

# From Limerick to Van Diemen's Land: Irish Transportation at Work

**I**n the early 1970s, the Tasmanian historian, John Williams, surveyed the records of the 14,000 Irish prisoners transported to Van Diemen's Land between 1803 and 1853. The results appeared in his posthumous book, *Ordered to the Island: Irish Convicts and Van Diemen's Land* (Sydney, 1995). Although Williams' initial work predated personal computers, his records have since been computerised as the still incomplete John Williams Database. These records are derived from the carefully compiled contemporary convict files held in the Archives Office of Tasmania. They provide detailed descriptions and chart the colonial behaviour of each convict.

The database to date shows that 672 County Limerick inhabitants, 443 men and 229 women, became involuntary residents of Van Diemen's Land during the convict period, 1803-53. Unlike other countries, Ireland sent a considerable proportion of females. Thus the overall ratio of female to male convicts from Limerick to Van Diemen's Land was almost exactly 50%, slightly higher than the general Irish female percentage of 46. A glimpse at the transportation system, the Limerick contribution and some case studies can further understanding of mid-19th century famine Ireland. Genealogists may require further information about relatives despatched to Tasmania, as Van Diemen's Land was officially renamed in 1856.

Transportation had a long history in Ireland even before the Act of Union in 1800. At the time when prisons were mainly holding stations for prisoners on their way to other punishments, flogging, branding or hanging, transportation became a merciful, cheap and convenient alternative to the gallows. It removed prisoners permanently from the community, helped to build up overseas colonies and offered profits to those able to sell convicts and their labour overseas. However, not all Irishmen agreed with this system. The patriot John Mitchell, who roused a furious Limerick mob against him in 1848 when he attacked Daniel O'Connell, considered the best way to deal with robbers, burglars and forgers was 'hang them, hang them ... I would ventilate the rascals in front of the county gaols at the end of a rope'<sup>1</sup>. Other contemporary Irish patriots, such as O'Connell, Thomas



'Death of a convict in a Prison Hulk'. By George Cruikshank.

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by Richard Davis, assisted by  
Marianne Davis

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Davis and William Smith O'Brien, were strongly against capital punishment for any offence.

The first Irish convicts to Australia arrived in New South Wales during 1791. After many centuries of occupation by the Aboriginal people, Van Diemen's Land became a new British penal settlement in 1803. As an extension of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land received its initial Irish prisoners indirectly from the older colony as re-convicted secondary offenders, requiring further punishment. Convicts from Limerick, shipped to New South Wales between 1831 and 1837, may have been consoled by the fact that the liberal and popular Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, was a Limerick man who retired to his Irish estate of Thornfield on leaving New South Wales.

For reasons still not completely clear, no Irish prisoners were shipped directly from Ireland to the southern island until transportation to New South Wales ended in 1840. The period of most intense Irish transportation to Van Diemen's Land coincided with the Great Famine of 1845-49. Unfortunately for the authorities, at this time free settlers were demanding self-government and an end to all transportation.

The pattern of Limerick transportation to Van Diemen's Land mirrors that from Ireland in general. The first convict from Limerick to reach Van Diemen's Land was Stephen Broa, transported for life in 1801 and arriving in Hobart, via Sydney, in 1804. Little is known about Broa, but the first Limerick woman is more interesting. Twenty-year-old Catherine Leeson was sentenced at Limerick City in 1804 to seven years transportation, probably for theft, and despatched from Cork on 15 February 1806 with 34 other women (four others from Limerick) and 125 male convicts. The ship, the *Tellicherry*, carrying the celebrated Wicklow insurgent leader Michael Dwyer and four lieutenants, as well as ordinary convicts, took 168 days to reach Sydney. The voyage seems to have passed happily enough with a good captain. Later male and female convicts were carried on separate ships. As the women chosen for the voyage were young and fit, most were probably quickly employed as domestics in New South Wales<sup>2</sup>. Later, however, as the result of some misdemeanour, Catherine was transferred to Hobart and appears there in 1811. The records for this period are scanty, and nothing more is known of her.

In the early years, however, there was a mere trickle of Limerick convicts to Van Diemen's Land. From 1803 to 1835, only 27 (18 men and 9 women) convicts from Limerick arrived in Van Diemen's Land.

**THE  
CONVICT SHIP  
HAS ARRIVED!**

**T**HE GREAT MEETING will be held on the CIRCULAR WHARF, TO-DAY, at Noon, to Protest against the Landing of the Convicts.

The Chair will be taken by Robert Lowe, Esq., the Member for the City.

Let all places of business be closed!

Let every man be at his post!

Poster calling a meeting at Circular Quay, Sydney, to object to the landing of a convict ship, 1849.

After the end of transportation to New South Wales in 1840 numbers accelerated. From 1839 to 1852, beginning with 36 males, there was a steady stream of convicts from Limerick: 220 females and 425 males, a grand total of 645. In 1852, the year before transportation to Van Diemen's Land ceased, three women, Honora Dea, Mary Connors and Anne Joynt, and one man, John Regan, became the last convicts sent from Limerick to Van Diemen's Land. Connors, Joynt and Ryan joined the three women and 61 men from Limerick arriving in Van Diemen's Land in the last year of transportation. Most of these had been sentenced several years earlier. In 1856, before their sentences had expired, Van Diemen's Land became the self-governing colony of Tasmania.

The removal of transported convicts from Limerick to Dublin occasioned many a sad scene, as in 1841, when, escorted by mounted and foot police, thirty mostly 'able athletic, and healthy young men' were 'followed by hundreds of their friends outside the town, whose screams rent the skies, and pierced the most hardened heart'<sup>3</sup>. The *Limerick Reporter* attributed most of the serious crime to faction fights, now diminished by Fr Theobald Mathew's temperance crusade, and quarrels over land by 'the most wretched class of farmers or agricultural labourers'. At the mercy of their landlords, such men could only retaliate as Whiteboys at night<sup>4</sup>.

For Ireland as a whole, the famine produces no large increase in sentences until 1847. Convictions then rose until 1850 before dropping by 1856 to the lower levels of a decade earlier. Proliferating convictions confronted colonies either refusing, like the Cape, to accept transported offenders, or, like Van Diemen's Land, protesting vigorously against them. As a result, transportation of males to Van Diemen's Land was abandoned for part of 1847 and 1848, being resumed in the modified guise of exiles supposedly trained in prisons at

home. Limerick figures show these developments. In the eight years 1839-46, 254 males (averaging 32 per year) and 67 females (averaging 8 per year) were sentenced in Limerick and transported to Van Diemen's Land. Most of the women were transported for stealing or larceny of some kind, while a number of men committed more violent crimes, sometimes typical Whiteboy offences like assaulting the dwelling of an opponent<sup>5</sup>. At first, embarkation followed soon after conviction, or was briefly delayed to enable numbers to accumulate for a particular boat.

In 1847 considerable changes occurred in Limerick, as in Ireland as a whole. The number of Limerick males sentenced to transportation and actually sent to Van Diemen's Land rose from 19 in 1846 to 31 in 1847, an increase insufficient to account for a spectacular rise in convictions. This is explained by the suspension of male transportation from Ireland to Van Diemen's Land in 1847 and 1848, ensuring that those convicted in 1847 remained in Irish gaols or interim penal colonies like Bermuda or Gibraltar. They sometimes

provided prison training to make convicts effective as colonists, but the crowded Irish gaols and the limited facilities in Spike Island, off Cobh, and Bermuda made the ideal difficult to achieve. Interrogated in Van Diemen's Land, Michael Hackett, transported for receiving, painted a grim picture of a year in Limerick gaol in 1850. Prisoners were supposed to pick oakum or break stones, but 'there was not much work done; it was only necessary that prisoners should, when at work, do a little'. In Van Diemen's Land, on the contrary, 'I find the work that I am now at very hard, and am not able to do it'. In Limerick prisoners received for breakfast, 6oz Indian meal, 2oz of rice and half a pint of sweet milk. Dinner was 14oz of brown bread and a pint of sweet milk. In Van Diemen's Land, however, 'the diet is very fair'. At Limerick gaol there was no school or religious instruction, apart from Sunday Mass. Fourteen men slept in one room, 15 feet by 20, three, sometimes four, to a bed with two blankets, a rug and a single mattress. Uncovered chamber pots were used after lock-up, which began at 4pm in winter. Prisoners could at least sing and play chequers. At Newgate in Dublin there was stricter discipline, a school, which Hackett missed because of work in the bakehouse, and separate beds<sup>6</sup>. Hackett, who had been convicted before, committed four minor infringements in Van Diemen's Land. As a baker able to read a little, no thanks to his gaol experience, he had a useful trade to take up in the colony<sup>7</sup>.

Women, given a few months moral and technical training in Grangegorman, Dublin, before transportation, were considered more acceptable. In 1847, 22 Limerick women, double those of the previous year, were tried and transported without delay to Van Diemen's Land. In the next years, the respective numbers were: 1848 (50 men, 28 women), 1849 (68 men, 27 women), 1850 (17 men, 41 women), 1851 (4 men, 32 women), 1852 (1 man, 3 women). Thus in the final stages of transportation from Limerick to Van Diemen's Land, women outnumbered the men.



The convict Sheperd, in his bush stupor, meets the natives. This style of bark hut is typical of the outstations in which convicts lived.



Statue to Sir Richard Bourke at Sydney - the first statue to be erected in Australia.

Women appeared less of a threat to free settlers in the colonies, now demanding self-government and an end to transportation. The sexual imbalance in Van Diemen's Land made the authorities look to the importation of women as an antidote to homosexuality. Women were less often involved in crimes of violence, though the years after the famine saw an increasing number of women arsonists: four in 1850, seven in 1851. As in the case of two of the thirteen known Limerick prostitutes transported, Anne Tuohy and Ann Mahony,<sup>8</sup> arson was often deliberately committed to achieve enforced exile. Free settlers, moreover, were desperate for domestic servants. For example, the 133 Irish women convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land on the *Midlothian* in 1853 were rapidly hired, despite 'the strong prejudices' which ten years before would have accepted only ten from an Irish ship<sup>9</sup>. Both the two Limerick women on this boat could read, an accomplishment possessed by only 32% of transported Limerick women and 49% of all Irishwomen at the time<sup>10</sup>, but otherwise presented an interesting contrast. Mary Connors was a country servant with no previous offences before transportation; in Tasmania she chalked up four minor convictions and one major crime. Twice offending in Ireland before her ultimate conviction for larceny, Anne Joynt, who possessed the valuable skill of lacemaking, had a clear record in Tasmania and thus adjusted to settler requirements<sup>11</sup>.

Some individual stories from Co. Limerick enliven the statistics. Over 70 males were involved in violence or assault. In 1840 Daniel Griffin from the Bruff area came to Limerick to see the races. On the following day he visited his cousin, John Griffin, cutting timber at the Watergate yard. When Daniel made to take the saw, Michael Fitzpatrick, another sawyer, struck him a mortal blow on the head and absconded. He was eventually caught by the police. The judge, after Fitzpatrick's conviction for murder in 1841, only recorded death, thus paving the way for commutation and transportation for life. Fitzpatrick, a lapsed temperance society member, told the Van Diemen's Land

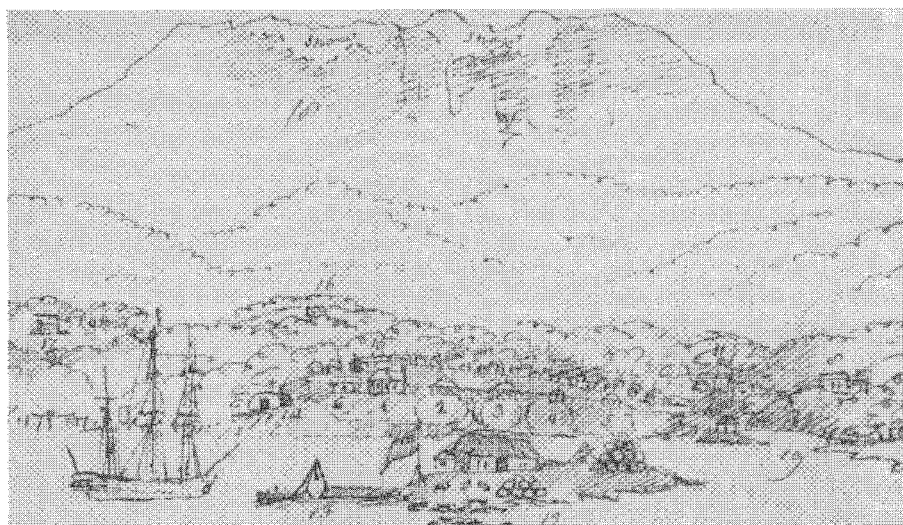
authorities that he had attacked Griffin because the latter threatened to undercut his wages. This was not unlikely, as Griffin was described as 'a country colt' who no doubt lacked the bargaining sophistication of a Limerick tradesman. Young, literate and skilled, Fitzpatrick might have done well in Van Diemen's Land, but was soon in trouble again, possibly through drink, when he was reconvicted for two minor offences and one major crime<sup>12</sup>.

Another case, partly induced by famine conditions, was that of John Hennessy, tried with three others for invading the house of Loughlan Sharpe at South Cappa in May 1848 to take his gun and threaten his life. Sharpe was a landowner paying workers only one shilling a week for draining his land. At the trial, the police used an unsavoury approver, Terence Phelan, who boasted participation in nine or ten attacks<sup>13</sup>. Hennessy, though a labourer, was fully literate when he reached Van Diemen's Land on the *St Vincent* in 1853. Apart from one minor offence in Tasmania, he appears to have been a useful colonist<sup>14</sup>.

Hennessy's was a fairly typical Whiteboy crime, which the authorities considered rife in Limerick. Gangs or family groups waged private vendettas in

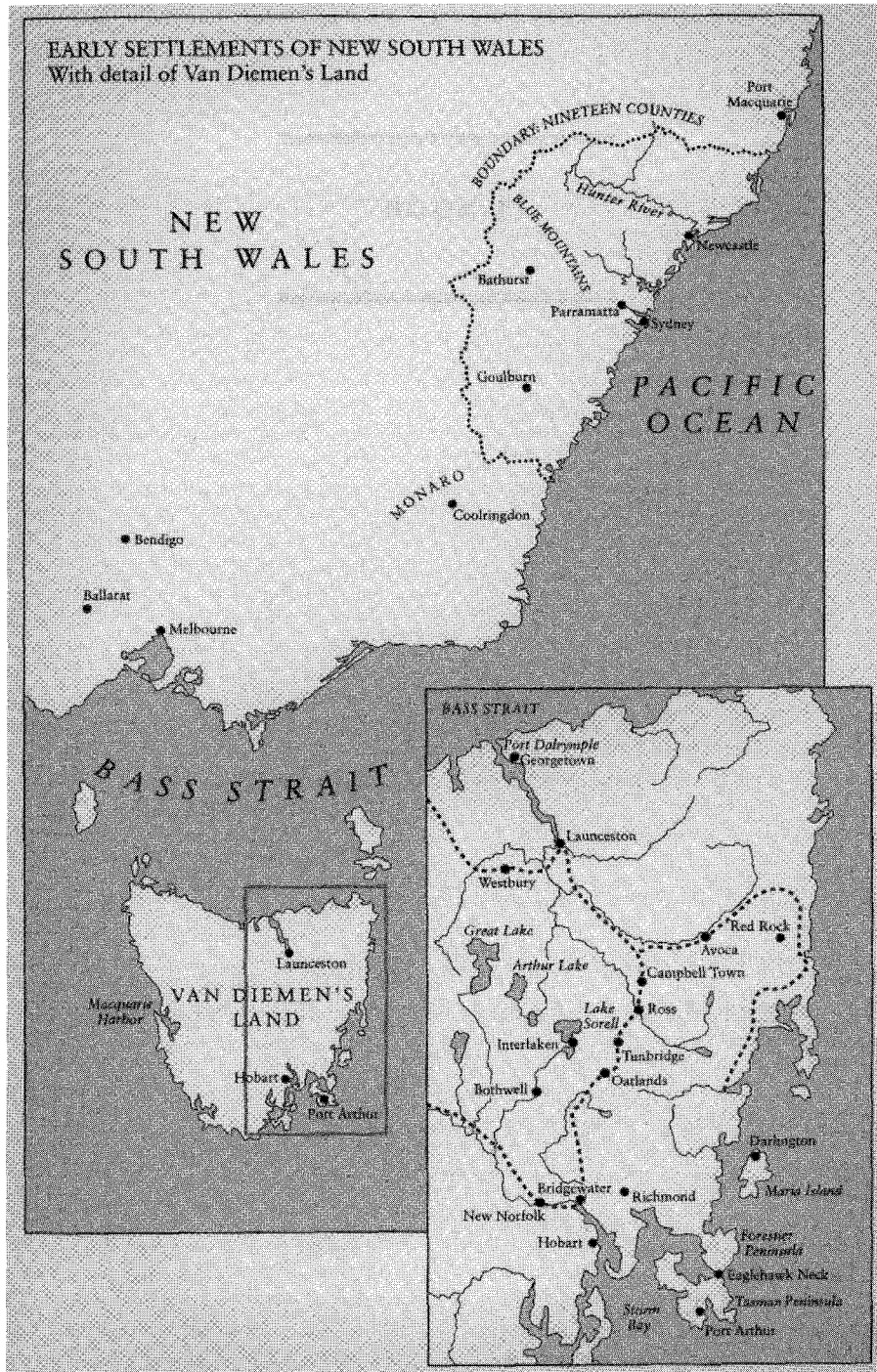
attempts at collective action, almost political, against evicting landlords and their new tenants. In 1841 there was great unrest in Pallaskenry. Amidst considerable controversy, five men, Thomas and Michael Madigan, Francis and Michael Whelan and Thaddeus, later Timothy, Mahoney, were each transported for seven years for housebreaking to seize a gun and ammunition. They came together on the *Egyptian*, which carried them to Van Diemen's Land. John Langford, a magistrate, attempted to associate them with a possibly forged document suggesting a link between temperance and the more political secret Ribbon movement. His colleagues were divided on the issue and an investigation was set up. In Van Diemen's Land, the five associates seem to have kept out of trouble<sup>15</sup>.

Judge Thomas Lefroy, once beloved by the great novelist, Jane Austen, as early as 1824 complained to the Limerick Grand Jury that, in contrast to England, 'Here the blood-stain of murder excites no feeling but one - the murderer is protected, or if discovered, the witnesses against him are hunted down'<sup>16</sup>. Similarly, Judge Nicholas Ball lamented in 1844 that, as long as he could remember, the Limerick calendar was studded with Whiteboy crimes<sup>17</sup>. In 1846 Limerick magistrates had demanded the proclamation of Clanwilliam, Oweybeg, Small County and Costlea: 'murder, breaking open houses for arms, threatening notices, and intimidation are of daily and nightly occurrence, attacking all classes who will not join in or submit to the laws made by nightly meetings of large bands of armed peasantry'. The following year there were riots in Co. Limerick. At Rathkeale a huge mob demonstrated outside the workhouse<sup>18</sup>. In 1848 Judge Ball almost despaired at the size of the crime catalogue, even after a special commission in Limerick, when a particular example had been made of William Frewen, transported for merely harbouring a suspect<sup>19</sup>. However, Ball told landlords to 'establish a bond of affection' with their dependants as the best means of diminishing crime<sup>20</sup>. The people of



The beginnings of Hobart town, Van Diemen's land. Sketch, perhaps by the surveyor George Prideaux Harris, 1804.

National Library of Australia.



Limerick certainly did not give up and accept famine starvation without a struggle. Nevertheless, after Ball's exhortation, at the Limerick summer assize of 1848, the traditional white gloves, denoting an empty crime calendar, were presented to the visiting judge. This enabled conservatives to argue that repressive measures had worked<sup>21</sup>. The July 1848 Rising led by the Limerick landowner, William Smith O'Brien, centred on Tipperary, not Limerick itself.

Many of those transported were not social rebels and had little claim to popular sympathy. In 1843 Pat Noonan and Robert Houlihan from Shrulog Bog took part in a 'blackface' robbery of Patrick Shine of Carrickparson. Shine was shot in the side and later died. Houlihan and Noonan were convicted with the aid of an approver, James Hickey, who told a bizarre story of villany, greed and treachery.

"I might put powder and ball in a pistol, if I was paid for it, to shoot a man; I can't prove the arms the party had were loaded, but I know my own pistol was; I went to Dublin on my keeping; when I was going through the streets of Roscrea I was taken; I was never in any murder before but this; I was often out taking arms at night; ... heard there was a large reward for the murder of Shine; I heard the reward was 700l. or 800l.; I expect to get money by convicting these men; I don't want to take away their lives, but I'll tell the truth<sup>22</sup>."

Noonan and Houlihan, the latter claiming innocence, were condemned to death<sup>23</sup> but reprieved and transported to Van Diemen's Land. Both learned to read, if not to write. Despite their heinous crime, in Van Diemen's Land they committed only one minor offence between them and seem to have made a

satisfactory adjustment to their new lives<sup>24</sup>.

Six Limerick men arrived in Van Diemen's Land convicted of rape<sup>25</sup>. Three were illiterate and three able to both read and write. Only one Limerick man, Andrew Lyons (1843) was transported for bigamy. No Limerick woman was apparently transported to Van Diemen's Land from Limerick for infanticide; a case against Bridget Bartly for murdering her infant was suddenly dropped in 1845<sup>26</sup>. Mary Fahey, 'a very fine looking woman', made the journey for involvement in a typical *crime passionnel*. She was convicted of assisting, on a lonely road, her lover, Michael Hanley, to beat his wife, another Mary, bloodily to death with a stone. There was no hope of reprieve and Michael Hanley was hanged. Mary, however, saved herself by proclaiming pregnancy, a fact upheld by a special jury of matrons. After delivery she was transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1852. Two years later she married and was assigned to her husband's keeping. This did not save her from a spell in the cells for staying out after hours. Even after her conditional pardon in 1861, Mary received two gaol sentences for being idle and disorderly<sup>27</sup>.

Another Limerick convict was less happy in a triangular relationship. Convicted of stealing sugar during the tense year 1849, Pat Kiely was transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1851 with the minimum sentence of seven years. On board the *Blenheim*, Fr Charles Woods, the religious instructor, found his moral conduct good, but infrequent attendance at the daily shipboard basic literacy school left him 'uneducated'<sup>28</sup>. In Tasmania Kiely married, but his wife, Bridget, left him and married Matthew Clarke in 1865, despite her former husband's continued existence. Tiring of Clarke, Bridget went back to Kiely for a time, before reverting again to Clarke. This time Kiely took Bridget into the scrub and cut her throat with a razor. Undefended in court, with no public funds available for a lawyer, Kiely was convicted. The jury's recommendation to mercy failed and he was hanged in Launceston in November 1869<sup>29</sup>. Kiely's sad story demonstrates that transportation to Van Diemen's Land was not always a better option than remaining in famine-torn Ireland. Back in Limerick in 1845, James McCormack was luckier when he forced his wife Ellen's head into a hole filled with water, drowning her before her eighteen-year-old son could pull her out. The court accepted that James had been carried away by 'a sudden passion'. Accordingly he was convicted of manslaughter only. A literate farm labourer of 55, McCormack had an unblemished record in Tasmania<sup>30</sup>.

The vast majority of Limerick convicts shipped to Van Diemen's Land did not obtain the publicity, either before or after transportation, of Mary Fahey or Pat Kiely. Most, men and women, were sentenced for robbery of one kind or another. The newspapers gave them little space. Much livestock was appropriated

during the famine, often the result of sheer hunger. Men usually predominated in the stealing of animals, but of the 58 transported Co. Limerick residents who stole cows, 24 were women. Judges were often sympathetic to cases arising from starvation and would sometimes impose a light sentence or no penalty. For example, at the Limerick winter assizes of 1847, a miserable-looking couple, William and Margaret Casey, were indicted before Sergeant J. Stock<sup>31</sup> for stealing a single sheep. Pleading guilty in tears, Casey demonstrated that two of his five children had died of starvation and there was nothing with which to feed the others. Assured of the Caseys' sincerity by the High Sheriff, Sir David Roche, the judge ordered that the prisoners be discharged to look after their remaining children<sup>32</sup>.

Although six people were transported for mere vagrancy, many of those sent out of the country were repeat offenders or Whiteboys. Several judges insisted publicly that they were targeting such criminals. In Van Diemen's Land, most convicts had several further convictions, often for minor matters like drunkenness or absence without leave. Many settled into regular relationships and left a number of descendants. An example is Patrick Stack, possibly from Athea, sentenced in 1849 for setting fire to hay, a crime often used to provoke transportation and thus escape the famine. Stack did not arrive in Van Diemen's Land until 1852. Though married with four children in Ireland, as in other cases, his marriage was considered dissolved by seven years absence overseas<sup>33</sup> and he married Anastasia Leahy, a free woman. The couple had three daughters and a son. With only two examples of misconduct in staying out after hours, Pat obtained a ticket-of-leave during the year of his arrival, being deemed trained in gaol. His certificate of freedom was granted four years later. He settled with his family in Cygnet, a strongly Irish community practising mutual self-help. Pat, an illiterate labourer who may have turned to another occupation such as timber cutting, died in 1868 of stomach cancer. His descendants still live in Tasmania<sup>34</sup>. Stack was accompanied to Van Diemen's Land by his associates in arson, Timothy, John and Edward Delane, whose descendants called themselves Dillon<sup>35</sup>. Pat Stack's story is typical of many others, who, neither committing a sensational crime nor achieving spectacular success in the colony, brought Limerick genes to the new world.

At least 122 men and 59 women from Limerick, unlike Pat Stack, committed no further offence of any sort in Van Diemen's Land. They may be thus considered adaptive colonists, though feminist historians argue that minor infringements indicate that some women were asserting their individuality by bucking the system. The variety of case histories show the difficulty of authoritative generalisation. Some convicts wanted to be transported; others

were devastated when told that their persistent offending made it impossible for them to remain in their own country. Judges' decisions were not final; many sentenced to transportation never reached Australia, but were released back in Ireland after a spell at Bermuda or Gibraltar. As a rule, judges were conscientious and rarely brutal. Historians are divided between Rena Lohan, who argues from a survey of 300 women convicts awaiting transportation at Grangegorm, that transported Irishwomen were a bad lot, and Deborah Oxley, whose Australian statistics suggest that Irishwomen made a positive contribution to the emergence of the new colonies<sup>36</sup>. Limerick convicts provided some interesting case studies, ranging from Kiely, who ended on the Tasmanian gallows, to William Smith O'Brien, an Irish patriotic hero. O'Brien's model constitution for a self-governing Tasmania contained elements still in operation today and his early suggestion for an Australian federation will be remembered in the centenary celebrations of the Australian Commonwealth in 2000<sup>37</sup>.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. John Mitchel: *Jail Journal*, University Press of Ireland, 1982, pp. 124-5, 169, 245, 286 etc.
2. See Kieran Sheedy: *The Tellicherry Five: The Transportation of Michael Dwyer & the Wicklow Rebels*, Dublin, 1997, pp. 53, 72-3, 75-6, 172.
3. *Limerick Reporter* 9 April 1841.
4. *ibid.* 27 July 1841.
5. Examples appear on the database out of 81 assaults for men. Only one woman was convicted of assault.
6. 'Further Correspondence on the Subject of Convict Discipline and Transportation', *British Parliamentary Papers, Transportation*, Vol. 12, 1852-3, p. 60.
7. Archives Office of Tasmania (AOT), Con 33.109: *Dalhousie*.
8. AOT, Con 41/12.
9. Despatch from Governor Denison to Duke of Newcastle, 30 April 1853, including enclosure from Dr J.S. Hampton, 9 March 1853, *British Parliamentary Papers, Of Convict Discipline and Transportation*, Vol. 12, p. 38, no. 7.
10. *Freeman's Journal*, 28 March 1856, gives a summary of the 1851 census in an editorial: 769,845 women could read and write, 711,331 could read only, and 1,563,600 were illiterate.
11. AOT, Con 41/36; Sandra Champion, "Not Hardened Offenders": the women of the *Greenlaw* and the *Midlothian*', unpublished BA Hons. Thesis, Dept. of History, University of Tasmania, 1994, p. 93.
12. AOT, Con 33/12.
13. DEM, 18 July 1849.
14. AOT, Con 33/115
15. AOT, Con 33/3; *Limerick Chronicle*, 15 April and 30 May 1840; ITR 3, p.110; CRF 1840 M 75.
16. Thomas Lefroy: *Memoirs of Chief Justice Lefroy*, Dublin 1871, p. 82. For Jane Austen and Lefroy, see David Nokes, *Jane Austen: A Life*, London 1997, p. 157.
17. *Freeman's Journal*, 18 July 1844.
18. *Cork Examiner*, 20 and 25 October 1847.
19. For details see Richard Davis: *William Frewen: Limerick Famine Scapegoat*, *Old Limerick Journal*, No. 35, Winter 1998, pp. 6-9.
20. DEM, 10 March 1848.
21. DEM, 10 July 1848; *Tipperary Free Press*, 29 July 1848.
22. DEM, 24 July 1843.
23. *Limerick Reporter*, 25 July 1843.
24. AOT, Con 33/58
25. Pat Lyons, tried 1839, arrived *Maitland* 1844: Con 33/81; Tim Wallace, tried 1839, arrived *Maitland* 1844: Con 33/81; Thomas Kelly, tried 1844, arrived *Radcliffe* 1845: Con 33/69; Henry O'Brien, tried 1846, arrived *Tory* 1847: Con 33/85; Michael Meara, tried 1848, arrived *Lord Dalhousie* 1852: Con 33/109, and Denis Riordan, tried 1844, arrived *Cadet* 1844: Con 33/58.
26. *Freeman's Journal*, 13 March 1845.
27. For more details, see R. Davis: "Unfit to die": Irish murderesses as Van Diemen's Land colonists, in Trevor McClaughlin, ed., *Irish Women in Colonial Australia*, Melbourne, 1998, pp. 35-6.
28. Daily Journal of the Religious Instructor, Charles Woods, on board the *Blenheim* (4), arrived October 1851, with remarks on the education and moral improvement of the prisoners in his charge, p. 8, AOT, 123/1.
29. AOT, Con 33/104 (*Blenheim*). *Launceston Examiner*, 26 October and 18 November 1869 and *Mercury*, Hobart, 18 November 1869.
30. *Freeman's Journal*, 24 July 1848. AOT, Con 33/75 (*Samuel Boddington*).
31. First Sergeant at Law and Judge of the High Court of Admiralty.
32. *Limerick Reporter*, 9 March 1847; *Freeman's Journal*, 8 March 1847.
33. According to Judge Vandeleur in 1829 there were two exceptions to bigamy: 9 Geo IV. (a) If husband beyond the seas for seven years (b) if husband absent from wife for seven years she not knowing him to be alive. See *Star of Brunswick*, 2 May 1829.
34. AOT, Con 33/109 and information from Mrs Lyn Rainbird.
35. AOT, Con 33/109, ITR 9, p. 105, information from Pauline Dillon: trial report, Limerick paper, 13 April 1849.
36. See Rena Lohan: 'The Treatment of Women sentenced to Transportation and Penal Servitude, 1790-1898,' unpublished University of Dublin Mlit thesis, 1989, pp. 19-20, and Deborah Oxley: *Convict Maids: The Forced Migration of Women to Australia*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 144-5.
37. See Richard Davis: *Revolutionary Imperialist: William Smith O'Brien, 1803-1864*, Sydney and Dublin, 1998, pp. 322-3.