Hawkesbury Historical Society Newsletter

Newsletter of the Hawkesbury Historical Society Inc.

HAWKESBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY INC.

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Facebook: facebook.com/hawkesburyhistoricalsociety

Aim: Hawkesbury Historical Society aims to encourage and preserve the history of the Hawkesbury

Meetings: 4th Thursday, alternate months, 7.3opm-1opm, except June and August - 2pm. Venue – currently to be redetermined.

Open to: People interested in the preservation of the history of the Hawkesbury, new members welcome.

Patron: Wendy Sledge

Office Bearers 2023/2024

President: Jan Barkley-Jack Snr Vice President: Ted Brill Jnr Vice President: Dick Gillard Secretary: Peta Sharpley Public Officer: Neville Dehn Treasurer: Rodney Hartas Newsletter Editor: Jan Readford Web Administrator: Dick Gillard Facebook Administrator: Peta Sharpley Bookshop Manager: Heather Gillard Honorary Auditor: [Vacant] Publicity Officer: [Vacant]

Committee members

Neville Dehn, Sean Flavin, Cathy McHardy, Rebecca McRae, Jan Readford and Oonagh Sherrard

HHS Collection Committee Carol Carruthers and Elissa Blair (Museum representative)

Publications Committee Jan Barkley-Jack, Cathy McHardy, Rebecca McRae and Jan Readford

2024 MEETINGS

Thursday, 22 February – 7.30pm Wednesday, 24 April – 7.30pm Saturday, 22 June– 2pm Saturday, 24 August– 2pm Thursday, 24 October – 7.30pm

Ebenezer Church Hall 95 Coromandel Road, Ebenezer (for 22 February only)

Hawkesbury Historical Society General Meeting

Thursday, 22 February at 7.30pm

CHANGE IN MEETING VENUE

FOR THIS MEETING ONLY

Ebenezer Church Hall

95 Coromandel Rd, Ebenezer

and_via Zoom (details provided separately)

Anyone wanting to explore the Ebenezer Precinct before the meeting should arrive from **6.30pm** and this will give almost an hour before the meeting begins in the Ebenezer Church hall.

SPEAKERS

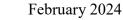
Elissa Blair will talk about exhibition plans for Hawkesbury Historical Society's collection in Hawkesbury Regional Museum in 2024, and will provide an introduction to a new Cultural Plan.

Kelsie McMorrow will provide an interesting insight into her new world, now working for the new Museum at Sydney University, in addition to her work at Hawkesbury Regional Museum.

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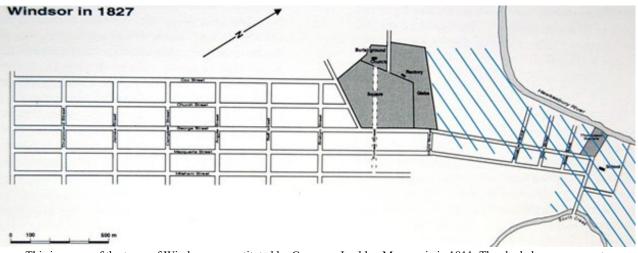




Good day and a happy New Year to all!

I don't know about your 2024 so far, but mine is becoming hectic. I have so much to share with you. Aside from a few incredibly annoying problems relaying gifts to my English family, my days are quickly and happily being filled with history talks.

Firstly, I gave an Australia Day talk to the Kurrajong-Comleroy Historical Society on 26 January and have written a piece for their newsletter, both about the Green Hills village. I have told you the details of the last year from my research. The group have requested a tour of the original village area later in the year. I have agreed to talk about the village to the Colo Shire Family History Group later in February detailing the unusual sources that were required for the research. Jointly with the Ebenezer Church and the Hawkesbury Regional Museum, I am hosting a Dundas group at St Matthew's Anglican Church in April and giving a talk to the Pitt Town Probus Club next Tuesday, when I will speak on five very precious iconic residents of the early Pitt Town district. As well, on 3 March, a special commemoration will be held in Thompson Square on the site of the 1804 government store building, as a reminder of the hanging there from the stairs of Irish ex-convict, Philip Cunningham, one of the leaders of the short-lived rebellion. It was calculated to fill the local population with terror to deter any who had thought to join the rebels. Organised by the Defenders of Thompson Square, there will be a talk about the rebellion and Philip Cunningham, and as well, I shall lead a tour of the Government Precinct that has existed from 1795 and the village of Green Hills that was to manifest around the site a couple of years after the rebellion. Hawkesbury Historical Society members will be most welcome to attend the event to find out more about early Hawkesbury history.



This is a map of the town of Windsor as constituted by Governor Lachlan Macquarie in 1811. The shaded area represents generally the area of the previous village in the Green Hills as it existed for five years from 1806 before the town was marked out. Macquarie incorporated the existing village complete into his plan for the town of Windsor.

In addition, I have taken on giving a U3A history class for the year, leading interested people into an exploration of 'Just what is Hawkesbury?' including Aboriginal and settler histories. The first week's course revealed what a fascinating and varied group I have.

HHS's own year has been slightly disrupted with the understandable financial decision of St Matthew's Anglican Church to withdraw their hall as our meeting place, since they have received a significant other offer too good to refuse, in a world where they are always needing funds for restoration. As you will see from this newsletter, at present we are homeless, but the Committee and I are pursuing several possible options for our future meetings. Not yet organised, this has given us great prospects for the first meeting of 2024 by our taking up the offer of a one-off meeting place at Ebenezer Church just for February. This allows us to offer a special time to wander the wonderful oldest church remaining in Australia, still in use, and its surrounds before the meeting. Anyone wanting to explore the Ebenezer Church hall. The meeting will proceed as usual from 7.30pm with the General Meeting and talks about the plans by the curatorial staff for Hawkesbury Historical Society's large collection in the Hawkesbury Regional Museum for 2024 and an introduction to a new Cultural Plan by Elissa Blair, whom we congratulate on her recent promotion. A further interesting insight into the new world that has opened up for Kelsie McMorrow who is, in addition to her work at Hawkesbury Regional Museum, now working for the new Museum at Sydney University.

In between this busy schedule, I have been reading a newly released book by Alan Atkinson, widely regarded today as Australia's most thoughtful historian. Alan always finds a new way of looking at an old topic, in this case, the lives of Elizabeth and John Macarthur. The book was released in 2023 by New South Publishing, if you are interested. And a fascinating read it is! Alan talks of the story of Elizabeth and John as being a story of Enlightenment sociability, against the previous picture which historians had painted of Macarthur as one with 'no gift for personal relationships'. Elizabeth Macarthur, or Elizabeth Veale, as she was before marriage, 'shifted between shyness and enthusiasm, candour and command'. John's mother, Atkinson, concludes was either

French or Swiss, and like John's father, a Calvinist. Atkinson sees John as the product of such an upbringing, in 'his way of looking forward, in his rigid self-regard, but also in his understanding of the world at large'. This is a journey through a new perspective on the Macarthur's, and well worth a read.

I can't wait to see you at the Ebenezer Church Precinct on 22 February 2024, possibly from 6.30pm. Don't worry if you can't come earlier than usual, the meeting will commence at 7.30pm.

Cheers,

Jan Barkley-Jack, President



CHRISTMAS 2023

Hawkesbury Historical Society's Christmas Get Together was held at Lynwood Country Club on Sunday, 26 November 2023 and was especially enjoyed by all those in attendance.



Sue and Ted Brill (foreground); Heather and Dick Gillard (back right); Keith Sharpley (mid rear); and Jeanette Hill (rear right)



Peta and Keith Sharpley



Richard (Dick) and Heather Gillard



Cathy and Geoff McHardy (left) with Neville and Deirdre Dehn



Peta and Keith Sharpley (left) with Jeanette Hill



Rodney and Margaret Hartas



Alison Rose (far right) with friends (opposite)

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Re-invigorating an important monument

By Jan Barkley-Jack

If any of us had been around as members of a very young Hawkesbury Historical Society in 1969, we would have been proud to have erected a monument to the 1867 floods, showing the wider world the extreme height which that inundation reached. It is a monument seeking to record and inform, as well as warn those not familiar with Hawkesbury River floods, just how treacherous the usually docile river can become.

The monument, which the Society erected in the grounds of Windsor Primary School on the George Street frontage, was clearly able to be seen by all. But over the years, it had become in need of a refurbishment, as a hedge that was grown along the school perimeter fence had crowded it out and stopped the text being read easily.



The monument, which stands about a metre tall, is made of cement, attractively shaped with a curved top and a bronze plaque which reads:

LINE BELOW DENOTES THE LEVEL OF 1867 FLOOD, TAKEN FROM WALL OF OLD ROYAL HOTEL 319-321 GEORGE STREET FROM BEQUEST BY H. MACLEOD MORGAN TO THE HAWKESBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ERECTED 1969.

Harold MacLeod Morgan was a man who is to be found in the annals of several New South Wales Historical Societies and he was the President of the Royal Australian Historical Society, the overreaching body of all NSW

Historical Societies, in the early1960s. This was a time just after the Hawkesbury Historical Society was formed in 1956 and MacLeod Morgan was a great influence in what was going on the historical world of the time.

His obituary in the Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 4 March 1964, read in part:

DEATH OF NOTED HISTORIAN

Mr Harold Arthur MacLeod Morgan, the well-known historian, died in his Mosman home on February 23.

Mr Morgan was well-known throughout the Hawkesbury for his interest in its history, being a foundation member of Hawkesbury Historical Society and the leader of many of its excursions to places of historical significance... For many years Mr Morgan was a frequent contributor to the Gazette, his letters being well-informed and meticulaous in accuracy and style.

Aged only 49, Mr Morgan had suffered a heart condition for some time and, when he did not attend his office on February 24... his neighbours became anxious and entered his home.

Recently, in January 2024, thanks to the efforts of one of Hawkesbury Historical Society's newer members, Grant Gerrish, the important monument in Windsor Public School has been re-invigorated. The School kindly trimmed the hedge and allowed the monument to be easily seen again. An effort is to be made to spotlight it for even greater visibility.

Pupils of Windsor Public School, the School Principal, Hawkesbury Mayor, Sarah McMahon, as well as presidents of local community groups and their members, attended a special re-invigoration ceremony to highlight the monument. The Mayor



gave a short talk as did Jan Barkley-Jack, the President of Hawkesbury Historical Society. Jan recollected that Society founder and long-time Secretary of the Society, Doug Bowd, had once been Deputy Principal of Windsor Public School, which is how the school came to be selected as the place for the marker.

Another recording of the height of the 1867 flood, the district's highest ever at nearly 20 metres, is to be found in Thompson Square on the wall of the Macquarie Arms Hotel (once also called the Royal Hotel).

The value of the monument in the school grounds in educating all the district's residents about the destructive character of our usually benign Hawkesbury River and of the dire possibilities in Hawkesbury floods for those who do not realise its occasional disasters, remains a valuable community contribution by Hawkesbury Historical Society, both by our 1969 members and those of us in the Society today as the monument is restored to public view.

To further highlight the life of Harold MacLeod Morgan, this Newsletter takes the opportunity to reproduce in full, a 2009 article published by our past-president R. Ian Jack, for the RAHS *History Magazine*. [See page 6.]



Windsor and Richmond Gazette, Saturday 12 January 1907 (Trove)

SPECIAL NOTICE

PLEASE NOTE THE MEETING VENUE FOR THE NEXT HAWKESBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEETING

Thursday, 22 February 2024

Ebenezer Church Hall

95 Coromandel Road, Ebenezer

See front page for latest meeting notice.

Bawkesbury Library Service
Mr. D. C. Howell-Price
DESIRES to announce that he has commenced business as a House, Land, Estate, and Stock Agent, and will be pleased to receive particulars from persons wishing to sell.
Usual Commission Oharged.
All communications left at the office of this paper will be punctually attended to, Stock Sales a Speciality.
D. C, HOWELL-PRICE, "Fairfield," Windsor.

Windsor and Richmond Gazette, Saturday 24 November 1906 (Trove)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

From the President's Desk - H.A. Macleod Morgan, President of RAHS in 1961 and 1962 (below), written by Hawkesbury Historical Society past-President R. Ian Jack when he was President of the Royal Australian Historical Society, was delivered as his Presidential Address to the Society's Annual General Meeting, 28 April 2009, then published in the *RAHS History Magazine*, June 2009, and is reproduced here with the permission of the Royal Australian Historical Society. A special thank you to the RAHS Librarian, Donna Newton, for providing this article.

From the President's Desk

H. A. MacLeod Morgan, President of the RAHS in 1961 and 1962: Presidential Address to the Society's Annual General Meeting, 28 April 2009

I believe in serendipity. Six weeks ago I was attending a meeting of the Executive of the Blue Mountains Association of Cultural Heritage Organisations. One of my fellow members, Florence Smart from Mount Wilson, handed me a small box of papers to add to the archives of the RAHS. This box had been found among the effects of her sister, Wilga Smart, who died in August 2008 at the age of 85. Wilga had kept these papers for 44 years throughout her migrations from Australia to America, then to England and ultimately back to New South Wales. Just as Florence had found them after Wilga's death, so Wilga had found them in 1964 on the death of her fiancé, five days before she was to be married in Mount Wilson. Wilga was an expert plant propagator, first in the Smart family nursery at Eastwood and after 1946 at Carisbrook on Mount Irvine until her parents died. She then returned to Sydney and propagated first for Cohen's nursery at Turramurra and then for Tomkin's nursery at Enfield. She had already been collecting books, particularly about the Blue Mountains, and she joined the Royal Australian Historical Society.1

Her fiancé was President of the RAHS and an outstanding research scholar of the Mountains and the Hawkesbury. His name was MacLeod Morgan. Over the years, I have benefited from his published work on Bells Line of Road and on the Bulga Road, but I knew nothing of the man and I soon found out after I received the box of his papers that there is no easy way of getting to know this quietly-spoken man who died too soon. He died a month before his fiftieth birthday.² He does not appear in *Who's Who* nor in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, while the anonymous obituaries which were written for the RAHS and for the Society of Australian Genealogists give only tantalizing glimpses of the man. Furthermore, in her sketch of the history of the RAHS between 1955 and 1985, Hazel King somehow fails to mention him at all.³

So I thought that it would be proper to devote this Presidential Address to a predecessor whose papers have so serendipitously come into my custody. And I am very glad that I took this decision, because Harold Arthur MacLeod Morgan has turned out to share my own enthusiasms and priorities in ways which I had not anticipated and, more important, his legacy to the RAHS is more lasting and more substantial than seems to have been recognized.

He was ahead of his time in writing localized history both from a wide range of contemporary evidence and from an intimate knowledge of the area. His long-term interest in the Putty Road stemmed from his wartime experience as a Major at Singleton army base, at the northern end of the old Bulga Road.⁴ He had a passion not just for geography but for the evidence of the built environment: he was deeply concerned with the challenges facing Australia's cultural heritage in the 1950s and 1960s. At the same time, he recognized the critical value of local historical societies and, along with Doug Bowd, the formidable Secretary of the Hawkesbury Historical Society, he was responsible for the first major meeting which brought together the societies affiliated to the RAHS. Still in the twenty-first century, the Society's annual conference of affiliates is one of its most significant services to New South Wales history. I am sure that I have not been alone in overlooking the role of MacLeod Morgan in the founding of our annual conference. Partly we forget because the President was too ill to attend the first conference in July 1961 and it fell to his distinguished Vice-President, Rae Else-Mitchell, to chair the meeting and to make the subsequent report to the Council. So it is Else-Mitchell who figures in Mari Metzke's discussion of the origins of the conference in our centenary publication, Much Writing, Many Opinions.⁵ But it had been MacLeod Morgan at his first meeting of the Council as President, in March 1961, who had declared as his policy priority the organisation of:

an initial week-end congress of representatives [from affiliated societies] to 'show' them History House, and to discuss the mutual problems in the operations of our and their Societies.⁶

MacLeod Morgan's concern for local historical societies and heritage issues seems first to have taken practical public expression in the mid-1950s. In 1955 he was elected a founding member of the Blue Mountains History House Management Committee, which managed Tarella at Wentworth Falls, presented to the Blue Mountains Historical Society by Beryl McLaughlin. From 1957 until 1961 he was a vigorous Vice-President of the Blue Mountains society.⁷

He was a foundation member of the Hawkesbury Historical Society when it was founded in 1956. Since I too am a member of the Hawkesbury Historical Society executive and happen to live partly in Windsor, I have easy access to that Society's minute-books, which are now safely in the Regional Museum. As a result I know more in detail about MacLeod Morgan's activities there than in some of his other local societies. Although he was not present at the inaugural meeting in September 1956, that meeting invited him to be the Society's first guest lecturer and he duly delivered the inaugural lecture on 19 October, talking about George Meares Countess Bowen. He figured in Hawkesbury's first full annual programme in 1957, talking on Bells Line of Road, and a MacLeod Morgan lecture was an annual event until 1961. In September 1957, he was elected to the Hawkesbury Society's Council and served conscientiously for five years until in 1962 the constitution was altered to eliminate ordinary Councillors.8

He was one of those who paid for the set of *Historical Records of Australia*, the first major enterprise of the new Society, donated by them to the municipal Library of Windsor for the greater benefit of the neighbourhood. He was the judge for the inaugural local historical essay competition in 1957 and led his first excursion of many to Kurrajong and Mount Tomah in 1958, followed by one to the Colo Valley in 1959 and one to Lithgow in 1960. He and Doug Bowd between them launched the public appeal in 1960 to restore the remarkable gravestone erected in St Matthew's cemetery in Windsor by Governor Macquarie in memory of Andrew Thompson. Local people raised enough money for the restoration, although the RAHS wrote a firm letter, declining to make any contribution at all. It was in conjunction with Doug Bowd that MacLeod Morgan inaugurated the affiliated societies' conference in the following year. I had a long talk the other day with a lady, the foundation Treasurer, who served with MacLeod Morgan both on the Hawkesbury Society's Council and on the small Committee planning the sesquicentenary of the five Macquarie towns in 1959. She recalls him well after fifty years, with his trim person, reticent manner, gentle, dry sense of humour and punctilious regularity.¹⁰

This all helps to give something of the flavour of the man and his motivation. Although many of his energies were directed towards the Hawkesbury and the Blue Mountains, he was also by 1963 a member of at least three other country societies, Illawarra, Lithgow and Nepean, as well as Hunters Hill, Parramatta and Manly.¹¹

MacLeod Morgan did not live in the Mountains nor on the Hawkesbury. A bachelor, he lived with his mother in Cremorne and Neutral Bay until she died in 1961. Mrs Morgan had accompanied him to historical meetings and an eye-witness told me that 'she seemed to be guarding him'. After her death, he moved to a flat in Mosman.¹² So his contributions to history in Wentworth Falls and Windsor, in Wollongong and Emu Plains, involved an indefatigable zeal for travel. In the box which I was given, there are his last two diaries, for 1963 and 1964. They show how virtually every weekend was occupied with historical excursions or preparations for excursions. The diaries do not survive before 1963, but they would surely have shown that in the 1950s he was combining this outdoor activity with painstaking research in the Mitchell Library, which at that time contained also the state archives. The evidence for this impressive documentary research is in the thorough annotation of his eight major articles, all published between 1956 and 1959, as well as four substantial, unpublished but fully footnoted papers which I found in the manuscript collection of the RAHS.¹³

These scholarly papers are still necessary reading and I am arranging for the publication of some of the manuscript material in relevant journals. The substance of these articles was aired in lectures given to local societies, usually but not always prior to publication,¹⁴ but it is significant that MacLeod Morgan sought out the *JRAHS* and *The Australian Genealogist* as his means of communication with the wider circle of those interested in the nineteenth-century history of Australia.

Alongside his commitments to local historical groups, MacLeod Morgan threw himself energetically into the running of both the Society of Australian Genealogists and the RAHS. He joined SAG as a life member in November 1954. He was elected to the Council of SAG at the end of 1956, filling a casual vacancy, succeeded Colin Berckelman as Director of SAG Excursions in 1957 and became joint Director of Lectures in the following year.¹⁵ At the same time, he was Treasurer of the RAHS from 1955 until 1959, and in 1960 he took over the Treasurership of SAG, where he also served as Assistant Treasurer in 1962 and 1963.¹⁶

Now accepting the position of Treasurer was very natural. MacLeod Morgan was an accountant and a company secretary. His interest in the Illawarra Historical Society came from his position as secretary to coal companies serving Port Kembla steel works and he was flying to Melbourne regularly in 1963 and 1964 to attend the board meetings of Broken Hill Associated Smelters.¹⁷ Like many good historians, he did not have a university degree and was the best sort of dedicated amateur.

But while he freely gave his professional services as an accountant to both SAG and the RAHS, he had wider leadership ambitions. In 1960 he became Vice-President of SAG and continued in that role when he was elected to the Presidency of the RAHS in 1961.

The 1961 election at the RAHS is not without interest. MacLeod Morgan had not stood for re-election as Treasurer in 1960 and was not a member of the RAHS Council at all that year. At the 1961 elections, Alex Chisholm did not seek re-election after two years as RAHS President. He nominated Allan Bax, the retiring Vice-President, as his successor and this was seconded by Alan Shaw. But the election was contested, for MacLeod Morgan was put up by Archibald Gray, the retiring Secretary, Principal of Balmain Teachers' College and another founding member of Hawkesbury Historical Society. Morgan defeated Bax in the election and Gray soon became the RAHS Research Officer.¹⁸

MacLeod Morgan had a difficult year in 1961. He fell ill in May, had a major operation and was unable to attend the RAHS Council meetings for four consecutive months. And just as he was convalescing in August, his mother died. His father was presumably dead and MacLeod's only sibling, a sister, seems to have been absent from the scene. A relapse into ill-health in October 1961 is very understandable, but before his doctor restricted his activities, he had signed the letter appointing Chisholm, on a part-time basis, to the position of salaried General Secretary of the RAHS, which had been vacant for six years.¹⁹ This far-sighted action led directly to the appointment of Harry Harper on a fulltime basis in 1963 and lasting changes to the running of the RAHS. Mari Metzke is an unwitting part of MacLeod Morgan's legacy to the Society.

In November 1961 MacLeod Morgan seemed to recover his health and at once took a leading role in brokering useful contacts among historical societies. Under the guise of a excursion organized by the Nepean District Historical Society, an interesting group of local societies, including Blue Mountains, Hawkesbury and Lithgow, met at Glenroy near Hartley. MacLeod Morgan attended, wearing as his principal hat the Presidency of the RAHS. When 'proposals were made for some joint association of the represented bodies for advancing historical interests', MacLeod Morgan assured the delegates of the Royal's interest and asked to be kept informed.²⁰ This was quite separate from the annual conference, although clearly related to that meeting four months earlier. Although the Glenroy initiative of 1961 did not immediately prosper, it did encourage the same

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local societies and two others to meet again in Springwood in March 1962. The agenda was now more specific, announcing the aim of sharing speakers, arranging excursions and generally assisting each other.²¹

MacLeod Morgan was certainly aware of this meeting: he signed the minutes of the Hawkesbury Historical Society which recorded it. But it does not seem to have led anywhere in particular in the 1960s, but it all bears a strong resemblance to the creation forty-five years later of BMACHO, the Blue Mountains Association of Cultural Organisations. At this Katoomba meeting in 2006 I played the role which MacLeod Morgan had played at Glenroy on behalf of the RAHS. And it is, of course, membership of BMACHO which has driven me to take a belated interest in Morgan himself.

Early in 1962 MacLeod Morgan was re-elected unopposed as President of the RAHS, with Rae Else-Mitchell as his Vice-President. There seems to have been no attempt by anyone to take advantage of the President's unavoidable absences in 1961 with the object of undermining his position. As President, Morgan had the great pleasure of opening the new Hawkesbury Historical Society's Museum in March 1962 and he was able to resume his successful excursions: those were the days when a drawcard visit to Kurrajong under MacLeod Morgan could bring out 100 members in two buses and numerous cars.²²

But early in 1963 a recurrence of illness seems to have prevented MacLeod Morgan from seeking re-election to the RAHS Council in any capacity and he was succeeded as President by Allan Bax, whom he had challenged successfully in 1961.²³ There was no abating of Morgan's interest in history, although after February 1963 his only executive role in any society seems to have been his minor involvement with SAG as its Assistant Treasurer.

Instead his private life became much more impelling. He had been close to his mother. But she had died in 1961

and was buried in the cemetery of St Stephen's Anglican church outside Kurrajong in a grave which enjoys one of the great views of the Cumberland Plain from the Mountain foothills. Her son's diaries of 1963 and 1964 show an equally strong absorption in his relationship with Wilga Smart, who lived and worked in Sydney, and his friendship with her family in Mount Irvine and her associates in Mount Wilson. On Monday 16 March 1964 he bought the wedding ring; on Thursday 26 March he was in Mount Irvine, on Tuesday 31 March he listened to Professor Murray Kemp's RAHS lecture on Anthony Fenn Kemp, heard a paper at Lane Cove Historical Society on Friday 3 April, went back up to Mount Irvine next day and was back in his Mosman flat on Sunday 5 April.²⁴ When he did not appear for work on the Monday, his fiancée was informed and she found him quietly dead in his favourite armchair. They were to have been married in Mount Wilson five days later.²⁵

This is the desperately sad context of the box of MacLeod Morgan papers which I was given forty-five years later. I have benefited from getting to know something of this elusive man. The President of the Hawkesbury Historical Society, V.W. Gillespie, told the Society that MacLeod Morgan 'had gazed into the mirror of the past and we have all benefited from his researches'²⁶. The Society of Australian Genealogists reminded its members of Morgan's attachment to his old school, Shore, and to his Freemasonry. Morgan found time for many Masonic activities. On the inside back cover of his 1963 diary, MacLeod Morgan lists all nine lodges which he joined between 1949 and 1960 and there was a strong Masonic presence at his funeral in Chatswood. He was buried in a grave adjacent to his mother's at St Stephen's, Kurrajong.

I visited the Morgan graves on Sunday and was struck by the appropriateness of the environmental setting.

Ten months after his death, the Place-Names Committee of the Blue Mountains National Park Trust met and



MacLeod Morgan opening the Hawkesbury Historical Society Museum in 1962. [Photo: Hawkesbury Library and Hawkesbury Historical Society]

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approved a suggestion by Myles Dunphy that the memory of MacLeod Morgan should be honoured. Morgan had been a founding Trustee of the Blue Mountains National Park and had an enviable reputation for his knowledge of the history of the Blue Mountains and especially the Kurrajong area. Accordingly a tributary of Burralow Creek and an adjacent eminence in rough country near the Grose River to the south-west of Kurrajong were on 5 February 1965 named MacLeod Creek and Mount MacLeod Morgan. The citation, in Dunphy's neat italic hand, says:

Named after the late H.A. MacLeod Morgan, business executive (coal industry), historian, late President of Royal Aust. Historical Society, foundation trustee of Blue Mountains National Park, specialist in Blue Mountains history.²⁸

His grave looks across Mount MacLeod Morgan down to the coastal plain: no memorial could be more appropriate. No other President of the RAHS has given his or her name to either a creek or a mountain: a park certainly, but not a mountain. I am glad that MacLeod Creek and Mount MacLeod Morgan now appear on the 1:25000 map of Kurrajong²⁹ and I am gladder still to have been impelled through the tragic story which brought a box of his papers into my hands to have made the acquaintance of Harold Arthur MacLeod Morgan, historian and gentleman.

- Florence Smart, 'Wilga Smart', Mt Wilson & Mt Irvine Historical Society Newsletter, 19, February 2009, 15-16; Florence Smart and Michael Smart, eulogy at Wilga Smart's funeral, 11 August 2008; Wilga Smart, 'A Moment not Forgotten', Mt Wilson Historical Society [Newsletter], 5, October 1999, 11.
- 2 He was born on 20 March 1914 and died on 23 February 1964.
- 3 Royal Australian Historical Society, Newsletter, no.23, March 1964, 2-3; Society of Australian Genealogists, Descent, 2 ii, 1964, 33-34; Hazel King, 'The Royal Australian Historical Society 1901-2001, part II: Growth and Change: the Society 1955-1985', in Alfred James, ed., Much Writing, Many Opinions: the Making of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 1901-2001, published as Journal of Royal Australian Society, 87 ii, June 2001, 32-43.
- 4 Interview with Miss Lorna Campbell in Windsor, 18 April 2009.
- 5 Mari Metzke, 'Affiliated Societies of the RAHS', in James, ed., Much Writing, Many Opinions, 105.
- 6 RAHS Archives, Council Minute-Books, ser.1/14/11, 24 March 1961.
- 7 Alan Tierney, Blue Mountains Historical Society: a Golden Jubilee History, 1946-1996, Blue Mountains Historical Society, Wentworth Falls 1996, 32, 69.

- 8 Hawkesbury Historical Society, Minute-Book 1, 2, 3, 7, 12; Hawkesbury Historical Society, Annual Report and Balance Sheet, 1957-8, 1958-9, 1959-60, 1960-1, 1961-2, 1962-3.
- 9 Oxbro: Journal of the Hawkesbury Historical Society, 2, May 1957, 4; Hawkesbury Historical Society, Minute-Book 1, 32, 34, 48, 64, 88, 92, 99, 100, 120, 144.
- 10 Interview with Miss Lorna Campbell in Windsor, 19 April 2009.
- 11 H.A. MacLeod Morgan, Diary for 1963.
- 12 RAHS, Newsletter, no.23, March 1964, 2; Morgan, Diary for 1964; interview with Miss Lorna Campbell in Windsor, 18 April 2009.
- 13 RAHS, Manuscripts, Red M 252, 255.
- 14 MacLeod Morgan's first lecture to the Hawkesbury Historical Society in October 1956 was described on the minutes (7) as 'published in "The Australian Genealogist", September, 1956'.
- Australian Genealogist, 7 ii, February 1955, 151; 8 vi, December 1956, 131, 166; 8 xi, March 1958, 294.
- 16 James, ed., Much Writing, Many Opinions, 8; Descent, 1 i, 1961, 30; 1 iii, 1962, 32; 1 iv, 1963, 32.
- 17 RAHS, Newsletter, no.23, March 1964, 2; Sydney Morning Herald, 24 February 1956, 22; Morgan, Diaries for 1963 and 1964.
- 18 RAHS Archives, Council Minute-Books, ser.1/14/11, 31 January 1961; Anne-Maree Whitaker, 'Biographical Notes on Fellows of the RAHS', in James, ed., Much Writing, Many Opinions, 73-74.
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Australian Church History Festival May 23rd, 2009 at Moore College ~ 9.30am-4pm

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Dr Ruth Frappell – 'Bush Church Aid: aspioneer of women's ministry in Australia.'

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HISTORY June 2009 5

The Hawkesbury Women Mary Cross (nee Davidson)

By Richard Gillard

Nae mair wi a bricht kerchief rowed roon her heid Bonnie lass by bonnie lass eidently bends Owre the lang row o fairlins doon the quayside Wi piles o glitterin herrin at her quick finger ends.¹

By Hugh MacDiarmid

As part of Mary Davidson's life story, we will explore her early life to see if Mary was a Herring Girl before she was incarcerated for stealing.

Family Researchers tracing Mary Davidson have identified a Mary Davidson who was born on April 30, 1767, and christened on May 10, 1767, in Ceres, Fife, Scotland.² The parents of this Mary Davidson were John Davidson and Isabel Foreman. The question concerning Mary Davidson is how in the 1780s did she travel approximately 126 miles from Ceres, Fife, Scotland to Alnwick in England?



Figure 1: Google Search, distance from Ceres Scotland to Alnwick England, accessed 13 October 2023

An email response was received from the Alnwick Historical Society regarding how Mary might have travelled 194 miles between the two towns. The Society's Secretary suggested that people moved around quite frequently in that era and the most likely method of transport was by horse and cart. A further response was received from Michael Grant, who is a collection volunteer at the Balliffgate Museum, Alnwick, who offered several solutions as to how Mary may have travelled to Alnwick. The first option was that she could have walked, which would have taken her a couple of weeks and cost her nothing. If Mary had some funds, then if she made her way to Edinburgh, there would be a regular coach service between Edinburgh and Alnwick. Third, she may have travelled by sea as Ceres is only seven miles from St. Andrews, a fishing town, and Alnmouth, a busy seaport, only four miles away from Alnwick. Michael also suggested that she may have been one of the *"Herring Girls"* who worked their way down the coast from Scotland through Northumberland during the year as the herring shoals moved south, gutting fish and earning good money.



Figure 2. The Fisher Lass.⁴

Over the course of the year, the herring migrated to new breeding grounds, so the best place to sail from to catch them would change depending on the time of year. Scotland and northern England in Spring down to the coast of East Anglia in the Autumn.³

If Mary was a *Herring Girl*, she would have worked in a team of three or four girls standing in a quagmire of mud and fish guts. The team of girls gut the herrings, place them in a barrel, and salt the herrings. Mary would have been paid according to the number of barrels of herrings they filled in a day. As Mary travelled down the coast she would have stayed in a hut or in a *"bothy"* with the rest of her team. Mary may have been a *Herring Girl* for a number of years, as Scottish girls as young as fourteen were contracted to be a *Herring Girl*.

The spring migration of the herrings from Scotland to the area of Northumberland coast near Alnwick probably accounted for Mary being in Alnwick, committing the theft, and then being tried at the summer session of the Northumberland Assizes.

Research has not been able to find another suitable Mary Davidson born around 1767 who resided close to Alnwick, England. Michael Grant's suggestion that she could have been a "*Herring Girl*" is a distinct possibility. Accepting the assumption that this is the Mary Davidson, we are researching, we will continue exploring her story.

The next we find out about Mary when she is arrested and tried for stealing at the Northumberland Assizes in the summer of 1788. A summary of her court case is:



Figure 3. Photograph of Herring Girls⁵

Mary Davidson was indicted as Davison when she stood trial at the Northumberland Summer Assize in 1788 for theft. Mary was accused of stealing ten muslin handkerchiefs and 16 yards of taffety silk from Alice Redhead who operated a milliner just off Clayport Street, Alnwick. Mary was stopped in Clayport Street, Alnwick, as she was seen to be acting suspiciously. Ann carried two bundles, and when they were opened, the clothing inside the bundles was identified as stolen from Redhead's shop. Mary was found guilty and was sentenced to seven years transportation⁶.



Figure 4: Clayport area of Alnwick, late 18th Century⁷

Mary was held in the county goal until shortly before April 26, 1789, when she was placed onboard the *Lady Juliana* for transportation to Australia. Records show that Mary was only 20 years old when she boarded *Lady Juliana*. Little did Mary realise what lay before her in this new colony and what her life was about to become. She would have been amazed if she knew that with her husband to be, John Cross, would create the Cross Family Dynasty.

It is not known how Mary fared on the voyage of the *Lady Juliana*. Did she take up with one of the sailors for the voyage, did she participate in the frolics with the other convict women aboard when they reached a port of call or did she befriend other convict women aboard the vessel and caused no trouble on the voyage? We will never know the answers to these questions other than to say that she arrived safely in Sydney Cove on June 3, 1790.

Mary was not one of the female convicts sent to Norfolk Island and it is possible that she was assigned to 1st Lieutenant James Furzer who came to Australia aboard the *Alexander* as part of the First Fleet. 1st Lieutenant Furzer was the quarter master of the marines aboard the *Alexander*. Also aboard the *Alexander* was a convict named John Cross who had been convicted at the New Sarum Assize held in Salisbury on March 5, 1785 of stealing one wether sheep valued at 20 shillings.

For this crime John Cross was sentenced to death, later commuted to seven years transportation. John was held for two years on the prison hulk *Ceres* before being transferred to the *Alexander*⁸ for transportation to Australia.

So be respectively _____ otherwise called (Sried and Convicted at the same time and -hansported beyond the _____ ohn Lamb ... ____ place of stealing m' a Quelling House Joas for soven years, John Croft Sried and Convicted at the same time and -hlace of Sheen stealing. -Figure 5: Transportation Order for John Cross

John most likely met 1st Lieutenant James Furzer on the voyage to Australia, for it is apparent that John went to work on the land which had been assigned to 1st Lieutenant James Furzer near Long Cove. In April 1790, when John was walking to work, he apprehended a thief on Lieutenant Furzer's property. At the trial of Thomas Hartford, John testified:

"At 7 o'clock on the morning of Saturday, April 10, 1790 whilst on his way to work, John encountered Thomas Harford, who tried to avoid being seen. His suspicion aroused, John asked him what he was doing, to which he replied he'd been to collect cockles. Remarking that it was too late to get cockles, John questioned him further, whereupon Halford ran off. Priming his pistol, and threatening to blow Halford's brains out, John gave chase and somehow managed to get ahead of him, where he lay in wait. As Halford approached, John jumped up and held him at pistol-point, ordering him to give up what he had. Halford, either with little regard for his life or confident that John wouldn't shoot him, challenged him several times to fire but John refused (in his deposition at Halford's trial, John stated at this point that he "didn't like to fire"). Eventually John persuaded him to accompany him to [marine private] John Howell's hut near the brick kilns, and after a further attempt to escape, with John again threatening to shoot, they reached Howell's hut. John and Howell, finding Halford's pockets full of potatoes, finally took him to the watch house and handed him over to the man of the watch."¹⁰

There is a possibility that John may have already been married in 1781 to a Keren Happuch Burden¹¹. The marriage took place at Semley, Wiltshire, which is approximately 3.3 miles from East Knoyle, Wiltshire, where John was born.

Mary may also have been assigned to 1st Lieutenant Furzer and this may have been how Mary and John met. No record can be found of Mary and John officially marrying, although by 1793 they were certainly living together. In some records she is referred to as his partner or common-law wife. It is not certain who John was working for in 1793 as 1st Lieutenant James Furzer returned to England aboard the *Gorgon* in December 1791.

It is believed that John and Mary lived close to Sydney Cove as their first child, Elizabeth, was born on 1 April 1794 and was baptised in Sydney on 29 June 1794¹². Shortly after Elizabeth's birth, the family moved to the Field of Mars renting a farm from a Thomas Cottrell, the locality now known as Rydalmere. John rented a farm from a Thomas Cottrell. By August 27, 1798, John was in debt to Thomas Cottrell for 37 pounds and 15 shillings for outstanding rent, grain, and a promissory note. John must have cleared this debt, for John and Mary two years later were renting a farm on the at Mulgrave Place, owning six hogs and had 3 acres sown with wheat and six acres ready for sowing maize. On June 4, 1804, Governor Philip Gidley King granted John 100 acres of land at Sussex Reach on Hawkesbury River.

By the time this land grant was received, Mary had already given birth to John Thomas (1796), William (1797), David (1797), David 1799), John (1801), Alexander (1803). However, Elizabeth died in 1796.



Figure 6: John Cross 100-acre land grant at Sussex Reach.¹³

Living conditions on their 100-acre grant would have been very basic in the initial years. John would have had to build a slab hut very quickly to house Mary and the children. Mary Ann Cross was born on January 2, 1806, just three months before the March 1806 flooding of the Hawkesbury River occurred. This flood devastated John and Mary, losing all their good work in the past 20 months to establish their home and farm, particularly as they had a newborn baby girl and were living in primitive conditions on their farm.

An extract from the March 30, 1806, edition of the *Sydney Gazette* and *New South Advertiser* (NSW 1903-1842) described the drama of the day:

"The day heavy and gloomy, the night fast approaching, torrents of rain pouring with unabating fury; and not a house except at Green Hill to be seen, the roofs of one or two of the highest on the opposite side of the water being then only visible. Muskets were discharged by the settlers from trees and roofs all day, and great numbers had been taken up, and left safely on higher grounds, but many were devoted to undergo a night of horror the most inexpressible in the evening the dismal cries from distant quarters... Nearly three hundred persons, saved from the deluge by the humane perseverance and incredible exertions of the rescuer's."¹⁴

It is very likely that the flood and the conditions in which they lived caused the premature deaths of James (b. January 7, 1796), and John (b. October 6, 1801) in 1806. Mary and John were able to recover as the General Muster of October 1806 shows that they had the following acreage under planting:

Wheat	12 acres	Maize	6 acres
Barley	1 acre	Potatoes	¹ / ₂ acre
Orchard	1 acre	Pastures	79 ½ acres
Total Acres	100 acres	Hogs	8

The 1806 Muster also shows that John and Mary were living on the farm with 4 children and one paid worker.



Figure 7: 1806 Convict Muster.¹⁵

Mary and John were blessed with the birth of two daughters, Ann born August 16, 1808 and Sarah born January 8, 1812. In all, Mary and John had nine children, however, only six survived being William, David, Alexander, Mary Ann, Mary and Sarah.

Financial problems surfaced in early 1812, forcing John to sell some of his wheat by public auctions.

SALE BY AUCTION

THE PROVOST MARSHALL will cause to be Set up for SALE by PUBLIC AUCTION, a Quantity of growing Wheat, the Property of the said John Cross (unless the Execution thereon be previously superseded).

Figure 8: Notice of Sale by Auction December 12, 1812¹⁶

John's financial affairs continued to deteriorate during 1812 and he was forced by year end to sell more of his wheat to meet his debts. Mary must have been extremely concerned about their financial situation as she had six children to raise and assist on the farm whenever she could.

When John turned up to the 1812 Muster, he was informed, along with another 115 ex-convict residents of the Hawkesbury, that they needed to produce written confirmation of their freedom or risk being recalled to government work as convicts. This request caused great consternation among affected ex-convicts. A letter was immediately prepared to the government explaining their dilemma, as most had lost their records in the floods of the Hawkesbury River.

the Inhabitants of this Colony, securally Susone who had originally come ento it a Consiste reported theme were at the said elluste as free, either by Servitade or by Parton, or being allowed to employ themselow for their non Benefit by the oficial Complain g This Pacillency the Doveener; and who several of the Bearns who thus retor hed themselves dis not produce any Certificate, Thee Cardon, Emancipation, or dichet Leave, without wohich the Thut of their dail Statemente could not be artisfacto nily ascertained; and there deiny much de ion to delive that elipovition is frega ly practices in this despect, the tame of those ansons who at the late elleste did not produce and Certificate, The Can ton, Pinancipation, or Fishet of Leave, but who represented the mocloces abortately pu a conditionally do, by tilus of one or The of the above named - Documente, conow publiched, in Order that cach of that Courses may be apprived that unly tic or one do, in the Concere of dix ellow the from the present Date, othain at the Secu tany's Office, cither a certified copy of deal Certificate, The Cardon, Emancipation, " Fichet of Leave, as they represented them selver to have acen once populied for in the Event of his or her having actually lost the Original, they will be convibered as Im postore, and immediately rualled to So ernment that as Imvide will under the dentines of the Law.

Figure 9: Copy of Letter to the Government in respect of lost documents¹⁷

The Colonial Secretary responded that each person affected could apply to the Colonial Secretary's Office on the first Monday of the month to seek new copies of their documents. It is assumed that John applied for his new documents because he died a free man December 24, 1824.

And the foregoing Firsons are hereby appeiris, that the proper Time to apply at the Secretary's Office for the obtaining any of the above Documente, is the first Monday in each Month. By Command of this Excellency, (Signer) J. J. Campbell. Suretary.

Figure 10: Colonial Secretary Response to Hawkesbury Ex-convicts Letter¹⁸

The lean years for the family continued until John was left with no option but to sell 30 acres of his land to John Doyle for 100 pounds. This transaction took place on February 9, 1816, and probably helped John and Mary get on their feet again. By this time, John would have had help in running the farm from his sons William (14 years old) and David (aged 12). A young Alexander (aged 8 years) assisted his mother, Mary, with farmyard chores.

Little did Mary realise that she and John had created a family dynasty, linking her family with prominent Hawkesbury families including the Cobcroft, Cavanough, Herps, Douglas, Stallard and Dougherty families. Mary and John's surviving children of their family married and had the following children:

<u>William Cross</u> Married: Children: Married:	Born: October 2, 1797. Died: February 18, 1845 Elizabeth Stallard, May 10, 1819. Mary Ann (1819-1882), Isabella Elizabeth (1838-1920). Charlotte Benson, October 31, 1844.
<u>David George Charles Cross</u> Married: Children:	Born: June 5, 1799 Died: December 16, 1869 Charlotte Elizabeth Johnson, September 25, 1836. John (1823-1859). David (1825-1925), Charlotte (1827-1931), Thomas James (1829-1904), Mary Ann (1831-1892), Ann (1833-1879), William Alexander (1835-1905), Alexander George (1837-1909), Elizabeth S. (1839-1917), David George Charles (1841-1891).
<u>John Cross</u> Married: Children:	Born: October 3, 1801 Died: July 3, 1859. Jane Day, 1824. Charles (1824-?), Eliza (1826-?), George (1827-?), Charlotte (1830-?).
<u>Alexander Cross</u> Married: Children:	Born: September 26, 1803 Died: June 16. 1886. Elizabeth Riley, May 4, 1827. Mary Ann (1826-1829), William John (1828-1906), Elizabeth Ann (1830-1866), Matilda (1832-1880).
<u>Mary Ann Cross</u> Married: Children:	Born: January 2, 1806 Died: April 26, 1873. Richard William Cobcroft, October 27, 1829. George Alexander (1830-1879), James Wylliam(1832-1909), David (1834-1908), Thomas (1836-1860), John Frederick (1838-1878), Ann Jane (1839-1922), Henry (1841-1879), Charles Albert (1843-1871), Alfred Earnest (1846-1874), Mary Ann Elizabeth (1848-1929), Emily Louisa (1853-1886).
<u>Ann Cross</u> Married: Children:	Born: August 16, 1808 Died: October 20, 1880. Richard Cavanough, September 17, 1827. Richard John (1828-1876), Sarah (1831-1908), Sophia Isabella (1833-1894), William David (1834-1885), John Alexander (1836-1898), Henry Schofield (1838-1877), Ann (1839-1866), Mary Ann (1840-1922), Frederick Samuel (1840-1923), James George (1845-1898), Charles Innes Declair (1847-1921), Harry Scofield (1849-1851), Robert Joseph (1849-1928), Rebecca (1851-1851).
<u>Sarah Cross</u> Married: Children:	Born: January 8, 1812 Died: December 18, 1829. John Brown Herps, May 5, 1827. Sarah (1827-1912), John Brown (1827-1861).

John passed away on December 24, 1824, at the age of 68 years. He was buried at St. Mathews Church, Windsor on December 27, 1824. The family reported that John died of a poor man.

Mary survived John by three years, finally passing away on December 13, 1827, at the age of 59 years of age. Mary would have limited opportunity to enjoy her grandchildren as only 8 had been born by the time she died. Mary would have been ecstatic if she knew that her family grew to forty-four grandchildren. Mary was buried alongside her husband John at St. Matthews Church, Windsor. The descendants of Mary and John had a small brass memorial made and placed on their grave sites.

Mary had lived a difficult life, from the time she was imprisoned, transported across the sea to an unknown land, married, gave birth to ten children losing three children at an early age, suffered floods and drought, worked the farm with her husband, troubled by the continual financial problems of her husband, and yet most probably lived a more fulfilling life in Australia than she would have lived in England. Mary contributed significantly to the building of the fledging English colony. Mary certainly was a Hawkesbury Woman.



Figure 11: Mary and John's Memorial, St, Matthews Church, Windsor

¹ Shetland Museum & Archives, Hugh MacDiarmid, extract from poem "Colla Firth in Winter", <u>hugh-macdiarmid-poetry.pdf</u> (shetlandmuseumandarchives.org.uk), accessed November 8, 2023

² Scotland's, Birth and Baptisms, 1564-1590, Family Search, https"//familysearch.org/pal/MM9.1.1/XBXJ-FJF, accessed 13 October 2023.

³ The Fisher Lass c.1914, artist John McGhie (1867-1952), Scottish Fisheries Museum, accessed 26 October 2023.

⁴. The herring Girls, July 31, 2006, Girl Museum, <u>https://www.girlmuseum.org/herring-girl</u>, accessed November 4, 2023.

⁵ The Fisher Girls – Lowestoft Fishing Heritage – The Fisher Girls Journey Around Britain, YouTube, <u>https://youtu.be/ye5gAa4TYjg</u>, accessed November 4, 2023.

⁶ Michael Flynn, The Second Fleet: Britain's Grim Armada of 1790, page 234, accessed 2023.

⁷ Clayport area of Alnwick, artist unknown, Balliffgate Museum, Alnwick, accessed by email from Michael Grant 28 October 2023.

⁸ Ancestry.com.au, New South Wales, Australia, Settlers and Convict Lists 1787-1834, page 6, accessed 19 October 2023.

⁹ Ancestry.com.au, UK, Criminal Records, 1780 – 1871, page 557, accessed 17 October 2023.

¹⁰ WikiTree, John Cross (1757-1824), author Prothero, Lorraine, Cross: his mark, 1987, John Cross (1757-1824) | WikiTree FREE Family Tree, accessed November 8, 2023.

¹¹ Ancestry.com.au, England Select Marriages, 1538-1973, accessed 18 October 2023.

¹² Ancestry.com.au, Australia, Births and baptisms, 1792-1981, for Elizabeth Cross, FHL Film Number 388335, accessed 19 October 2023.

¹³ Ancestry.com.au, New South Wales, Australia, Register of Land Grant and Leases, 1792-1867, for John Cross, page 213, accessed 21 October 2023.

¹⁴ Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser (NSW 1803-1842), Sunday 30 March 1806, page 2, accessed 28 October 2023.

¹⁵ Ancestry.com.au, New South Wales and Tasmania, Australian Convict Muster, 1806-1849, New South Wales>General Muster>1806, pages 19-20, accessed 5 November 2023.

¹⁶ Trove.nla.gov.au, The Sydney gazette; and New South Wales Advertiser, Saturday, December 12, 1812, Number 468, accessed November 5, 2023.

¹⁷ Ancestr.com.au, New South Wales, Australia, Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788-1856, Special Bundles>1794-1825, page 430, accessed November 5, 2023.

¹⁸ IBID 15 page 432, accessed November 5, 2023.