rifle bullet; and that in the case of William Fletcher the said jury do find a verdict of justifiable homicide."



Michael Manusu

The party of volunteers under Sergeant Hitch had set off led by Charlie Nash on a shorter route than that taken by the bushrangers. Their tracks would cross the river near the junction of Belimbla Creek where they could set up an ambush.

Just as the volunteers reached the crossing place the bushrangers appeared. Tommy Clarke was ahead of the rest leading the pack horse. Sergeant Hitch gave the order to fire. Tommy reeled in the saddle, but instantly turned and joined the rest. The bushrangers cantered back about fifty metres and halted. Manusu discharged his rifle and shot the pack horse dead.

The bushrangers immediately galloped off. There was no chance of a successful pursuit as the posse was out of ammunition, except for Sergeant Hitch, whose ammunition was unsuitable for any firearm other than his own. Hence the party returned to Nerrigundah, but not empty handed as they reclaimed the store goods from the dead horse's packsaddle. The Moruya Examiner commented:

"It is a great pity that this excellent plan, well carried out in some items, should have been rendered abortive. Some of the firearms, it is said, would not go off, and some of the volunteers had only one charge of powder and ball. The party evidently meant well, courageously set about the business, bravely met their men, and blazed away as long as they could, but for want of foresight at the outset, certainly excusable in the excitement of the moment, they were crippled in their efforts."

That evening, Tuesday 10 April, O'Grady was laid to rest in the Nerrigundah cemetery on the hillside just outside town. It was a melancholy scene attended by a long procession of mourners. The Reverend Patrick Birch conducted the service and delivered an address at the graveside. He recommended the erection of a monument to the memory and bravery of the man who lost his life in the brave performance of his duty.

Fletcher too was buried not far from where the shooting took place where there is another cemetery. He was not buried in the cemetery itself, but just outside in unconsecrated ground.

The Aftermath of the Nerrigundah Raid

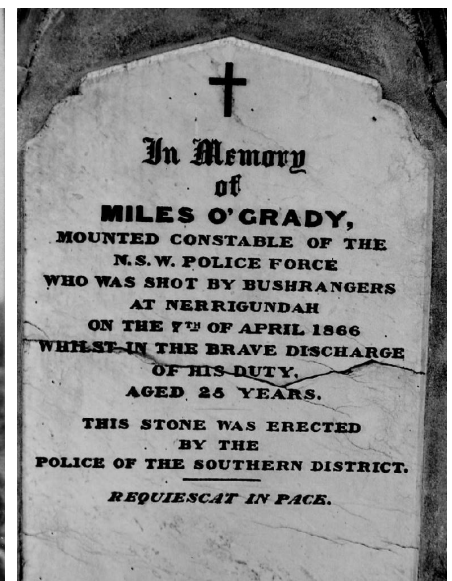
Nine days after the murder of Constable O'Grady the police arrested Joseph Berriman at his father's home at Round Flat, south of Braidwood. Sergeant Brennan and Senior Sergeant Creagh went to Nerrigundah some days later to look up the necessary witness to identify Berriman as one of the bushrangers. They found the place in a state of intense excitement. Brennan said, *"The town was in a state of siege; men of all nationalities were rushing frantically about, armed to the teeth with guns, revolvers, pistols, pikes and sluice forks; while the police station was packed with Foreign and Colonial warriors, who looked more like brigands than preservers of the Law."*

Brennan said the witnesses were so prostrated with fear that they were convinced their evidence would entail serious consequences for themselves. He believed this is why Berriman was not positively identified and escaped conviction.

The murder of Constable O'Grady led to the invoking of the 1865 Felons Apprehension Act against Thomas Clarke and Patrick Connell. They were declared Outlaws on 5 June 1866. This basically meant their lawful rights had been forfeited and they could be shot on sight by policeman or civilian without being called on to surrender. Anyone who was convicted of harbouring an Outlaw was liable to serve fifteen years in prison and have all their goods and property forfeited to the Crown. With the reward for Tommy increased to £500 and £300 for Pat many harbourers were fearful of the consequences and



c1900, shows a large group with a mounted policeman posing at the O'Grady monument. The inscription bears an error. O'Grady did not attack the bushrangers 'single-handed'. He was accompanied by Constable Smyth.



O'Grady's remains were reinterred in Moruya cemetery. The inscription bears an error. He was shot by the bushrangers on the 9 April not 7 April.

tempted by the big rewards.

However it was just good policing that led to the demise of Pat Connell. On 17 July 1866 a party of police under Senior Sergeant Creagh tracked the gang to their camp at Wyanbene, near the upper Shoalhaven River. In an exchange of fire Pat Connell was shot from the saddle by Constable Thomas Kelly.

The police had another success on 14 November 1866 when a party under Senior Constable Byrne captured Tom Connell, a few miles south of Parkers Gap in the mountains south of Braidwood. Originally Connell was charged with the murder of Constable O'Grady however the charge was later changed to the assault and wounding of John Emmott. He was tried in Sydney. Upon being found guilty he was sentenced to death by hanging but the sentence was commuted to life in prison. However in 1879 he was released after serving thirteen years.

The Clarke Brothers, Thomas and John continued their bloody rampage of the southern districts for another twelve months. During that time three of their gang met violent ends, Pat Connell, James Dornan and Bill Scott and a party of four Special Police were murdered at Jinden on the upper Shoalhaven. Finally with a reward of £1,000 and £500 respectively for Tom and John they were betrayed by their cousin, Thomas Berry. Acting on his information police surrounded Berry's hut where the Clarke brothers were spending the night. Early the next morning a six hour gun battle began. Constable Walsh was shot in the hip, Black Tracker Sir Watkin shot in the arm, John Clarke shot through the shoulder and Tom hit by shotgun slugs in the buttocks. About 1.15pm when the final wave of re-enforcements arrived the two Clarkes facing thirteen police realized the hopelessness of their position and surrendered. It was 27 April 1866.

They stood trial in Sydney for the attempted murder of Constable Walsh at the time of their capture. It was not the worst act they were suspected of committing but it enough for authorities to secure a capital conviction. They were hanged on the gallows of Darlinghurst Gaol on 25 June 1866 and subsequently buried in unmarked graves in the newly opened Rookwood Cemetery. They remain the most under rated bushrangers in Australian history considering the enormity of their crimes.

Sources

Much of this article is summarized from my book, *THE CLARKE GANG, Outlawed Outcast and Forgotten*, published by Rosenberg Publishing Pty Ltd, 2015, available from Moruya Book Shop. The book is well referenced. A handy source of the Nerrigundah information is from the Nerrigundah

Police Diary of Duty and Occurrences held in the State Records Office which provides an almost daily account of the police activities at Nerrigundah over a number of years. Another useful reference is from Superintendent (then sergeant) Martin Brennan serving at Moruya at the time of the Nerrigundah raid. Brennan wrote an unpublished account of Police and Bushrangers now held in the Mitchell Library.

Background of William Fletcher Mullenderree's own bushranger but only for a day!

by Shirley Jurman

William Henry Fletcher was born in December 1838 in Braidwood, NSW with First Fleet ancestry. He was the son of Edward Fletcher b. 1808 Campbelltown, NSW and Eleanor Carroll b. 1804 Ireland. Edward was the son of Edward Fletcher and Henrietta Langley. Edward senior was a convict, sentenced to transportation for life. Henrietta had been born on board *Lady Penrhyn* to Jane Langley, convict, when the First Fleet was on its way to NSW.

William married Ann Bishop in 1864 at Moruya. He became a farmer on Mullenderree Flat. William and Ann had a daughter Adelaide born 1865. William was a splendid bushman and horseman. He was a jockey at various race meetings along the coast and Braidwood, regularly riding for a Braidwood magistrate. Unfortunately he was fond of drink which occasionally led to some rash behaviour.

Henrietta, William's young sister was seduced by Francis Flanagan junior, a married man. The result was that Henrietta gave birth in 1865 to a son whom she named Washington Flanagan Fletcher. Henrietta died a year later. Edward appears to have taken this very badly. Four days after Henrietta's funeral William was at the Glenduart races. Under the influence of drink he jumped on a horse and rode away with it. He was intercepted by police and the horse returned to its owner who refused to prosecute. On the Monday after the Glenduart races William went to a claim he had been working at Nerrigundah and said he was going to the Monaro to look for work. Instead he met up with the Clarke Gang and for whatever reason decided to join them. It has been said he joined them because they had promised to help him get even with Francis Flanagan but this can only be a guess.



'The zealous family' – a family at work on the goldfields, about 1851. From an engraving by Samuel T. Gill

The Women and Children of Nerrigundah

By Wendy Simes

The following stories are of just a few of the women and children of Nerrigundah. The children are all sad little stories, many children survived and went on to live happy lives, their lives however are not documented in the records.

Three Children of Nerrigundah

Nerrigundah in its heyday was a crowded place with some permanent buildings but many people living in tents. Like any goldfield town the population was dominated by single men seeking their fortunes. There were however many families who came together to the goldfields. The children helped their parents, were frequently born in a tent and many of the babies failed to survive. Their schooling was often erratic with the population of a new field growing well before the establishment of schools for the children.

Many of the children in Nerrigundah were well looked after and much loved by their parents. However the children frequently helped their parents panning for gold, as with the third child in this article, or spent time looking after their younger siblings. There are however two rather sad examples of neglect at Nerrigundah details of which can be found in the Police Gazette.



Young Miners at Box Hill from *Children of the Goldfields* Prime Facts 557. NSW Primary Industries.

Alfred Richard Simpson

The first is "Alfred Richard Simpson, a child, 4 years old, having no means of support, has been sent by the Nerrigundah Bench to a public Industrial School."¹

Alfred had been born in Nerrigundah on the 5th April 1864 after his father's death. His father also named Alfred Richard Simpson had died in September 1863 in Sydney so who his mother came to Nerrigundah with remains a mystery. A second child Albert Edward was born in Nerrigundah on the 15th November 1866 and duly baptised on the 3rd of December 1866, he is listed as illegitimate on his birth certificate. Two years later Alfred appears to have been left at Nerrigundah while his mother and younger brother were elsewhere. His record at the Industrial School which was on board the training ship "Vernon" states that the Police Magistrate in Moruya reported he had been living with a common prostitute she being his only guardian. He was not kept at the school but sent from there to Benevolent Asylum by order of the Governor. He was reported to be good but no progress made in school. The poor child was only 4 years old, had grown up in the freedom of Nerrigundah, would have lived in a tent or a slab hut and was probably overwhelmed by Sydney and the "Vernon".

From the Vernon he was transferred to the Benevolent Asylum on the 23rd May 1868 and discharged from there on the 2nd November the same year. The Asylum was located on George Street close to present-day Broadway. It backed on to the Old Sydney Burial Ground (Devonshire Street Cemetery) and was demolished to make way for the current Central Railway Station in 1901. It was run by the Benevolent Society. In the case of children admitted to the Sydney Benevolent Asylum, they were then often transferred to another asylum such as

¹ NSW Police Gazette 29 April 1868.

the Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children but Albert does not appear in their records.²



From www.benevolent.org.au

At some stage Alfred was reunited with his mother who in 1868 had married Henry Harley in the Young district. He had a number of siblings born to his mother's second marriage. His mother and step father had quite a number of disputes with their neighbours in the period 1876 to 1878, mainly to do with sheep. At age 14 Alfred was arrested with his mother and step father in May 1877, his parents being charged with sheep stealing and Alfred with aiding and abetting. When the case came to court the accused were discharged.³ More seriously Alfred was charged with attempt to commit rape and indecent assault in November 1879. He was found not guilty of rape but guilty of the assault charge and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment at Young. Although returning a guilty verdict the jury made a strong recommendation for mercy on account of the deplorable ignorance of all concerned.⁴

When Alfred died in 1925 his funeral notice⁵ is placed in the paper by his wife's family and his step sisters indicating he kept in contact with all his extended family. He had been living at 65 Raglan Street Waterloo, he had married in 1899 and had had 8 children. He had come a long way from a four year old "with no visible means of support."

William Valentine Gabriel

Another child to be sent to the "Vernon" was William Henry Valentine Gabriel who at age 7 was "charged under the Industrial Schools Act, and arrested by Senior-Constable Irwin, Nerrigundah Police. He was ordered to be sent on board the Industrial School-ship Vernon."⁶ His records from the school state he was living with his mother who was a woman of bad character and unable to support her illegitimate son with his father currently being confined in Darlinghurst Goal. The record also gives his date of birth which is at odds with his birth certificate which gives his date of birth as 4th January 1864. He is listed

as illegitimate but his father is the informant on the certificate and a Mrs Barrett the Nurse Witness. His mother has either confused the dates or deliberately made him two years older than he really was. His father was William Henry Valentine Gabriel who is referred to in the records as a native of the West Indies and a coloured man. He had originally come to Australia as ship's crew and by 1859 was the cook on board the "Clarence Packet" a Sydney registered vessel. His mother Ann McCarthy was said to have been living with him for about 9 years. His father had been sent to jail when he was unable to pay a fine of \$200. He had been found guilty of being of unsound mind while living at Nerrigundah and was given the opportunity of paying a fine or 6 months in goal. His crime involved "threatening to commit acts of violence against Martha Guest, innkeeper."⁷ Young William's mother was said to be suffering from Kings Evil and had no means of livelihood. Kings Evil was a tubercular infection of the thyroid or lymph nodes, now known as scrofula. The name Kings Evil comes from the belief in the Middle Ages that it could be cured by the touch of royalty.



From image posted on <http://yousaywah.tumblr.com>



Lessons aboard the Vernon by John Sharkey first official Government photographer.

² www.sydneybenevolentasylum.com/

³ Grenfell Record and Lachlan District Advertiser 19 May 1877.

⁴ Grenfell Record and Lachlan District Advertiser 15 November 1879

⁵ SMH 23rd April 1925

⁶ NSW Police Gazette 20 October 1869.

⁷ Moruya Court House Records.

When he left the Vernon William was apprenticed to John Brown of Singleton. In December 1877 he absconded from his indenture.⁸ William was said to be of slight build, short hair and an American half-caste. He voluntarily gave himself up to Cessnock Police in December⁹ after which time he disappears from the records.

There is one other mention in the 1895 papers of a Gabriel who would seem to be connected. It is that of Henry Valentine Gabriel. He is described as a “gentleman of colour, who had undergone a week’s medical observation on suspicion of being of unsound mind, was discharged, the Government medical officer certifying that he was fit to mix with the ordinary run of Australians”¹⁰.

Notes

The index to the Benevolent Society records can be searched on www.benevolentsylum.com and an enquiry form filled in to receive more details of the person you are searching for.

Ellen Callaghan

Ellen was the daughter of Julia Manning (nee Lawler) and John Callaghan. Ellen Callaghan managed to survive the perils of infancy only to die tragically at age 6 in 1871.

Like many children in the village Ellen was fossicking for gold along the banks of the creek, working about 30 yards from her father. Unfortunately Ellen was fossicking on the edge of the bank under a stump which had been undermined and as she removed more dirt the stump collapsed killing her.¹¹

Whether she sometimes attended school or spent her days working with her parents is not known. Children like Ellen and her brothers and sisters would not only help their parents with mining activities they would also have been required to help with household chores such as minding younger children, fetching water, gathering firewood, washing clothes, cooking and taking care of the horses.¹² As Ellen had an older half brother and sister these chores would have no doubt fallen to them. Ellen was probably using a puddling pan at the time of her death. She would have dug out the silt and gravel from under the stump. She would then stir the silt with a stick to allow the heavier gold to sink to the bottom, gradually adding more water to wash the silt over the edge of the pan.

It may to today’s children appear a little like making mud pies, but it was a lot more serious for these children, they were helping their family survive.

Three women of Nerrigundah

The following three women were all in Nerrigundah during the 1860’s with their husbands following the gold trail. Apart from the normal dangers of mine shafts, flooding rivers and contagious diseases childbirth was a major danger to these women, who frequently were living in tents or temporary slab huts. Many children survived but a large number of their babies died in the first few weeks of their lives.

Julia Lawler/Manning/Callaghan

The Callaghans, John and Julia, the parents of Ellen, were a family whose children were born on the goldfield, grew up there and many stayed to marry and continue to live in the area. The Callaghans were not like many mining families who continually moved to the next gold field discovery, they stayed and established themselves at Nerrigundah.

Julia Callaghan had come to Nerrigundah with her first husband William John Manning and her daughter Mary Jane. Julia and John had married in Wollongong in 1859 when Julia was only 18 years old. By 1862 when their son John William was born they were at Nerrigundah. Unfortunately in November 1864 William Manning died of pulmonary apoplexy at the age of 64.

In 1865 a daughter Ellen was born to Julia and in April 1868 a son Edward followed in April 1871 by a daughter Mary and in January 1872 by a daughter Julia. Finally in July 1872 when both Julia and John Callaghan were 34 they married in the RC School at Nerrigundah. After Ellen’s death all other children were baptised in the Catholic faith. Maybe the death of Ellen caused the couple to return to their Catholic roots or they succumbed to pressure from the local priest. Their marriage record tells us that John was born in County Kerry, Ireland and Julia was born in Richmond NSW. Julia was the daughter of Edward and Margaret Lawler who had arrived as assisted immigrants from Ireland in 1838 with their two sons John aged 4 and James aged 2½. The Lawler family’s own research reveals that Edward went to work at Bungarribee which is where it is thought that Julia was born although there is no official record of her birth.

⁸ NSW Police Gazette 19th December 1877.

⁹ NSW Police Gazette 26 December 1877.

¹⁰ SMH 20th July 1895.

¹¹ Newcastle Herald 21st November 1871.

¹² *Children of the Goldfields*. Prime Facts 557. NSW Primary Industries

In 1862 when Julia arrived in Nerrigundah she would no doubt have come to know the other women living in the growing township and witnessed many of her friends lose their infants in early childhood. Sadly Julia's youngest child James who was born in October 1878 died in May the next year and is buried at Nerrigundah. Most of Julia's children survived to adulthood and many continued to live in Nerrigundah.

Her daughter Mary Jane married David Roach, a publican, at Nerrigundah in November 1880. Daughter Julia married Charles Brisbane McCarthy at Nerrigundah in 1888 when she was 16, with her brother Charles and sister Margaret as witnesses. Her son Charles in 1889 was still a miner at Nerrigundah when at age 21 he married his cousin, Emmaline Lawler, the daughter of David Lawler and Emmaline Metcalf. Daughter Catherine married Joseph Jessop in Nerrigundah in 1915.

Fa Lan

The second of the three women is a young Chinese woman known on the records as Fa Lan. She was married to Ah Look and had been in Australia for only 2 years and 8 months when she died on the 10th September 1872. Fa Lan died in childbirth. Two other people apart from her husband Ah Look, and the Chinese interpreter Ah Man, are mentioned on her death certificate. They were David Broad and Mary Pfeiffer, the wife of another miner. Presumably Mary had tried to give assistance to Fa Lan but had been unable to save her. If Lan had not died we would probably have had no records of her having lived at Nerrigundah at all, as it is this is all we know of her story.

Mary Ann Jarvis/Groves/Spence

Mary Ann first appears in the records of Nerrigundah in 1862 when her baby Emily Louisa is born, sadly she appears again when Emily dies of "general debility" at five weeks of age on the 25th January 1863. On Emily's death certificate it says John Groves her father was a gold miner.

John and Mary Ann had married in Redfern, Sydney in 1862. They placed an announcement in the Sydney Morning Herald of the 17th January 1862 which was copied by the Cambridge papers stating "On the 15th instant, by licence, at St Paul's Church, Redfern by the Rev. A. H. Stephen, B.A., John Groves esq. to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Mr. George Jarvis, builder, of Cambridge, England.

Home Papers please copy." After their marriage they appear to have proceeded to the goldfields.

As it says on her marriage Mary Ann was the daughter of George Jarvis, builder. At the time of Mary Anne's birth he was a labourer and her mother a milliner. At the time of their marriage Mary Anne's parents George Jarvis and Sarah Gravestock were very young, marrying on the 10th January 1836 at St Clements, Cambridge. The Census's give them birth years of 1820 or 1821. In the 1841 census Mary Ann is aged 3 and the family is living in Falcon Yard in the Parish of St Andrew the Great. The family continued to live there for at least the next 20 years as they are there in both the 1851 and 1861 Census but by this time George is described as a bricklayer or a builder. The couple had a number of children after Mary Ann, who died young so her next sibling was Sarah who was 9 years her junior. By the 1861 Census Mary Ann had left the family, presumably having gone to Australia.



Falcon Yard 1870 looking towards Petty Cury from the Cambridge Collection

The area she grew up in was a crowded housing and small family business area. Mary Ann was however at age 13 still recorded as a Scholar so we can assume she was a reasonably educated young lady by the time she left for Australia. She does not appear in the records again until she marries in Sydney.

Mary Ann's husband John Groves died on the 10th November 1865 whilst in Sydney. An inquest was held into his death. He is described as being 33 years of age, a hotel keeper at the Gulf Diggings. This age differs from his marriage record which in 1862 gave his age as 23. Abraham Emmott gave evidence at the inquest and stated that John had left the Clyde River the week before for the purpose of obtaining medical advice for his leg as he suffered from lameness. John had been found in fits at Circular Quay and taken to the infirmary where he died. The cause of death was given as delirium tremens from excessive drinking.¹³

¹³ Sydney Mail 18th November 1865

Mary Ann was thus left to manage the hotel by herself.

To return to Nerrigundah the next record we find of Mary Ann is as Mrs Groves, in the evidence given on the Clarke Gang's raid on Nerrigundah. Here she is listed as a hotel keeper who was on her way to her orchard when she was stopped by the Clarke Gang.



Artist's sketch of Mrs Groves Hotel and Store.
From "High Noon" slides held by MDHS

The next record of her is her marriage to Jabez Spence in April 1867, the marriage being witnessed by Ernest Hawdon and Amelia Harkus. Jabez was a 25 year old miner born in Yorkshire. His older brother Mark was a successful draper in Sydney. Later that year their first child George Jarvis Spence, named after his maternal grandfather, was born. Sadly George died in December of that year at age 4 months. Twins were then born in 1868. Twin Hannah Maude also died at age 4 months in December of 1868. Both these children were buried in Nerrigundah cemetery. Hannah's twin sister survived a little longer but was buried in Braidwood cemetery the following year. By 1871 when the next child Dorothy Jane, named after George's mother, was born the family were living in Jacqua which was another mining community in the Marulan Bungonia area. A second daughter Amelia was born there in 1872, named after one of George's sisters. In 1873 it was reported that "there is a new reef found the other day by Spence and party, showing gold clearly in the stone."¹⁴ From here the family appear to have moved to nearby Peelwood where there was a large copper and silver mine. Then for some reason they decided to return to England, returning to Cambridge to an area close to where Mary Ann was born.

Jabez's mother had died in Sydney in 1875 but his brothers and sisters were all still in Australia. Mary Ann's father was however still alive in Cambridge and living with a younger daughter Sarah Johnson

who at age 34 in the 1881 census is listed as a widow and the publican at The Anchor Inn.

In the 1881 census the Spence family appear as shopkeepers in Burleigh Street Cambridge with both daughters still at school. Mary Ann died in 1885 after one weeks illness at Burleigh Street at age 47¹⁵. By 1891¹⁶ Jabez had specialised in glass and china and both daughters were working with their father in the shop.

Daughter Dorothy Jane married Frederick James Wright who was a cabinet maker and in the 1911 Census they have two sons listed, Sidney James aged 8 and Leonard Gabney aged 7.

These are just six examples of the women and children who lived at Nerrigundah. There are many more all with interesting stories they could tell but many have passed unrecorded as they followed their father or husband around the goldfields.

Animal Snippets

Blink Bonny

The above well known mare, the property of Mr. H. Mallon, met with a fatal accident through slipping into an old prospecting hole. The consequence of the fall was that she had her back broken. The mare has a history attached to its memory, having been stolen by the Clarke's gang of bushrangers, in whose possession she remained for a long time until recovered by the police. Subsequently she became the property of Mr. Mallon, who has a couple of youngsters, her progeny, by Millionaire. The last foal was dropped about six weeks back, and promises well.

From the Moruya Examiner and published by the Bega Gazette and Eden District and South Coast Advertiser, 19 Jan 1872, p. 3

Answers to the Crossword

Across 1. Nerrigundah. 9. Waddell. 10. Erase. 11. Work. 12. Examiner. 14. Rebels. 16. Snatch. 18. Normally. 19. Epic. 22. Smith. 23. Retitle. 24. Prospectors.

Down 2. Elder. 3. Reef. 4. Galaxy. 5. Needment. 6. Against. 7. Awkwardness. 8. Henry Hicken. 13. Bleaches. 15. Barrier. 17. Clarke. 20. Peter. 21. Stet.

¹⁴ Australian Town and Country Journal 19th April 1873.

¹⁵ SMH 8th August 1885

¹⁶ 1891 Census

| Nerrigundah from Balliere's Post Office Directory 1866 | | |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| Surname | First Names | Occupation |
| Ah | Kin | Chinese Cookshop |
| Ah | Man | Chinese interpreter |
| Ah | Sing | Shopkeeper |
| Ah | Chin | Chinese Cookshop |
| Alabaster | Samuel I | Baker |
| Anderson | Anna | |
| Anthony | John | Miner |
| Beeston | Thomas | Miner |
| Blyth | Henry | Teacher |
| Bock | Sep | Miner & Storekeeper |
| Boff | Conrad | Miner |
| Bolton | George | Miner |
| Bottom | George | Miner |
| Boyle | James | Milkman |
| Breston | Thomas | Miner |
| Brown | Robert | Miner |
| Butler | Edward | Miner |
| Byrnes | Michael | Miner |
| Byrnes | Charles | Squatter |
| Byrnes | Charles J | Squatter |
| Cameron | Alexander | Miner |
| Cassells | James | Miner |
| Comans | William | Squatter |
| Condelon | Alphonse | Miner |
| Conway | Lawrence | Miner |
| Cooke | Nathaniel | Farmer |
| Cowdroy | H. O. T. | Storekeeper |
| Donovan | William | Baker |
| Downey | J. J. | Miner |
| Fisher | Frederick | Miner |
| Foster | W. J. | Goldfield Registrar |
| Frost | W. B | Miner |
| Greenwood | | Free Settler |
| Groats | William | Miner |
| Groats | William | Miner |
| Groves | Mary Ann | Wine Store |
| Hardy | G. | Inn & storekeeper |
| Harper | Charles | Squatter |
| Henderson | Charles | Miner |
| Hennessey | Edward | Miner |
| Hennessey | William | Miner |
| | | |

| Surname | First Names | Occupation |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Hicks | Edward | Miner |
| Holloway | Joseph | Miner |
| Huckett | Edward | Miner |
| Inglestoe | Peter | Miner |
| Jackson | William | MRCSL & Miner |
| Jaseph | Jacob | Miner |
| Johnson | Charles | Newsagent |
| Jones | Robert | Miner |
| Jones | Thomas | Miner |
| Krutty | Karl | Blacksmith |
| Lake | Edward | Miner |
| Lee | Joseph | Miner |
| Lofgreen | Peter | Miner |
| Lotty | Joseph | Miner |
| Ludman | Carl | Miner |
| Manns | John | Miner |
| McKay | Donald | Blacksmith |
| McMahon | | Innkeeper |
| McVety | Michael | Miner |
| Minnis | George | Miner |
| Moloney | William | Miner |
| Morrison | James | Storekeeper |
| Mudby | William | Free Selector |
| Mundy | Patrick | Miner |
| Munster | Herman | Miner |
| Nash | Charles | Miner |
| Nuttley | George | Miner |
| O'Reilly | Michael | Miner |
| Parker | Michael | Miner |
| Pfeiffer | Thomas | Miner |
| Pitfield | Charles | Miner |
| Porter | Mrs James | |
| Puddimore | Oliver | Inn Keeper |
| Roach | David | Miner |
| Rodan | Henry | Miner |
| Russell | Michael | Free Selector |
| Sharpe | John | Miner |
| Shurmer | Daniel | Miner |
| Smith | David | Miner |
| Smith | Frank | Farmer |
| Sparkes | A | Storekeeper etc |
| Steedman | Charles | Miner |
| Stickley | Henry | Miner & Farmer |
| Stickley | Joseph | Miner |

| Surname | First Name | Occupation |
|-----------|------------|---------------|
| Storman | Michael | Free Selector |
| Thompson | John | Miner |
| Tibbett | Alfred | Miner |
| Upwood | Simon | Miner |
| Van Wicke | Charles | Miner |
| Wallace | Peter | Teacher |
| Wallis | Edwin | Innkeeper |
| Warren | John | Musician |
| Watson | Charles | Miner |
| West | Ober | Miner |
| White | Henry | Musician |

Nerrigundah Snippets

Letter from Spencer L. Bransley

to Surveyor General 18th March 1861.

(From H. J. Gibbney's hand written notes)

Everything has to go by pack horse, quite impossible to get a dray near the place. Now 300-400 persons there and more arriving daily. Three stores, boarding house, one pub building and carpenters shop. Provisions still reasonable, beef 4p, flour £5, tea 3/- sugar 7p. Provisions come by pack horse, 10 or 12 in a string.

Nerrigundah Bench Book

Extracted Information from the Nerrigundah Bench Book from 1st July 1862 to February 1864 by H. J. Gibbney in his research for his book Eurobodalla.

The most common crimes in the book is disorderly conduct, assault, and drunk and disorderly which is not surprising with the number of publican licenses in the area. There were also three charges of selling liquor after midnight and 2 of sly grog.

Publicans Licenses Nerrigundah

12th August 1862

Michael Russell. Pick & Shovel Inn.

Prosper Duprey. Garibaldi Inn.

Michael Manus. Grecian Hotel

It was also recorded at this time there was unlawful music and dancing in a pub.

9th September 1862

B. H. McCabe. Australian Hotel.

J. B. Stanley. Commercial Hotel.

J. J. Butts. Wogonga Hotel.

14th October 1862

Samuel Morris. Gulf Inn.

Matthew Bryan. Australian Inn. Transferred from McCabe

Jacob Hoare. Hilor Mess. Transferred from George Ullrick.

William Wilmshurst. Black Swan.

4th November 1862

Sam Morris. Licensed for Billiards.

John Hayes. Licensed to remove Mountain Inn.

12 December 1862

Henry Bundy. Diggers Rest, License transferred from Peter Wilson

Andrew Cusak. Free Trade Inn. License Cancelled.

24th February 1863

F.W. Groves. License Gulf Inn transferred from Samuel Morris.

17th April 1863

John Hennessy. License Harp and Shamrock transferred from Daniel Breen.

23rd April 1863

George Hopkins, Nerrigundah. Registered as a Brewer.

23rd May 1863.

John Mannings. Certificate for removal of All Nations Inn License.

11th August 1863

William Kitchen. License for Heart and Hand.

31 August 1863

Thomas Auld. Registered as a Brewer.

2nd February 1864

William Guest. Publican's license transferred from Carl Krüss.

Nerrigundah 1917

From 1917 Sands Directory Country Commercial section.

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Capes, Albert | Blacksmith |
| Colemane, A. E. | Eucalyptus Distiller |
| Davidge, Frank | Eucalyptus Distiller |
| Fraser, Daniel | Quartz Battery Prop. |
| Gildea, Robert | Blacksmith |
| Lake, S | Butcher |
| Latty Bros. | Quartz Battery Props. |
| Manning, Percy | Eucalyptus Distiller |
| Pollock Bros. | Store and Bakers |
| South Coast Eucalyptus Co., J. Egan, Manager | |

There were still gold mines in operation in 1917 but there was a change in emphasis with Eucalyptus distilling taking over as a way to exploit the natural resources of the area.