



THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8

Summaries

8.0 The Women of the Great North Road

This article provides an overview of some of the key women figures associated with the Great North Road, spreading across a range of levels in society. These include Hester Simpson, Sarah Matthews, Eliza Dunlop and Mrs. Finch.

8.1 The Two Mrs. Dowlings (E.A. Roberts)

This article gives a background to the two wives of Judge Dowling. His first wife was Maria Sheen, who he married in London in 1814, and after her death twenty years later he married his second wife Harriet Ritchie. The article gives a history of their lives, and explains what became of their children.

8.2 Anne Morgan (nee St John) of Kissing Point & her assigned servant Maria Taylor (Fay O Donnell)

This article tells the story of Anne St John, who came out to the colony as an orphan. In 1821 she married Lewis Morgan and they lived near Bedlam Point Road. It also explains the life of her assigned servant Maria Taylor, who was a female convict.

8.3 The Wiseman Women (Elizabeth Roberts)

This article explores the women in Solomon Wiseman's life. He married twice, first Jane, and then Sophia. The movements and marriages of his daughters and their husbands are also explained, and some of their experiences are covered in more detail. Issues of insolvency are also discussed.

8.4 The Women of the Simpson Household (Elizabeth A. Roberts)

This article explores the lives of Percy Simpson's wife, Hester Simpson, their daughters, and female employees. Hester may have been lonely in this large house full of women, as none had her level of education or class.

8.5 Mary Devine (Elizabeth A. Roberts)

This article outlines the life of Mary Smith who came to the colony as a convict. She married Owen Devine in 1817 and settled on his land in the Hawkesbury. In 1824 she was widowed when Owen died of a heart attack. Mary had to take up new roles and harvest their land. The article refers to her connections with the Great North Road and Devines Hill.

8.6 Ann Caswell, Wisemans' Neighbour (Elizabeth A. Roberts)

This article explains the experience of Ann Caswell who was neighbour to Solomon Wiseman. After her husband's death, she faced alone the terrorising tactics of Wiseman who wanted Caswell's adjoining land.

8.7 An Unfortunate Emigrant (Elizabeth A. Roberts)

This article explores the plan implemented to overcome the shortage of women in the colony. It was advertised that women of good character were wanted to sail to New South Wales to join the colony. As it turned out, many of these women were in fact considered condemned by society ladies. One of the unfortunate emigrants was Sarah Henshall, who was later gang raped by Aborigines.

8.8 Eliza Dunlop – More than a Wife (Barbara Appleton)

When a magistrate was needed at Wollombi in 1839, David Dunlop was appointed. He brought with him his wife Eliza and their four children. This article explores some of Eliza's life, and particularly her poetry, which reflects upon her experiences and social and political debates of the time.

8.9 Sophia Budd (Elizabeth A. Roberts)

Sophia Budd was Spanish, and came to the colony with her husband Thomas Budd. She had followed him to the UK and India, but they finally settled in New South Wales. Sophia had six children, who are explained further in the article.

8.10 Frances Nixon nee Roach (Melody Jarvis nee Nixon)

Frances Roach was one of the emigrants who arrived in the colony to address the shortage of women. She soon gained employment as a nursemaid. She later married Thomas Nixon, and in 1839 they had a son. It is unknown how Thomas made a living for the family, but some of their descendants include some high profile personalities.

8.11 Molly Morgan, Who was she? (Elizabeth A. Roberts)

Molly Morgan is heavily associated with the beginnings of Maitland and as the Great North Road passed down the middle of Maitland, Molly Morgan is one of the women associated with the Great North Road. This article recalls her story.

8.12 Black Bombazine, Blue Gurrah and Cambric (Elizabeth A. Roberts)

This article is about clothing materials of the early 19th century that were advertised as available by merchants in the newspapers of the day. It explains the materials, their uses and the common styles of the time.

8.13 Rape (Elizabeth A. Roberts)

This article briefly explores the views on rape at the time and provides some examples of how rape was dealt with in the colony.

8.14 The Modern Women of the Great North Road

This article provides autobiographical responses from some of the modern women who have been associated with the Great North Road, including Joan Robinson, Grace Karskens, Lorraine Banks, Siobhan Lavelle, Elizabeth Roberts and Sarah Brookes.



8.15 Buttons (Elizabeth A. Roberts)

This brief article describes the types of buttons used by different people such as orphans, military and convicts.





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.0

The Women of the Great North Road

The women associated with the Great North Road range across the whole spectrum of society from the top to the bottom and all levels in between. The stories that have been the hardest to find are those of the bottom layers particularly wives of men sent to the Iron gangs. To date we have only found one story of a wife of an Iron gang convict Sarah Hatchman, her sad story was told in a previous Pick.

Judge Dowling's two wives represent the top layer of society. His second wife was the 2nd or 3rd lady in the colony when he was promoted to the chief justice and knighted.

Other ladies of society were Hester Simpson and Sarah Matthews, [excerpts from her diary relating to the Great North Road are published in an earlier Pick] Heneage Finch's wife and Eliza Dunlop. These four ladies all came to Australia with their husbands seeking opportunities better befitting their status than they would have had in Britain. One wonders what they really thought.

It is not known what happened to Mrs. Finch, all that can be found is a reference to Mrs. Finch sailing for England. Whether she was returning for a short visit or decided she could not stand NSW and despite the social odium of doing so was leaving her husband is not known. She may have died on the voyage to England or shortly after. What ever happened, her husband did not remarry and she is absent from any mention in the settlement of her husband's estate when he died in debt, gored by a bull. Sarah Matthews went on to a life in New Zealand where her husband held the position of Surveyor General in the fledgling colony.

Well educated Hester Simpson had a large family to care for, and constant worry of not enough money, and would her husband have a job. It is possible that the combination of a large family and straightened circumstances meant she did not often get to socialize with women of her own class and was very lonely whilst surrounded by people, hence her exhausting chatter that Sarah Mathew complained about.

These women had all grown up in genteel homes with connections to the landed gentry or the nobility. Brought up to be ladies, to manage households and be familiar with the genteel arts drawing, embroidery, music, and hand crafts. Those from less endowed households would also have been familiar with plain sewing, dressmaking and preserves. It was not an education that prepared them for the rigors of colonial life or dealing with convict servants.

These women were also new comers moving into an already established highly politicized society as Eliza Dunlop and Mrs. Finch were to find out. It was still a time of patronage and being half a world away from your patron and a twelve month return trip for letters did not work to one's advantage when there were problems.

Away from the world of patronage and genteel education was the rest of society and although numerically the much larger proportion of society, far less is recorded about them. For them Australia presented differently, to the native born it was all they knew, to the rest the forced and free immigrants, it was seen with different eyes to those of the genteel ladies. Here the climate was warmer and drier, convicts were fed regularly and with better food than was supplied in the work houses in England. They were also clothed in climatically suitable clothes. English plants grew more vigorously; the growing season was longer for fruit and vegetables. Here if she wanted to Jill could be as good as her mistress. By the late 1820s a number of the children of successful early arrived ex-convicts, ex-soldiers and working class settlers were crossing the boundaries into the lower ranks of the genteel classes.

In NSW with the large imbalance between the males and females meant the women, if they chose to exercise it, had the ability to choose.

The Great North Road was a long corridor and on the patches of fertile soil, were rooms inhabited by different groups of women, thrown together by various forces and at times restricted by social strictures, real and imagined from association. A study of the 1828 Census shows how few women had ventured beyond the bounds of civilization exemplified by Sydney, Parramatta Liverpool and Windsor. Although they probably did not think of themselves as such many of these women were pioneers.





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.1

The Two Mrs. Dowlings Elizabeth A Roberts

It is unlikely that either of Judge Dowling's wives ever saw or travelled along the mountain range that bears his name, but as the major mountain range the Great North Road traverses bears his name, his wives can be considered women connected to the Great North Road. Their lifestyle is an interesting counter point to the lives of most of the women connected to the Great North Road.

Judge Dowling married his first wife Maria Sheen, in London in 1814 when he was a Parliamentary Reporter, the year before he was called to the Bar. After her death twenty years later, he married, in September 1835, Harriet Ritchie, the widowed daughter of John Blaxland.⁽¹⁾

It would appear Maria and James were very much in love as they had nine children, in less than fourteen years, six of whom survived to make the voyage to Australia with their parents, arriving 24 February 1828. Very little is known of Maria as she mostly remained in the background of her husband's life. It is known she was pregnant on the trip to Australia, as in early May, she gave birth to a son Henry who with hydrocephalus or "water on the brain" was destined to a short and difficult life. He died on the 30 November not quite six months old.

During this time they were renting a house above Darling Harbour, on a block of land that ran between Kent and Sussex streets. This house commanded an annual rental of two hundred pounds per annum and contained an entrance hall, dining, drawing, and breakfast rooms, study, four bed rooms, store closet, and verandah rooms. The out offices consist of kitchen, servants' room, washhouse, an oven, a three stalled stable, men's room, coach house, a hay loft, and a well of excellent water. It was described as a 'cottage ornee' that is a villa on a small scale, generally low in proportion to its extent, and the roof had projecting eaves and there was generally a veranda round the house which was set in a picturesque garden. Into this accommodation was squeezed a household of 16 persons plus the baby Henry while he lived.

The household consisted of Maria and James, their other six children and the baby Henry while he lived. James' legal assistant or apprentice, his 18 year old nephew Willoughby James Dowling called to the bar in 1833; James' tipstaff Thomas Keving or (Kevins) and nursemaid Ann Bell who accompanied them from England. Their staff, acquired in Australia, were three female convicts, a cook, house maid and laundry maid as well as two male convicts, a gardener and servant. How they all fitted into the house, servant's quarters and man's room is not known.

They lived in the rented premises till their own house Brougham Hall was built, moving in about July 1831. James had built an eleven room stone house, with timber servants quarters, kitchen and facilities

on his 7 acre grant at Woolloomooloo. The land had a covenant on it that stated at least £1000 was to be spent on the buildings constructed. Throughout her life in Sydney, Maria had to practice the “parsimonious economy”, her husband considered necessary to eke out his salary to educate his children, live in suitable accommodation and keep out of debt.

The only time Maria appeared in the newspaper in her own right was, when as a respectable woman with a number of children, she was empanelled as part of a jury to say if a woman who was due to be hung was pregnant or not. It was about this time she was beginning to feel the effects of the long and painful illness that would kill her.

Knowing the probable outcome of the pain she was suffering, she cast around for a socially suitable woman to replace her, caring for her beloved husband and children. The pool of suitable women in Sydney was small. Her eye settled on Harriet Ritchie, a poor but well born widow, the elder sister of her son-in-law.

Harriet Ritchie after being stranded in India in desperate circumstances, returned with her three children to live with her parents John and Harriet Blaxland, from whom she had been separated since the age of fourteen. She was stripped of her house and funds in India, and house in Sydney, after the business her husband was a junior partner in collapsed leaving him to carry the blame. To add to her problems her husband had died on his way to England to seek help. Whilst her parents provided her with a home, it was a difficult situation for all concerned. The house her husband had purchased in Sydney was claimed to pay business debts, but she retained the land he had purchased as her marriage settlement. Maria after discretely grooming Harriet for the position, requested on her death bed that James and Harriet marry after she was gone. This they did after the required twelve months of mourning.

Harriet was only thirty five when she married James Dowling, nineteen years after her first marriage, and as no more children were forth coming it was probably a marriage of convenience for both parties.

Harriet’s mother, Harriet senior, was born in Calcutta to a wealthy trading family and her sister had married in India into another trading family. About age twelve Harriet had developed a severe teenage crush on a red coated military officer, who, as was custom was soon transferred to India. Two years later when her aunt in India wrote offering to have her in India to finish her education, and take her about in society, there being far more opportunities for a good marriage there than in Sydney. She accepted with alacrity to the surprise of her parents. She was secretly hoping to meet up with her officer, who, unbeknown to her had already fallen in a battle. In India, aged sixteen, tired of society she married her Uncle’s adopted nephew, Alexander MacDonald Richie, born Alexander Macdonald who on marriage was invited to become a partner in her Uncle’s company.

In India Harriett not only learnt the strict procedural hierarchy of government employees, and that the position of wives was attached to their husband’s status, but also how to dress in fashion, entertain, and manage large numbers of Indian servants. Although Harriett bought three additional children to the Dowling household to be educated and sent into the world, she came with a lot of skills helpful to Dowling as a puisne judge, and essential when he was promoted to be Chief Justice and knighted, promoting her to second lady in the colony. The Blaxland women were known to be fashion conscious and good dressers, a help with three young girls to bring up and see safely married.



The first few years of Harriet's second marriage would have been busy and difficult. The oldest Dowling daughter had married before her mother died, then died herself in childbirth, shortly after her mother. Harriet and her three children, Elizabeth eighteen, Arthur sixteen and Alexander fourteen, all with the middle name Macdonald, came from the difficult situation in the Blaxland seniors household to a house already shaken by two deaths. Shortly after Harriet arrived both Ann and James Sheen Dowling fell seriously ill, Ann succumbed and died on the 7 January, 1836, aged eighteen. James Sheen recovered but was ordered a long sea voyage to recuperate. He accompanied the Forbes family to England where he continued his law studies.



Top floor view of Brougham Hall Darlinghurst, Painting - Darlinghurst Road by Fredrick Garling, State Library of NSW.

Outside of the difficult Dowling household sphere there were other pressures being brought to bear. Chief Justice Forbes had requested twelve months leave of absence due to ill health in 1834, but did not sail till April 1836 and instead of Judge Dowling automatically being appointed in his place, as they both had expected, another judge claimed precinct for overseas service. Eventually Dowling was appointed on a temporary basis with the British Government saying neither had the right to expect the appointment. When Forbes was forced resigned in 1837 due to his ill health, there was a move to appoint the Chief Justice of Tasmania to the post, and send Dowling to Tasmania. Eventually in 1838 James Dowling was confirmed as the second chief justice of NSW and knighted.

During all this stress that James was suffering under, news came from England, first of James mother's death, then his elder sister, and Harriett was planning her daughter Elizabeth's marriage to Charles Boydell, an English settler and landholder nine years her senior. He had arrived as a twenty year old and worked as a superintendant for William Carter at Peircefield in the Hunter Valley before purchasing his own land. His main estate was 'Camyr Allyn' on the Allyn River. Charles Boydell had also purchased 'Rossett' at Patrick Plains in 1828 where he was a member of the Patrick Plains Turf Club and a steward at the races in 1836.

Charles and Elizabeth were married in Sydney in 1837 and eleven month later Elizabeth came home to her mother for the birth their first son Charles. In all Elizabeth gave Harriet seven Grandchildren, four grandsons and three granddaughters.



With the worst of the stress behind them, Ann deceased, James Sheer in England, Elizabeth married, and James' oldest son Vincent, and Harriet's oldest son Arthur both away learning how to manage the lands that would eventually to be theirs, the numbers in the house were rapidly decreasing, leaving the youngest two Dowling daughters, Eliza and Susannah, and Harriett's youngest son Alexander, apprenticed to her husband, Harriet had time and the skills to act as the second lady in the colony.

By June 1839 she had emerged, the first mention of her in the press was when she and a number of other ladies of rank sat in gallery during a session of the Legislative Council. In September she, together with Lady Gibbs, were patrons for, and attended, two concerts one held in the Royal Victoria Theatre organized by Mrs Bushelle and another in the Old Court House that featured Miss Fernandy. It appears the youngest Dowling girls and Alexander Richie attended these concerts with their parents, carefully recorded in the paper as the families of Sir James Dowling.

In March 1840 St Patricks day saw that James and Harriet, together with Governor and Lady Gipps and Sir Maurice and Lady O'Connell and nearly 400 other people, attend a ball organized by the Sons of St Patrick.

The next mentioned public occasion was the Queens Birthday celebrations in May. On the Monday there was a levee at Government house with all the judges and barristers in full regalia. In the evening this was followed by a ball and supper again at Government house.



Pattern for a Ladies afternoon dress 1830. This is the style of dress the Dowling women would have worn when they went out. Note the hair style with ringlets beside the face.

The next evening Mrs Bushelle held another concert. It was reported to be well attended even though the Governor and the O'Connells did not attend despite Lady O'Connell being a co-patron with Lady Dowling, who, again took the family to the concert.

In October there was another concert held under the patronage of Lady Dowling and other senior ladies. From the recorded events it can be seen she was leading a public social life as well as



chaperoning her step daughters. In early February 1842 the youngest Susanna married the Rev Charles Spencer and 6 weeks later Eliza married Arthur Hogson.

With the daughters all married and the sons all on their ways to being lawyers or graziers Harriet in her early 40s, might have been expected to follow her own interests but James' health was starting to fail. As well as all the personal and work stress, he had worked without a break since early 1828, often working extremely long hours and always writing a detailed record of his judgements.

Caroline Chisholm with her fight to establish a Female immigrants home found in Harriett Dowling a patron who understood and could emphasise with the need for a refuge for women who found themselves in impossible employment situations but with no where to go till they could find another situation.

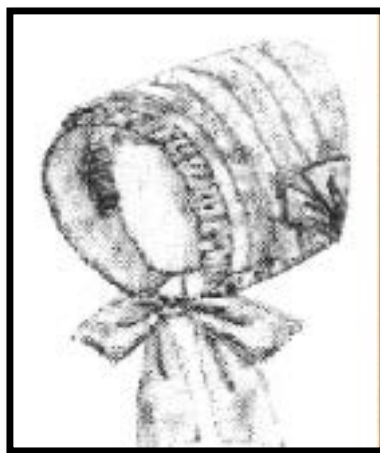
James applications for leave were ignored and his health continued to deteriorate till he collapsed at the Bench in 1844 and died before he could sail for England for two years rest.

Harriett's life took another turn. No longer the second lady she appears to have withdrawn from a public social life and after a fight to obtain a pension which she was granted in 1848 she spent much of her time travelling between various family members in Launceston, Madras and England.

She obtained extra income from leasing Brougham Lodge furnished when she was travelling but in 1856 after not obtaining a tenant for it furnished she sold the contents of the house and leased it vacant. It soon became a school which it remained till July 1881 when under the terms of Sir James' will it was sold and demolished for redevelopment.

In 1873, four years after her daughter was widowed, Harriet sold up her remaining household effects and the contents of a small cottage and sailed for Madras where her youngest son was Chief Justice. From there she proceeded to England where she died 30 March 1881 aged 82 at Bromley in Kent, still drawing the same pension of £200 per annum she was awarded in 1848.

Harriet's experience of life, difficult from her point of view was far different to most of the other women associated with the Great North Road.



1830s Bonnet



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THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.2

Anne Morgan (nee St John) of Kissing Point & her assigned servant Maria Taylor By Fay O Donnell

Ann St John was probably the ten year old girl with Mary St John who arrived in the Colony on the Convict ship 'Morley' on 13th September 1820. In a letter from the Secretary's Office to Hannibal McArthur Esquire JP at Parramatta dated 22nd September 1820, Mary & a girl aged ten years, along with twenty six other women and sixteen children, were forwarded to Parramatta by Government Boats that day. They were to be sent to the Female Orphan School on arrival. Two other women who had been allocated to private service from the 'Morley' were also sent to Parramatta.(1)

Along with John St. John who was found not guilty of receiving, Mary was tried at Bristol City Quarter Sessions on 18th October 1819, found guilty of larceny & sentenced to seven years transportation.(2) According to the convict indent for the 'Morley' she was forty two years old, a dressmaker & milliner, so her skills would have been invaluable to make clothes and teach the young girls at the Female Orphan School.(3) According to her age when she died Ann was approximately nine years old when she arrived.(4) On the IGI there is a reference to a christening on 26 July 1809 at the Roman Catholic Church in Bath, Somerset, England of Ann St John, the daughter of John and Mary St. John.(5) If this is the correct person then Ann would have actually been more than eleven years old.

The General Muster of 1822 lists Ann St John as an orphan in the Female Orphan School at Parramatta. Her age is not stated. Mary St John is also still there. In the Colonial Secretary's Correspondence there is a letter dated 14th May 1823 stating that Ann St. John is to be apprenticed to the husband of Eliza M Davison from the Female Orphan School. The letter does not state what her duties would be.(6) There is no mention of Ann in the 1823-24-25 General Muster, nor is she listed in the 1828 Census.

Ann St John married Lewis Morgan who had arrived as a convict on the 'Hindustan' in November 1821.(7) The ceremony took place in 1828 at St Mary's Church in Sydney⁸ after Lewis received his Certificate of Freedom dated 15th April as he did not seek permission to marry as convicts were required to do.

In the 1828 Census he was free by servitude and overseer of Road & Bridge Party 23 which was based in Orphan School Road & working on the Great North Road. Presumably he held this position until 1st April 1830 when he was appointed as a Constable, replacing John Small at Kissing Point.(9) He only held this position until November 1830 when he was charged with receiving stolen goods which

he had supposedly used on his farm. He was found not guilty⁽¹⁰⁾ but was not re-instated as a Constable.

The Morgan's appear to have been living near or in Bedlam Point Road in August 1839 when a letter was written by the Colonial Secretary to the Principal Superintendent of Convicts stating that they were not to be assigned any more female servants.⁽¹¹⁾ After their application was refused for a female servant at the Police Office at Parramatta they had apparently gone to Sydney to have the application signed.⁽¹²⁾

On 6th June 1839 their servant Maria Taylor who had arrived on the '*Sarah & Elizabeth*' on 3rd April 1837⁽¹³⁾ was apprehended about nightfall on the Bedlam Point Road by Morris Hennessy, the Watch House Keeper. She was carrying a bottle of rum. Maria claimed that she had gone to "Carroll's" public house with a note asking for 3 gills of rum by her mistress's orders. The note had been signed by Lewis Morgan.⁽¹²⁾

'Carroll's' was probably the '*Currency Lass*' which was licensed to Patrick Carroll of Sydney from 30th June 1838 until 1st June 1842 when the licence was issued to Thomas Riley (or Reilly) for the '*Currency Lass*' at Church & Victoria Streets, Parramatta.⁽¹⁴⁾ The exact location of the '*Currency Lass*' at Kissing Point is not known but it is possible that the building known as '*Rock End*' now '*The Banjo Paterson Cottage Restaurant*' in Punt Road, Gladesville was that inn. There was '*a building on the site which was proposed to be used as an inn.*' in 1836.⁽¹⁵⁾ Lewis Morgan was granted the licence for the '*Currency Lad*' in Bedlam Point Ferry Road (now Punt Road, Gladesville) on 27th June 1843 and 29th June 1844 after having been refused a licence for the '*Currency Lass*' at Kissing Point at Parramatta Petty Sessions in April 1842⁽¹⁷⁾ before it was granted to Thomas Riley(Reilly) in June 1842. Then in the Sydney Morning Herald of 23rd April 1846 it is stated Lewis was granted a licence for the '*Currency Lad*' at Kissing Point Road at the annual licensing meeting held at Parramatta.

Ann & Lewis Morgan had ten children who were all baptised at St Anne's Church at Ryde. The first, George, was born in February 1829, followed by Louisa in September 1830. Ann was born in September 1832 & was buried in St Anne's in October 1832, aged 1 month. Jane was born in November 1833, Emma in September 1835, Robert in September 1837, Mary in June 1839, Sarah in December 1840, Frederic in October 1842 and Anne in August 1845. Ann died on the 27th January 1848 aged thirty seven and was buried with her infant daughter, Ann, in St Anne's Churchyard at Ryde (18).

Maria Taylor apparently only lived a short time on the Great North Road. She was removed from the service of the Morgan's about August 1839 after having been returned to the Female Factory from the service of Mr Kingaby of George Street, Sydney in May 1839 after his wife, while intoxicated, had assaulted another woman. They were not to be assigned any more servants (19).

The female convicts embarked on the '*Sarah & Elizabeth*' in December 1836 & left Woolwich on New Year's Day 1837. The journey took 112 days (20). The convict indent states that Maria was twenty five, could read, was Roman Catholic, married, with a son and two daughters. Her native place was Bengal and she was a housemaid and general servant. She had been charged with stealing money



on 27th July 1836 at Northumberland (Newcastle upon Tyne) Assizes and sentenced to seven years and had a previous conviction of fourteen days. She was 5' 2" tall; her complexion was dark ruddy, freckled & pock-pitted. Her hair was dark sandy brown, her eyes hazel and speckled. She had a small mole on her right cheek, had lost a front upper tooth, had a scar on the heel of her right hand and another on the back of her middle finger on her left hand (21). Her assignment on her arrival in the Colony is not known but she was probably sent to the Female Factory.

Maria was in service to Mrs Goodwin of Sydney when she absconded on 20th October 1843(22). She was granted a Ticket of Leave in December of that year for the District of Windsor after her seven years sentence had expired (23). She did not receive her Certificate of Freedom possibly because it had to be purchased. Her whereabouts after this time cannot be determined but in 1845 a Maria Taylor married Joseph Machon at St Matthew's Presbyterian Church, Windsor (24).

There are no births from this marriage and there is no entry for the death of Maria Taylor or Maria Machon or any other likely entries in the NSW Birth, Marriage & Death Index nor is there mention of Maria Taylor, born in Bengal, in the UK 1851, 1861 or 1871 Censuses (25).

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1830s cooking pot. Cooking was almost always done over an open



fire or in an open fireplace.





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.3

The Wiseman Women Elizabeth Roberts

In the late 1820s opposite the junction of the Hawkesbury and the Macdonald Rivers living in the grand new two story stone house tucked at the base of the cliff out of the reach of floods were the Wisemans, Solomon, his second wife Sophia nee Warner, and his six children by his deceased first wife Jane.



The Wiseman house at Wisemans Ferry built 1826-7 artist unknown, painting National Trust S H Erwin Gallery

Jane, who had accompanied Solomon, died in June 1821 after a lingering illness leaving two young daughters and four older sons. Who house kept till Solomon remarried is not known.

In 1825 Sophia Warner's husband William died and the following year she married Solomon. She claimed she had arrived free on board the *Minstrel* in 1812. As a record of her marriage to William Warner could not be found it is not known what her maiden name was. A search of the 1828 Census shows most of the persons who arrived free on the *Minstrel* were children at the time they arrived, i.e. they accompanied their convict mothers. If her age is correct Sophia would have been about 16 when the *Minstrel* arrived in October 1812, far too old to have been an accompanying convict child. The newspapers do not list the accompanying military guard, so do not say if there were any accompanying women and children. Non Convict women under twenty one were usually under the guardianship of someone else.

By 1822 William Warner who had arrived on the *Admiral Gambier* in 1811 had an Absolute Pardon and was a land holder in the Hawkesbury. William Warner had been awarded his Absolute Pardon and land grant by Governor Macquarie *ever anxious to encourage and reward such faithful Exertions and meritorious Services performed under Circumstances of peculiar Difficulties, Privations, and Perils, encountered with Chearfulness and surmounted with Patience.*(sic) for having accompanied

Oxley on his first exploration of discovery of the inland in 1817. He later was also awarded £5/11/5 which would have helped to set up his farm. (2)

Jane and Sarah Wiseman were recorded as fifteen and twelve in the 1828 census, and had been seven and five when their mother had died.

An examination of the Wiseman marriages is interesting; three of the sons married Hawkesbury lasses. William married Matilda Grono in 1829, John married Mary Loder and Thomas, Jane Loder. These three, like their spouses all were the daughters of comfortable placed self-made Hawkesbury men, Jane and Mary Loder had both been sent to boarding school in Parramatta (3). Richard Wiseman married Mary Morey a colonial born lass the daughter of convict William Morey who had arrived in the *Hillsborough* in 1798 with a seven year sentence and worked as a constable in Sydney till his death when Mary moved to live with Mrs Dixon a newly arrived widow with a large young family (4).

Jane married Thomas Crawford the fifth son of a Scottish gentry family whose father was a solicitor and gentleman farmer. Robert Crawford an older brother had arrived in 1821 and was followed by Thomas in 1825 when he turned 21. By then Robert was an established landholder at Prospect. Thomas and Robert then acquired land at Ellalong near present Millfield which was all managed by Thomas. As Thomas travelled to report to his brother he would have passed through Wisemans Ferry where he met Mary Wiseman. They were married on 1st June 1832 and their first child was born 11 February 1833. Mary either fell pregnant on her wedding night and the baby was a little early, they anticipated their wedding as the banns were being called or Solomon ordered their wedding and had the banns called immediately.

In January with Mary's first baby due soon Solomon tendered for the lease of the ferry he had sold to the government twelve months previously and employed Thomas Crawford to operate it. Thus Mary's first child was born in the relative comfort of home with her step mother and younger sister to help her.

Thomas Crawford with his and his brothers land to manage selected a house site on what he thought was his land close to the boundary of the two properties. Here he and Mary established a comfortable home for themselves. As most of Mary's life had been spent at Wisemans Ferry the isolation of the Wollombi would not have been a problem especially as it is likely her sister Sarah accompanied her as in 1834 Sarah married a newly arrived free settler John Martin Davis whose land was close by the Crawford's.

William the oldest Wiseman son and ship's captain had married Matilda Grono in 1829 only to leave her at sixteen a widow when he was lost at sea in New Zealand the following year. Their daughter Jane Matilda was born posthumously. In 1832 in the same church as she married William she married Thomas Powell, the marriage is registered under her maiden name. William's daughter Jane Matilda Wiseman at aged sixteen was married in the Hunter valley to George Chadwick. She died two years later.

Richard was the next to marry. He and his wife Mary were already in the Wollombi valley at Laguna house when Mary and her brother John both married in 1832. Sarah was married in 1834 and Thomas in 1836.



Initially all five couples made their homes in various parts of the Wollombi Valley leaving Sophia to cope with an increasingly difficult Solomon who died in 1838 aged sixty four.

How much interaction occurred between the various siblings and spouses is difficult to know. The newspapers show the two Thomas's supported each other at the politically fraught Wollombi meetings so it appears Mary and Jane nee Loder were friends. As John settled further to the north they tended to socialize with his wife Mary's relations, her uncle Andrew Loder and brother George Thomas Loder.

Sarah's husband John Martin Davis had two properties *Mary Villa* at Jerries Plains and *Glanmire* near the present day Millfield. From various information it would appear Sarah and John worked to established one property, leased it then worked on the other property. *Mary Villa* consisted of 1280 acres with a neat eight room cottage, external kitchen, dairy, laundry, store, stable, gig house, granary and a garden well stocked with fruit trees, one large paddock for horses well secured and one small cultivation paddock of about 90 acres. *Glanmire*, situated 20 miles (32 kilometres) from Maitland, consisting of 460 acres sited on the Wollombi was divided into six paddocks with a four rail fence. On it was a neat seven room cottage, kitchen, laundry, stable, gig house, first rate barn, store, granary, other out offices and a garden well stocked with fruit trees of all sorts.



*Two gentlemen driving a gig, circa 1830,
public domain painting*

One can imagine Sarah carefully collecting seeds and cuttings from her father's garden and keeping the cuttings damp while she brought them home to try to propagate, swapping cuttings and young shoots with her sisters and establishing small young trees to take from one property to the other. As the various sister and sister-in-laws established their comfortable lifestyles, not all was well. Sarah and Mary were separately visited more than once by bushrangers, escaped convicts and the abduction and rape, just over the mountain, of Sarah Henshaw by a group of aboriginal males would have been constant worry at the back of their minds. The Davis household was visited by bushrangers shortly before Sarah was to give the birth. The Crawford house was robbed while they were absent; another time Thomas and his young son were held up whilst driving home.



Another problem was looming that was to affect all the family. The 1840s ushered in a severe drought and a major depression with a massive number of insolvencies.

The first to succumb was Richard; he was declared insolvent on the 14 December 1843. At the time he had a mortgage for £15,000 on his properties and debts for £8,400 were proved against him. When he took out his mortgage before the 1840s crash he valued his assets at £25,000. As Richard started to realize he could not meet his debts one can imagine things like the family portrait of Solomon, the best clothes and other small portable items being smuggled out to other family members in the hope of retaining something of his lifestyle after everything was sold up. In those days everything except the most basic of clothes and household furniture was sold.

Mary and Richard had while it lasted a grand lifestyle at their property *Laguna* where they employed servants and a governess. Here the improvements consisted of a *ten roomed cottage with cellarage, detached kitchen, laundry, and pantry ; granary, capable of holding 5000 bushels of wheat : eight-stall stable, coach house, and harness room ; four rooms for overseer and dry stores ; one substantial hut for men, black-smith's shop ; piggery, with shingled roof, floored complete, to fatten 300 pigs, 10 in each sty ; a range of buildings, containing one cheese room, one smoking ditto, one salting ditto, one wheel-wright's shop, one shoemaker's ditto ; also ,barn, enclosed to contain 5000 bushels of wheat, attached mill house, cleaning ditto, and stack yard ; with a garden of four acres, stocked with the choicest trees.*(5)

The Sydney bred Mary must have found the isolation difficult but one can imagine her luxuriating in the wealth and position, that isolation brought. Unfortunately for her it was not to last for long and little trace can be found after they left the Wollombi following the winding up of Richard's affairs that left many people much poorer for having done business with him or lent him money. The only definite trace so far that has been found is Richard dying at or near Berrima in 1856 aged 50.

Seven months after Richard his brother John was declared insolvent: in his case the largest claimant was his step mother. To add to the household stress John's wife Mary had their fourth child the same year. It appears, someone, probably Mary's family came to their rescue, as even although their property was advertised for sale they continued to live there till John's death four years later aged 39. John or may be Mary had a touch of the grandiose. His house on his 3800 acre property called *Granbaing* at Patrick Plains was described as a mansion and it was explained that the improvements cost over a £1000 pounds to install. Listed was the house, stables, stores, etc with a fully bearing well stocked orchards and vineyards. Whilst the research necessary to prove or disprove is beyond the scope of this essay it appears Mary's family bought John's property and left him there as manager. John's oldest child was fourteen and the youngest still an infant when he died. The records examined go silent on what then happened to the Mary and the family.

Four months after John the next to become insolvent, in November 1844, was Sarah's husband John Martin Davis. Again a major debtor was Sophia Wiseman, in this case by far the largest debtor. John and Sarah stayed on their property *Glanmire* near Millfield as long as they could but they had been planning what their next move was to be. Initially it appears they had hope to go to his run on the Liverpool plains, but when that lease was seized as an asset they came up with another plan.



Davis had been travelling up to his run on the Gwydir or Big River since 1832 and was aware of the need for accommodation and stables etc along the way where men and beasts could rest overnight or longer on the long arduous trip. He picked out a spot beside the route at a place called Currabubula, Sarah had grown up round her father's inn and would have known what was needed and necessary to secure from the disposal sale of their goods.

With her sister close by it is possible to imagine Sarah visiting to stay overnight with a full case of large pots and the newest sheets then returning home with an empty case. At Currabubula as soon as he was free to do so they squatted and built appropriate buildings, probably of slab and bark, acquired a liquor licence and were in business, purchasing the land some time later when it was surveyed.

John Martin Davis had picked his spot well and soon could afford to employ a tutor for his children beside the usual hands to help run the establishment. When their last two children were born he took out an advertisement in the Maitland Mercury to inform their friends and relations. Similarly when their young five and half year old daughter died he sent a notice to the paper. It was not long before he was taking a role in the gentlemen and squatters meetings at Tamworth.

Sarah would have missed the company of her sister and sister in law and would have welcomed the rare visits from other women who had accompanied their husbands on to squatting runs as managers or owners. She must have been distressed when the two year old son of a distant neighbour wandered off into the bush and was lost. The adventurous child had previously survived a fall into a fire that had scarred his face.

Sarah was fifty when her husband died [in 1866 aged sixty seven] having lived near branches or extensions of the Great North road for most of her life. It is not known how Sarah kept herself for the next thirty six years till she died a widow in Tamworth in 1902. Her only son was eighteen when his father died.

Big changes were coming to Currabubula. The railway line was being built north through Currabubula to Tamworth and beyond, Currabubula post office opened in 1861 and the railway station in 1878. It appears Sarah spent her last days with her daughter Mary and her husband George Thomas Wiseman who was also Sarah's nephew. George's mother, Sarah's sister in law Jane nee Loder was also part of the household till she died in 1897.

The next to succumb to insolvency was Thomas Crawford's brother Robert. This should not have affected this story but it does. When Thomas and Mary built their house and Mary established her garden and orchard they did not realize that the spot they picked was just inside Roberts boundary and not on their own land. This was not discovered till after Robert's insolvency and death. When the land was surveyed Mary and Thomas were devastated and the new owners delighted to find the fine house was on their land. They refused to sell the few acres to Thomas, so Mary and he had to start again.

In 1857 about the time they are fighting for their house their eldest son died and their eldest daughter married. With nowhere to live in April 1859 Mary and Thomas followed Sarah and John's example and Thomas took over the licence of the Travellers Rest at Bishops Bridge. Exactly how long they were here is not known but the extra income must have helped as they soon rebuilt *Brownmuir*



defiantly on their land this time. Mary died in her new home in 1872 aged fifty eight and Thomas lived for another three years.

Jane Loder was sixteen when she married Thomas Wiseman in 1836 and moved to the Wollombi and thirty five when he died nineteen years later aged forty four. She remained a widow for the rest of her life another forty two years. When Thomas died she had six children the youngest six and the oldest eighteen. They were all living at *Laguna House* that they had purchased in Richard's insolvency sale. Jane's youngest two sons continue to run the property for many years.



Laguna house 1920s Robyn Walsh collection

The last of the Wisemans who was living at Wisemans Ferry when the road commenced was Sophia or Sophia Ann, Solomon's second wife. She is recorded leaving the colony in 1841 in one newspaper accompanied by Miss Wiseman and in another by a child. Another stated she had been in the colony for 26 years. Who was the child that accompanied her? It was probably Mary A Wiseman the daughter of William and Maori woman Rugig. William brought Mary A back from New Zealand in late 1829 early 1830. If it was her she appears to have returned to Sydney as a Mary A Wiseman father William, no mother listed is recorded as dying in Sydney in 1861.

A lot more research is needed to understand what part Sophia played in her step sons and step son-in-laws insolvency cases. I once looked at Solomon's estate papers to try to work out how much money he had made from the Road. I have mislaid those notes but remember it was not a simple X amount of Land and Y amount of money split this way estate. From memory Sophia had some sort of claim for a life interest in the estate or a life income from the estate. As Richard laid claim to all of his father's lands in the listing of his, Richard's estate and there was no funds listed in Solomon's papers, it is difficult to understand how and why Sophia was allowed to claim on both John Wisemans and John Martin Davis estate. Why are the amounts different in each case and in the case of John Martin Davis increased as more debts were found. There may be a completely legal and logical reason but to the modern eye not used to the intricacies of women's entitlements when they could not own property in their own right it smacks of sharp practice either in her getting money out of people she was not entitled to or in claiming money for her so as to retain some of the estate when she was conveniently out of the country.



The Wisemans are an interesting family and with the occupation of Laguna House first by Mary and Richard then by Jane and Thomas and later their children there has been a Wiseman connection with the Great North Road for many years possibly over a century.

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*Laguna House right hand side and sheds
left hand side. About 2000 before
house was completely hidden by trees.
Photo Lorraine Banks*





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.4

The Women of the Simpson Household Elizabeth A Roberts

In 1828 when the census collector came calling to the house tucked in against the base of the brooding cliff line at Wisemans Ferry he found a houseful of women and children. This was the Simpson family and their servants who were living in the old house of Solomon Wiseman. The Census collector found thirty nine year old Percy and his thirty year old wife Hester, their five children, the children's nurse Elizabeth Dunn nee Goodwin and her 18 month old son Andrew, Ann Brennan and her two year old daughter Nancy, thirteen year old Amelia Brown and eleven year old Susan Murphy. As well there were three male convicts, Moses Carroll per *Regalia*, Percy's amanuensis, listed as an overseer, Patrick Devine and Michael Dwyer who both arrived on the *Phoenix* in 1826.

This was an unusual house hold in that both female employees, free women, had their children with them. When the childless Sarah Mathews, the wife of surveyor Felton Mathews visited the Simpson family a few years later in Parramatta, she recorded in her diary she had to visit otherwise give offence but it was exhausting as Mrs. Simpson never stopped talking, and the house was full of chaotic unruly children.

Hester Simpson nee Macneill who married Percy in 1819 came from a well to do and well educated Irish family. It is thought she was a distant cousin of Percy's and he was working for her brother at the time. Hester's brother was Sir John Macneill who from 1816 to 1826 was acting as engineer building roads and bridges in the Dundalk area, and also for Alexander Nimmo another well know engineer in the west of Ireland.(6)

Very little is known of Elizabeth Dunn nee Goodwin except she was the same age as Hester and had travelled to Australia on the same ship as the Simpsons before marrying Andrew Dunn in 1826.

It is reasonable to assume that she came with the Simpsons as she, like they, is missing from the 1825 Muster, as a military household they were not counted and only Rachel Smith government servant to Percy Simpson is recorded in the Muster.

Assuming Elizabeth came with the Simpsons it is possible to speculate she came from the same part of Ireland as Hester and she may have been Hester's servant since a young age. It was to Hester she turned when in distress.

There are no clues as to who was the Andrew Dunn she married or what happened to him that she was back with the Simpsons. But given the fact there is no record of her remarrying it is possible the

Andrew Dunn she married is the same Andrew Dunn per *Pilot* who in 1825 held a Conditional Pardon and was employed by Mr Wylde at Bathurst and then in early 1828 is tried for cattle stealing, sentenced to hang but is at Norfolk Island with a seven year sentence in the 1828 Census.(7)

If this is the right Andrew Dunn it is interesting that another member of the Simpson household was Amelia Browne. Amelia Brown had arrived in NSW as an infant with her convict mother Mary Brown on the *Lord Wellington* in 1820. The following year Mary Brown married Thomas Hughes the executioner. In the 1822 Muster Amelia is listed as the child of Mrs Hughes but it is not stated where she is. In the 1825 Muster she is in the orphanage and there is correspondence about getting her out but instead of being returned to her mother to live in the executioner's household she was apprenticed to the Simpsons.

What happened to Amelia after she left the Simpsons is not know. Despite there only being forty three Amelia's in the 1828 Census there are two Amelia Browns one thirteen years and one three months old and the BDM records have only two Amelia Browns marrying between 1830 and 1890. The Amelia Brown that was three months old married in 1851 and died in 1877. It appears Amelia Brown who was with the Simpsons married Thomas May in 1842 when she was twenty five. No further record of her has been found but there are a number of Amelia Mays which could possibly be her daughter or granddaughters.(8)

Susan Murphy was another girl from the female orphanage. Susan was one of four daughters of Sarah Murphy. Sarah had arrived free in the *Porpoise* in 1799 as Sarah Sutton, in 1818 she married James Murphy who was forty nine years old, he died in 1820. In the 1822 muster Susan Murphy and her two older sisters Mary Ann and Margaret are listed as a family group in the orphanage while her mother is listed as Sarah Sutton and there are also listed five unnamed Sutton children ranging from twelve to one year listed as the children of Sarah Sutton. In 1824 under her legal name of Sarah Murphy she married Henry Schooler. The 1825 muster gives the birth dates of the four girls Mary Ann 1808, Margaret 1814, Susan 1817 and Catherine 1819. The 1828 census has Catherine and Philip Murphy listed as the children of Sarah Schooler. In 1828 Susan was not the popular given name it became in later times. There were only 179 Susan and its variants, Susanna and Susannah. There was only one with the surname Murphy. It is possible she is the Susan Murphy who has a son Charles in 1832. No other record that is likely to be her has been found. (9)

The last of the women in Simpson household was Ann Brennan. In the census her occupation is listed as labourer. This seems unusual given her occupation on the indent was servant. Ann was another Irish lass from Dublin who arrived on the *Woodman* in June 1823 some twenty months after being convicted in Dublin aged thirty one. Ann was a short woman even for the time she is recorded as being only $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch over 5ft tall with grey eyes, a freckled pitted complexion and dark brown hair. What became of Ann is not known. Her marital status was not recorded in the indent but given her age on the indent confirmed by her age at the census thirty four it is most unlikely she was the Ann Brenan who in 1842 married Michael Blaken(e)y at St Mary's Sydney and had five children born between 1843 and 1851 before getting an order of separation from him in 1853 for his increasing violence over the past three years that put her in fear of her life. Michael Blaken(e)y was a prosperous carcass butcher in Sydney with a bad temper. He died in 1854 aged 36 years Michael who had been tried in Kildare arrived in the *William Jardine* 1838 and had a T of Leave by 1842 for Patrick Plains is probably the same. (10)



In this large house full of women it is likely Hester would have been lonely, although they were females and the older ones all had babies of a similar age to Hester's children none were of Hester's education or class and she was their employer. After her experience at Wisemans Ferry, Percy refused a similar job saying it was too difficult for his wife.



Front view of 1830 corset or stay that laced up the back and a finely sanded and polished wooden Busk that was threaded into the front placket to keep the stomach flat and the person straight As a lady Hester Simpson probably wore a corset but not the maids, corsets made bending over difficult. It was considered Ladies were fragile and need the support of a corset. Since they were put into them as children they probably did as their back muscles atrophied from lack of use. Women who did not wear corsets were considered loose. Convict women were not supplied with corsets. After the freedom of not wearing corsets it would take a very strong social imperative to go back to the torture of wearing them.

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THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.5

**Mary Devine
Elizabeth A Roberts**

In the spring of 1815 three female servants and a market woman were together charged of some crime unspecified and brought before the court in Dublin. They were each sentenced to seven years transportation and sent to Australia on the *Alexander* that arrived in April 1816, eleven months after their court appearance.

One of the servants was twenty one year old Mary Smith. Where Mary was assigned on arrival is not known but trained servants were always in demand. It is possible she was assigned to the Windsor area as three months after arriving John Ferguson of Windsor applied and got permission to marry her. It appears Mary was both comely and aware of her bargaining power as a single woman in a colony where there were more than four males for every female. She changed her mind before marrying John Ferguson and next caught the eye of the 45 year old widower Owen Devine. Owen obviously appealed to her and six months after John Ferguson's application Owen applied for permission and they were married six months later at St Phillips Sydney in July 1817 and sailed for the Hawkesbury a month later in the small sloop *Improvement* Owen had purchased the previous year. Owen had taken up land on the junction of the Macdonald and Hawkesbury rivers where he set up as a lime burner.

To the city dweller Mary, the isolation and position of Owen's lands with the looming mountains behind and river in front must have come as shock. It was about this time that the Wisemans settled on the other side of the river. This must have been a comfort to Mary to know other people were nearby. It is not known if Mary sailed with Owen when he took his loads of lime to Sydney or not. It is probable she remained at home.

One can imagine her anxiously placing a candle powered horn or tin lantern or one of the new wick lanterns filled with fish, whale or raw linseed oil on their wharf on the nights when she expected him and he was late in arriving. Her anxiety would have increased after he lost the *Improvement* in 1818 when crossing Broken Bay on his way to Sydney. She may have used a Dark Lantern, one that showed light on one side only so as not to alert the roaming bushrangers or Aborigines she was on her own. (12)



Tin candle lantern with thin horn panels to let the light through. Photo: garage sale

When her chores allowed and there was row boat available she probably visited with Jane Wiseman and Ann Caswell her much older neighbours across the river. When Owen was away the tiny pin pricks of light from their candles, lanterns or slush lights would have been a comfort. As one of the few women in the district she probably visited the ill Jane Wiseman and comforted the little girls aged about four and six as their mother lay dying.

In October 1824 Mary needed comforting when Owen died suddenly in his boat of a heart attack at Sentry Box Reach on his way to Sydney. With him at the time were his man ,probably Thomas Green and a female passenger, possibly Mary along for the ride or someone else needing to go to Sydney. The inquest could not be held till the Tuesday and he was immediately interred on his property as his body had become discoloured and the nearest cemetery was 34 miles away by river (13).

As soon as Owen was buried Mary sent Owen's boat off to Sydney again as a little over a week following his death and burial the Sydney Gazette carried an advertisement for anyone who was owed money by Owen to present the bills to Mary and anyone owing money to pay it immediately so the estate could be settled. The boat was on its return trip when it was piratically seized and taken to Mullet (Danger) Island where the bushrangers stripped Devine's boat transferring everything moveable to a sloop of Mr Steel's they also seized, then scuttled Devine's boat and landed the four men from her at Five Islands before taking off out to sea.

With a living to make and a crop of wheat to harvest Mary did not have time to mourn. In December Mary tendered to supply wheat to the Government and delivered 200 bushels to the Government Store in Sydney. Whether her own boat was refloated or if she had to use someone else's is not known. With the help of Thomas Green, Mary continued running the farm, Owen had been changing from lime burning to farming before he died.

After reporting Owen's death and the later loss of his boat the newspapers are mostly quiet. With no boat they became dependant on the river traders for both supplies and the sale of their produce. There is a report of someone accused of stealing corn that Mary had swapped with a river trader for gin, of Thomas Green being assigned George Curtis per *Royal Admiral* a fiddle sting maker, of Thomas impounding a bullock for trespass and of the new parish road passing through Devine's land. This road although gazetted in 1840 was not built for about another hundred years. (14)



One can only wonder what Mary thought as she watched the convicts build the road up the steep hill side at the rear of her husband's land. Jumping with fright, then slowly becoming accustomed to the unexpected noise of the gun powder blasts, followed by the tumbling of rock.

In the 1828 Census Thomas Green is listed as the householder and Mary as his servant with another free by servitude labourer William Campbell per Shipley living on the farm.

It is obvious the census collector was not familiar with the area otherwise he would have known the householder was Mary not Thomas. Locally the land was known as Devines and when the planned deviation of the Great North Road was started the name Devines Hill was first recorded. In September 1831 Mary married George Green four years her junior and then faded from the public records.

Little would Mary have realized as she watched the convicts carve a road out of boundary hillside that 180 years later that her and her first husband names would gain prominence as the owners of the land the World Heritage listed section of the Great North Road was built on.

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This article is based on one written by Ralph Hawkins about Owen Devine and published The Pick volume 4 the main references are in that article and only the additional references are added here.

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*Tin Candle stick with candle stub ejector.
Below A pierced tin candle lantern*





Kerosene wick lights were not invented till the late 1950's. Prior to that the best fuel for lighting was sperm whale oil, the cheapest tallow, used dip candles or burnt with a wick in a narrow necked earthen or metal light. Lighting was expensive and ineffectual so the working classes used lights as little as possible.





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.6

Ann Caswell, Wisemans' Neighbour By Elizabeth A Roberts

Ann Caswell nee Strawberry had the misfortune to be the neighbour of Solomon Wiseman living on land he coveted.

Ann had arrived on the *Sydney Cove* in 1812 with a 7 year sentence. Shortly after arriving she married William Caswell who had arrived in 1794 on the *Surprise* with a life sentence. William was typical of many convicts, he achieved a conditional pardon, learnt how to farm and rented land till he could acquire his own. By 1806 he was renting 6 acres of land and appears to have his conditional pardon. The 1811 muster does not say where he was living or how but shows he was tried in Edinbrough in 1790.

After William and Ann married it is probable they moved to the land at what became Wisemans Ferry as they disappear from the subsequent musters reappearing in the 1828 Census, taken when many more people were living in the valley.

William Caswell was promised a twenty acre grant, land that adjoined that taken up by Solomon Wiseman. When the 1828 Census was taken Ann and William were living on six acres with four cleared and cultivated. The Parish Map shows twenty acres.

The year William died and Ann was left alone to face Wiseman who wanted her land. Wiseman resorted to the terrorizing tactics of burning her out of her hut. On the 15 September 1831 Wiseman was granted twenty acres that had been promised to Caswell.

Ann was recompensed by being granted land to occupy for her life only on the edge of the Macdonald River. It appears William and Ann had no children as if they had children they would have inherited any land that was owned by William. On the maps it is shown as Government land but a notice in 1840 regarding a new parish road that was not built to over 100 years later as Settlers Road reveals it was the land granted to Ann for her life.

It must have been very hard for Ann having lost her husband to then loose her house and in her sixties to have to start again on virgin soil. Breaking the sod and working the soil up was considered the hardest part of farming. Ann disappears from the records after 1841, leaving as the only trace of her life and tribulations with her fiery neighbour a few references in dusty dry papers held at state records.

References

1828 census

Printed Musters 1802; 1896; 1811; 1822; 1825

D&LHHS archives, papers from ex Ian Webb re Wiseman burning Ann Caswell's hut. Un referenced.

Parish Map preservation project St Albans Parish BDM records

The Sydney Herald Monday 17 March 1834

Sydney Gazette SAT 15 March 1834

Australasian Chronicle Friday 21 February 1840

State Records: Col Sec re Land reel 1109 2/7823





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.7

An Unfortunate Emigrant Elizabeth A. Roberts

It had always been known there were a disproportionate number of men to women in NSW. When the 1828 census figures were analysed there were four males for every female in the colony. In an attempt to balance out the sexes and in response to a want of female servants the English papers carried a long advertisements saying

The Committee for promoting the Emigration of single women to Australia, having obtained the sanction of his Majesty's Secretary of State for the colonies, hereby give notice, that the fine ship Layton, of 513 tons per register, Richard Saunders commander, carrying an experienced surgeon, and a respectable person and his wife as superintendents, to secure the comfort and protection of the Emigrants during the voyage; will sail from Gravesend on the 15th August (beyond which day she will on no account be detained) direct for Sydney. Single women and widows of good health and character, from 15 to 30 years of age; desirous of bettering their condition by emigrating to that healthy and highly prosperous colony, where the number of females compared with the entire population is about one to three, and where, consequently, from the great demand for servants and other female employments, the wages are comparatively high, may obtain a passage by this ship on payment of £5 only, as they will have the advantage of the free grant of £12 each from Government, which grant, during the present year, will be confined to those females sent out by this Committee, and will cease after this ship is despatched. The females who proceed by this conveyance will be taken care of on their first lauding at Sydney; they will find there a list of the various situations to be obtained, and of the wages offered, and will be perfectly free to make their own election; they will not be bound to any person, nor subjected to any restraint, but will be to all intents and purposes, perfectly free to act and decide for themselves.

Females in the country who may desire to avail themselves of the important advantages thus offered them, should apply by letter to "The Emigration Committee, London," under cover addressed to " The Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Department, London." It will be necessary that the application be accompanied by a certificate of character from the resident minister of the parish, or other respectable person to whom the applicant may be known; but the certificate of the resident minister is in all cases most desirable; it must also certify the ability of the party to pay £5 to the order of the Committee, so soon as she shall be informed that she is admitted by them as a passenger, and which sum when paid here will cover all the expenses of the passage for which she will be liable. Such females as may find it desirable may,

when approved by the Committee as fit persons to go (by this conveyance, be boarded temporarily in London prior to embarkation, on payment of 7s. per week (15).

These advertisements attracted a number of women but not necessarily the passive, well trained servants, maids of all works, dairy maids and farm workers the settlers in NSW were desirous of employing as servants. To leave their families and support networks and voluntarily sail to other side of the world took a certain type of spirit, the sort to exclaim “*I’ll be d—d if I’m to be imposed upon in this here country: I’ll be blowed, if I doesn’t know too much to be taken in, in this here Colony*” to a potential employer.(16)

The first two ships that arrived carrying exclusively female immigrants were *Red Rover* and the *Princess Royal*, The *Red Rover* which arrived in Sydney brought destitute Irish women from the “House of Industry” and the “Foundling Home” despite all carrying certificates asserting their respectability they were reputed to be condemned by the society ladies despite a number being employed by them (3). The local press for reasons as yet unexplored reasons appeared to resent the shiploads of female emigrants. When the *David Scott* arrived in 1834 the Sydney Gazette wrote:

The extraordinary scenes of disgusting profligacy which are said to have been exhibited by a great number of the females of "good character and industrious habits," sent out by the London Emigration Committee, afford another instance of the prodigal and scandalous prostitution of the purposes for which the funds of the colony were voted by the council. The streets of London and the provincial towns seem to have been swept by this committee in order to enrich our country with that which was too vile and worthless to continue in Britain.

And went on to say:

The names of Red Rover, Bussorah Merchant, and Layton, are in a majority of cases equivalent to those of rogue, vagabond, and worse, and if we form an opinion of those now in the harbour, the levity and contempt with which we regard most of the former importations, will not be alleviated by them. (18)

One of the unfortunate emigrants on board the *David Scott* condemned before they landed was Margaret or Sarah Henshaw or Henshall Hanshall/Hanswall. The passenger list for the *David Scott* lists a Sarah Henshaw, as a twenty years and four months old kitchen maid who was apparently employed by John and Sarah Lynch at Laguna. At the time she was employed they were certainly the only women in the Sugarloaf Creek valley and probably the only women living in the upper Wollombi Valley.

The women had come ashore from the *David Scott* to the Bazaar *the largest building in Macquarie Place* on Thursday 30 October. The Lynches must have engaged her the same day and headed straight for home up the Great North Road taking about three days for the trip. The newly arrived emigrant had barely been at the farm three days when she was frightened by the arrival on the farm of a group of aboriginal males and convinced Sarah Lynch to send for her husband who was working nearby. John Lynch shook hands with them and tried to appease them with the head of a freshly killed calf but they demanded the whole beast which they made a fire to cook before eating it, all the time gesturing and waving their gun around.



Eaten, they surrounded the house with the intention of taking the women including the nine year old. One group grabbed Margaret while the other tried to get Sarah but let go when John fought them off with his scythe. Margaret was dragged off into the bush about three miles from the house where she was gang raped and left for some time before John Lynch found her.

Two of the aborigines Mickie Mickie and Charley Myrtle or Murphy were caught and brought to trial. The newspaper reporting of the trial is interesting. The Sydney Gazette reputedly reported the evidence as given in court, refers to Margaret as Margaret Henshall all the way through but refers to Sarah who also gave evidence as Mrs Lynch. The Sydney Monitor wrote it up as a fanciful story. (19)

What happened to Margaret Henshaw is not known. From the evidence she gave it would appear she had left the Lynches as soon as she could. There is no registration of her death in NSW under any of the variations of her surname or given name; neither does she appear to marry unless she did not marry till 1853 when a Margaret Henshaw married a James M Foans at the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Sydney. Was she the unhappy unnamed female who in August 1835 was found drowned at the Market Wharf having marks on her body to show she had previously tried to kill herself (20).



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THE PICK

convicttrail.com.au/

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THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.8

Eliza Dunlop - More than a Wife **Barbara Appleton**

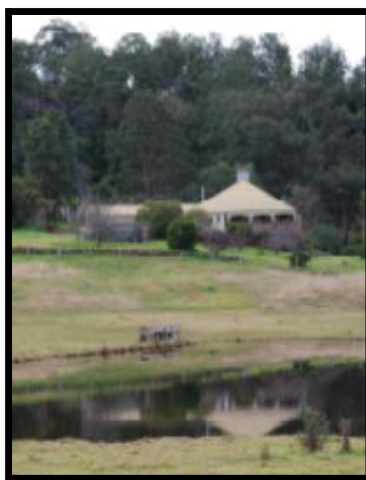
Until 1840 Wollombi was a long way from any official base of the law. The Great North Road had been completed and the road gangs and bridge parties were gone. But not all was peaceful. Some of the assigned convicts were “unruly”, sly grog was being sold (21), and there were disputes between settlers. Occasionally there was theft or violence from bushranging gangs such as that of Jewboy Davis (22). Though there was a lock-up at Wollombi (23), cases were heard at the Quarter Sessions and Court of Requests at [East] Maitland, nearly fifty miles away. Settlers complained that if a convict servant committed an offence they had to be taken to Maitland for trial, otherwise they would have gone unpunished (24).

A permanent magistrate was needed, and in 1839 David Dunlop was appointed Police Magistrate over the district of The Wollombi and the Macdonald River. He arrived in early 1840, bringing with him a staff of fourteen men. They would constitute a local police force, man a courthouse and lock-up, and administer the punishment of scourging(whipping) as ordered by the court.

Dunlop himself was to receive £250 (\$500) a year. His first court hearings took place in a bark hut, while the temporary lock-up was built of timber slabs (as were many of the early local houses) and roofed with bark, which allowed occasional escapes (25).

With him, too, came his wife Eliza, with their four living children, David Henry, August Eliza, Wilhelmina Maxwell Hamilton (26), and Rachel Rhoda Nevin (27). All these children would eventually marry the offspring of successful land holders in the colony, Augusta becoming the mother of Tom Raine, the co-founder of the real estate chain, Raine & Horne.

Dunlop involved himself in the community, doing his job well until he was replaced in 1847. The family built the stone house Mulla Villa, which can be visited today. Dunlop continued to live there until his death in 1863 and was buried in Wollombi cemetery. However, if you go today to the Australian Dictionary of Biography, there is no entry for David Dunlop. The family member who earned an entry was Eliza.



*Mulla Villa Wollombi home of
Eliza Dunlop*

Both were of Irish birth, David being born in County Antrim, and Eliza being born Eliza Matilda Harding Hamilton (28) in County Armagh in 1796. Her father, Solomon, was later appointed a Supreme Court judge in India.

With her mother dead and her father in India, Eliza was raised in Ireland by her grandmother (29). She married James Sylvius Law, an Irish astronomer, and in 1816 bore a daughter, Mary Sophia Georgina, known as Georgina. In 1823 the widow Eliza married David Dunlop in Portpatrick, Scotland (30).



Eliza Dunlop courtesy of Mulla Villa

While quite young, Eliza had begun to write poems, publishing pieces in journals such as *The Dublin Penny Journal*. Some of her poetry was included in a novel by her cousin, William Maxwell Hamilton(31).She was immensely proud of her Hamilton heritage, and would later choose to use Hamilton as her middle name when writing. She was also very loyal to Ireland. Similarly, in 1813 a very loyal Irishman James Sylvius Law published a book entitled *The Irish Catholic: a Patriotic*



Poem in Five Cantos(32). Whether this author was indeed Eliza's first husband has been impossible for this writer to establish.

The Dunlops arrived in Sydney via Hobart on 25 February, 1838, on the *Superb*. The young Queen Victoria had been on the throne just eight months, and the settlements on the Yarra were less than two years old. Eliza acknowledged the young queen in her proud poem of arrival:

*...Oh! Proud is the port that she hails from I ween
In that fair happy land of our Lady the Queen.
But prouder are we, who traversed the world
Till the far off South Sea saw our canvas unfurled.
Then fill up the can lads and toast it with me
Here's the Saucy Superb in the Port or at sea...(33)*

The rest of the year 1838 was to be busy, full of change, debate and controversy.

The Dunlops went first to a cottage in Castlereagh Street, Sydney, then to "the Surrey Hills"(34). On June 18 of that year David was appointed Police Magistrate at Penrith, and the family moved into the old government house, built across the river at Emu Plains for the superintendent of the Government Farm. The farm itself had already been closed. Here Eliza began to write her "*Songs of an Exile*", poems published spasmodically in the *Australian* newspaper from November 1838 to mid-1840 (35).

In the early 1980s there was a surge in the study of early Australian literature. John O'Leary was among those who examined the poems of Eliza Dunlop and his work has informed this article.

In the first of the "*Songs of an Exile*" she describes herself as "friendless" (36).

Various reasons in her past life, including the death of family members, have been suggested for the mood of this poem. Those suggestions ignore her immediate problem: the hostility with which David Dunlop (and, presumably, his family) was received in Penrith by the "mushroom aristocracy"(37), who had wanted the position of paid magistrate to go to one of them.

While the Sydney papers of that year showed occasional correspondence either criticising Dunlop (38) or supporting him (39), they also featured a different matter – the wanton slaughter that June of twenty-eight Aboriginal men, women and children in the Myall Creek Massacre(40). It was carried out by stockmen on one of the cattle stations in north-west NSW belonging to Henry Dangar.

Hard to accept as it now is, the persecution and killing of Aboriginal people was not uncommon. In fact, in rural areas it was casual and routine. They were continually being pushed to the edge of "settled" areas. There, deprived of their normal food sources, they were forced to steal to survive. They could then be hunted and shot. Such killings went on, in some areas, for another ninety years – until 1928 (41).

When at length Governor Gipps ordered Captain Edward Denny Day to investigate the incident, reactions in Sydney were varied. Some clergy vehemently condemned the murders, and their sermons were reproduced in the newspapers. See, for instance, Reverend John Saunders in the *Colonist* (42), who expected God's wrath in retribution, and claimed that the whole colony was guilty.



Others avoided the issue of guilt by denigrating the indigenous people. They asserted that Aborigines were less than human and that they had no law, no kinship ties, and no affection. Writers used vile language and hid behind pseudonyms such as “anti-hypocrite” (43). According to O’Leary, this was “part of the general discourse of the period”. More immediately, it was part of a campaign which went on for several months and was supported by several newspapers (including the *Sydney Herald*, later *The Sydney Morning Herald*) in order to obtain the acquittal of the stockmen accused of the killings. (The reasoning was, it seems, that if indigenous people were not fully human, then killing them could not be judged murder.(44)

The fourth of Eliza’s *Songs of an Exile* is called *The Aboriginal Mother*. It attempts to give a voice to the suffering people by speaking as the only adult surviving the massacre, a grieving widow talking to her child. (Here, poetic licence ruled: in truth, no mother-and-child pair survived the massacre.) The poem has been described as “sentimental” and as typical of a style then popular, “the Aboriginal lament”.

However, it demonstrates a fact that Eliza had learned early and learned well: poetry which effectively engages the reader could be a valuable tool in the current social and political debates.

Seven of the stockmen were found guilty of murder and sentenced to be hanged. On 13 December 1838, between the date of sentencing (5 December) and the date of the hanging (18 December), the *Australian* chose to publish Eliza’s nine-stanza poem.

We can now only guess whether it had any effect in ameliorating public resentment. Three petitions for mercy were presented to the Governor, who said his duty did not allow him to pay regard to them. The men were hanged. Subsequently,

The terror of black against white, and white against black, redoubled in fury. (45)

Earlier in 1838, notification had been received in Australia of the decision of the [British House of Commons] Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (1836-1837). It had eventually decided that indigenous peoples in all British colonies were to have Protectors. Although this caused changes in other colonies, in NSW the title “Protector of Aborigines” had already been given to Lands Commissioners (1836) (46) and was included in David Dunlop’s appointment some twelve months later. It is probable that this had little influence on Eliza. As an Irishwoman she already had deep sympathy for an oppressed people. Once in Wollombi, she tried to understand both the culture and the language of the indigenous people nearby, while her husband began to recruit Aboriginal help. The *Australian* (3 September 1840) describes the pursuit of “five runaways”, in which Dunlop

...took with him an aboriginal whose alertness and sagacity he had proved. Near Mt Manning he fell in with the tracks of all five...

In the meantime, the remainder of the *Songs of an Exile* were written and published, and later set to music by Isaac Nathan, who arrived in Sydney in 1841, “the first musician with a European reputation to settle in Sydney” (47). Nathan was running a school of singing and held frequent concerts. De Salis makes it clear that Eliza offered the poems to him, saying that if they were accepted “the seal of [his] genius” would be a source of great pride (48).





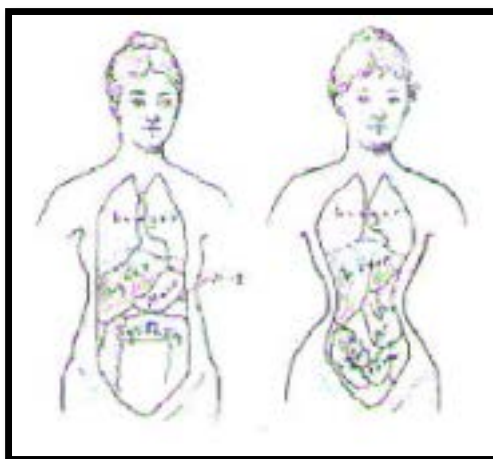
At first Eliza recounted Aboriginal stories as poems in English (e.g. *The Eagle Chief*, published in the *Sydney Gazette*, 21 April 1842). Later she would move on to attempting to write down the language, working Aboriginal words into her own rhymed poems. Eventually she recorded some Aboriginal songs verbatim. In this Eliza was helped by her daughter Rachel⁴⁸, who would be the only one of the Dunlop children to remain in the valley, marrying David Milson, of Milson's Arm, in 1853. This was the same family who owned land at Milson's Point, North Sydney, and extensive cattle runs in the New England district (50).

Lance Threlkeld, that early translator and expert on Aboriginal languages (51), worked from a mission at Reid's Mistake (Lake Macquarie). He was able to comment that Eliza's rendering of the words was very accurate, and quickly recognisable as the Awabakal dialect (52), now known to be closely related to Darkinjung, and part of the same Kuric language group. Threlkeld had already completed an Awabakal grammar (1834) and an Awabakal spelling book (1836) (53). Eliza's poems preserved the vocabulary of the area, and recorded some of the songs of Wullati, a well-known warrior who lived near Threlkeld's mission. The mood of Eliza's "Aboriginal" writing changed with time. From the intense sympathy evoked in *The Aboriginal Mother* (1838) and *The Aboriginal Father* (set to music by Nathan in 1844) she moved to describing the native life as free and joyous, even depicting hunting as easy. For instance, her translation of one of Wullati's songs includes the lines:

*Ours are the makoro gliding,
Deep in the shady pool,
For our spear is sure and the prey secure.* (54)

This idealistic depiction of native peoples, however unreal, was typical of Western writing of the time. In that respect, Eliza Dunlop had begun to conform to her society, rather than attempt to change it. It seems that after 1848 she did not write anything further with an Aboriginal theme. Her small body of work lived on to inspire other writers, readers and translators.





Drawing depicting the effects of figure changing corsets on a woman's intestines .Google

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 23: P.Laurentz Campbell, *Maitland and Paterson Police Report - 1835*
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 28: details of Dunlop household, 1841 Census,
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 47: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.2, p.280.
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 Fuller titles of these books are: *An Australian Grammar... of the Language, as Spoken by the Aborigines in the Vicinity of Hunter's River...* and *An Australian Spelling Book, in the Language as Spoken by the Aborigines in the Vicinity of the Hunter's River...* Both published by Stephens and Stokes,



Sydney.

54: *Sydney Herald*, 11 October 1848.





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.9

Sophia Budd Elizabeth A. Roberts

Sophia Budd proudly had engraved on Thomas Budd, her husband's headstone that he was aged 42 and was a sergeant in the 48th Regiment of Foot. He was buried on his property "Talavera" at Sweetmans Creek Wollombi. The only definitely known fact about Sophia Budd is that she was Spanish and up to ten years younger than Thomas Budd. As a retired military pensioner Thomas had been recruited to Royal Veterans Corps. The Corps were to guard convicts on the trip to Australia before acting as Mounted Police for at least two years after which they would receive a land grant in exchange for their military pension.

From his property name we know Thomas took a part in Peninsular War where the 48th Regiment spent six arduous years from 1808 to 1814. At one time the army was reduced to eating roots and acorns when the commissariat got lost. Another time there was a forced march of sixty eight kilometres in twenty six hours. The 48th regiment received battle honors for their part in the Battle of Talavera in July 1809 when Thomas would have been eighteen years old and Sophia between twelve and eight depending which of her given ages is correct.

Assuming her family knew her age better than her employer, it is probable Sophia was a child of the Army. It is recorded she was sixty seven when she died in 1868. All military forces of the time had their baggage train, the wives and children of the other ranks plus the other female camp followers, mistresses and prostitutes. The women were an essential part of a military campaign, they washed and cooked, scavenged food when the commissariat was late or lost and acted as nurses for the wounded. To receive rations the women needed to be married so many women remarried as soon as widowed. At Talavera alone the British and Spanish Army lost approximately 7,700 men or 25% of its strength.

Whilst it is pure speculation it is quite possible Sophia's mother was the wife of a Spanish soldier who later married a British soldier and followed the army with her children. In 1814 when the British army was leaving Spain, Sophia would have been about thirteen or fourteen, too old to be classified as a child for a passage back to England, too young to be left and just old enough to marry or she may have been about seventeen if she lowered her age when she remarried a younger man.

It appears Thomas had transferred from the 48th Regiment to the 8th Regiment sometime after Talavera. On the 25th December 1815 he transferred to 46th Regiment of Foot as a sergeant and arrived in Sydney on the *Mariner* on the 11 October 1816, the day he was taken on the strength in Sydney.

As sergeant he was in charge of thirty two privates that formed the guard for the 146 male prisoners who were transported by the *Mariner*. Sophia then known as Hozaha accompanied him being pregnant the whole trip giving birth to a son Thomas in February.

In late September 1817 the whole of the 46th regiment sail to Madras. About ten days after arriving it marched for Vellore arriving there eleven days later. They were there for nine months before marching to Fort St George. After nine months in Fort St George they marched again for Bellany where they made their headquarters from 1821 to 1823. The Regiment remained in India till 1832. In India no provision was made for the wives of the other ranks who were expected to live in a curtained off corner of the barracks building.

Accommodation was not the only difficulty faced by the wives of other ranks. Besides the flies, heat, strange smells and food there was the ambiguous social position they found themselves in, they were not accepted by the European community and ranked as very low cast by the Indian community.

How and when Thomas and Sophia and family returned to the UK is not known, presumably he was invalided back to England where he was recruited to NSW Royal Veterans company. Many of the veterans arrived on the *Marquis of Hastings* in July 1827 accompanied by fourteen women and thirteen children.

It is not known how and when the Budds arrived, Thomas first appeared on the Veterans pay list on the 25 September 1828 in Newcastle and a Sophia Budds who arrived free per the *Marquis Hastings* in 1827 was employed by Alex Philips a publican and baker in Newcastle. Thomas Budd or Budds was a member of the Royal NSW Veterans Company from September 1828 to July 1829 a total of 303 days.

It can only be assumed the Budds previous experience in NSW must have been what convinced them to come back to Australia, possibly separately, with the Royal Veterans and forgo his pension. The carrot for joining the Royal Veterans Company was the promise of grant of land complete with slab hut and 12 months rations and two cows after two years' service in the mounted police.

After following the Army round Spain, then Thomas from Spain to England then to Australia followed by India back to England then to Australia again Sophia must have found it strange at first to be permanently settled after being constantly on the move. But she would have been well equipped to cope with change even if the isolation proved a problem after the close contact and semi institutionalised life in Army barracks.

Sophia is known to have had six children Thomas born in Sydney in 1817; Sophia born in Chatham Barracks London December 1826; Elizabeth Sophia, Newcastle July 1829, Matilda 1830; Benjamin; 1832 and Thomas 1833 the last three at Sweetmens Creek. Given the gap between 1817 and 1826 she probably had some babies in India that did not survive. Thomas Budd born 1817 did not come back to Australia with the family as he had enlisted as boy in the Army. He arrived later. Many of regiments had a few enlisted boys, either the sons of serving soldiers or boys from the military orphanages.(55)



Part of the conditions for getting the deeds for the land Thomas was settled on was seven years of occupation. When Thomas died in 1833 Sophia had five children with her, the oldest seven and the youngest just born. To keep a roof over her and her children's heads she had to remain on the farm. As Thomas had died suddenly it is likely he died intestate so by law his eldest son would have inherited but he was underage and overseas. Sophia did what she had to and found someone to work the land. It is likely the person was young William Sweetman. He had arrived in Australia as a young boy with his convict mother and appears to have trained as a shoemaker at the orphanage. In the 1828 Census he was employed at Patrick Plains and was 18 to Sophia's 31 years. Sophia and William married in 1835 and William mostly successfully farmed Thomas Budd's land. Sophia and William had at least two children William and George T born 1841.

During Sophia's life her three daughters and her youngest Sweetman son George married. George first married Henrietta Casson in 1858. The following year both she and her infant daughter were drowned together with a friend when trying to cross the swollen Wollombi Brook via a fallen tree. The young women's bodies were soon found but it took longer to find the infants body. Three years later George tried again, and married Ann Yates. The following year twenty year old Ann died, eleven days after her infant daughter Alice Jane Ann was born. The infant survived for another nine days. Besides her two daughter-in-laws and their baby daughters Sophia also buried her son Thomas Budd born 1833 who died aged twenty seven in 1860. Her eldest daughter Sophia does not appear to have had any children; her next daughter Elizabeth appears to have had seven children before Sophia died, her third daughter Matilda had three sons probably all born before Sophia died, so hopefully Sophia was able to enjoy those grandchildren. Her second youngest son William married the year after Sophia died. He and his wife Sarah Jane nee Douglas had ten children.

On the surface both Sophia and Harriett Lady Dowling had similar experiences in their lives both were well travelled, both experienced India, both experienced the loss of a husband, uncertainty and remarriage and the loss of a daughter-in-law or step daughter and infant in child birth, both had land and left children behind at various times in their lives. Despite the surface similarities Sophia's experience of life would have been totally different to Lady Dowling's.



Sophia Sweetman's nearly illegible headstone and foot stone in Wollombi Cemetery, RC section.



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THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.10

Frances Nixon nee Roach Melody Jarvis nee Nixon

Wind filled the sails of the “Duchess of Northumberland” as she approached Sydney Town on the 27th February 1835 on the final leg of her four month voyage from London, Dublin and Cork with 220 girls on board. Among these bounty immigrants, sponsored by the London Emigration Committee whose stated intention was to address the shortage of women in the colony and to provide a “civilizing influence”, was twenty year old Frances Roach from Limerick.

Soon after arrival, Frances (also known as Fanny or Ann) obtained employment in Sydney as a nursemaid with Mr Jones of George Street earning £8 per annum. As an independent woman, she may have been viewed as contravening the social mores of the time.

By mid August 1835 she had applied for permission to marry Roger Moon, a convict, however his employer withdrew permission and the marriage did not proceed.

An unspecified offence saw Frances commencing twenty one days hard labour in Sydney gaol from 22 December 1835.

St Mary’s Roman Catholic Cathedral Sydney was the scene of Frances’ marriage to Thomas Nixon on 11 October 1836. Thomas, a married weaver from Northallerton, convicted in 1827, to seven years transportation for stealing saddlery, had gained his freedom in July 1834. Like Frances, a previous application to marry a convict (Mary Reagan) had also been refused.

After living for two years on the Prison hulk Dolphin in England, Tom arrived in NSW in May 1829, and by December 1829 had offended receiving a sentence of six months assigned to Iron Gang 4 working at Devine’s Hill, close to Wiseman’s Ferry. He later moved to Road Gang 35 and absconded from there also.

It was a marriage of opposites. Thomas Nixon, aged 39, 5’1” short, convicted, basically illiterate, English, married. Frances Roach, aged 22, 5’10 ½ “ tall, free, educated, Irish, single and Roman Catholic. Their only common features appear to be dark brown hair and grey eyes.

In early May 1839, almost ten years after his arrival in NSW, Thomas’s son was born in Sydney. Tom Jnr attended school around 1843 at Mr Cameron’s Presbyterian School in Pymont.

By 1846, the family had moved to Maitland, where a daughter, Mary was born on 25 April, and baptised at St James Roman Catholic Church.

It is unclear how Thomas earned a living, however Mary's wedding certificate dated 1869 gives her father's occupation as Stone Mason. Nor is it clear what became of Thomas and Frances.

Whilst Mary had no offspring, young Tom would seed a second generation of Australians and his descendants include some high profile personalities.

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THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.11

Molly Morgan, Who was she? Elizabeth A Roberts

Molly Morgan is heavily associated with the beginnings of Maitland and as the Great North Road passed down the middle of Maitland Molly Morgan is one of the women associated with the Great North Road.

In looking for information on Molly Morgan, I started with a Google search that brought up two entries, one from the Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB) and one very fanciful one adapted from the ADB article. Initially I thought she has been very well researched and I would have to find another angle if I wished to include her, then I started to read the articles critically and began to feel very uncomfortable so checked the sources to find they were mostly secondary sources so decided to go back to the primary sources and see what I could find.

After much searching and not answering the questions I had, I spoke to Cynthia Hunter a well-known Hunter River researcher. She inherited from a colleague a large collection of research notes on Molly Morgan including a book published in Britain and is planning to do an in depth study when she has the time. Cynthia kindly gave me some clues of where to look for more information. It has been an interesting search but I did not find the answer.

The conventional wisdom as reported in the ADB article has Mary Morgan born Mary Jones in 1762 and marrying a William Morgan in 1785 then being tried at Shrewsbury in August 1789 for stealing hemp yarn from a bleaching factory. Arriving on the *Neptune* in 1790 with a fourteen year sentence and absconding on the *Resolution* in 1794 she travelled back to the UK where she married a Thomas Mears in Plymouth. She was then accused of burning down his house before being tried at Croydon Surrey and sentenced to seven years transportation. The indent of the *Neptune* stated Mary Morgan and a William Morgan were both convicted together but gives no further details for Mary. The indent for Mary Mears per *Experiment* 1803 gives her sentence as seven years and there is no indication she was a returned convict. In a later colonial court case for receiving stolen cattle it was stated she was a spinster.

David Collins Judge Advocate and Colonial Secretary is the only person to give an account of convicts escaping via the *Resolution*. He clearly states Mary Morgan, John Randell and wife were found to be missing just after the *Resolution* sailed. The Master resisted a boarding party to search for the missing convicts. After leaving the Harbour the *Resolution* stood off the coast waiting for her sailing partner. David Collins goes on to report that later it was discovered that thirteen convicts had absconded on the *Resolution* – believed to be taken on as a replacement crew. Some weeks later he reported when

a white woman was thought to be seen with some aborigines that it might be Mary Morgan or Ann Smith who had run and disappeared the day after she was landed.

Before Mary Morgan per *Neptune* absconded she was charged with having a tin plate that did not belong to her. Her plate had been broken and she had been lent a tin plate the property of John McArthur by his servant. This was the plate she was accused of stealing.

When the *Neptune* arrived in the colony Mary Morgan would have been one of only 258 convict women and a few soldiers wives. With so few women they would all have been known at least by sight and Mary Morgan would have been obvious as one of the very few convict women with a convict husband. When she escaped on the *Resolution* there were 697 women in NSW and Norfolk Island. The 1800 muster recorded 971 women in the colony with twenty one dying in 1801 and another 540 arriving by the end of 1804 including those on the *Experiment*. Thus when Mary Mears arrived she was one of approximately 1490 women in the colony that was spread over Norfolk Island, Sydney, Parramatta, Toongabbie and the Hawkesbury.

In 1803 at least eleven of the civil and military hierarchy had been in the colony since before 1794 so would have known Mary Morgan by sight. Mary Morgan's husband she had left behind was apparently still a serving convict and employed by one of these officials. Numerous people who she had travelled on the *Neptune* were now respectable settlers and there were rewards for retuning runaway convicts.

Given all this it seems incredible that if Mary Mears was Mary Morgan per *Neptune* reconvicted and returned, someone did not say something and she was not punished for absconding. So far no record of this happening can be found.

Whatever the case Mary Mears who called herself Molly Morgan had a very charismatic and forceful personality. The 1805-6 muster has no Mary Mears but a Molly Morgan per *Experiment* was at the female factory. In 1811 23.8% of all females in Australia were called Mary and no one was recorded with the given name of Molly. The Old Bailey court records were searched from 1780 to 1830 for the name Molly. In 50 years of London court cases there were only three references to the name Molly and all were used when recording the evidence given. If the person later appeared in court their name was recorded as Mary. Why Mary Mears insisted on called herself Molly Morgan is not known but it is known that she did. Calling herself Molly may have had a very clear colloquial meaning in early 1800s that has since been lost. Ninety years before effeminate usually homosexual males were called Mollies and could meet like-minded men in a Molly house.

Sentenced in 1803, by 1806 Mary Mears then known as Mary Morgan had her own house in Parramatta from which she was robbed of a steel mill, a quantity of poultry and other property. At the same time a watch was stolen from the property. Later the same year thieves again broke into Mary Morgan's house near Parramatta and stole £28 in mostly in marked notes. In 1809 as Morgan she received a lease of land. In 1810 as Mary Mears of Parramatta she sued James Pendergast of the Hawkesbury for failing to supply wheat into the Government stores in her name, wheat for which she had paid him £50/-/- Mary won her case.



In 1814 James O'Neil took out an advertisement cautioning anyone buying stock from Molly Morgan otherwise Mary Mears. Two years later she was charged with having purchase a cow she knew was stolen from the government herds. In part of the evidence it was stated that she was a single woman. It was also stated that she had 34 head of cattle. She had paid £4/-/- for the beast in question as it was in very poor condition. But the Government valued the beast at £15/-/-. Of this she was found guilty and was sent to the female factory in Newcastle for seven years. At whatever value she had a considerable acquisition but the records are silent on how she acquired it and appear silent on what happened to it whilst she was in the female factory in Newcastle.

After three years at the factory in 1819 she and a small number of other convicts were settled on leased land at Wallis Plains, later Maitland. Here she farmed her land and established an Inn.

By 1822 having remained determinedly single since 1803 it would appear that her physical strength was waning as she married a convict much younger than her self, Thomas Hunt. A lifer Thomas had arrived in 1813 on board the *Fortune*. As Mary Hunt she was later granted the land. Her land ran from the Hunter River to the present railway station and encompassed the first bend below Belmont Bridge.

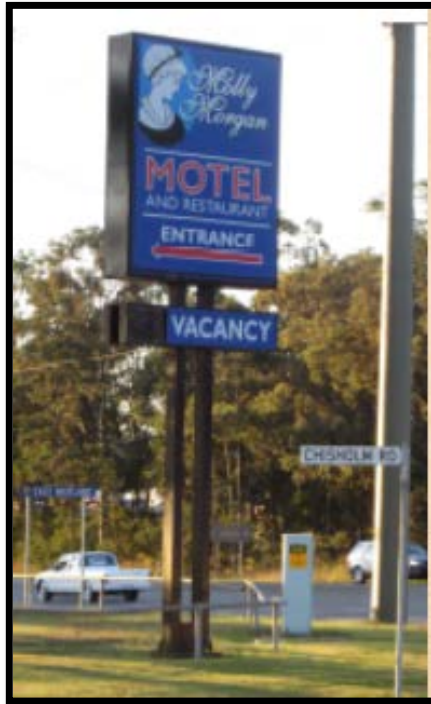
It was as Mrs. Hunt or Molly Morgan that she was associated with the Great North Road, the road to Newcastle. Maitland's High Street was built through her land and the whole area along the river was known as '*Molly Morgans*'. During the 1820s there were numerous references to boats going as far as '*Molly Morgan's*' to pick up freight, and references of people staying at '*Molly Morgan's*' implying she had an inn or accommodation house. She appears to be a larger than life character who was kind and considerate to her fellow residents.

As she aged she retired to land she owned at Anvil Creek here she died in June 1835 leaving her estate to Thomas Hunt. This is where the story gets murky and the lawyers start to play. I have not studied her land holding but apparently she sold off small portions of her land in what is now the town of Maitland. This land in the heart of Maitland was valuable and without seeing the evidence it would appear someone wanted to get their hands on it by declaring the sales illegal through technicalities in the wording of the deeds given she was a woman.

Despite her leaving her estate to Thomas Hunt so named and it being cleared for probate it somehow ended up in the hands of Manning the trustee for intestate estates. Someone fed him a story about Mary Hunt nee Mears being Molly Morgan per *Neptune* so her marriage to Thomas Hunt was illegal so he could not inherit and there were children in England. Where the story came from and whether it was true or not is not known but Manning advertised in England. Out of the woodwork came a retired pensioned soldier who claimed to be the son that was left behind by Mary Morgan per *Neptune*. This all emerges in Manning's white washed and back covering response when Manning got a please explain letter from the governor asking why the estate has not been settled and the soldier was still waiting.(56)

Whoever she was Molly Morgan was certainly the most colourful and possible compassionate woman associated with the Great North Road. Perhaps Cynthia Hunter will solve the enigma that is Molly Morgan.





Molly Morgan is still a name in Maitland

56: SMH 2 July 1846





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.12

Black Bombazine, Blue Gurrah and Cambric Elizabeth A Roberts

Black Bombazine, Blue Gurrah and Cambric fustian, calico, muslin and prints were all terms familiar to the women of the Great North Road. They were clothing materials of the early 19th century advertised by merchants as available in the newspapers of the day. The merchants often advertised that they had received this or that material per a recently arrived ship and they were now available to be seen at his emporium or bazaar. This was when the fashionable ladies of town, the Lady Dowling and her friends would have gone looking for material for a new dress or outfit. The fashionable ladies would have also look at the new stays, (corsets) as many of the fashions depended on the undergarments to shape the body one way or another. At a distance a woman could be distinguished as a lady by her silhouette. Ladies were in general tightly corseted with a straight upright still narrow waisted posture whereas convict women and working class women had a much freer, more natural posture and were able to bend at the waist and twist at will.

In the early 19th Century there was very little readymade clothing with most women making or having their clothing made for them or for the working classes buying it second hand. Convict women were supplied with slops, which is ready made clothing. Finding a description of what female slops in NSW consisted of has been difficult. Eventually a description was found in Annette Salt's *These Outcast Women* the history of the Parramatta Female Factory and then only for 1824 and before. It appears that the women generally wore a drab serge petticoat and drab serge jacket covered by an apron made of Factory woven linen, worn with a calico cap on their heads. Translated in twenty first century language they wore a dull greyish brown skirt and top of a solid woven fabric with a twilled weave, a coarse hard wearing linen apron and a plain hard wearing neutral coloured cotton cap. Under which they wore a shift, grey stockings and shoes with a factory flannel petticoat for the cold weather. After 1824 the first class women were issued with an outfit to wear on Sundays. A white cap and straw bonnet, a long dress with a muslin frill, a red calico jacket and a blue gurrah petticoat (a thin light weight muslin skirt) and a white apron and two check cotton handkerchiefs. Blue gurrah was a plain coarse Indian muslin. And a checked cotton handkerchief would be the equivalent of a cotton square scarf.

It has also been difficult to find a painting depicting female convicts to use as a reference point so it can only be assumed female convicts in private assignment were supplied with similar clothes. It would have been difficult to distinguish between convict and ex-convict and other free working class women except possible by the clothing fit. As female convicts clothes were of both the colours and fabrics generally worn by the working class women. Blue and brown were the easiest colours to dye naturally, were the ones that showed the dirt the least, and were the cheapest to buy.

In this period in fashionable society there was an emphasis on sloping shoulders with the dress based on an inverted triangle the base being the wide shoulders and the point the narrow corseted waist. The shoulders were further emphasized by puffed sleeves, it is unlikely any excess material was wasted on full sleeves for convict women. Towards the end of the 1830s the waist line dropped to a low V.

The common hair style was parted in the middle and caught up in a knot at the back of the head. Young ladies aimed for three sausages curls either side hanging in front of their ears. Older women went for a more restrained arrangement of curls around their faces. Whilst others had the sides of their bonnets' lined with ruching.



Spherical crocheted buttons with soft rag fill





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.13

Rape Elizabeth A. Roberts

A newspaper search on the word rape revealed interesting and varying attitudes to rape depending on who was the victim. There were three responses in 1827; the first in January involved an Aboriginal woman unnamed. In this case James Hunter was indicted for an assault and intent to commit rape on an aboriginal woman. He was found guilty and sentenced to two years in an iron gang but by November 1828 the only James Hunter in the Census is in private employment. By deduction it appears he was the James Hunter per *Eliza* 1821 who was a government stonemason. There being only two James Hunter's in the 1822 and 1825 musters. The poor woman had been captured by seven or eight men on the old race course in Sydney whilst one her down the others all took a turn at raping her, described as "*in the act of forcing her person*" and "*was in the very act of affecting his brutal purpose*" the person who had investigated her cries had gone for the constables who took some time coming. When they arrived only two men remained. Only one was actually arrested with another escaping.(57) In another case Robert Smith was convicted of attempting the rape of a very young girl, Sarah Emma James who was 4 years and 8 months old. In passing sentence the judged said he regretted it could not be more severe. He was sentenced to two years in goal and to pay a £50 fine and to further remain in Goal till all the fine be paid.(58) The same paper reported that at the Hunter River "*the natives have again commenced their outrages. Reports say, they attempted forcibly to carry off a female into the bush.*"(59) The Aboriginals who did carry off Sarah Henshall and rape her were sentenced to death and hung.(60)

57: Sydney Gazette, 3 January 1827, 17 January 1827, 1822 and 1825 Musters.1828 Census

58: Sydney Gazette 19th October 1827

59: Sydney Gazette 19th October 1827

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Roberts, Elizabeth. Thomas Budd in the Pick Vol 3





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.14

The Modern Women of the Great North Road

Greg Powell a long term member of the CTP and bushwalker extraordinaire said when discussing the theme and the poor response that he would be interested in hearing about the modern women, Joan Robinson, Lorraine Banks and Elizabeth Roberts and their connections with the Great North Road. Here follow the stories he requested plus a brief acknowledgement of the other women who have made a major contribution to the Great North Road, Grace Karskens and Siobhan Lavelle.

Joan Robinson and her reminisces about the Great North Road

For family reasons I returned to Newcastle in 1967 to live and to teach. Looking for things to do I attended a WEA History of Newcastle course and then joined the Newcastle Ramblers Bushwalking club. My family enjoyed bushwalking and that was something I had learned to enjoy from an early childhood. Newcastle offers so much for the bushwalker because in every direction there are mountains to explore and the geology of the Hunter Valley is so varied.

Millbrodale is a beautiful farming area situated in the valleys and plains around the Bulga mountains and a range called Millbrodale shelf. The original road track north from Windsor to Singleton and beyond which we call the Putty Road descends from the ridges of the Bulga Mountains into Millbrodale – I lived there for a while before the war as my father was Paymaster in the Main Roads Board and the Putty Road was being re-built and modernized. The locals in Millbrodale spoke of an old convict road and soon my father and I spent time searching the wrong Valley and finally climbing up the next spur we looked down on the old well-built stone walled road making its tortuous way up the steep valleys to the top of the ridges where wheel marks cut into the flat areas of sandstone.

Ian Webb was a (NPWS) ranger for Dharug National Park that included the Great North Road and is also a well-known (local) historian who has researched and written all his life. I will refer to Ian frequently as my story unfolds. Ian discovered years ago that the Windsor to Singleton road was not officially built by convicts as no mention of it occurs in the archives. But here I learnt about drill marks and pick marks and old roads, whilst bushwalking.



*Joan Robinson at her 80th birthday party
Photo Greg Powell*

I have met old farmers near the Putty road who say “I’ve got some of that old road on my property” and there are many wonderful examples of dry stone walls. Perhaps the children of convicts were the creators?

I took the Ramblers to Millbrodale because of the great bushwalking there and they in turn took me to the Great North Road with its beautifully cut stone work showed me the distinctive patterns which each individual convict with deft pick marks dressed the completed stones.

Dharug National Park was proclaimed and the Great North Road was the boundary but not included in it. Meetings were held in Newcastle by the bushwalking clubs and others which had no effect but what that fairly young Ramblers club achieved was to be more curious about where the old road went and to include it in our bushwalking expeditions and access it from different areas. We never cease to discover and learn about 30 years later with years of experience a small group of us took off up the wrong spur after lunch. We sorted ourselves out, turned a six kilometre walk to a great cascade into a twenty kilometre round trip. However we found near the GNR a huge conical pile of rock. It was marked on the map as a star. Ian Webb told me Mitchell had climbed it and so Ian had too! But Mitchell had not left any evidence of his climb. I have never researched the road and all my love and knowledge of the road has been gained ‘out in the field’

On the first 4WD trip we did to see the road in its entirety we slept the night at Circuit Flat Bridge. In the brilliant moonlight we began to follow the straight cut stone edge of the road on the eastern side. I was soon to realize that wherever there is stone at the edge of the road it is cut to show the very edge, sometimes only a few centimetres high and sometimes a stone wall.



For miles and miles wherever the stone edging is there the line is cut perfectly. In later years while idly walking across a rock platform next to the road further south I noticed a long row of perfectly punched holes all equidistant. I asked Ian and yes they were there to show the convicts where to cut the edge of the road. Here they had not been used because ahead lay a rocky stream bed and they had changed the direction of the road slightly. I was told there were more examples but that is my only find that moonlit night we suddenly came to a perfectly engraved likeness of a naked man, side on striding out. Above, in perfect printing is 'COLLIER OUT FOR A DIP with the P back to front.

On the one inch to the mile Morisset topographical Map there is a hut marked on a rise beside the road. Little Mogo Creek flows parallel with the road but near Circuit Flat Bridge the creek is sandy. In 1968 there was a constant flow of water, but not deep enough for a dip! The hut is further south – as one walks south a ridge of hills grows on the skyline to the west. There are three distinct hills and when one is opposite the middle one that is where the hut was. I went down to Little Mogo Creek from the hut site and there the creek is very rocky with waterfall drops and large rocky pools of water. I feel the Collier engraving was done by Telegraph linesmen who built the hut. The road was used as the line for the first Telegraph (and later the first Telephone) line north of the Hawkesbury River.

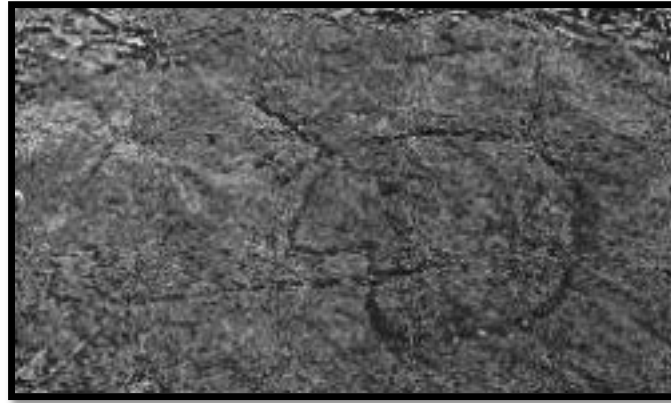
Many years later Ian Webb told me of the first example of white mans (European) Graffiti to appear on the rock platform south of the Circuit Flat Bridge was a tiny double arrow. This arrow pointed to where the convicts were to start quarrying the stone. The little arrow is like a stick man with no head. There are two more engraved figures beside the road which I know about but they relate to when the road was being built with convict labour. When we first saw Devines Hill the trees and scrub grew on the sides of this magnificent feat of engineering a total tribute to the knowledge and ability of the English road builders. But the vegetation obstructed views of the engravings of the initials in the exposed cliff faces and also the hand cut rock drains – when the National Parks finally took over Devines Hill they had all encroaching vegetation removed and cleared all the trees and vegetation above the road and particularly around the large quarry area. The convicts built a dam at the top of the gully behind the quarry and large rock drains to channel the water away from the workings. It was now possible to sit on the carved rock seat in the cave above the road and have a wonderful clear view right down and across to the MacDonald River.

Walking up the road now takes time if you are with people who are interested in the construction, the initials (with serifs) the hand cut drains, box culverts and the area of the and slip and more.

On one such day I was standing on the wall above the road before the top gate, another bushwalker, Jenny Whyte, an English lady seemingly unafraid of snakes as she walked through the long grass patches to explore the gullies worrying where the convicts got their water. Returning across the flat area below me she said, "There is a line there!" Jenny often walked with me and been shown aboriginal art sites. She was well aware of what of a man made line looked like. We ran down and helped clear the sticks and leaves to show a beautiful engraving of a man smoking a clay pipe. It was unbelievable! We gathered around in amazement and photographed it. But, as with all engravings the angle of the sun is so important in highlighting the lines of the artists work. The next week I went back and we cleaned the roots of a large Tea Tree and exposed the man's hat! The lines of the engraving are cut deep in a very clever and artistic way, I feel it may be a true likeness and there is a strength of character in his face with his quizzical arched eyebrows and firm jaw line.



He is well groomed with deeply picked strokes to show the side burns which came up well in afternoon sunlight. He shows an obvious enjoyment in smoking his pipe. The line of smoke rising from the clay pipe with the distinct bowl was the line Jenny first saw. We covered our surprise find with sticks and leaves and always visited it when walking there.



About thirteen years later I went on an excursion with the Royal Australian Historical Society and I showed them the engraving. Someone else should know. Mari Metzke told me about the Convict Trail Project and I joined. I also heard about the Dharug and Lower Hawkesbury Historical Society which I joined and on a morning excursion I showed them the engraving so more people know of its existence.

When I went to the first Convict Trail meeting I looked for Ken Marheine because he had written an article and commented that such an engraving was known about but not where. With Ken were Jack Delaney and Ian Webb. They had all researched and written local history. Ian had added 'old' to the abandoned section to differentiate from the Great North Road from Sydney to the North. I am indebted to Ian for all the information he has given me when I have discussed my latest finds with him. Jack wrote "A Dot and Dash down the Great North Road" (about the Telegraph line that was built along the line of the road in 1859) He was always a great fund of information particularly about the Maitland, Cessnock and Wollombi areas.

The Convict Trail often had meetings in Sydney. I would meet Jack at Morisset and we would meet Ian and Ken in the car park; I was drafted to drive to Sydney. To Sydney I drove and they talked history all the way and I listened.

Ken enthused Ian to tell me about the engraving of a man smoking a clay pipe a long way up the road near Mt Baxter. This was another bushwalking adventure but more highly organized as it was between Ten Mile Hollow and Hungry Flat. A bushwalker came with me; we camped the night at Ten Mile Hollow and set off the next morning at 6am. When we reached the area I couldn't believe it. The whole hillside was covered in vertical rock faces; I walked slowly and finally had gone too far. I have backpacked down the Great North Road several times since and we have never been able to find the engraving. It has to do with the angle of the sun. It is high above the road so having passed it we had



morning tea and returned. It was about 11am suddenly I looked up and there was this beady eye watching me. Wonderful! Ian likes to think of him as 'the overseer'. I had my tripod and carefully photographed the engraving from the road and then climbed up to it.

The road is straight, cutting into the hill side with a deep valley below it descending towards Mangrove Creek. The overseer has commanding view of the road standing there with his hand on his hip and the other bent with his hand to his mouth presumably holding his clay pipe. The artistry is not in the same league as our friend on Devines Hill but he has character and his beady eye is watching wherever you are. Beside the engraving is a large series of dots where the artist planned his sketch. But the magic will only last with the correct angle of the sun.

The first writing on Devines Hill is at the bottom of the hill before the hillside was cut away. The picked out dots are there but not joined up. It says simply 25 FEB apparently Ian tells me 1828 was underneath it but someone had tried to remove it. Initials appear on the cliff face and Ken Marheine told me to look for BARRETT'S and a hang man in a square. The convicts didn't like their overseer.



They would have liked to have hung him. It is high up on the sheer walls and downhill from the natural old landslip area. A geologist showed me the clay areas in it.

The landslip which occurred further up the road after its completion must have happened very slowly. I had a Duke of Edinburgh award student doing Exploration for the gold award on the old road. It had rained and the roar of water in the valley was continuous. We climbed down in the land slip area and I was fascinated to see the wall mostly intact. There was no water fall, just hundreds of tiny cascades.

The drains and box culverts work perfectly and in pouring rain the torrents gush out away from the massive walls in a spectacular waterfall. There are also names engraved including modern graffiti and the odd drinking hole chipped out. We have been left examples of wedge marks to show how blocks of stone were removed.

Heneage Finch said he was a surveyor not a road builder. Governor Darling did not like the steep of Finches line of road and commissioned Thomas Livingstone Mitchell to build the easier ascent up Devines Hill. Finches line was abandoned and the 25 road party left a road for us to enjoy that was

used till the new line was completed. Did they happily stand there to put little stones into the spaces between the rocks in that rock wall or was it the task of one man?

They built a stone ramp and gradually took the road up through the cliff lines to follow straight beneath the hill tops to the most spectacular view overlooking the Hawkesbury and Macdonald Rivers. On the sandy straight three stone culverts still work perfectly.

I had breakfast there on my 70th birthday with bushwalkers and on my 80th we all camped the night. Sound carries to this place and all night the metallic clunk rose as the odd car left the ferry below in the 24 hour service.

On the cliff face before the junction with Mitchells road someone engraved 25 Road Party with the tail of the 'y' wrapping round the word and a little very faint No1 before it. I was there with a friend who is a calligrapher and she explained the sign was engraved by a self-taught man as it shows three different styles of writing.

When I think of the Great North Road I look on the 42 kilometres as from above in my mind's eye – the whole road is a story in stone. The perfect surveying, the challenges overcome, the human element of initials, names and even a cross in the rock. Life was hard for Convicts but we have only to read about that and know the historical reasoning and the hunger and cold but what we see varies according to the geography of the area.

The 4WD drivers enjoyed the challenge of this now fast deteriorating road while passengers sat staring straight ahead while the hapless bushwalker stepped aside to wait for them to pass. That was more often on a Sunday! – now the road silent except for the cyclists and bushwalkers.

Travelers used the road and farmers in the valleys had their own bridge tracks to the road which gave them quicker access to places like Gosford, St Albans and Wisemans Ferry. The bushwalker discovers these still well-worn tracks as we did following a valley up from Roses Creek to Finches road.

Then I think of the broader picture of other roads going north. Howe's (Bridle) Track became the Putty Road, travelers and cattlemen preferred (the longer but well water and settled route) up Devines Hill down Shepherds Gully across the MacDonald up to St Albans then through the common and up Mogo Creek to rejoin the Great North Road. In the valley were provisions, accommodations and the way was well watered. The convicts working on the large stone ramp below Mt Manning were aware of a track beside them which came up from Mogo Creek. The road from St Albans was proclaimed a public road in 1860. There was the original track , a made road of limited stone work with one wall and the present road. One finds evidence of the second road still standing in the bush with occasional stonework and definite embankments.

Blaxland's track of the early 1820s is the lesser known and follows the Bala Range. – Logging roads cut through the old track but there are parts of it still very definite. This became known as the Boree Track and cattlemen used it exclusively. It was strictly a bridge track before the logging roads. They must have moved cattle in single file – where it exists today on the hills it is very clear. Blaxland would have liked the Bala Range for the Great North Road but actually floods on St Albans Common



would have been a problem. My last find on the Great North Road was shown to me by Greg Powell while we were walking back from Hungary Flat. He kept exploring away from the road.

It is my favourite because it tells a story. Going south from Circuit Flat Bridge the road descends gradually to a flat plain. Before the wide plain there is a rocky gully and the last hill. Here the convicts cut a wall on the Eastern side to take the road a little upstream for the crossing. Below the hill is a nice scenic flat of trees and native vegetation but not dense. Walking in off the road a large ant nest covered in white quarts gleams amongst the green. It is at the end of a delightful rock bench. There on the bench two travellers cut their initials with fine precision and care – serifs are used – these tiny lines and sometimes triangles were used to ornament the letters and help us to differentiate between the convict era and modern graffiti. J W- is in danger of being covered with the ants nest then there is R. L. a shallower picked out dish occurs next then R. L. in double lines. In front of the rock bench a rough circle of stones denotes a fireplace. Perhaps on this scenic flat area they tethered their horses.

Ian Webb told me he likes to think they were convicts there, who knows?

Further south on this plain area the rock platform with the punch holes is seen. But on that platform is also a large hole with an enormous letter T with serifs. Perhaps the convicts could only make a T. The rock hole is round and deep. I have stood there with bushwalkers and listened to them debating whether the convicts carved the hole or whether it is natural. I'll settle for geological except it is not in a stream bed.

Next in the area is H. E. SMITH BORNE WOLLOMBI 1898 beautifully carved. The last poignant story Veronica Dalley – Smith who was a member of the Dharug and Lower Hawkesbury Historical Society told me. Her great (or great great) grandmother gave birth to a baby and the next day she and her husband set off down the GNR. The baby died and they were grief stricken. One year later they returned to place a lasting memorial but were unable to recognize where they had buried their baby.

The sandstone country changes with the wind rain and fire. The bushwalkers too know to never leave their packs thinking to come back to them. It's hard to explain but twice we have all been tricked by the enigmatic landscape of the sandstone country. There are many more things but this is my story – Shepherds Gully didn't get a mention! I just wish I could have shown my father this wonderful road meandering its abandoned way silently.

Editor. Joan later wrote several more pages on Shepherds Gully but it was too long to include in this copy except for the conclusion that referred to the whole forty two kilometres with in the national parks.

In conclusion the abandoned forty two kilometers is there with its access roads and tracks from valleys and farms. Gone are the convicts labourers and early travelers – I wish they had put pen to paper. But the gems and little surprises and even the small collection of stones which apparently denote a grave are there for us to find and marvel and ponder. There is aboriginal art to find on the rocks and in the caves along the way and there are many places.



Don't hurry through the story of stone because one only has an adult lifetime to discover



Joan on her 80th Birthday photo Greg Powell

Grace Karskens the first modern woman of the Great North Road

Any stories about the modern women of road would not be complete without an article about Grace Karskens the first modern woman of the Great North Road. Grace's MA research forms the basis of all our work. Unfortunately Grace had been away on sabbatical to come back to writing the lectures for new university courses she teaches and did not have time to write anything between her return and the publication date. She has promised to write about her involvement when she has time. From her pioneering Historical Archaeology MA she had gone on to great things as her brief public biography recounts.



Grace Karskens photo Mine Konakci

Grace Karskens teaches Australian History and public history at the University of New South Wales. She holds degrees in history and historical archaeology from the University of Sydney and held ARC research



fellowships at the University of New South Wales. Her research career began with her MA work on the history and archaeology of the Great North Road, which she undertook between 1980 and 1985. Her research areas include Australian colonial and convict history, urban history, cross-cultural history, material culture and historical archaeology, and urban environmental history. Grace is interested in promoting historical understandings and awareness to wide audiences and is currently on the boards of the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales and the Dictionary of Sydney. She is also a regular speaker on ABC radio. Grace has published numerous articles in scholarly journals, as well as more popular pieces. Her books include *Inside the Rocks: The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood*, based on her work on the world-renowned Cumberland- Gloucester Street archaeological excavation, and the multi-award winning *The Rocks: life in early Sydney*. Her latest book, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney* won the 2010 Prime Minister's Literary Award for non-fiction. Grace was elected a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities in 2010.

My time with the Great North Road - Lorraine Banks



Lorraine whilst working for the CTP Photo RTA media

I first heard about the Great North Road in 1978, shortly after I bought my house at Lower Macdonald a few km from the Devines Hill ascent. Patrick Matthew, a neighbour, had offered to take a few locals for a walk up this old road, and I jumped at the chance to join them. The road was just a track, overgrown with trees and vegetation. The culverts were largely blocked, some of the stones topping them were broken and dislodged, and erosion was rampant. It was still an amazing sight to see this convict built road with its massive retaining walls and quarried rock faces in the bush, on the edge of the Dharug National Park. I was studying Australian History at Macquarie University at the time, with a special interest in the convict era, so this was a really thrilling sight. I became seriously interested in the history of the Road. A short time later the NPWS got a grant to clear some of the vegetation from the road, and to clean out the culverts, and get them operating properly again. My friend Patrick was one of the people employed on this job. We often wandered up to see how they were progressing, and watch as they crawled into the culverts, and removed bucket after bucket load of silt and debris. Eventually the culverts were cleared and the trees and other invasive vegetation

removed. Broken slabs over the culverts were replaced with imported sandstone, and the drainage began to work again as it was designed to do.



*One of the newly cleaned exposed culverts on Devines Hill, in the early 1980s
Photo Lorraine Banks*

In 1982 I met Grace Karskens when she gave a talk on the Road to the Royal Australian Historical Society. She was researching the Road for her Masters thesis, and her paper on the background to its construction was published in the RAHS Journal in December 1982. Grace's knowledge of the Road was immense, and she was happy to share it. Her thesis, completed in 1985 remains the most comprehensive work on the Road. Also in 1982, I was given a copy of the United Service Journal – not something I would normally come across - but inside was an article by Richard Ash on Percy Simpson. It filled out the known information on this major contributor to the construction of the Great North Road immensely. Gradually more and more pieces were being added to the fascinating puzzle that was the Great North Road.

In 1983 the Dharug and Lower Hawkesbury Historical Society was established and I was its president on and off for the next decade or so. We did lots of excursions to various parts of the Great North Road. In about 1984/5 Patrick Matthew, Dr David Hughes, and a couple of other locals traced the line of Finch's ascent, or the 1828 road as it was locally known. There was no sign of a track, and it was a case of studiously following traces of convict works, and studying the vegetation to see which areas may have been cleared in the past 150 years or so. Immediately the Historical Society wanted to explore this route, and Patrick was unavailable that day to lead the excursion, so he showed me the route several days earlier. Some places were very difficult to follow, so I marked a small charcoal



cross on some of the trees where I might need some guidance. A few days later I was leading an excursion through the bush, and with about 30 people trustingly following me, I hoped against hope I could find my way again. I did. It was an exhilarating day for all of us. I'd love to have a dollar for every time I did that walk again over the next 15 years. Now, it is like a highway.

We visited 10 Mile Hollow while there were still remnants of the dwellings and horticultural activities that once existed there, and Clares bridge, long before the wall collapsed. My first trip to the Circuit Flat bridge was in the early 1980s with a walking group my mother (who lived in Newcastle) belonged to – she phoned to say they were going somewhere north of the St Albans Common, and did I want to join them. What a surprise it was to find that bridge up there, at that stage with a couple of poles still across it.

The Road up Shepherds Gully was owned (and occasionally maintained) by Hawkesbury Council. In the 1970s an ordinary car could drive up that road and through to Ten Mile Hollow. I have driven up it myself, in an ordinary car. But lack of drainage maintenance and a couple of big storms in the early 1980s caused serious erosion, and the road was no longer driveable. Council never bothered to maintain it after that and a decade or so later it was incorporated into the National Park. I often used to walk up there on my morning walks, and began to explore the other side of the gully, where the earlier road had been built. It was fun finding more and more road remnants in the bush.

The Great North Road between Devines Hill and the Circuit Flat bridge had long been established as an “adventure road”. Convoys of 4WD vehicles would drive up through St Albans on a Sunday morning to Mt Manning and head back down the old road. It was always more of a challenge to them after rain, when the road was slippery and full of deep water-filled holes and ruts. Those of us who cared about the road were always frustrated and concerned about the damage that was occurring to the convict built relics, but everyone seemed helpless to stop it.

The NPWS did not own that section of the road, and therefore could not close it. Eventually in the early 1990s, with the co-operation of Gosford and Hawkesbury Councils, the NPWS were able to put locked gates at either end to stop the damage the vehicles were causing. I had always wanted to explore the road north of Ten Mile Hollow, and in about 1992 Jocelyn Powell and I donned our backpacks and were dropped off early one morning by Joc's husband John near Mt Manning to head off on a 3 day walk. It was great being able to explore the road on foot, and in a reasonably leisurely manner. The first night we camped at Hungry Flat, and the second at Ten Mile Hollow. The erosion and other damage caused by years of 4WD activity was extensive, and frustrating to see. But the walk along the road was still a great experience, and I would encourage anyone to do it. I have done lots of bushwalks in my time, but that ranks as one of the best, probably partly because of my understanding and love of the road.

In about 1993 Joc and I were leading a walk up Devines Hill (I can't remember the group – a heritage conservation group based near Parramatta or some such) and one particular member of the group kept asking us lots of questions about the broader management of the road. What about other convict built sections? Who should be looking after it as a whole? What was the local community doing? His name was Paul Budde – how Paul got to know about that group, and that walk I'll never know. We kept in



contact and Paul kept me (and the Dharug Land Lower Hawkesbury Historical Society) informed of his attempts to get a broader management structure to oversee this important part of our heritage.



Joc Powell and Lorraine heading off to walk along the Old Great North Road photo John Powell

In January 1995 Paul organised for filmmakers Claude and Bronwyn Aliotti to make a film of the Road. I was to meet them at Bedlam Point and show them various parts of the Road, and talk to them on and off camera. We visited Grace Karskens who was then living at Ryde and she spent a couple of hours going through some of her material with us. Over 2 or three days the video was filmed. (See Note at end) Then in March 1995 Paul invited all the Great North Road stakeholders to a meeting at Hornsby Council chambers. From that meeting, with sub-committees formed, and actions delegated, the Convict Trail became a firmly established entity.



Joc Powell under Clares Bridge photo Lorraine Banks

I found myself leading the History sub-group for the Convict Trail, and we had several meetings exploring aspects of the road, and looking at ways to research and promote its historical significance. Later in the year the Convict Trail was successful in obtaining a grant from the NSW Heritage Office to appoint someone to co-ordinate the Project. My name was put forward, and although I was perfectly



happy in my public service job, I thought about it, and decided I could live on half the pay I was getting, and it would be great to work at something which I loved and about which I felt so passionate. So ,I formally and successfully applied to run the Convict Trail Project, and began work in January 1996.

Fortunately my previous work experience had involved setting up and running several different organisations and projects from scratch. Here all I had was lots of knowledge about the Great North Road, but a blank sheet in terms of what to do and how best to promote and manage the Road and the Project. That began the most enjoyable, satisfying and frustrating time of my life. Unfortunately illness forced me to retire after 4½ years, but the Convict Trail Project was up and running by then, and with Liz Roberts at the helm since then, the Project has become firmly established and widely recognised and respected.

Note: The Convict Trail Video can now be seen on the internet. The url is:
<<http://vimeo.com/26562681>

Heritage Office - Siobhan Lavelle

Another female who has made a large contribution to the Great North Road is the historical archaeologist, Dr Siobhan Lavelle.



Siobhan Lavelle photo Heritage office

In 1998-9 she wrote the Conservation Management Plan, (CMP) the Convict Trail Project had, what was then considered, a large grant to pay for the CMP but Siobhan like virtually all the women who have worked on the Great North Road put in far more time and effort than she was paid for. In the closed section she had company as they had to clear a great many trees that had fallen over the road. But on the currently used sections she was by herself looking to see what was still left. She very nearly drove into the Wollombi Brook at Warkworth at the end of a long, cold wet day as she looked to see if any of the original bridge remained.

In 2003 with qualifications in archaeology, historical archaeology and history, Dr Siobhan Lavelle joined the Heritage Office, where she is now senior heritage officer providing leadership in

historical archaeology. Siobhan had previously worked as an historical archaeologist and heritage consultant for over 20 years, gaining experience in the private, community and government sectors. It is very comforting to know Siobhan is now at the Heritage office as we know she understands the road and will not let through crazy schemes that could damage the road. In 2009 Dr Siobhan Lavelle was awarded a Medal of the Order of Australia for her work in helping preserve both colonial cemeteries and roads.

It's called being in the right place at the right time. - Elizabeth Roberts

Back about 1963-4 I was spending time exploring the MacDonald Valley looking for ancestors' farms and graves. One day just after we crossed the ferry my father said lets go look at the old convict road and turned right 500 meters after leaving the ferry and headed uphill where we admired the culverts and the stone work before turning round to go back downhill to search for an elusive cemetery then buried head high in vegetation. That was my first introduction to the Great North Road.

Life progressed, I married and we bought a house near Waitara Public school where I met another mother Mari Metzke. In 1978 urged on by her I joined the Hornsby Shire Historical Society. Here I met Ralph Hawkins who had already started researching the convicts of the West Pennant Hills timber getting establishment.

We were soon talking about our experiences in researching convicts and the fact we were finding things contra to the general theme in the standard text books of the day. Ralph soon was telling me about this person Grace Karskens who was researching a convict road that was built through the Shire and that there was evidence of a low level crossing in Devlins Creek.

More time passed filled with growing children, part time paid work, bouts of study, nearly full time voluntary work and more research. Modern books on convict research emerged vindicating what Ralph and I had been finding.

One Easter Saturday in the mid 1990's during the construction of the M2 I drove past the Devlins Creek crossing to see survey marks painted all over where the convict crossing was. Frantic phone calls to Dr Carol Liston as we tried to find how to contact the construction company over the Easter break, finally we made contact and were assured they were building over the top and the convict crossing was going to be protected. I was working that Tuesday morning in a time sensitive job so could not be there to confront them when they started work on the Tuesday. This was pre OH&S days so I turned up on site a couple of times to make sure it was being protected.

It was about this time that the Convict Trail Project was formed. Hornsby Shire Historical Society became an early member and I started attending meetings. In my early 50s with the children heading towards the end of school and with my professional research business past it use by date as people started doing their own family history research I was contemplating what work I would like to do and enrolled in the Graduate Diploma in Heritage Studies at UNE.

Just as I had completed the diploma and was starting to looking for work in the heritage field my part time employer the Australian Bureau of Statistics assigned me to a special survey that involved



working virtually full time for over six months. This was just winding to a close in August 2001 when I got a phone call from Mari Metzke asking was I available for a month to six weeks temporary work for the Convict Trail that might lead to permanent part time work. Some hurried thinking, yes if I worked really hard I could wind up the ABS special work that week and be free for three weeks before I needed to do about twenty five hours for the ABS again, but as that was mostly night and weekend work to be done in one week, it could be juggled, one fifty five hour week per month was OK for a while. I had resigned the previous year from the state parent organization FOSCO I had worked voluntarily with for nearly twenty years, so yes I could take on thirty hours work a week. Paul Budde came to my house on his way home from a meeting in Sydney to interview me and explain what needed to be done and I started the next week. Later I was formally interviewed by the whole committee in his office and put on a three months trial for the continuing contract.



Elizabeth Roberts photo EA Roberts

Although I would never have applied if not asked, in many ways I was a good fit for the complex job. From my years of voluntary work I knew the complexities of getting disinterested government departments to take you seriously, of living on tight grant funding from the organization you at times were arguing with, of writing and producing annual reports, of paid staff and volunteers working together, and of the paid staff also doing voluntary work.

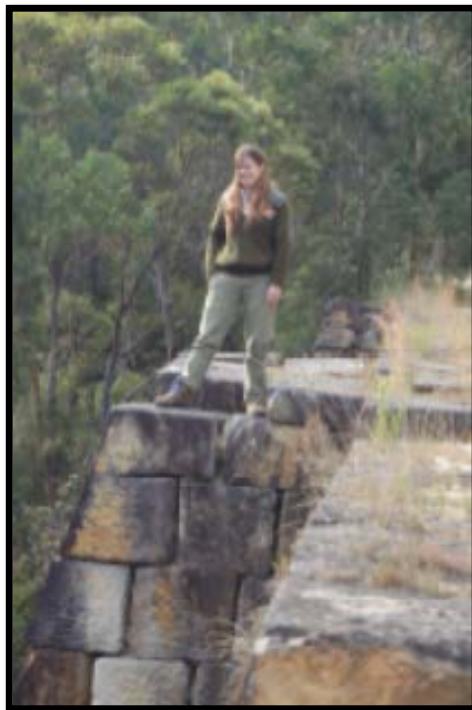
I also was experienced with mundane things like printing reports and stuffing envelopes and keeping things for the one mail out to save money. From my personal life I understood building and construction and was used to days that segued through a number of different activities and mind sets. I had a passion for convict research and my new education qualifications, which included a number of units in archaeology, were designed for a job like this. In the best of tradition I was in the right place at the right time and the rest is history. It is great when you can get paid to work doing something you have a passion about.

Sarah Brookes - Ranger Dharug National Park - Manager Old Great North Road

At school I really had no idea what career I wanted. I knew I enjoyed being out bush walking with my father, learning the names of flowers and trees and collecting tadpoles. Dad became a keen conservationist when he moved to Australia and built a house next to Davidson State Recreation Area (later Garigal National Park). Hence I grew up with the bush outside my window and it was a big part of my life as I would often wander to a nearby look out to ponder the world and my place in it. It became a friend where I would go to when I needed grounding or time out from studying or exams.

So, after four years of university and three years working as a social worker I decided that the natural environment was really where I wanted to work and thus I started a second university degree by distance education: a Bachelor of Science (Parks, Recreation and Heritage). A few months later I became a volunteer with the Chase Alive volunteer program in Ku-ring-gai Chase National Park. I would lead guided walks and mountain bike rides on my days off and study in the evenings. One of the first bike trips I led was up Devine's Hill and down Shepherd's Gully Road. Little did I know that I was going to manage this amazing historic road a few years down the track.

My volunteer work led to my first job with the National Parks and Wildlife Service at the North Head Quarantine Station as an Interpretation Officer. I took a huge leap of faith and a giant pay cut to cross over from people to trees. Working here fostered my interest in historic buildings, past lives and ghosts. A colleague and I started the Ghost Walks at the Station and yes, I did experience encounters with ghosts there and in time I got used to hearing hollow footsteps on the verandah and the jangling of keys opening doors when there was no one to be seen.



*Sarah Brooks on buttress on Devines Hill
Photo NPWS*



In 1996 I started working as the Ranger for Dharug National Park. What a blessing. Whilst it was a steep learning curve for me I couldn't believe my luck; a vast area of natural woodlands, forests and rainforests with a historic road right through it and fantastic Aboriginal rock art and cave art. Glossy black cockatoos gracefully flying and squawking overhead and wombats trundling through the camping area at Mill Creek.

It was three years before the reins of the Old Great North Road were truly handed over and I started looking after the Road. It started with a hard introduction, writing the Conservation Management Plan for the Road, which in fact led to a deep understanding of the Road. From there it was reconstructing walls, vegetation removal and road resurfacing works to protect the wonderful features that remain along this remarkable historic road. I made a point of traversing the Road following archaeological surveys to find features so that I knew the Road and its characteristics. I remember finding three extra posts that hadn't been previously recorded and were part of an old guardrail lying next to a threatened plant species. The Road still has many hidden stories and I am still exploring it and finding new features. Dharug is still remote enough to be able look for kilometres upon ridge after ridge of pristine bush, filled with threatened species which make it a challenge to manage but exciting at the same time; not knowing what each day may bring. Like when I finally discovered after three years of tracking that the critter making mysterious prints on my predator monitoring sand pads was a common dunnart which had never before been recorded in the park. After burying peanut butter and oat balls I caught it on remote video camera digging them up and devouring them. And when we discovered that a vulnerable grass grows on Devine's Hill, particularly liking the moisture in the cut drains.

Rescuing a very thin and dehydrated goanna from down a pit toilet and to see him a few weeks later in good health sunning on a log is also very memorable. Then there is the Old Great North Road and its recent World Heritage Listing: it continues to survive and throw me challenges of conserving and managing history and fabric while balancing recreation and tourism. Not to mention the juvenile goanna (of a threatened species) that I saw wandering through a culvert one day and sitting atop a nearby culvert inlet the next day boldly watching us drive past. My attitude is a far cry from Lieutenant AW Breton referring to the same stretch of land over 150 years ago:

“Much of the scenery is indescribably sombre. The eye seeks in vain for something more cheerful to look upon than a succession of ridges stretching as far as the eye can reach, and deep gullies without a single spot uncovered by trees, and not a blade of grass in any direction”
(Karskens *The Grandest Improvement in the Country* 1985 :29).

Fifteen years later, I still smile at how lucky I am to have scored Dharug as my park to look after for others to enjoy. I still marvel at the glossy black cockatoos, the trundling wombats, mossy rocks and grinding grooves along a rainforest creek, and convict hewn blocks and feel blessed to spend many of my days amongst some of the most beautiful nature and culture our world has to offer.





THE PICK OF THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Pick Vol 8.15

BUTTONS

Elizabeth A. Roberts

Elizabeth A. Roberts

Bone buttons were manufactured in Parramatta as a cottage industry near the old Parramatta Hospital. The military used metal buttons, silver or gilt for officers and pewter or brass for other ranks. The Australian Agricultural company had brass buttons cast with a raised Co AA on them, for their convicts clothes. The children in the orphanages sewed on 12 gross of metal buttons and four gross of deadeye buttons in one year. Isaac Levy sold flexible and gambroon buttons, white and black bone buttons, pearl buttons, metal buttons and hooks and eyes. Buttons were imported by the case.



*Hand crocheted buttons over cloth covered wooden shapes.
E.A. Roberts collection*