

William Frewen: Limerick Famine Scapegoat

by Richard Davis

By early 1848 the Irish Famine had persisted for over two years. Reports from all over the country carried piteous tales of death from starvation. The workhouses and gaols were overflowing and not infrequently rife with disease. The Whig government of Lord John Russell, wedded to laissez-faire principles, after the failure of an ungenerous scheme of relief works, had reluctantly agreed to food kitchens financed basically from local rates. In parliament, William Smith O'Brien, claiming that 240,000 had already died of hunger, 'believed it was in the power of the Legislature and of the Government to prevent a single death from starvation in Ireland.'¹ John Mitchel, O'Brien's colleague in the Young Ireland Confederation, now rejected constitutional means in favour of direct action against rates and rents, possibly leading to insurrection.

Not all the poorer Irish were willing to expire without a struggle. For nearly a century secret agrarian societies, accorded the generic name of Whiteboyism, had endeavoured to redress the balance between rich and poor by violence and intimidation. These were exacerbated by the Famine. Groups of armed men, often organised *ad hoc*, broke into upper and lower class houses to seize weapons, money and sometimes provisions. Less intimidating was the increase in petty larceny by those unable to cope in the Famine. The courts thus became the epicentre of the starving land. Assize judges lamented that gaols contained up to three times the inmates for which they were built. For example, Galway Gaol in 1847 was bursting with 570 inmates in a building planned for 110.²

Transportation seemed an obvious answer, but transportation to New South Wales, however, ceased in 1840. Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, as a result of free settler pressure, appeared to promise on 5 February 1847 the forthcoming end of transportation to Van Diemen's Land.³ On 6 March 1847 Grey revived a system of his predecessors⁴ in which convicts sentenced to transportation, after a period of up to eighteen months solitary confinement, followed by a period of government works, would be granted effective freedom. Only female convicts would proceed to Van Diemen's Land.⁵ Accordingly, for two years no male convict reached Van Diemen's Land.⁶ The attempt to establish a system of 'exiles,' reformed by solitary detention and training in English prisons such as Pentonville and Millbank, or by labour in smaller penal



Thomas Francis Meagher.
Limerick Museum.

colonies like Bermuda, did not appease free colonists. Irish authorities during the famine were embarrassed by increasing numbers under sentence of transportation in Irish gaols or prison hulks. As the Viceroy, Lord Clarendon, said in 1848, with the destitute committing offences to get into gaol, prisons built to contain 4,000 now had 12,000 occupants.⁷ Pressure accordingly mounted to send Irish convicts abroad with minimal training; sometimes it comprised little more than prison chaplain instruction on board.⁸ Accordingly, many convicts had their sentences commuted to shorter terms of imprisonment, rarely more than two years, before being released at home. Transportation during the Famine was in any case an ambiguous deterrent. While judges, accompanied by the wails of convict kinsfolk,⁹ emphasised the horrors of a final separation from family and friends, prisoners themselves sometimes pleaded for transportation rather than imprisonment at home. The latter would leave them destitute and starving on their release.¹⁰ Judges were themselves ambivalent when sympathising with crimes caused by starvation, while insisting that serious offences were unrelated to Famine and merited the most condign punishment.¹¹

In early 1848 the Irish authorities determined to terrify malefactors destroying the social order under cover of economic disaster. The regular spring and summer assizes were supplemented by special commissions in Limerick, Clare

and Tipperary, counties where disorder was particularly rife. To counteract traditional Irish reluctance, exacerbated by famine, to inform on their fellows, new legislation made the harbouring of offenders a most serious offence. A spectacular public example was required.

In Co. Limerick, the Special Commission opened with the indictment of a notorious local criminal, William Ryan (Puck). Originally, Ryan's father had held three acres from Mr Beggs at Bunkey or Knocksentry, Co. Limerick. A more affluent neighbour, Michael Kelly, holding nine acres from the same landlord, acquired Ryan's land and added it to his own holding. Such an apparently blatant example of landlord oppression and peasant land-grabbing provided a classic scenario for violent retaliation. Puck turned to professional crime. James Watson, agent to a landlord, Mr Arthur, distrained fifteen cows and a bull for unpaid rent from a strong farmer, John Crowe. Crowe retaliated by hiring Puck and two others to murder Watson. This was duly achieved. Crowe and his other hit-men were later convicted of murder and hanged, but as Puck was then already under sentence of death, he was not put on trial for Watson's murder. Puck's only regret was that he had not been at large for a few days more to enable him to shoot Crowe, who had neglected to pay the sum agreed for Watson's murder. Puck was also suspected of involvement in the murder of Peter Nash, caretaker for a wealthy landlord, who had prevented a local family called Frewen from cutting turf without payment from his employer's bog.¹²

Having done his job for Crowe, Puck turned to his own family problems. On 17 September 1847 he attempted to shoot, but only wounded, Michael Kelly with his pistol. Before the police could arrest him, Ryan, on 22 September, entered the house of Michael Kelly's brother, John. The latter, father of ten children, was relaxing after supper at his fireside with his nephew and some of his children, while his wife prepared other offspring for bed. Invited to be seated, William Ryan instead produced a blunderbuss and, at point blank range, shot John Kelly dead, the ball passing through his body and wounding his nephew, another Michael Kelly. The latter was able to identify William Ryan in the firelight, though Honoria Kelly, widow of the murdered man, probably fearful

of retaliation, claimed the light was insufficient for identification. A third Michael Kelly, described as a servant boy, sufficiently close to grab at the blunderbuss, also identified Puck.

Despite the eloquence of James O'Hea, a defending barrister in many such cases, the jury, which included Robert O'Brien, brother of the patriot, was convicted by the Irish Attorney-General, J.H. Monaghan, assisted by G. Bennett QC, Crown Prosecutor for the Munster Circuit. Without leaving the box, it found Puck guilty. He was not sentenced immediately, as the Attorney-General persuaded Chief Justice Francis Blackburne to bring him up again with William Frewen or Frewin, accused of aiding and abetting the notorious criminal.¹³

On the following morning, therefore, William Ryan, protesting innocence of the charge, was duly condemned to death. His argument that he was of good character and industrious, while his opponents were sheep stealers and perjurers, had no effect on the court. The Chief Baron, D.R. Pigot,¹⁴ father of the prominent Young Irelander, John Pigot, expatiated on the enormity of Ryan's crimes, emphasising that he had murdered a small farmer, not a person of rank. It was then William Frewen's turn.

The eldest of five brothers who lived with their sister near Ryan, Frewen described himself as a farm labourer. Though police witnesses deposed that Frewen had attempted to disarm Ryan when he challenged them with the blunderbuss, the jury again registered a conviction without leaving the box. The evidence of Mary Ryan, Frewen's former servant, who possibly nursed a grievance, that he knew Puck was wanted for murder before the latter's arrival at the house, seems to have been decisive. Later Frewen rejected this claim, maintaining that his offence was 'harbouring a man who had fired at another, he was about two hours in my house.'¹⁵

Chief Justice Francis Blackburne, rejecting leniency towards the first conviction under the new act against harbouring, admitted that policy required severe punishment to deter others. He accordingly sentenced Frewen to transportation for life. The Dublin *Freeman's Journal* was most unhappy with such an outcome. It was 'trifling with human life' to send into perpetual banishment someone who had assisted a person only suspected of an offence. The paper also attacked the argument of the Attorney-General that such crimes as Puck's were not linked to current distress. The action of the landlord, Mr Beggs, in evicting the Ryans belied such arguments.¹⁶ In his biography of his father, Edward Blackburne defended the Chief Justice's decision, admitting it was 'a fearful punishment, but one which the condition of the country imperatively demanded.' The son of the Chief Justice fully understood that his father confronted an Irish peasant culture which abhorred the informer. Not only were country folk

unwilling to hand over offenders, but often gave them positive assistance. He attributed this to terrorism and intimidation, clan loyalty, and a general hatred for the law. The futility of using legal sanctions to destroy an Irish tradition was demonstrated by Chief Justice Blackburne, who harangued his jury in a similar celebrated case, only to find that they acquitted the prisoners.¹⁷ The Dublin *Evening Mail*, a Tory contemporary of the *Freeman's Journal*, opposed its rival's reasoning. It considered the conviction 'perhaps, the most important that has taken place in our memory', in that it struck a blow against peasant support for criminals. In Tipperary it perceived an immediate reluctance to succour criminal suspects. In Limerick itself, the judge at the following assizes was presented with the traditional white gloves depicting an absence of crime.¹⁸

Puck was duly hanged outside Limerick Gaol in early February. His *sang froid*, manifested in an apology to a cabman whose horse he shot in an earlier robbery, created considerable morbid interest in his fate.¹⁹ But the authorities appeared more interested in the Frewens. After William had been sentenced, John and Thomas Frewen were tried for the same offence. When the judge gave John twelve months imprisonment and Thomas six, the former offered to undertake his brother's sentence in addition to his own. Otherwise the family home would be neglected. As Thomas had already served two-thirds of his sentence, the Chief Justice rejected the plea. Another Frewen brother was out of the house at the time of Puck's visit, while the youngest was considered too young to be held responsible. Similarly their sister was not, as had once been expected, charged as an accessory after the crime.²⁰

According to the *Freeman*, in Limerick 'the most important conviction is said to be that of Frewen.'²¹ In charges to the grand juries at the opening of the Special Commissions in Ennis (Clare) and Clonmel (Tipperary) both Chief Baron Pigot and Chief Justice Blackburne heavily emphasised the fate of William Frewen as a warning to those weak enough to be persuaded to assist criminals.²² At Limerick the Chief Justice commented again on Frewen's case when reviewing the convicts assembled for transportation. They were then placed handcuffed in pairs between two policemen on horse-driven cars to begin their dismal journey to Dublin. Accompanying detachments of the Queen's Bays, Mounted Police and 92nd Highlanders completed the grim cavalcade designed to intimidate potential wrong-doers.²³ At Kingstown Harbour, outside Dublin, the *Bangalore* lay waiting to ship 250 convicts from all parts of Ireland to penal colonies.²⁴

William Frewen was amongst those embarked on the *Bangalore*,²⁵ a Jersey-built ship of 877 tons, which a few weeks later set sail for Bermuda, arriving in late April. Frewen was one of the numerous

Irish convicts disembarked. On 9 April, other convicts trained in Bermuda and prepared for tickets-of-leave were sent on the *Bangalore* to Van Diemen's Land, arriving on 14 July.²⁶ The Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, was concerned that, contrary to his guidelines, the convicts on the *Bangalore* contained many Irish unfit for heavy labour and under 20 years of age.²⁷ For his part, the Governor of Bermuda, Capt. Charles Elliott, was sympathetic towards the Irish Famine victims on the *Bangalore*. Attributing many of their offences to the 'dreadful calamity', Elliott found these Irish prisoners quiet and manageable. He wanted to keep the 68 prisoners, whose low stature and childish appearance he attributed to privation, separate from the hardened criminals.²⁸ As for the new batch of men sent on from Bermuda on the *Bangalore*, Elliott boasted 'that the colony of Van Diemen's Land will have rarely received 203 adult male passengers by one ship, containing a larger number of useful settlers in a new country.' Many were skilled tradesmen, trained in 'regular and laborious industry' and given steadiness by their convict experience.²⁹

Two months later, a famous Irish patriot reached the colony as a convict. The celebrated Young Irelander, John Mitchel, was transported for treason-felony, or seditious journalism. Though Mitchel was kept apart from ordinary Irish convicts in a separate cabin on the hulk *Dromedary* and not required to labour, his *Jail Journal* provides an interesting description of the system.³⁰

Mitchel estimated that there were 2,000 convicts in the colony,³¹ which could scarcely accept many more. The Young Ireland exile observed Frewen and his fellows, wearing straw hats and white blouses, with an arrow and their numbers inscribed on the back, being marshalled like troops.³² Marched in gangs, some in chains, the convicts worked in the quarries or new government buildings. Floggings were frequent. Convict mortality on the hulks, from diseases like dysentery, was very considerable, Mitchel was told.³³ Far from being a reformative experience, Mitchel was, like the Governor, convinced that new convicts were soon corrupted by the iniquities they encountered: gambling, vile language and the opportunities for corrupt trade, mild enough problems by modern prison standards. The Irish convicted by the special commissions 'were all about three-quarters starved, and so miserably reduced by hardship, that they have been dying off very fast by dysentery.' Their commander, possibly Governor Elliott himself, informed Mitchel that 'they have no vice in them, are neither turbulent nor dishonest, nor give any trouble at all.' However, the commander was sure that they would soon become accomplished ruffians. In Dublin, the *Freeman's Journal* put forward the same argument:

If they went out innocent of serious guilt to Bermuda, they were sure to be

*impregnated and demoralised by the infamous society into which they were cast. These boys of 18 had, perhaps, cut down a spade-handle in a gentleman's shrubbery, or filled their pockets with delicious Swedes, or, more infamous still-famine-goaded had committed the enormous crime of waylaying a fat wether.*³⁴

On the other hand, Mitchel was amazed that these young men now received a diet never available to them in Ireland: 'fresh beef three days in the week, and pork on the other days, pea-soup, tea, excellent loaf-bread.'³⁵ In assessing the situation of the Irish, the Governor and the transported rebel were at one.

Suffering from chronic asthma, Mitchel took advantage of an opportunity to transfer to the more healthy climate of Cape Colony. The British Government, hoping to offload some of its convict excess in a new area, sent the *Neptune* to take a select body of convicts from Bermuda to the Cape, where they would be granted immediate tickets-of-leave and virtual freedom. Selection, with recommendations by convict officers, was made 'with all care in our power.' Preference was given to young, recently arrived men, with less than three convictions and checked for their health and strength by Dr Hall, the Medical Superintendent, 'so that they should not be likely to become chargeable upon the colony in which they are sent.' Meritorious conduct, such as quelling disorder, assisting in the recovery of escaped convicts, or saving fellows from drowning was an important factor. Families willing to emigrate to the Cape helped to win selection. Nine convicts, despite their serious offences, were chosen as reclaimed by the Catholic Chaplain, Fr James Kennedy. The Governor had complete confidence in Fr Kennedy's ability to discern true contrition in such convicts. Frewen, the lifer, may have been one of these. Fr Kennedy's insistence that many Irish 'were driven by dire distress and famine', committing political offences through fear, excitement and becoming creatures of others, was more realistic than several Irish judges and clearly spoke for offenders like Frewen.³⁶

As for the famous patriot, rumours had circulated that Irish-Americans planned to rescue Mitchel from Bermuda and a safer exile was therefore desirable. Embarked on the *Neptune*, Mitchel, again segregated from his Irish compatriots, was able only to hear their singing in another part of the ship. William Frewen was one of what Mitchel estimated as 200 Famine-affected Irishmen chosen to receive tickets-of-leave in the Cape. In fact 143 of 293 convicts who finished the journey were Irish.³⁷ As Bermuda was considered unsuitable for released convicts, many were sent home after the expiration of their sentences. Thus a number of less fortunate Irish prisoners returned to Ireland on the *James* in January 1854 and were released there.

The *Neptune's* journey proved disastrous. On 22 April 1849 she left Bermuda for the Cape. But by 18 July the ship was anchored off Pernambuco in Brazil where it remained for nearly a month and took on supplies. When she finally arrived in Simon's Bay, off the Cape of Good Hope, on 19 September, the *Neptune* had been given up for lost. But there was no cordial reception. Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, had made a good case for the new arrivals, differing somewhat from the judges in Ireland. These, his despatch declared, were men 'of a different class from ordinary criminals.' Being convicted of political and agrarian offences involving 'comparatively little moral degradation,' they were fit to mix with ordinary colonists. Outside Ireland there would be no temptation to repeat their offences.³⁸ At Bermuda such men proved 'entirely unsuited to undergo the discipline and labour there enforced.'

Anti-Transportationist fervour, however, had peaked in Cape Colony. Local inhabitants refused to allow any convicts to land and merchants trading with the vessel were threatened with boycott. Coincidentally, the *Swift*, bearing the rebel leaders of the failed Irish Rebellion of July 1848, Smith O'Brien, Terence MacManus, Thomas Meagher and Patrick O'Donoghue, had reached Cape Colony only five days earlier, 12 September, had been sent on her way scantily provisioned a day later.³⁹ There was no quick getaway for the *Neptune*, whose convicts had been ordered to the Cape. A painful five-month stand-off, leaving the convicts on board, ended only on 19 February 1850 when authorisation arrived from England to proceed to Van Diemen's Land. Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, rebuked Sir Harry Smith, Governor of the Cape, for incarcerating on the *Neptune* so long 'those unfortunate men, whose lives might have been endangered by such a protracted confinement.' Accordingly he ordered that, subject to good behaviour, the convicts, apart from Mitchel, were to have conditional pardons on reaching Hobart.⁴⁰ Grey also told Sir William Denison, Governor of Van Diemen's Land, that the *Neptune* convicts had special claims to indulgence: 'Much the greatest part of them consisting of persons who had committed their first offence by stealing food under the pressure of the Famine in Ireland.'⁴¹ Grey had unsuccessfully used the same argument with Sir Harry Smith, Governor of Cape Colony.

While enduring his privations at the Cape, William Frewen was doubtless informed of an even more serious family disaster. His brother John, after suffering his year's prison for aiding Puck, was arrested for another murder, on 11 October 1847, of Peter Nash, caretaker to Rev Westropp, a considerable landlord in the Castleconnell area. Nash had stopped the Frewens cutting turf without payment on a piece of Westropp's bogland. Dr Thomas Riordan deposed that the shot in Nash's back was identical to the eleven balls with which Puck had disposed of

Thomas Kelly. A witness hinted at hearing John Frewen discussing firearms and ammunition with his eldest brother, William, shortly before the murder. If so, William was lucky to be out of the way at the Cape. John was hanged in Limerick in August 1849, protesting with his last breath and in a written deposition his total innocence. He blamed Michael Stritch, who had escaped to America, for the assassination.⁴²

At last, on 7 April 1850, the *Neptune* sailed down the Derwent to anchor a quarter of a mile from the Hobart Town quays. While Mitchel had to wait to negotiate a ticket-of-leave, those whom he described as the 'real convicts' appeared in 'high glee' and they were to land free. Twelve of the most powerful were invited to become convict constables.⁴³ The convicts thus liberated to live anywhere but Britain and Ireland do not appear on Tasmanian convict records. There seemed no need to process them. Forty-three of their number, including twenty-six Irish, were not so lucky. When Convict Department officials took Frewen's details, they found that the surgeon's report described him as 'a most malicious man and troublesome.' Such recalcitrance may have been the result of a sense of injustice at unmerited punishment. This, and his life sentence, persuaded the authorities to order six months as a probationer.

While the *Neptune* convicts may have been delighted with their treatment in Van Diemen's Land, many free settlers, encouraged by the *Hobart Courier*, were furious at what appeared the renegeing by Earl Grey of his promise of 27 July 1848 that transportation to the colony would not be renewed. The arrival of the *Pestonjee Bomangee* in January 1849, with 298 male Irish convicts, had already created considerable trouble. The Irish Under Secretary, T.N. Redington, admitted that, though there had been some attempt at selection, the accumulation of Irish convicts prevented the necessary discipline and training. Governor Denison complained accordingly that the condition of Irish convicts granted tickets-of-leave on reaching Van Diemen's Land was so much better than that of their fellows at home that 'they do not look upon their removal to this colony as a punishment.' Furthermore, they were 'ignorant and insubordinate' and no acquisition to the labour market.⁴⁴ On the *Neptune's* advent a year later, the *Courier* stormed that 'the rejected of the whole universe is poured upon Van Diemen's Land.' While urging that no action be taken against the convicts themselves, the *Courier* encouraged a petition to the British people, taken up in both Hobart and Launceston, deploring transportation. The bold action of the Cape colonists was cited as an example.⁴⁵ Earl Grey's attempt to disguise convicts as trained 'exiles' did not satisfy free colonists. A leading protester was T.D. Chapman, a lawyer who subsequently became Premier of a self-governing Tasmania.

Meanwhile, Frewen was sent to the

Cascades, an outstation of the secondary penal station of Port Arthur. There he was required to work in a probation gang, probably moving heavy logs. He committed no further offence and on 16 July 1850 received a conditional pardon, thus ending two and a half years of custody for a dubious offence which the authorities wished to use as a warning to others. Frewen's later story is obscure, but at the age of twenty-six he had an opportunity to start a new life in a colony moving rapidly to self-government, where the standard of living was considerably higher than in his famine-smitten native land. He was not amongst the well-behaved *Neptune* convicts for whom the Cape subscribed £100, which Governor Denison ordered to be divided equally amongst the deserving. Frewen, however, like several others, still had an opportunity to move to the mainland and the gold rushes.⁴⁶ Relatively young and literate, he had the basic requirements for adjustment to colonial life. While identification is difficult, it appears likely that Frewen, now Frewin, acquired a small shop in Hobart, married and died in 1899 at the age of seventy-five.⁴⁷

Irish leaders such as Smith O'Brien, John Mitchel and Thomas Meagher, have received much attention from historians, but their handful of years in Van Diemen's Land was but a blip in their distinguished public careers. The obscure William Frewin, on the other hand, was exceptionally interesting in experiencing many of the practical problems forced on the British and Irish penal system by the Famine. The need to prevent crimes in famine conditions by frightening punishment, the difficulty of finding institutions for the increasing number of convicts, and the reluctance of colonial communities to help by accepting convicts or exiles were graphically demonstrated in Frewin's experiences between January 1848 and July 1850.

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2. *Ballyshannon Herald*, 17 March 1848. For Judges, see for example, Louis Perrin's charge at Armagh, *Freeman's Journal*, 9 March 1847.
3. John M. Ward, *Earl Grey and the Australian Colonies, 1846-1857: A study of self-government and self-interest*, Melbourne University Press, 1958, p. 50.
4. See Lord Stanley to Governor Eardley Wilmot, 27 July 1844, *British Parliamentary Papers, Crime and Punishment, Transportation*, 7, p.291.
5. Quoted in *Limerick Reporter*, 9 March 1847.
6. See Rena Lohan, Sources in the National Archives for research into the transportation of Irish convicts to Australia (1791-1853), *Irish Archives*, Spring 1996, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 19-20. No male convict ship was sent between the *Tory* which arrived on 18 March 1847 and the *Pestonjee Bomangee*, arriving on 2 January 1849.
7. Lord Clarendon to Sir G. Grey, 7 February 1848, Clarendon Papers, Bodleian Library Oxford, Letter Book, Vol. 2, p. 110
8. A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies: A Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and other parts of the British Empire*, Faber, London, 1966, p. 321.
9. In Tipperary sentences of transportation resulted in 'loud cries' from the prisoners' friends. *Freeman's Journal*, 21 January 1848. At the same Donegal Assizes, Mary Kelly cried bitterly on being sentenced to transportation, while James Gallagher nonchalantly told the judge he 'was welcome to give him a free passage, or let him stay at home as he liked.' *Ballyshannon Herald*, 28 July 1843.
10. See Exchequer Baron John Richards who sentenced convicts to transportation at their own request when they pointed out that, if imprisoned, they would have 'no place of refuge or support at the end of their sentence.' *Freeman's Journal*, 25 August 1847. According to Longford Assistant Barrister Thomas O'Hagan, for some offenders 'dismissal from prison would be their most grievous punishment.' *Freeman's Journal*, 7 January 1848. John Burk asked his judge unsuccessfully for transportation instead of two years' imprisonment, half with hard labour. *Ballyshannon Herald*, 17 March 1848.
11. See Chief Justice Francis Blackburne's insistence that the truly indigent submitted 'to the calamity with which it has pleased providence to afflict the country' while others 'use the present famine as a pretext for the perpetration of their own wicked designs.' *Freeman's Journal*, 9 March 1847. Judge Nicholas Ball emphasised that many of the petty offences he tried were due to the Famine, not the bad disposition of the people. *Ballyshannon Herald*, 12 March 1847.
12. *Evening Mail*, 12, 14, 17, 19 January and 21 February 1848.
13. *Freeman's Journal*, 6 January 1848.
14. The Barons of the Irish Exchequer acted as ordinary judges.
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16. *Freeman's Journal*, 7 January 1848.
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18. *Evening Mail*, 7, 17 and 21 January and 10 July 1848.
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26. Elliott to William Denison, 9 April 1848, *British Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 9, *Transportation*, p. 53. See also Charles Bateson, *The Convict Ships, 1787-1868*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1988, pp. 368-9.
27. H. Waddington (Home Office) to Herman Merivale (Colonial Office), 8 August 1848, *British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 9, Transportation*, p. 53.
28. Charles Elliott to Earl Grey, 22 June 1848, *British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 9, Transportation*, p. 53
29. Elliott to Earl Grey, 15 April 1848, *British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 9, Transportation*, p. 53.
30. John Mitchel, *Jail Journal*, Irish University Press, Dublin, 1982 [1854], p. 31. Mitchel arrived on 20 June 1848. He estimated that a ship [*Bangalore*] carrying Irishmen sentenced by the special commissions arrived two months before he did. See p. 123.
31. *Jail Journal*, p. 124.
32. *Jail Journal*, p. 35.
33. *Jail Journal*, p. 45.
34. *Freeman's Journal*, 12 March 1849.
35. *Jail Journal*, pp. 122-3.
36. Elliott to Earl Grey, 1 November 1848 and 8 February 1849, and Fr James Kennedy to Elliott 3 February 1849, *British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 9, Transportation*, pp. 51-1.
37. John Williams, *Ordered to the Island: Irish Convicts and Van Diemen's Land*, Crossing Press, Sydney, 1994, p. 112, accepted Mitchel's figures, but his own data helped to prove otherwise. See John Williams Data Base, University of Tasmania, for 26 Irish convicts from the *Neptune*.
38. Quoted by *Colonial Times and Tasmania*, 9 April 1850, from *Cape Government Gazette*, 14 February 1850.
39. See R. Davis et al., eds., *To Solitude Consigned: the Tasmanian Journal of William Smith O'Brien, 1849-1853*, Crossing Press, Sydney, 1995, p. 36.
40. Earl Grey to Sir H.G. Smith, Bart., 30 November 1849, *British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 11, Transportation*, p. 150. This volume is paginated straight through.
41. *Jail Journal*, pp. 172, 214 and 217-18. Williams, *Ordered to the Island*, p. 112.
42. *Evening Mail*, 20 and 23 July and 13 August 1839.
43. *Jail Journal*, pp. 224-5.
44. Denison to Earl Grey, 31 January 1849, *British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 9, Transportation*, p. 155; Denison to Grey, 27 September 1849, *British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 11, Transportation*, p. 336.
45. *Courier*, 6, 10, 17, 20, 24 April 1850.
46. Williams, *Ordered to the Island*, p. 150
47. See *Tasmanian Pioneer Index* for William Frewin and the *Mercury*, Hobart, 2 December 1899. The *Mercury* claims that William Frewin, from Ireland, was only sixty when he died, but this could be an error. He was also present at the wedding of Jane Frewin to Samuel Stennard on 30 September 1861. See AOT RGD 37/20.