

Convicts with the Van Diemen's Land Company

by

Geoff Dean

Bachelor of Science (Forestry)
Australian National University

HTA575 – Supervised Research Essay

Submitted in partial fulfillment of a

Graduate Diploma in Humanities (History)

University of Tasmania

2007

Statement of authority of access

This thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying in accordance with the *Copyright Act 1968*.

Signed


G. L. Jean

Date

12/12/2007

Statement of Authorship

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, no material previously published or written by another person, except where due acknowledgment is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed  Date 12/12/2007

Abstract

Convicts with the Van Diemen's Land Company

The Van Diemen's Land Company was formed in 1825 to produce wool in Van Diemen's Land for the British market. The company explored land in the North West of the island for the purpose of locating a grant and established settlements at Circular Head, Woolnorth, Emu Bay, Hampshire and Surrey Hills.

Convicts were assigned as servants to the company and about four hundred and twenty people spent periods ranging from several weeks to nearly a decade as part of the labour force.

This thesis provides information about this labour force: their numbers, their disposition, their occupations and their achievements. It investigates what they ate, how they were accommodated and the hours that they worked.

The convicts were subject to being physically flogged, discipline normal at the time, but which we now find abhorrent and the record of punishments is examined in detail.

Much of the history that has been written about the company relies heavily on company sources. In this thesis particular value has been placed on contemporary independent reports.

The company agent during the period 1825–1842 was Edward Curr and he had a dominant influence on all aspects of company activities and achievements, and therefore on the life and fate of servants assigned to the company. Particular attention is given to the nature and extent of Curr's character on the life and fate of convicts with the company.

Acknowledgements

To my supervisor, Dr H Maxwell–Stewart, for his guidance and support;
to Dr TP Dunning for his availability and support;
to JM Bruce whose transcriptions of VDL Company documents were valuable;
to G Lennox, who made his research notes on this topic available to researchers;
to Dr I McFarlane who assisted with the early development of the project;
to the staff of the Burnie Reference Library who gave enthusiastic and effective support throughout the project by providing resources and facilities;
to Sue McDonald, formerly of that library who drew my attention to the work of JM Bruce, and several important catalogues of resources;
to the staff of the University of Tasmania Library who provided resources and facilities;
to the staff of the Mitchell Library and the National Library of Australia who promptly supplied microfilms;
to Brian Rollins who has a strong interest in the project, and who drew my attention to the work of G Lennox;
to Patty Boxhall, Judy Cocker, David de Little, Frank Ellis, Wayne Flight, Robert Onfray and Paul Roberts–Thomson for their suggestions and ongoing interest;
to my wife Anne Dean who has given her time and energy to support me and make the project possible, and who made many useful suggestions;
to my sister Lynne Dean and her partner Barney Phillips for providing support and accommodation in Hobart;
to my mother, Marjorie Dean, who gave encouragement throughout the project.

Table of Contents

Chapter		Page
1	THE VDL COMPANY	1
2	SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON CONVICTS	
	Compiling a Register of Names	9
	Conduct Records	10
3	STATISTICS FOR THE CONVICT POPULATION	
	Convict Population Numbers	12
	Convict Age	15
	Length of Service	18
	Convict Occupation	20
4	EDWARD CURR	26
5	A TOUR OF THE VDL CO. ESTABLISHMENTS	30
6	ACCOMMODATION	37
7	RATIONS	41
8	WORKING HOURS	50
9	HAZARDS OF LIFE	
	Physical perils	53
	Mental Health	55
	Engagement with the Aborigines	57
	The Impact on Curr	60
10	ANALYSIS OF CONDUCT RECORDS	
	Monitoring by the Government	72
	Missing records of sentence	73
	Flogging as a sentence	75
	Curr's record as magistrate	78
11	CONCLUSION	80
12	BIBLIOGRAPHY	81

List of Tables

1	Convicts listed in Musters as assigned to the VDL Co.	13
2	Inhabitants and Livestock on VDL Establishments Feb. 1838	14
3	Convict arrivals in VDL by Time Period	16
4	Convict Length of Service	19
5	Classification of Occupations for VDL Company Convicts	22
6	Estimated Height and Weight for Convicts and Edward Curr	25
7	Convict Rations VDL Co. and Govt. Daily Specifications	40
8	VDL Government Convict Working Hours	49
9	No. of Floggings by Magistrate and Year	62
10	Average Lashes per Flogging by Magistrate and Year	63
11	Average No. of Floggings by Magistrate and Year	64
12	Floggings per Year – VDL Co. and Government	66
13	Summary of Number of Convictions	67
14	Sentencing Statistics for E Curr to Dec. 1832	71

List of Figures and Maps

Ch.		Page
1	Thomas Scott's map of Land Grants in VDL (1824)	3
2	Tasmania – Average Annual Rainfall	4
3	Location of Blocks in the VDL Company Grants	6
4	Age Distribution of Convicts VDL Co. v 'ex England'	17
5	Percentage Distribution of Convict Occupations	21
6	Map of the Hampshire and Surrey Hills	36
7	Floggings / month v Mean Maximum Temperature	65
8	Sentencing trends VDL Co. (All years) v Colony (1834)	68
9	Circular Head Magistrates – Analysis of Sentencing	69
10	Sentencing Trends in the Van Diemen's Land Company	70

Abbreviations

AOT	Archives Office of Tasmania
BOM	Bureau of Meteorology
BRL VDLC MR	Burnie Regional Library, Van Diemen's Land Company Microfilm Reel
CD-ROM	A disc for electronic storage
L (e.g. p.84L)	L = Left-hand side of a double page on microfilm.
TOL	Ticket of Leave
VDL	Van Diemen's Land. Sometimes Van Dieman's Land

Metric Conversions

Length

1 foot (ft)	=	0.305 m
1 yard (yd)	=	0.914 m
1 mile	=	1.60 km

Height

5 feet (5'0")	=	152 cm
6 feet (6'0")	=	183 cm

Area

1 acre (ac)	=	0.405 ha
-------------	---	----------

Weight

1 pound (lb)	=	0.454 kg
1 ounce (oz)	=	28.3 g
1 ton	=	1.02 tonne (t)

Convicts with the Van Diemen's Land Company

The Van Diemen's Land Company has received considerable interest from historians: there have been general histories; the history of land exploration and negotiation of their grant; their interactions with the Aborigines; the economic history of the company, and the company's role in the history of the district. There have also been specific studies of their servants, both indentured and assigned. In one of these, Duxbury notes that her work 'represents the view from above. It remains to reverse the perspective so as to see the experience through the eyes of the servant.'¹ This current work concerns itself with assigned servants, and tells their story; of where and when they served; of how they lived and what they achieved.

1—THE VDL COMPANY

In 1826 a small group of people stepped ashore in Hobart Town, the advance party of the Van Diemen's Land Company, formed to produce wool in Van Diemen's Land and supply it to the British market. The party included names now iconic in the early history of North West Tasmania: Curr, Hellyer, Adey, Fossey, Goldie and Lorymer. They had behind them a group of wealthy and influential businessmen, and a large amount of capital.

¹ J Duxbury, 'Colonial Servitude: Indentured and Assigned Servants of the Van Diemen's Land Company 1825-1841,' *Monash Publications in History*: 4, (Clayton, 1989), p. 61.

The company had a Royal Charter, great freedom to choose land for the purpose of establishing a substantial land grant, and the assurance of assigned servants to help work it. The Colonial Secretary for the British Government had given assurance that a sufficient quantity of suitable land would be made available. Among providers of advice was the distinguished immediate past Lieutenant–Governor, Colonel William Sorrell. The group was full of confidence and high expectations; which made it all the more confusing as the plan began to unravel.

Van Diemen’s Land has a large and high central plateau, which, together with prevailing westerly weather, leads to a strong rain shadow in the land for which most settlers had close experience, that is the corridor between Hobart Town and Launceston (See Fig. 1).² The map of average annual rainfall shows that the existing grants were mostly in areas with a rainfall of 800 mm or less; by contrast the North West has 1000 mm or more. (See Fig. 2)³ On fertile soil, rainfall is a strong determinant of the mass of standing and fallen timber. On existing grant areas which were grassed or lightly wooded, there would have been about 5–30 t/ha; whereas in the North West the forests were often heavily wooded at about 180–320 t/ha.⁴

² T Scott, Map of Van Diemen’s Land showing land grants (1824); National Library of Australia, Map 1129.

³ Bureau of Meteorology, Rainfall Map of Average Annual Rainfall for Tasmania.

⁴ WD Jackson, ‘The Tasmanian Legacy of Man and Fire,’ *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania*, 1999, Vol. 133, No. 1, p. 3.

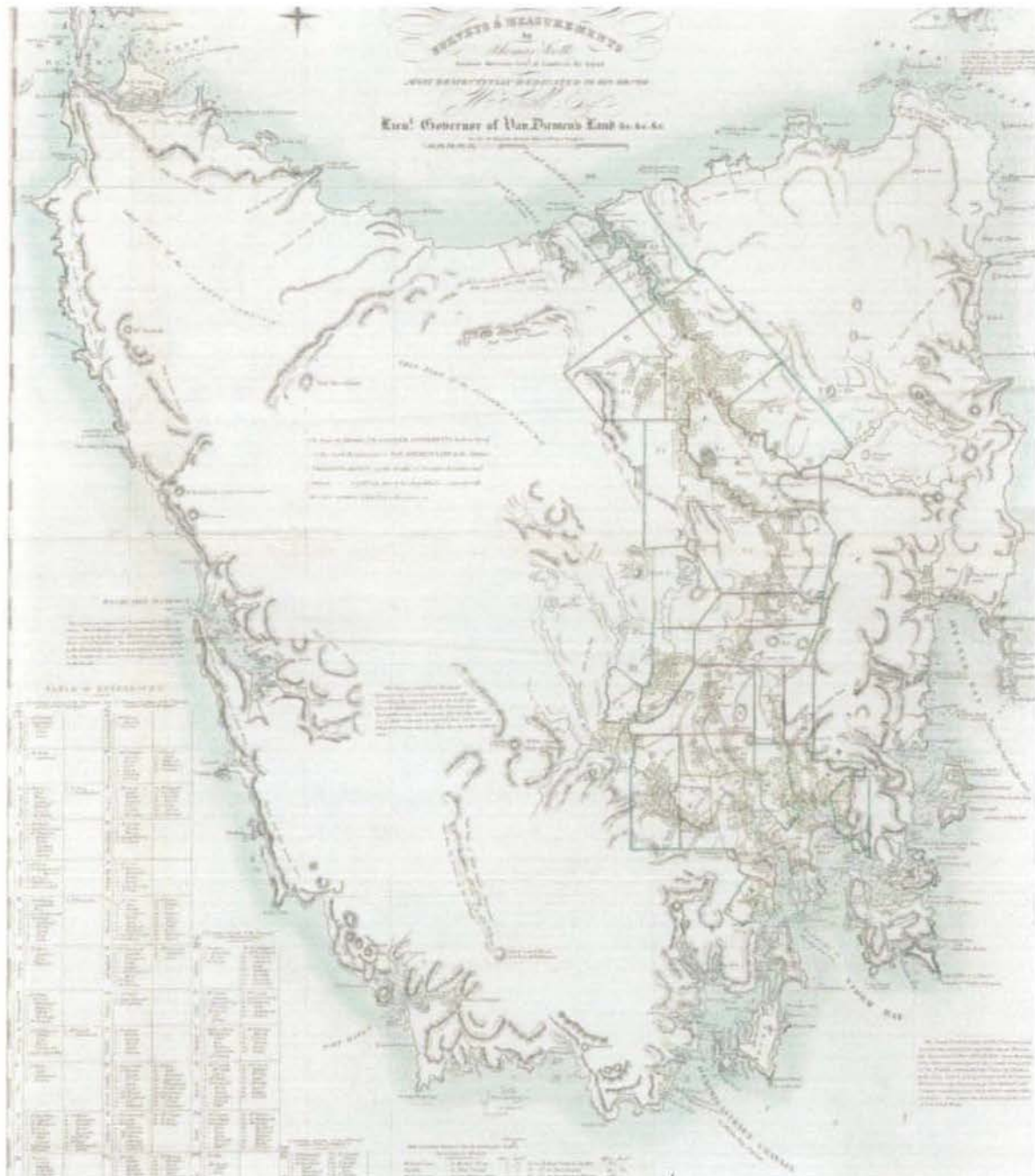


Fig. 01 - Thomas Scott map (1824).jpg

A different map with better resolution has been supplied by the author in 2016, and is found in the accompanying zipped file

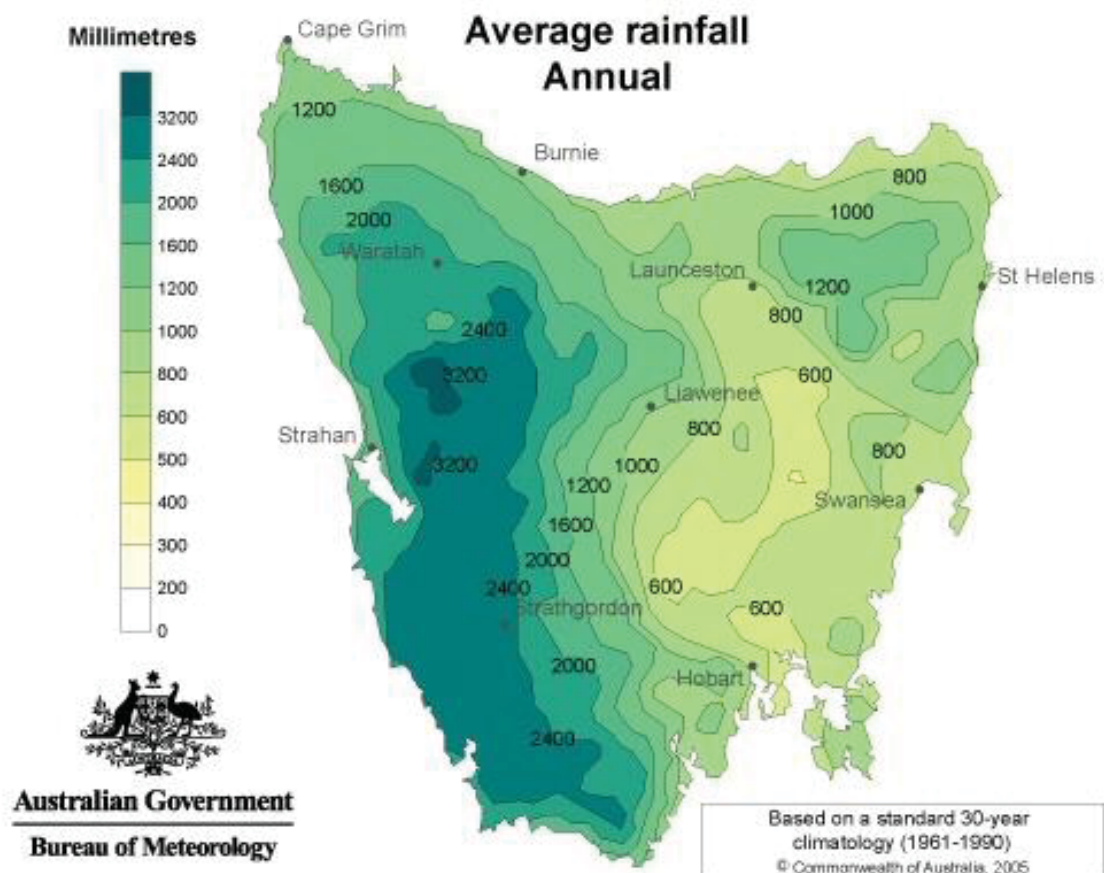


Fig 02 – Tasmania Average Annual Rainfall

The company had a vigorous and comprehensive program of exploration which determined that the type of country they sought did not exist in sufficient quantity, or was unavailable by virtue of being closer than permitted to the existing settled districts. The company prospects at last came down to an exploration of country near the 'Peak like a volcano' on Thomas Scott's map of 1824; later named St Valentine's Peak. Based on glowing reports from its explorers the company applied for 160 000 acres of what is now the Hampshire and Surrey Hills, 50 000 acres at Emu Bay for access and a total grant of 350 000 acres. (See Fig. 03).⁵ But Surrey Hills was a siren beauty whose virtues were manifest, but whose vices remained hidden. Company staff struggled to understand her, and as late as 1842 they were still experimenting with sheep, encouraged by the ample grasslands only to be ruined by sudden cold conditions and enduring damp. As one of the staff put it, 'There is no country or climate so deceiving.'⁶ But Edward Curr, the company Agent, did know in 1827 that he and his colleagues were ill-equipped to make land appraisal decisions of such consequence. 'I have found daily cause to regret that not one person in the

⁵ For detail of the exploration to locate the grant see AL Meston, 'The Work of the Van Diemen's Land Company in Land Settlement,' *Report of the Hobart Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Tasmania, 1929, pp. 258–273; the areas of the blocks applied for are listed on p. 272. The map is from AL Meston, *The Van Diemen's Land Company 1825-1842*, (Launceston, 1958), p. 7.

⁶ Hutchinson to Court, Despatch No.47, 04 Aug 1834; AOT VDL5/5; BRL VDL5 MR34/2, p.21; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents 1826–45*, p.342.

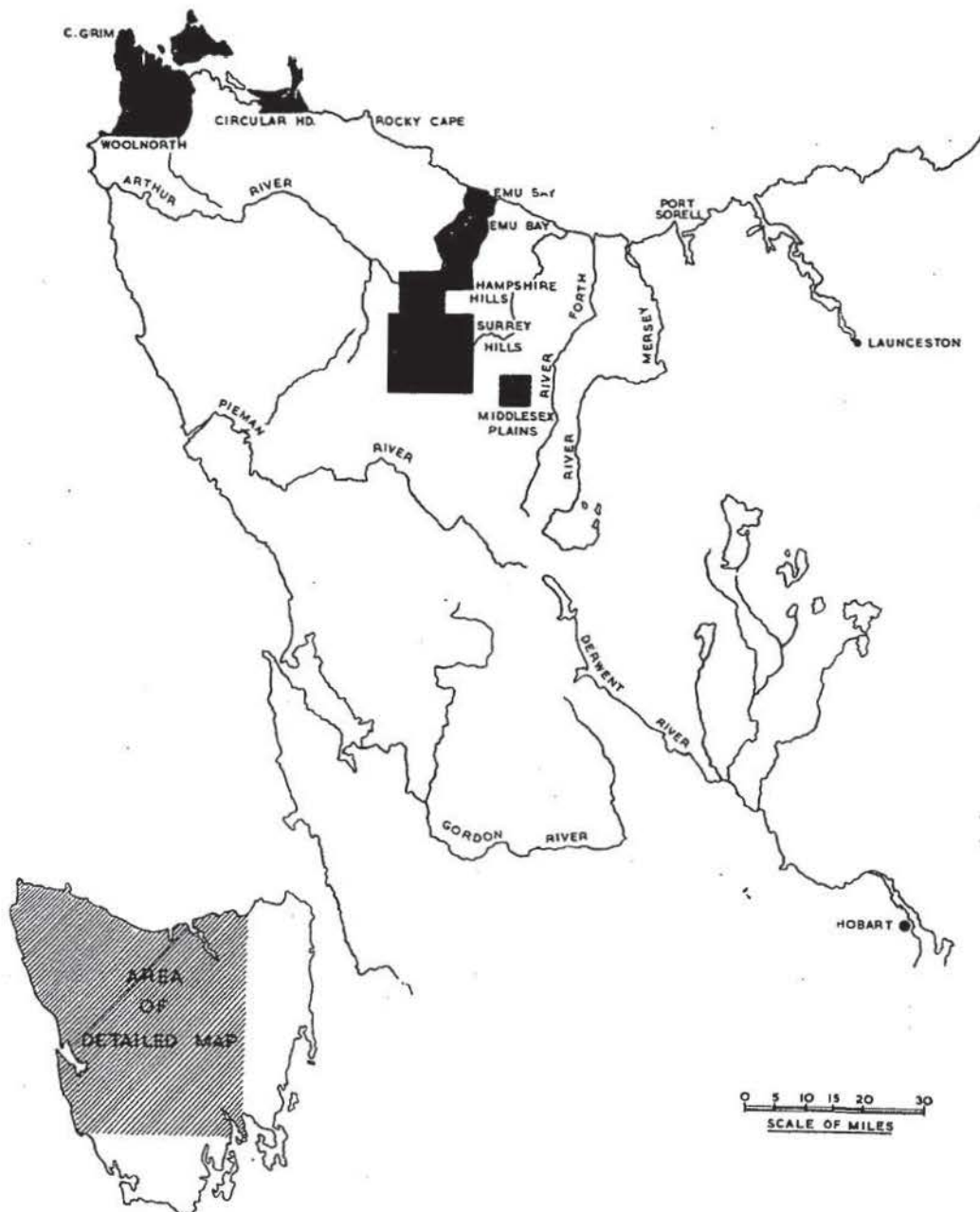


Fig. 03 Location of Grants.jpg

service is possessed of Colonial knowledge, and that circumstanced as they are, they can only acquire it by their own experience, often dearly bought.⁷

Time would show that in all of the North West there was not enough land for a sheep venture of the desired size, unless you could first remove the standing and fallen timber, and that would take a generation or more; time and money which even the VDL Company didn't have. Backhouse and Walker concluded that the North West was not suited to sheep, being much more humid than the eastern side of the island, and the interior being cold even in summer. 'There was little open land accessible for anything but driven Cattle, except some small places near the Coast.'⁸ Only one question remained: would the VDL Company Directors have the resolve to cut their losses and withdraw before they lost too much money? Unfortunately they didn't, and the optimistic description of Surrey Hills in Bischoff's report for 1832 could be characterised as wishful thinking.⁹

The implications for the assigned servants were profound: it didn't matter how hard, or long, or well they worked—they would always be under the management of people who would not be able to make the company a financial success. The company grant was scattered over a wide area, resulting in the need for a large amount of dangerous and tedious travel; and poor supply lines for the basic necessities of life. The out—

⁷ Curr to Directors, 10 November 1827, cited in K Pink, *Campsite to City*, (Burnie, 2000), p.8

⁸ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co.*, p.105L

⁹ J Bischoff, *Sketch of the History of Van Diemen's Land and an Account of the VDL Company*, p.150

stations were often small and isolated, putting servants in the way of danger from work colleagues not of their choosing, and angry natives out after revenge. The convict system itself was well-established and all-pervading. But if justice prevailed, it was often slow in arriving to the remote areas; and there was the constant risk that a relatively small infraction would have severe consequences.

2—SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON CONVICTS

Compiling a Register of Names

The author compiled a database of records for convicts who spent time with the VDL Company; and a database of conduct records relevant to those convicts during their time with the company. The main source of names was the musters for 1825, 1830, 1832, 1833, 1835 and 1841.¹⁰ While the musters were examined using microfilm, the list corresponds with the list of musters recently made available on the internet.¹¹ Given that the period of interest was expected to be 1825–1845, a major problem with this information was the gaps—i.e. 1825–30, 1835–41, and after 1841—where there is ample scope for convicts to have appeared and disappeared without registering on a muster. There are known and other suspected errors in the musters: such as transcription errors; confusions between people with similar names; or with the Van Diemen's Land Establishment, a separate company; and the fact that returns of information to the compiling officers were sometimes deficient. The compiled list of names was supplemented by reference to appropriation lists for convicts on ships arriving; and general correspondence involving VDL Company officers.¹² Membership was cross-checked against conduct records, and publications which reported

¹⁰ Musters HO10/46–HO10/51 inclusive, National Library of Australia, film PRO Reels 78–80.

¹¹ ancestry.com

¹² Appropriation lists: AOT CON27, AOT Miscellaneous Microfilm 33. VDL correspondence: AOT VDL series

company history. A major lack was systematic lists of convicts who had been assigned elsewhere prior to assignment to the VDL Company. Information was often deficient for Ticket-of-Leave (TOL) convicts, as well as follow-up information for those who died or absconded. The Archives Office of Tasmania database of convict records was used as a reference for voyage dates, and spelling of names.¹³ The Tasmanian Convicts CD-ROM was used as a cross-reference for register details.¹⁴

Conduct Records

The conduct records were retrieved relatively easily, although several could not be located for the known list. In using the records, the major problems related to the archival process of transferring usable images of the original records onto microfilm. Torn records, footnotes, the side margins of records, and the descriptive preamble, had significant image problems, particularly when printed out, and were of limited use within the time and resource limitations for this project. The main body of records could be effectively read, although a handful of records were incompletely recorded by the magistrate, and it was not always possible to identify records relevant to the VDL Company such as convicts holding a TOL. Other general information of use was correspondence by company officers;

¹³ AOT Database: *Index to Tasmanian Convicts*

¹⁴ AOT, *Tasmanian Convicts*, CD-ROM, (Hobart, 2000)

comments by and about police magistrates;¹⁵ comments by the Government officers on decisions by magistrates;¹⁶ and comments by an independent observer on decisions.¹⁷ There were about a dozen records included for sentences which were known to have been returned by the magistrates at Circular Head, but which were not entered into the Conduct Register.¹⁸ There were several important files to which the author had limited access during the project: two of these were original registers deemed too frail to handle,¹⁹ and a third was a microfilm which was only available in the Mitchell Library.²⁰

¹⁵ AOT-VDL15/1/1.

¹⁶ AOT-POL320

¹⁷ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co.*

¹⁸ See the section on 'Missing Records of Sentence' in Chapter 10.

¹⁹ AOT-POL318, 319, 321, Manuscripts

²⁰ Mitchell Library, *Police records for Circular Head for 1834–1847*. Tasmanian Papers 259.

3—STATISTICS FOR THE CONVICT POPULATION

Convict population numbers

The database yielded 420 names of people who spent at least some time with the VDL Company. Of these 22, or 5 per cent., were women. It is expected that these numbers will vary slightly as further research confirms or excludes various names. The first convicts were assigned to the company in 1826 and there was a steady increase in the size of the population until 1834, when numbers started to decline. (See Table 1). The largest Government muster was December 1833 with 143 convicts. Company figures for convicts reported 83 males, 2 females and 4 children in February 1838 (See Table 2);²¹ 120 in December 1839; and 77 in March 1841.²² The first voyage to contribute convicts was the *Minerva (1)* arriving in June 1818, and the last was probably the *Navarino* arriving in January 1841. Managing the assignment process required a good deal of attention from the company staff since 117 voyages contributed convicts, with two-thirds contributing three persons or less. Several convicts arrived free and were convicted in the colony. The *Eliza (2)* and *Chapman (2)* were big contributors with 27 and 21 convicts each, respectively.

²¹ Martin, RM, *Statistics of the Colonies*, (London, 1839), App. 5, p.231. The table shows 55 male, 2 female and 4 convict children at Circular Head; 13 males at Emu Bay, Hampshire and Surrey Hills; and 15 males at Woolnorth and Cape Grim.

²² Curr to Schayer, 03 Mar 1841; AOT VDL23/10; BRL VDLC MR20/1, p.211; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.742.

Table 1 Convicts listed in Musters as Assigned to the VDL Co.

Muster year	Number in muster
1825	0
1830	82
1832	121
1833	143
1835	87
1841	56

Table 2 - Inhabitants & Livestock on VDL Company establishments to 28 February 1838

	Men		Women		Children		Livestock		
	Free	Convict	Free	Convict	Free	Convict	Horses	Cattle	Sheep
Circular Head	21	55	12	2	15	4	158	282	2123
Emu Bay, Hampshire & Surrey Hills	9	13	0	0	0	0	24	1120	420
Woolnorth & Cape Grim	8	15	2	0	8	0	4	86	3932
Total	38	83	14	2	23	4	186	1488	6475

	Men	Women	Children
Grand Total	121	16	27
% Convict	69	13	15

Martin, RM *Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire*, (London, 1839), App. V. p231

C:\Geoff\Local History\VDL\Martin\Proportion convicts.xls\Establishments

Despite the introduction of the Probation System in 1839 the company continued to be assigned some convicts, with the upper limit to numbers being set at 75 by Lieutenant–Governor Franklin, in August 1842.²³ Table 3 contains details of the time period during which the convicts arrived in the Colony. It is apparent that most of the convicts arrived in the 1830s.²⁴

In August 1842 news was received that Lieutenant–Governor Franklin had granted permission for a road party of 300 convicts to start work on the construction of a road between the Hampshire Hills and the settled districts, and a station was established at Deloraine for this purpose.²⁵ The company eventually decided that assigned servants were no longer its most effective source of labour, and James Gibson—the Agent following Curr—ordered the return of convicts to Government in September 1844.²⁶

Convict Age

The age at time of trial was available for 217 convicts and these were tabulated in the five–year categories in Robson²⁷ and plotted in Figure 4 against the statistics given for English convicts. The agreement is very

²³ Court to Gibson, Despatch 217, 18 Aug 1842; AOT VDL193/4; BRL VDLC MR5/1, p.310; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.851.

²⁴ Derived from an analysis of vessel arrival dates.

²⁵ News of the station: Court to Gibson, Despatch 217, 18 Aug 1842; AOT VDL193/4; BRL VDLC MR5/1, p.310; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.851. Details of the station: T Dunning and H Maxwell-Stewart, 'Mutiny at Deloraine: Ganging and Convict Resistance in 1840s VDL, Labour History Vol. 82, p.11. Reasons for the station: British Parliamentary Papers, 1845, 659, vol. XXXVII, pg.2.

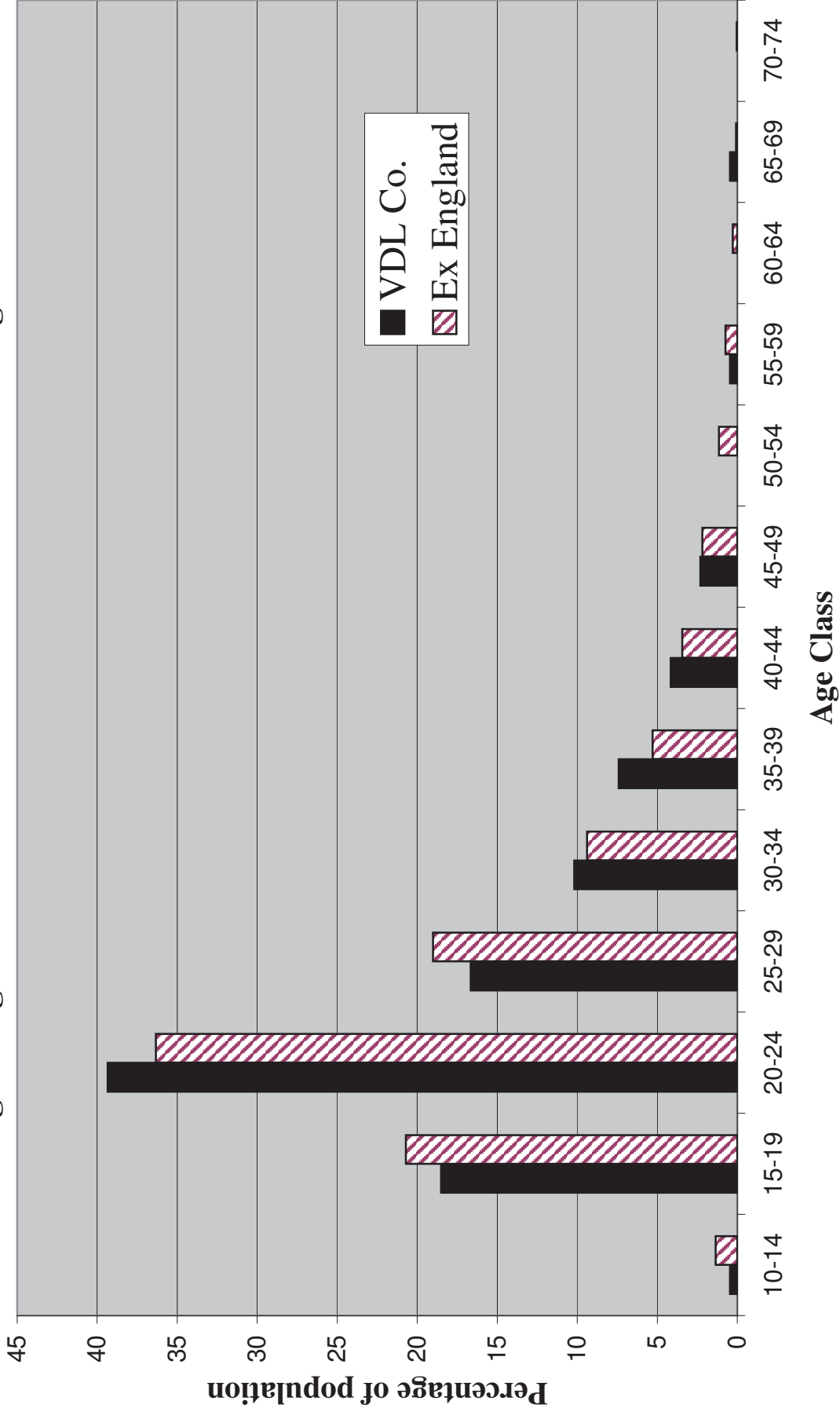
²⁶ Gibson to Dyer, 05 Sep 1844; AOT VDL23/12; BRL VDLC MR21/1, p.19; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.969.

²⁷ L Robson, *The convict settlers of Australia: an enquiry into the origin and character of the convicts transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1787-1852*, (Carlton, 1965, p.190, Table 5(e)

Table 3 – Convict arrivals in VDL by time period

Time Period	Arrivals in VDL	Percent Arrivals
1818-20	11	2.6
1821-23	10	2.4
1824-26	49	11.8
1827-29	42	10.1
1830-32	130	31.2
1833-35	75	18.0
1836-38	77	18.5
1839-41	23	5.5

Fig. 4 - Age distribution of convicts: VDL Co. v 'ex England'



strong and the differences with the profile given by Robson are negligible. The median age was 23 years, and 75 per cent. of convicts were at least 15 but less than 30 years of age. The oldest was 66 years and the youngest was 14 years.

Length of Service

The acquisition of sufficient evidence for reliable estimates of start and finish dates is more suited to an ongoing and co-operative project. For this project, reasonably reliable dates were available for a sample of 29 per cent. of convicts. (See Table 4). It is considered that this sample provides a reliable estimate of the convict population as a whole, although it should not be used to impute anything about particular sub-groups. The data show that 10 per cent. of convicts served 7 months or less; 50 per cent. served 2 years or less and 90 per cent. served up to 5 years. The longest service identified to date was nearly 9 years. Where service was very short there is usually an associated story of death by misadventure, or illness contracted on the voyage to the Colony. Where service was long it was often a convict who had earned a TOL and was rehired, and retained, because his skills were valued and his performance was considered reliable. In the context of the company the turnover was very high. The replacement of assigned servants became more difficult as time passed, particularly after the Probation System was introduced. In late 1841 Curr received advice that

Table 4 — Convict length of service

Proportion of Convict Population	Equal to or less than	
	Months	Years
Minimum	2	0.1
10%	7	0.6
25%	14	1.2
50%	24	2.0
75%	39	3.2
90%	60	5.0
Maximum	107	8.9

convicts could not be assigned because the company had more than 20 already.²⁸

Even as early as 1833 Curr was told that he would be assigned only 8, rather than the promised 15 new prisoners, because there were a lot of applications to replace those receiving TOL.²⁹ The company received notice in 1836 that they would have no priority, TOL would be replaced in the order the applications were received by Office of the Superintendent of Convicts.³⁰ Convicts with proven skills were much sought after by everyone and in the 1840s were only available for short contracts of several months.

Convict Occupation

The occupation recorded on the appropriation lists was available for 310 convicts and these were coded to match the classification in Robson.³¹ The frequency for each occupational grouping was tallied and the results plotted as a percentage in Figure 5. The results for the VDL Company show a good general agreement with the figures given for English convicts in Robson's table with several notable exceptions. It can be readily seen that the 'Agricultural' category is up (36 v 21 per cent.). Thus, the company was assigned a much higher than normal percentage of 'Agricultural' servants.

²⁸ AOT-VDL14, J Spode to E Curr, 21 Dec 1833

²⁹ AOT-VDL14, CSO to E Curr, 8 Jan 1833

³⁰ AOT-VDL14, Board of Assignment to E Curr, 25 Oct 1836

³¹ L Robson, *The convict settlers of Australia* p.190, Table 5(d)

Fig. 5 - Percentage distribution of convict occupations: VDL Co. v Convicts 'ex England'

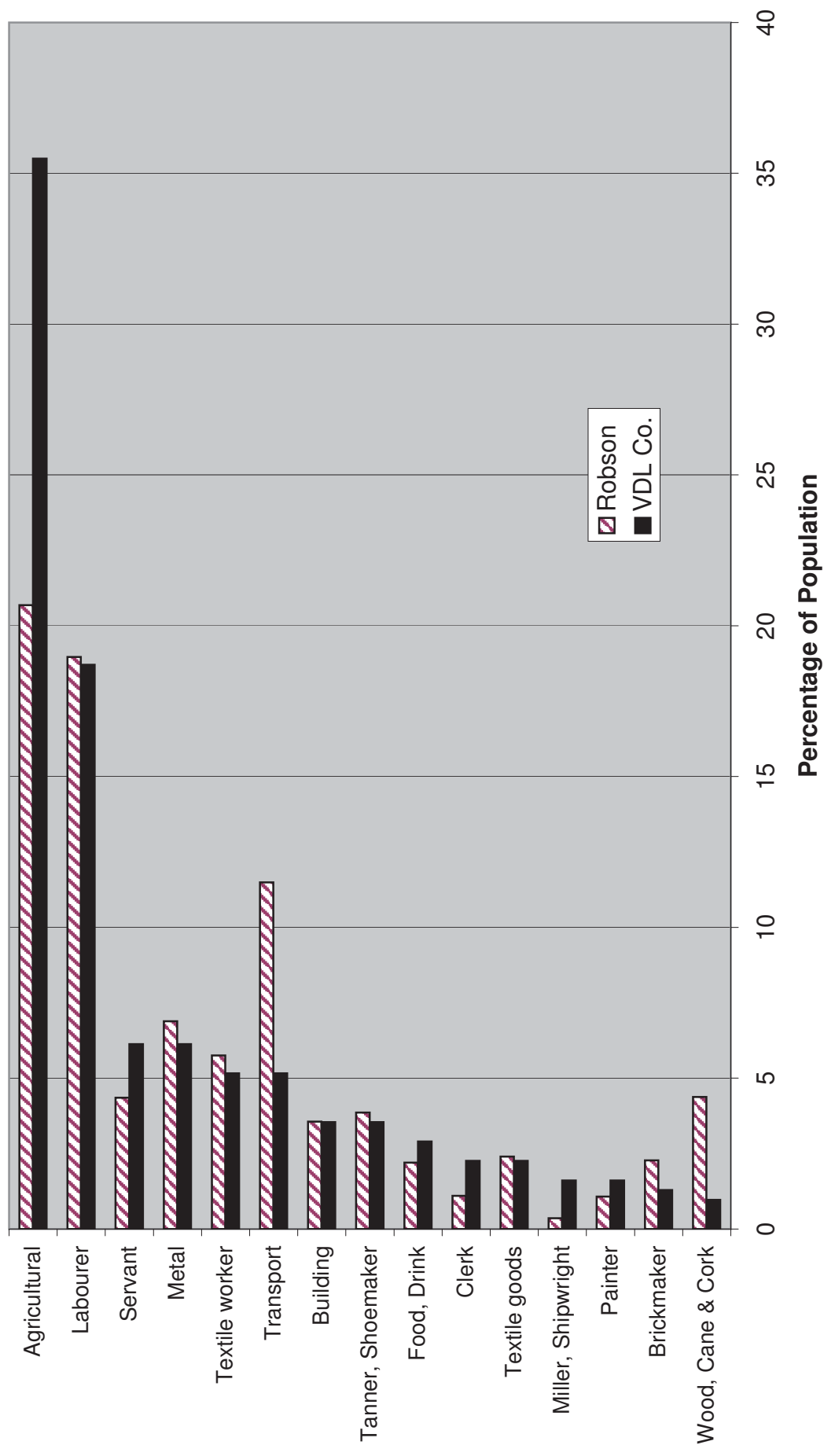


Table 5 - Classification of skills for VDL Company convicts

Construction	Horse	Sheep	Food	Metal	Clothing	Transport
Bricklayer	Breaker	Comber	Baker	Blacksmith	Dyer	Carter
Brickmaker	Farrier	Draw Lambs	Butcher	Brassfounder	Knitter	Coachsmith
Carpenter	Groom	Ploughman	Cook	Coppersmith	Shoemaker	Ropemaker
Glazier	Groom Master	Shearer	Cooper	Engineer	Tailor	Sailmaker
Mason	Veterinary	Shepherd	Gardener	Foundry	Weaver	Seaman
Painter		Veterinary	Poulterer	Jeweller		Ships Carpenter
Plasterer				Locksmith		Shipwright
Sawyer	Other					Wheelwright
Slater	Clerk					
Stonemason						

C:\Geoff\Local History\VDL\VDLC Convicts\Essay\[Convicts Occupation2.xls]Skills

‘Miller, shipwright’ was also higher than normal, while ‘Transport’ was much lower. This probably reflected the heavy reliance of the VDL Company on sea transport; also noting that the company was interested in building its own small vessels. ‘Brickmaker’ and ‘Wood, Cane and Cork’ were down which may have reflected the heavy demand all over the colony for convicts with these trades. In Table 5 the listed occupations have been classified into skill groups to illustrate the wide range of skills required.

The Eliza (2)

Assigned servants with relevant agricultural experience were highly valued by the VDLCo, and its directors were constantly vigilant for opportunities which might arise in England: for example, people remanded for trial before them as magistrates. In 1830–31 social conditions in southern England deteriorated with poor living conditions, low wages and a succession of poor harvests. These conditions were then exacerbated by a severe winter in late 1830 and the introduction of the threshing machine which reduced opportunities for employment. Riots, threatening assemblies and other disturbances were common, with stacks and barns burned, and attacks on overseers and workhouses. Newly installed machines were attacked in sawmills, paper mills, and carpet and woven cloth factories. A factor of particular alarm to the authorities was the rapid and contagious nature of the disturbances. The British Government reacted strongly with over 2000 arrests, 19 executions and 500 sentenced to be transported for

either 7, 14 years or life; as well as other for local imprisonment. The *Eliza* sailed for Hobart in February 1831 with 244 male convicts, to be followed soon after by the *Eleanor* to NSW and the *Proteus* to Van Diemen's Land. Of the *Eliza* convicts the directors had lobbied to have 50 assigned to the VDLCo. However Edward Curr surprised his superiors by advising that he could only receive 25 because of the limited availability of food. Two of these convicts were sick on arrival and were dead within several months. Two others were reassigned the next year from elsewhere to cover these deaths. The recorded trades for the *Eliza* (2) convicts supplied were Ploughman (16), Farm Labourer (5), miscellaneous rural trades (4), a Labourer and a House Servant.³² The government offered to supply a further 'selection' of convicts from the *Argyle* and the *Proteus*, but noted that the company had indicated that it was unable to accept any more.³³ This situation must have been very disappointing to the directors, but the government was doing all that it could to provide the company with a suitably skilled workforce.

³² Analysis of listed occupations from Appropriation lists.

³³ Burnett, Colonial Secretary's Office, to Curr, 7 September 1832. AOT VDL14

Table 6 – Estimated Height & Weight for Convicts and Edward Curr

VDL Co. Convicts	Height (cm)	Weight (kg)
Average Convict	166	63
Maximum Convict	183	86
Edward Curr	185	108

4—EDWARD CURR

Edward Curr's tenure as Agent lasted from 1825 until 1842, and the decisions which affected the assigned servants reflect his influence. Curr was a Catholic at a time when even Catholic marriage was not recognised under the law, and counted two sisters, a daughter and a niece as nuns; and an uncle and nephew as priests. He was a well-educated man of 'marked abilities, extended sympathies, unimpeachable character, distinguished presence...' He was tall and hugely built, with a 'fine head, large and square, a massive jaw, and abstracted looking grey eye.'³⁴

Curr and his wife had a busy family life with three children before settling in VDL and eleven others born here.³⁵ Parental responsibilities must have added a great deal of stress, as, for example, when the infant Juliana was killed in an accident in June 1835.

In order to compare the physique of convicts with that of Edward Curr, height records for a sample of 72 were analysed and estimates made of their weight based on modern diet targets for medium framed people.³⁶ This was compared with information from the Curr family records.³⁷ The mean height was 5'5½", slightly higher than the 5'4½" reported for convicts from

³⁴ EM Curr, *Memoranda concerning our family*, Manuscript, State Lib. Vic, p.32

³⁵ M Close, 'From the Diary of Elizabeth Curr', *Historic Stanley*, (Stanley, 1982).

³⁶ A sample of 73 convicts had a mean height of 166 cm, and a maximum of 183 cm. The associated weights were 63 and 86 kg; estimated from diet target weights for people of a medium build. A Borushek, *The Pocket Dieter's Diary*, (Perth, W.A., 1986), Table facing p.1.

³⁷ EM Curr, *Memoranda concerning our family*, Manuscript, State Lib. Vic, p.32. Curr was 6'1" in height and 17 stone, at age 40 in 1838.

Macquarie Harbour and Port Arthur.³⁸ The mean weight of 63 kg is close to the figure of 65 kg reported for African slaves.³⁹ Table 06 displays a comparison of Curr's physique with the assigned servants. Probably most convicts would have been physically intimidated and fallen silent in his presence. As his son EM Curr said:

I never saw him in company or conversation, even in the most trifling occasions, when anything but the first place was given up to him.

Habitually and unknown to himself, he imposed his will on others, and I have always thought that people treasured up a resentment against what I may call a state of momentary vassalage to which they habitually found themselves reduced in his company or rather, I should say, in his presence, for to that it amounted.⁴⁰

This helps to explain why Curr spoke so freely and candidly, even when it was clearly not in his interest to do so. Several times he told the Lieutenant-Governor how to conduct his business. He wrote insultingly to the directors of the VDL Company regretting that the Court had 'sent the *Thomas Lawrie's* worthless tribe to corrupt our very convicts...' ⁴¹ He insulted the Lieutenant-Governor to the Colonial Secretary—suggesting that His Excellency might have bothered to check his facts before rebuking Curr; and describing the local magistrate as a man of 'withering incapacity'. He concluded by remarking that he had 'an excess of thankfulness' when he

³⁸ H Maxwell-Stewart, 'The Rise and Fall of John Longworth: Work and Punishment at Port Arthur,' *Tasmanian Historical Studies* Vol.6 No.2, 1999, p.98

³⁹ S Nicolas, *Convict Workers*, p.185

⁴⁰ EM Curr, *Memoranda concerning our family*, Manuscript, State Lib. Vic, p.33.

⁴¹ Curr to Court, 01 Nov 1841; AOT VDL5/6; BRL VDLC MR34/3, p.68; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.791.

learned that the man's career had ended.⁴² He seemed unaware of the damage such writing caused to his own, and his company's interests.

It is important to note how Curr's personality may have affected his judgement on matters bearing directly on convict welfare. Curr's opinion was very influential on TOL applications and though he was usually fair, and sometimes generous, he was capable of being antagonistic and cynical. Of Michael Lalley, for instance, he wrote:

I shall certify that he is one of the most worthless boys I ever knew in my life, but this will not prevent him obtaining his Ticket of Leave... it being the policy of the Government now, more than ever, to grant indulgences whenever they can find an excuse for so doing.⁴³

Of Stephen Knapper he gave an equally poor opinion: 'generally idle, deceitful, purposely useless, often feigning illness, and leading other men into misconduct, a gambler and a petty thief.'⁴⁴

Curr lost touch with Convict Department policy. In late 1834 he returned 22 convicts without notice to the Launceston barracks as having arrived unfit for service, but whom government officers subsequently reported to be fit. It was plausible that the convicts did arrive ill, since ongoing problems were recorded for the *Marquis of Hastings* several years

⁴² Curr to Colonial Secretary, 21 January 1835, AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.420; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.373.

⁴³ Curr to Schayer, 20 November 1841; AOT VDL23/11; BRL VDLC MR20/2, p.9; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.794.

⁴⁴ Curr to Colonial Secretary, 04 December 1832; AOT VDL23/5; BRL VDLC MR18/1, p.312; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.220,

later.⁴⁵ The Board of Assignment stated that it could award no more men until the alleged invalids were taken back.⁴⁶ Backhouse reported that Curr ill-treated former indentured servants who had absconded by abandoning them to desperate circumstances, when he was no longer legally responsible for their welfare.⁴⁷ They described Curr as 'in many respects despotic.' Curr tightly controlled the management of the various establishments and left little room for others to appeal against his decisions.⁴⁸

The ship *Forth* embarked for VDL in 1831 with tradesmen and shepherds for Circular Head. Mann, an independent passenger, reported that on the day the emigrants were put on shore, they returned in the evening stating that 'they had no place to reside in if they did not sleep under gum-trees'. Those who decided to leave were compelled to quit the ship before it weighed anchor and find their own way. Mann reported that other free men sent out to Circular Head had also run away, complaining of bad salt provisions and harsh treatment. They risked their lives, by crossing rivers and travelling through forest the 180 miles to Launceston.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ B Wait, *Letters from Van Diemen's Land*, (Buffalo, 1843), p.252, quoting the surgeon at the Colonial Hospital, stated that only 103 of the 240 convicts embarking on the *Marquis of Hastings* (Arr. July 1839) were still alive a year after arrival 'owing to nothing but ill-treatment-short and bad rations.' Another report puts death rates in the first year after arrival at 37 per 1000, compared with 8 per 1000 in the next three years. This suggests that fresh arrivals suffered ongoing ill health. C Pybus and H Maxwell-Stewart, *American Citizens, British Slaves: Yankee Political Prisoners in an Australian Penal Colony*, (Melbourne, 2002), p.105

⁴⁶ AOT VDL14-CSO to E Curr, 13 January 1835; Board of Assignment, 12 June 1835.

⁴⁷ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.93L.

⁴⁸ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.90.

⁴⁹ W Mann, *Six Year's Residence in the Australian Provinces, Ending in 1839*, London, 1839, p.35

5—A TOUR OF THE VDL COMPANY ESTABLISHMENTS

In November 1832, Backhouse and Walker, two members of the Society of Friends, began a tour of the company establishments as part of a much larger tour of VDL, and elsewhere, primarily concerned with the physical, mental and spiritual welfare of convicts. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur described them as intelligent and impartial;⁵⁰ they were also diligent, well-informed and humane. They wrote a general report on their visit to the Australian Colonies,⁵¹ and another general report from the same diaries, but published much later.⁵² They also wrote two specific reports for the Lieutenant-Governor on the company,⁵³ one of which included useful descriptions of the various company establishments in the summer of 1832/33. This report was at once an overview of company operations, and a de facto catalogue of convict achievements, since convicts made up two-thirds of the male population on company establishments, and made an even higher proportional contribution to manual tasks.⁵⁴

The company had five significant centres of operation in the island, all in the North West, and located on land deemed to be naturally suitable for

⁵⁰ Lieutenant-Governor G Arthur to Home Office, 9 July 1833, AOT CO280/42, p.78

⁵¹ J Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (London, 1843), especially Chapters 8–10, and Appendices E and F.

⁵² J Backhouse, and C Tylor, *The Life and Labours of George Washington Walker, of Hobart Town, Tasmania*. (London, 1862). pp.113–132.

⁵³ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the Van Diemen's Land Company*, (Hobart Town, March 1833). AOT-CO280/42, pp.83–118; and J Backhouse and GW Walker, Letter to Lieutenant-Governor George Arthur, (Hobart Town, 5 April 1833). AOT-CO280/42, pp.79–82.

⁵⁴ RM Martin, *Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire*, (London, 1839), App. V. p.231, Tabular return of inhabitants and livestock.

the grazing of sheep. In addition there was an officer in Hobart Town to deal with transport arrangements, particularly the transfer of convicts and the acquisition of stores. There was also a rental property at Red Hill, thought to be near the Tamar River. The preferred mode of communication and transport for the company was by sea.

Woolnorth, in the far North West, was the hub of a sheep grazing operation. It was described as 150 000 acres with 'a very small proportion of good land'.⁵⁵ The population was 70 persons and there was no resident magistrate. Buildings consisted of a weatherboard house for the Superintendent; a store with jetty; a house for servants; some out-buildings; 'a few scattered cottages in remote situation, all of wood'; and some stock-keepers' huts. A marsh of over 1000 acres had been drained with impressive ditches, 9 ft. wide by 1½ miles long, dug by convicts using custom made spades.⁵⁶ A small quantity of land had been cleared, gardens established, and some of the native pasture had been sub-divided with post and rail fences. There were 3000 sheep grazing at Cape Grim, and more on Trefoil Island, which had 600 acres of excellent native pasture, but which was rarely accessible because of heavy surf.⁵⁷ At times other islands were also used for grazing, especially Hunter Island. On a regular basis a vessel was sent to West Hunter Island to collect a load of shells. It is thought that

⁵⁵ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.84L.

⁵⁶ Curr to Court, 21 September 1831, AOT VDL5/4; BRL VDLC MR34/1, p.193; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.139.

⁵⁷ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.84–86.

some of the shells were subsequently burnt over wood to produce lime. Lime could then be used in mortar or mixed with sand, water and an aggregate of shells, gravel, or stone to produce 'tapia' a general purpose masonry material.⁵⁸

Circular Head, forty miles to the east, across several rivers, was the headquarters of the company, with 70–80 persons. This was where Curr was based operating as both agent and magistrate. (Curr was replaced by a permanent government magistrate soon after the visit by Backhouse and Walker as a result of their report to the Lieutenant–Governor.) At nearby Highfield there were two weatherboard houses, a stone mansion under construction, several 'weatherboard cottages inhabited by the labouring people', and a stone house of two storeys used by the overseer. Near the Bluff, as well as jetty facilities, there were,

a wooden erection used as a store, two weather-boarded houses... & a few more cottages for the working people. There are also two or three rude huts and a mud-walled cottage or two on other parts of the settlement... There is also about a mile and a half of good metalled road... The assigned servants are chiefly lodged in two large cottages of a single room each : they are more comfortably accommodated than this class of men usually are in the Colony.⁵⁹

In cultivation were 'betwixt 3 & 400 acres, about 500 acres enclosed & some cross fences made to divide the native pastures.' The crops of rye-grass and white clover were said to be rarely equalled in the Colony; the

⁵⁸ WB Coney, 'Preservation of historic concrete,' *NPS Preservation Brief* No 15, p.2.

⁵⁹ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.90L.

peas, potatoes and turnips were 'remarkably productive' and the crops of grain were 'said to be good.' The garden also contained lettuce, cauliflower and cabbage.⁶⁰ There was sheep grazing; horses, both stud and working; cattle: stud, beef and dairy.⁶¹

At Emu Bay, further east again, across five more rivers and nearly 40 miles, was a small depot: a store and jetty. The inhabitants were a storekeeper and a few convicts assigned to assist him. A piece of ground had been cultivated as a garden, and another with rye-grass and clover for animals.⁶²

The 20 miles from Emu Bay south to Hampshire Hills lay through some of the densest forest imaginable; with 'many Stringy Barks upwards of 40 feet in circumference ; and about 250 high.'⁶³ During the four months of the year a bullock-cart could be used, as the Quakers reported, 'bullocks often perish upon it though two days are taken for the journey of 20 miles and a relay of bullocks is provided half-way.' During the rest of the year travel was with pack-horses which, 'are often up to their saddle-girths in mire for considerable distances.' 'Bridges, over brooks & wet places, have been formed of poles laid across fallen trees.' They estimated that it would take a hundred men three years to form a good road with the necessary

⁶⁰ Curr to Reeves, 01 Jun 1831, AOT VDL23/4; BRL VDL MR17/2, p.314; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.115,

⁶¹ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, pp. 88L–90L.

⁶² J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.97.

⁶³ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, App. A, p.110.

roadside clearing, and that this was essential for the prosperity of the VDL Company and other settlement in the vicinity.⁶⁴

There was an additional 10 000 acres at the Hampshire Hills: 'a great part of it free from timber, except large Silver-Wattles single and in clumps.' It also included, and was surrounded by, dense forest: 'so as to render it inaccessible' except by the bullock track as described. The purpose of the establishment was to graze sheep and cattle, and provide food for the nearby out-stations. Enclosures totalled 650 acres, and 180 acres were under cultivation. The Superintendent had a house, as did the surgeon. There was a store, out-buildings, and 'some cottages for the free and assigned servants all weather-boarded or other wooden construction.' Living there were about 70 persons 'to whom the surgeon, Joseph Milligan, who is also a magistrate, reads the service... on the Sabbath, the People being assembled in a barn convenient for the purpose.'⁶⁵

Surrey Hills (see Fig. 6) was further south again, through dense Myrtle forest, and was 150 000 acres of 'hills of open grassy forests.' It included a 'considerable quantity of wet land covered with sedgy vegetation' and unproductive soil.⁶⁶ There the company had a flock of 3000

⁶⁴ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.99.

⁶⁵ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.101.

⁶⁶ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.102.

sheep and ran 500 cattle.⁶⁷ About 700 acres had been enclosed, with extensive lines of internal fences, and 'about 40 acres have been brought into cultivation.' The largest station was at Chilton where there was a weather-boarded house, cottage and out-buildings.⁶⁸ There were other stations at Weybridge, Longlea and Burleigh with a few servants at each. In a different report the Race Course was described as 'an out-station where three men reside and attend to a flock of 800 sheep.'⁶⁹ Further east was 10 000 acres at Middlesex Plains which was unoccupied at the time.⁷⁰

The number of female adults on all the company settlements was very low, and the total was estimated to not exceed twenty. Backhouse and Walker were in favour of bringing out the wives for the better conducted assigned servants, and they believed that such women could earn their keep with washing and other labours.⁷¹

⁶⁷ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.103L.

⁶⁸ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.103.

⁶⁹ J Backhouse and C Tylor, *The Life and Labours of George Washington Walker*, p.126.

⁷⁰ Refer to Fig. 3 showing the location of land composing the company grant.

⁷¹ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.102L.

6—ACCOMMODATION

The accommodation for assigned servants was generally sound, simple and well-kept. While, at Circular Head in 1832, Backhouse and Walker judged that the huts for the assigned servants were comfortable.⁷²

They had ‘many conversations with the men and officers’, and, at Emu Bay, Hampshire and Surrey Hills, they visited company assigned servants in their huts; and they were of the same opinion. Backhouse and Walker’s favourable descriptions of the accommodation reserved for the company’s assigned servants contrasted with the general standard for convicts in Van Diemen’s Land:

The accommodations of assigned servants are usually far removed from comfort. They generally live in huts constructed of logs apart from the dwellings of their masters, having wooden shutters instead of windows, and inferior to the commonest stables in England ; they are frequently open to the weather...⁷³

In his 1832 report, Bischoff described the relevant buildings at each VDL Company site as ‘cottages’,⁷⁴ although Curr used the term ‘huts’ which was probably more accurate.⁷⁵ The outlying stations are likely to have been very simple. One man on Surrey Hills was killed by natives

⁷² J Backhouse and C Tylor, *The Life and Labours of George Washington Walker*, p.122.

⁷³ J Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, App.F, liv]

⁷⁴ J Bischoff, *Sketch of the History of Van Diemen’s Land and an account of the VDL Company*, p.150

⁷⁵ Curr to Schayer and Chitty, 04 March 1835, AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.454; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.379.

‘after the hut had been literally pulled down over his ears.’⁷⁶ In late 1832, Backhouse noted that the need for a prison at Circular Head had sometimes been felt.⁷⁷ A men’s barracks was constructed at Woolnorth in 1843⁷⁸ and there was one under construction at Circular Head during 1835.⁷⁹

Backhouse wrote of the need to classify prisoners in the allocation of accommodation:

In most of the Chain-gangs and Road-parties, there is a great want of classification. A large number of persons are usually crowded together in one hut, or room, and those who would willingly conduct themselves in an orderly manner, are kept in a constant state of excitement by those who are determined not to care for their situation ; and who continually keep up noise and other disturbance...⁸⁰

Accommodation at Circular Head was graded after such a fashion.

Thus, servants in the ‘Grubbers’ and ‘Painted’ Huts were those who were entitled to the lowest government scale for rations. In the ‘Green Bower’ hut the men were ‘all well conducted and useful’. There was a hut for ‘invalids’, and another for ‘Smiths’, being men who ‘are from one circumstance or other, of more importance to us than the general run of our men’.⁸¹

⁷⁶ J Backhouse and C Tylor, *The Life and Labours of George Washington Walker*, p.25, December 1832.

⁷⁷ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.95.

⁷⁸ Gibson to Dyer, 21 January 1843; AOT VDL23/11; BRL VDLC MR20/2, p.[152a]; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.881.

⁷⁹ Curr to Schayer and Chitty, 04 March 1835; AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.454; JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.380.

⁸⁰ J Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, App. E, pp.41-42

⁸¹ Curr to Schayer and Chitty, 04 March 1835; AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.454; JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.380.

At times there were complaints about the standard of accommodation, although it would appear that these were relatively rare. A complaint about bedding was made to the Superintendent of Woolnorth in 1834,⁸² and the magistrate noted that 'the Woolshed where some of your men are accommodated requires some repairs'.⁸³ After James Gibson took over from Curr, in 1842, he initiated a program of building at Woolnorth which included attention to maintenance issues.

⁸² Hutchinson to Reeves, 08 November 1834; AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.385; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.357.

⁸³ Hutchinson to Reeves, 10 November 1834; AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.387; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.359.

Table 7 – Convict Rations Van Diemen's Land Company & Government — Daily Specifications

ITEM	Unit	VDL Government		VDL Company		VDL Government – Male (1837)				
		Backhouse (1834)	Curr (c.1836)	Female (1832)	Male (July 1835)	Assigned to Settlers	Assignable Gangs		Chain gangs	
Meat	lb.	1½	1	1	1¼	¾ Fresh or ½ Salt pork	1 [Fresh]		1 Fresh or ½ salt beef or 10oz salt pork	
Flour	lb.	1½	1½ Bread or Flour	1	–	¼ (skilly)	¼? (skilly)		¼? (skilly)	
Bread	lb.	–		–	2	1½	1½	1¼	1½	1¼
Vegetables	lb.	0	0	Unlimited	Unlimited	0	0	½	0	½
Potatoes	lb.	0	0	0	1½	1½	0		0	
Salt	oz.	½	¼	½?	½	¼	¼		½	
Soap	oz.	½	½	½?	½	½	½		½	
Sugar	oz.	1	1	2	1¼	Indulgence	0		0	
Tea	oz.	0	1 Roast Wheat	¼	¼	Indulgence.	0		0	
Tobacco	oz.	0	0	0	¼	Indulgence.	0		0	

7—RATIONS

Backhouse and Walker included in their 1833 report to the Lieutenant-Governor a series of observations on the way in which food was provided for convicts, particularly at road stations. Backhouse reported that facilities to store meat were poor for prisoners in road gangs, that meat was delivered to convicts 'in their own individual charge' and after several days prisoners had to deal with spoiled meat or go without. Hence they recommended that meat should be delivered to the cook each day and distributed to prisoners after cooking; this system 'having been fully proved at Launceston'.⁸⁴ They also recommended delivery of bread, rather than flour, because it was more efficient of labour in the baking, and less wasteful in consumption. The 1837 convict regulations reflected these changes: rations were to be delivered daily; to a cook; and a representative of each hut would inspect the rations to ensure that the quantities were correct, and that the quality was satisfactory.⁸⁵ The rations also specified bread rather than flour. Other changes were the option to provide vegetables in partial exchange for bread; the option to provide salted beef and pork in lieu of fresh beef; and the reduction in the amount of meat from 1½ to 1 lb per day. In Table 7 the Government rations for 1834 are shown as quoted

⁸⁴ J Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, App. E, p. xliii

⁸⁵ Forster's Memorandum, May 1837, Appendix 3, AOT CSO16/1/8, p.166.

by both Hindmarsh⁸⁶ and Backhouse:⁸⁷ note that the level of meat is 1 ½ lb per day and that flour is specified, with no vegetables. Curr quoted a different version of the Government diet which had 1 lb. of meat and either bread or flour could be supplied.⁸⁸ The VDL Company male diet for July 1835 includes less meat, bread rather than flour, a large amount of potatoes and unlimited vegetables. The table shows the detailed specifications for the Government rations in 1837, in which the diet for convicts assigned to settlers provides for potatoes. Hindmarsh reviewed the literature and concluded that convict diets were more than adequate, although in road parties there could be a meagre supply of key nutrients.⁸⁹ Maxwell–Stewart noted the need to guard against malnutrition when convicts were undergoing solitary confinement, and it was common at Port Arthur to have sentences of three to four weeks. The VDL Company recorded 46 Solitary Confinement sentences, of which 3 were for 21 days, and 43 were for 14 days or less.

Backhouse and Walker reported that, in late 1832, the rations of indentured servants of the VDL Company ‘have not... been more than the rations ordered by Government for assigned prisoners, except in an

⁸⁶ B Hindmarsh, ‘“Though I knew that hunger would compel me to eat it”: Convict diet in rural Australia’, p168. in R Dare, *Food, Power and Community*, (Adelaide, 1999), pp.167–180.

⁸⁷ J Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, App. F, p. liii

⁸⁸ RM Martin, *Statistics of the Colonies*, (London, 1839), App. 8, H. VDL Company—Information for emigrants as tenants, p.280.

⁸⁹ B Hindmarsh, ‘“Though I knew that hunger would compel me to eat it”: Convict diet in rural Australia’, p168. in R Dare, *Food, Power and Community*, (Adelaide, 1999), pp.167–180.

additional allowance of tea and sugar.’⁹⁰ The clear implication was that assigned servants received rations no better than this; although many masters elsewhere provided much more than the government ration. In any case, within two years, Curr was obliged to make significant changes. At the end of 1834 Curr returned from an eighteen-month trip to England to find that, in his absence, there had been a substantial breakdown in management-servant relations, particularly at the Woolnorth establishment.⁹¹ One of the underlying issues was the level and variation in rations between differing groups of servants: assigned, free, and indentured. Curr wanted to differentiate between some classes, e.g. those who were skilled and well behaved, and those who were neither. He was obliged to differentiate between other groups where he preferred not to: thus, particular groups of indentured servants had strong preferences or contract conditions. In January 1835, Curr proposed a rations list with multiple levels of rations for assigned servants: there were three levels for normal workers; an invalid ration; a solitary confinement ration; and a standard gaol ration, both the latter two being determined and paid for by Government.⁹² However, in July 1835, Curr was obliged to propose a further list—that quoted in Table 7—which applied to ‘all prisoners’ and all

⁹⁰ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.93.

⁹¹ Curr to Colonial Secretary, 21 January 1835, AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.420; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.373.

⁹² Curr to Schayer and Chitty, 04 March 1835, AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.454; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.379.

establishments.⁹³ Although the quantity of vegetables available was nominally 2 lb per day, in practice it was unlimited, in that servants were encouraged to take whatever they required from the garden. Herbs suitable for soups were also available. Servants at isolated stations were expected to grow their own vegetables,⁹⁴ but this would have been difficult at remote locations—particularly the islands—and it is likely that convicts there had a much less varied diet than those at the main centres. The company preferred to supply bread, rather than flour. In Curr's first proposal '*well-conducted and useful*' servants got extra meat which was available to be traded for tea and sugar; with further privileges again for highly skilled workers such as 'smiths', and other valued employees.⁹⁵ But Curr came to regard as undesirable all commutation of some rations for others, as it provided an incentive for servants on remote stations to trade meat, which they could steal from the company flocks, for other stores which they preferred.⁹⁶

Gates⁹⁷ and Heustis⁹⁸ reported the diets as experienced by them in road gangs, and the narratives by American patriots are regarded as useful

⁹³ Curr to Schayer, 06 July 1835; AOT VDL23/7; BRL VDLC MR19/1, p.21; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p. 400.

⁹⁴ Curr to Schayer, 16 July 1835; AOT VDL23/7; BRL VDLC MR19/1, p.44; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.405.

⁹⁵ Curr to Schayer and Chitty, 04 March 1835, AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.454; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.379.

⁹⁶ Curr to Schayer, 06 July 1835; AOT VDL23/7; BRL VDLC MR19/1, p.21; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p. 400.

⁹⁷ Gates, W. *Recollections of Life in Van Dieman's Land* (Lockport, 1850), p.44.

⁹⁸ D Huestis, *Narrative of Captain Daniel Heustis in Van Dieman's Land* (Boston, 1847), Ch. IX.

sources of information about conditions for convicts.⁹⁹ There was a stingy allowance of vegetables, usually stale, or none at all. A pint of skilly— 2 oz of flour in water—was provided twice a day instead of tea. Sugar was not available, and potatoes were limited to ½ lb, if that. The meat was sometimes more bone than meat, and often had maggots, occasionally to the point of being totally inedible; Gates reported butchering days at twice per week.¹⁰⁰ Most serious was the continual threat of supervisors and suppliers adulterating or stealing rations. Heustis claimed that at one station there were two sets of standard weights for measuring food, a heavy set for buying and a light set for supplying the prisoners.¹⁰¹ There is no evidence that these problems at road gangs were prevalent in VDL Company operations; although they did face the company servant who went to the gangs under sentence. Curr reported that stores were delivered once per week,¹⁰² but he was aware of the problem of inadequate storage for fresh meat¹⁰³ and salt meat was also made available. It would have been more of a problem at remote out-stations where they had to make their own arrangements and, particularly at Hampshire and Surrey Hills, after February 1835, when there were cattle but few sheep. Curr regarded central

⁹⁹ TP Dunning, 'Convict Care and Treatment: The American Experience in Van Diemen's Land,' *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol. 2, pp.73.

¹⁰⁰ W Gates, *Recollections of Life in Van Dieman's Land* (Lockport, 1850), p.44.

¹⁰¹ D Huestis, *Narrative of Captain Daniel Heustis in Van Dieman's Land* (Boston, 1847), Ch. IX

¹⁰² Curr to Schayer, 10 February 1835; AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.436; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.376.

¹⁰³ Curr to Schayer, 05 March 1835; AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.458; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.383.

cooking facilities as much more efficient and later introduced them to Circular Head as being to the mutual benefit of master and servant.¹⁰⁴

Less than one per cent. of VDL Company conduct record offences were concerned with food: with single cases of breaking into a mill; stealing potatoes; stealing sugar; stealing spirits and fraudulently handling rations. Even in those records there is nothing to indicate that thefts were to satisfy immediate hunger and they may have been general theft or part of a plan to abscond.

Curr realised that tobacco was an important indulgence item and made sure that he had ample supplies and that the quality was good. But he was also strict in requiring that tobacco, tea and sugar be kept as indulgence items and not become standard items by default, and in contravention of Government order.¹⁰⁵ The Government ration was the benchmark and remained essentially unchanged in the 1840s, although tea came to be regarded as a standard item; and tobacco was recognised as important to morale and a potential cause of trouble if it were denied.¹⁰⁶

Backhouse noted that it was not in a master's interests to be stingy:

The opportunities that agricultural and other servants have of pilfering from their masters, render it in general, a matter of policy not to limit them in the necessaries of life: but it is a great advantage to the settler,

¹⁰⁴ Curr to Schayer, 19 May 1835; AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.499; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.395.

¹⁰⁵ Hutchinson to Schayer, 03 September 1833, AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.112; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.268.

¹⁰⁶ H Melville, *Australian and Prison Discipline*, (London, 1851), p. 173

to be able to revert to Government rations, in cases of discontent or misconduct.¹⁰⁷

Such pilfering created all sorts of secondary problems: the time taken to investigate; the need to interrogate and transport witnesses; and the disruption to the activities already in hand. A prisoner might be convicted of insolence or insubordination, following an angry outburst when conversing with his master, and sentenced to a road gang to the disadvantage of both master and servant. Of most importance there was a loss of trust in the relationship between master and servant, and among servants themselves.

Backhouse reported that 'Prisoners generally refuse to eat Kangaroo, or other provision which they think costs their employers nothing,' presumably regarding this as a slow erosion of their basic rights. This behaviour has been attributed to the thought that the ration should come out of the master's pocket, rather than his sporting activities.¹⁰⁸ But Backhouse further noted that prisoners would frequently live almost entirely on such flesh when they were on TOL and providing for themselves.¹⁰⁹ These comments are very revealing about the true motivation of servants and the difficulties of life for those who were on a TOL.

¹⁰⁷ J Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, App. F, p. liv

¹⁰⁸ H Maxwell-Stewart, 'What's that... you've got in your tucker bag?', *Tasmanian Ancestry*, March 2000, p.231.

¹⁰⁹ J Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, App. F, p. liv

Where convicts were well treated by being supplied in excess of the standard ration then it was an effective means of controlling behaviour. If the servant were non-compliant, or in other ways difficult, the master could threaten to revert to the standard ration. The usual effect of this was the servant fell into line with the master's request, since he knew that he was well-off and the last thing he wanted was to revert to the standard issue. This applied particularly to items such as tea, sugar and tobacco, which were technically privileged items, but which were regarded by servants as highly desirable.

Curr had an aversion to fry-pans for unspecified reasons and refused to supply them to convict huts, perhaps because convicts left them unwashed and they attracted flies.¹¹⁰ Eating utensils that were provided included 'a pannikin, knife and fork, plate and spoon each',¹¹¹ This was generous compared with some NSW Government establishments where convicts had to share cutlery and hand it back after meals;¹¹² and that reported for the convict transport *Marquis of Hastings* (1839) where a cup, spoon, knife and fork were provided as 'eating apparatus' for six men.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Curr to Schayer, 02 March 1835; AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.453; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.378.

¹¹¹ Curr to Fossey, 02 September 1830, AOT VDL23/3; BRL VDLC MR17/1, p.480; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.61.

¹¹² RM Martin, *Statistics of the Colonies*, (London, 1839), App. 5, p.195. 01 Oct 1837 – Roads and Public Works, Sydney. Convicts had a spoon each, and the other items were shared in a group of six.

¹¹³ B Wait, *Letters from Van Diemen's Land*, (Buffalo, 1843), p.248.

Table 8 — VDL Government Convict Working Hours

	Assignment System		Probation System			
	Apr.—Aug.	Sep.—Mar.	Nov.—Feb.	March, October, April, September	May, August	June, July
Start	6:30	5:30	5:30	6:30	8	8
Return	4:30	6:00	6	5:30	5	4:30
Breakfast	Before work	8:30—9	8—9	8—9	Before work	Before work
Lunch	12—1	1—2	12—1	12—1	12—1	12—1
Pre-Lunch hours	5.5	7	5.5	4.5	4	4
Post-Lunch hours	3.5	4	5	4.5	4	3.5
Total hours	9	11	10.5	9	8	7.5
Mon-Fri	45	55	52.5	45	40	37.5
Sat.	5.5	7	5.5	4.5	4	4
Week	50.5	62	58	49.5	44	41.5

8—WORKING HOURS

In 1832 Curr stated that the hours of work for company servants were from seven in the morning till six in the evening during the summer, with an hour from twelve till one for dinner. In winter their dinner hour was the same and they went to work at sun-rise and left off at sun-set. This amounted to a ten hour day. He claimed that: 'The Company's hours of work are shorter than is usual on most farms in the north side of the Colony, and more is conceded to the men in the shape of overwork and contract work.' But he decided that these hours were indulgences which he would gradually diminish.¹¹⁴

By 1835 the preferred working hours were from 6 am till 12 noon, and from 1 pm till 7 pm, a total of 12 hours, with an hour for lunch; and the free men worked from 7 am till 12 noon, and from 1 pm till 6 pm, a total of 10 hours.¹¹⁵ The convict working week which allowed Saturday afternoon and all Sunday off was probably about 65 hours, which Nicholas notes is less than that listed for free labourers in England and most coerced and contract workers at the time.¹¹⁶ Note, however, that this was more than the

¹¹⁴ Curr to Court, Despatch No. 228, 05 October 1832; AOT VDL5/4; BRL VDLC MR34/1, p.308; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.202.

¹¹⁵ Curr to Schayer, 19 January 1836; AOT VDL23/7; BRL VDLC MR19/1, p.151; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.430.

¹¹⁶ S Nicholas, 'The care and feeding of convicts', p.187, in S Nicholas (Ed.), *Convict Workers*, (London, 1988), pp.180–198.

working hours for VDL Government Gangs of 62 hours in September—March. (See Table 8).¹¹⁷

Daylight Saving was introduced, and, as the length of day contracted with the approach of winter, the clocks were adjusted to maximize the amount of sunlight in the morning. Near the shortest day the servants probably worked less than 12 hours.¹¹⁸ Company Charter Day, 10 November, was a company declared holiday,¹¹⁹ and Christmas Day, Boxing day and St Patrick's Day were government regulated holidays.¹²⁰

The Irish indentured servants gave trouble when they insisted on their own working hours, being 6 am till 6 pm, with a half hour for breakfast, and an hour for lunch.¹²¹ These terms were negotiated before they came out, as part of their contract, and they refused to change. Curr also recognized that some other workers had arrangements which it would be impolitic to alter e.g. the free men per *Forth* also had their own contractual arrangements being a 10 hour day finishing at 6 pm.

Curr claimed that the prevalent arrangement in the colony was a 13 to 14 hour day, from sunrise to the end of twilight. In early 1835 Curr applied to the Police magistrate at Circular Head, Captain ML Smith, for his

¹¹⁷ CSO16-1-8 pp.164–165

¹¹⁸ Curr to Schayer and Chitty, 04 March 1835, AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.454; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.379.

¹¹⁹ Gibson to Dyer, 21 October 1843; AOT VDL23/11; BRL VDLC MR20/2, p.313; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.923.

¹²⁰ B Wait, *Letters from Van Diemen's Land*, (Buffalo, 1843), p.265.

¹²¹ Curr to Schayer, 29 December 1841; AOT VDL23/11; BRL VDLC MR20/2, p.35; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.807.

opinion on the applicable working hours for assigned servants. Smith replied that he did not know of any Colonial regulations prescribing working hours for assigned servants.¹²²

¹²² AOT–VDL15, 5 March 1835, ML Smith to J Milligan JP.

9—HAZARDS OF LIFE

Physical perils

Life in the North West contained many risks and terrors: at least three convicts drowned crossing rivers, and another four drowned at sea in a whaleboat; at least one was bashed to death, probably by a workmate; and several were speared to death by natives.¹²³ Backhouse passed the skeletal remains of several people who had died of fatigue along the coastal track. He also described leeches; the constant threat from snakes; bush fire; and a servant who was killed by a falling tree in the presence of his son. Hellyer's diary describes a road gang, which contained six prisoners, on routine road construction south of Emu Bay:

[9 July 1827] The Men have no heart to do anything and they have no change of food from one week's end to the another... This is a horrid place... neither Sun nor Moon to be seen, no part of the sky [visible] being completely darkened by dripping Evergreens... We are just in the situation of being Suffocated [by smoke], buried alive, knocked on the head by falling trees...or being killed by the damp and cold for want of a fire.

[10 July] Swarms of Rats paid us a visit and ran all over us nibbling anything they took a fancy for & the Hyenas & Pole Cats kept the Dogs barking all night. Opossums were screaming at intervals so that we all got up as tired as when we went to bed...

[11 July] We were all alarmed by a fall of a Tree in the middle of the night which came down within 2 yards of Frederick's Hut...

¹²³ Curr to Court, Despatch 185, 15 August 1831, Thomas Smith, 912 per *William Miles*; AOTVDL5/4; BRL VDLC MR34/1, p.172; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.134.

[7 August] They observed a huge dead Limb come twirling & twisting down from an immense height & it fell so close to them that it broke the handle of a Spade which Higginson had just been at work with...¹²⁴

Backhouse related the story of one unfortunate who became bewildered and was lost forever in the forest when attempting a journey of only 200 yards between work gangs; despite mutual calling for direction.¹²⁵ In December 1833 another assigned servant was listed as lost on Surrey Hills.¹²⁶

Curr was constantly concerned about the perils of supply and communication with the islands—Trefoil, Robbins, Hunter, etc—and voyages along the coast at anytime. The *Edward*, a company vessel, apparently floundered without trace. Lingering illness from the voyage to Van Diemen's land was a constant threat: twenty two convicts were returned to the Government in late 1834; and two of the agricultural recruits from the ship *Eliza* (2) succumbed within months, reportedly from 'consumption'. Samuel Neads also died of consumption.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ H Hellyer, in B Rollins, 'Life in a lost Tasmanian rainforest, winter 1827', Chapter 11, p.152-160 in J Dargavel et al., *Australia's Ever-changing Forests V*, (Canberra, 2002)

¹²⁵ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.117.

¹²⁶ Hutchinson to Horne, 25 March 1834, John Long, 666 per *Katherine Stewart Forbes*, died 19 January 1834; AOT VDL23/6; BDL VDLC MR18/2, p.244; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.309.

¹²⁷ Curr to Thomas Neads, 11 August 1833; AOT VDL23/7; BRL VDLC MR19/1, p.59; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.409.

Mental health

More insidious was the mental toll in the settlement. Thomas Kelly, an assigned servant, was first a lodger with an indentured couple, but then won the affections of the wife and moved into the main bedroom, excluding the husband. This precipitated the husband into maniacal behaviour, resulting in committal to an asylum.¹²⁸ Cohen, another assigned servant, applied to have his wife join him, but she would not. The unfortunate man drowned himself in a well after a failed attempt to cut his own throat.¹²⁹ Anderson, a blacksmith, was well behaved at Circular Head, but Curr was 'astonished' to learn that he had become unmanageable when transferred to Woolnorth;¹³⁰ a consequence perhaps, of some intolerable interpersonal relationship. Carson, a tailor by trade, arrived free and was convicted in the colony. He worked for the company as a cook and later as a labourer, before being declared insane and returned to Government.¹³¹

Traumatic events left their toll on those involved. A shepherd who had been attacked by natives was described as: 'in hourly apprehension of another attack on his life.'¹³² Searle, an assigned servant, on Surrey Hills,

¹²⁸ Curr to Biggam, 4 October 1840; AOT VDL23/10; BRL VDLC MR20/1, p. 126; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.717.

¹²⁹ Curr to Schayer, 22 May 1841; AOT VDL23/10; BRL VDLC MR20/1, p.259; Curr to Court, 13 June 1841; AOT VDL5/6; BRL VDLC MR34/3, p.15; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.757, 762.

¹³⁰ Curr to Schayer, 30 October 1840; AOT VDL23/10; BRL VDLC MR20/1, p. 139; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.720.

¹³¹ Gibson to Lee Archer, 02 June 1843; AOT VDL23/11; BRL VDLC MR20/2, p.223; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.906.

¹³² Curr to Lee Archer, 10 August 1841; AOT VDL23/10; BRL VDLC MR20/1, p.296; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.772.

shot dead a native in an attack on his hut at the Race–Course. Backhouse reported that the event affected him deeply: ‘he has been subject to a great depression in spirits.’¹³³ Employees present during the robbery of the Woolnorth store by four armed men, runaway convicts, were understandably fearful, and James Gibson was at a loss as to how he could restore order: ‘I cannot get persons to remain at the [store] after what has occurred.’¹³⁴

Samuel Smith illustrated the perils of prisoners receiving a TOL. No doubt unprepared for his new life, and perhaps institutionalised, he arrived in Launceston and set about spending his money on drink; to be found dead within two days. Stewart, a prisoner at Circular Head, and assigned to Curr as a clerk, knew when he was well off, and Curr agreed. Stewart initially declined the invitation to apply for a TOL; despite, less than two months prior, having been violently attacked and injured by a fellow convict.¹³⁵

Backhouse noted the beneficial effects of the limited availability of alcohol, and there were people who were now ‘industrious & orderly people, working regularly and obtaining good wages’ who previously lived in ‘poverty and wretchedness when in the settled districts’ and within reach of alcohol.¹³⁶

¹³³ J Backhouse, and C Tylor, *The Life and Labours of George Washington Walker*, p.125.

¹³⁴ Gibson to Court, 08 February 1844, Despatch No.52; AOT VDL175 & AOT VDL5/7; BRL VDLC MR10 & MR35/1, p.218; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.940.

¹³⁵ Curr to Colonial Secretary, 04 December 1832; AOT VDL23/5; BRL VDLC MR18/1, p.312; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.219

¹³⁶ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.108.

Curr was proud of the fact that the company looked after servants who became sick in service, saying that they took good care of everyone—in one case, for three years—till they either recovered or died.¹³⁷ Curr was at his most humane when caring for ill employees. An example was the tolerance he showed Norman McLeod, an indentured servant, who started to lose his mind and took to wandering without notice between settlements.¹³⁸ Another example was the determined care he showed Samuel Neads in his dying days with consumption.¹³⁹

Engagement with the Aborigines

The high profile history of the engagement of the Tasmanian natives with the VDL Company had three broad phases. In the first phase the natives were regarded as part of the background to settlement and the directors had given clear instructions that they could, and should, be accommodated within company life to the mutual benefit of both. Curr himself was arguably pro-native and had minimal sympathy for employees who were hurt in exchanges with them. 'If ordinary caution be observed there is not much to fear from them'.¹⁴⁰ During this period there were many encounters, some peaceful, and some fatal incidents which were not

¹³⁷ Curr to W Seccombe Esq., 14 July 1837; AOT VDL23/8; BRL VDLC MR19/2, p.115; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.525.

¹³⁸ Curr to Reeves, 5 October 1831; AOT VDL23/4; BRL VDLC MR17/2, p.441; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.140

¹³⁹ Curr to Robson, 4 November 1830; AOT VDL23/4; BRL VDLC MR17/2, p. 32; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p. 68.

¹⁴⁰ Reference Curr to Fossey, 4 January 1830; AOT VDL23/3; BRL VDLC MR17/1, p. 244; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p. 32.

adequately investigated. Assigned servants were involved in exchanges which resulted in many fatalities among the natives, perhaps dozens in aggregate.¹⁴¹

In the second phase it had become apparent throughout the colony that the actions of rogue elements within the white population had precipitated the native-settler relationship into a clash between two mutually exclusive civilizations. The most visible sign of this was that, throughout the colony, when parties of natives were observed, the proportion of females was disturbingly low; because they had been stolen. The depredations of a relative handful of brutal whites had started a cycle of violence which could no longer be contained. Curr had apparently changed his attitude to one where he wished to avoid violence on both sides, but his priority was that employees would not get hurt. He was supportive of the GA Robinson party, which gathered natives and relocated them to Flinders Island. During this period there was a series of incidents in which assigned servants and others were speared by natives and there was inevitable tit-for-tat retaliation. Curr believed that the conflict between the settlers and the natives had gone too far and that ongoing clashes were inevitable— in short that the Aboriginal population was doomed to extinction.¹⁴² At the end of August 1831 Curr was unimpressed with progress to that date, having just

¹⁴¹ For example, GA Robinson reported to the Lieutenant-Governor that 30 natives had been killed by VDL Company people at Woolnorth. See G Lennox, 'The Van Diemen's Land Company and the Tasmanian Aborigines: a reappraisal,' *Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol. 37 No. 4, 1990, pp.173.

¹⁴² Curr to Directors, 28 February 1828; AOT VDL5/1; BRL VDLC MR33/1, p.304.

dealt with the spearing of two men, one of whom died: 'The Natives are as hostile as ever and more daring and dangerous... nor is there any prospect that settlers will be freed from their attacks until they are all captured and removed which in 10 or 20 years time, may be effected.'¹⁴³

In the third phase the natives had become a lingering background problem, with occasional robberies and infrequent but ongoing attacks on stock and employees. Curr was himself under stress and tried a series of measures to provoke the government into solving the residual problem. After Curr's time with the company, the government did provide more support and eventually the last group of seven natives was brought under government management in December 1842.¹⁴⁴ Schayer, Superintendent at Woolnorth, gave his opinion on the origin of the cycle of violence:

The tendency to murder was aroused in them by the cruelty of the horrific sailors who hunted the seals in Bass Strait and wanted the services of the black women to keep them company; and, when they refused to accompany them voluntarily, they took them by force and often killed their relations or friends who tried to oppose their violence. Similar crimes were then made by the stock-keepers, who kept herds of cattle in the interior, and often lived alone or in pairs in a hut.¹⁴⁵

Investigations into the company policy toward the Aborigines, and the attitude and behaviour of Curr in particular, have been detailed and

¹⁴³ Curr to Court, Despatch 186, 31 August 1831; AOT VDL5/4; BRL VDLC MR34/1, p.175; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.136.

¹⁴⁴ Gibson to Colonial Secretary, 8 December 1842, AOT VDL23/11; BRL VDLC MR20/2, p. [140a]; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.865.

¹⁴⁵ MA Schayer, 'La Terre Van-Diemen', pp.5-41 in *Nouvelles Annales Des Voyages et Des Sciences Géographiques*, (Avril, Mai, Juin), (Paris, 1839).

extensive and the conclusions have been mixed. McFarlane concluded that Edward Curr intended harm and that he 'persistently ignored instructions from his Directors to the contrary and created, fostered and supported an ethos that encouraged the systematic eradication of the Aboriginal population on allocated Company lands.'¹⁴⁶ Lennox, in a review paper, concluded that settlers such as Curr 'wished the natives no harm, but also wished them out of the way. Aborigines were to them as much as pest to them as the alien landscape.'¹⁴⁷ It is not possible, or necessary, to resolve these questions in the current study. However it is possible to state that the evidence encountered indicated that Curr did what he could to ensure the safety of the servants in his care.

The impact on Curr

The two decade struggle took its toll on Edward Curr as well. Despite his sacking in 1841, and, as enthusiastic as ever, he applied to buy land at Circular Head. However he had seriously insulted the Board in a previous letter and, when there was no reply to his application, something inside him broke. He withdrew his application and took his family to Port Phillip, where he buried himself in a project to achieve separation from New South Wales. It was said that he 'learned almost to forget that he had any

¹⁴⁶ I McFarlane, *Aboriginal Society in North West Tasmania: Dispossession and Genocide*, PhD Thesis, University of Tasmania (Hobart, 2002), Abstract.

¹⁴⁷ G Lennox, 'The Van Diemen's Land Company and the Tasmanian Aborigines: a reappraisal,' *Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol. 37 No. 4, 1990, p. 201.

family.’¹⁴⁸ At his death, in 1850, separation had been achieved and Curr was regarded as father of the cause; but the victory was achieved at a high cost. He provided well for his surviving daughters, but not so for the boys, and the terms of his will led to the financial ruin of his sons.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ EM Curr, *Memoranda concerning our family*, Manuscript, State Library of Victoria, p.30.

¹⁴⁹ EM Curr, *Memoranda concerning our family*, p.35.

Table 9 - Number of Floggings by Magistrate and Year

Magistrate	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	Total
Archer, JL								1				8	7	4	20
Curr, E	1	9		3	7										20
Gunn, RC							1		12	7	7				27
Horne, AW						12	3								15
Hutchinson, JH								11	4		3	1			19
Lyttleton, W			2	1		1	1								5
Milligan, J					4	9	2							1	16
Miscellaneous				1			1		1				1	2	6
Smith, ML								17							17
Total	1	9	2	5	11	22	8	29	17	7	10	9	8	7	145

C:\Geoff\Local History\VDL\VDLC Convicts\[Convict Punishment LASHES.xls]Mag x Year No

Table 10 - Average Lashes per Flogging by Magistrate and Year

Magistrate	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	Overall
Archer, JL								25				30	21	37	28
Curr, E	25	25		43	29										29
Gunn, RC							25		38	36	39				37
Horne, AW						52	40								49
Hutchinson, JH								31	30		39	50			33
Lyttleton, W			38	30		50	25								36
Milligan, J					28	39	38							36	36
Miscellaneous				35			50		35				24	30	34
Smith, ML								52							52
Overall Mean	25	25	38	39	29	47	37	43	36	36	39	33	21	35	37

C:\Geoff\Local History\VDL\VDLC Convicts\[Convict Punishment LASHES.xls]10 Mag x Year Mean

Table 11 - Average number of Floggings by Month and Year

Month	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	Total	3pt Mean	MMT*
Jan	1	1					3	6	1	1	1	2			16	15	20.1
Feb		2		2			1	5	2			2			14	16	20.6
Mar						7		2	1		2		4	2	18	13	19.1
Apr		1		1				3			1				6	12	16.6
May		3			2	3	1		1			1	1		12	9	14.4
Jun					2	1	2	1	1			1		2	10	10	12.6
Jul		1				2		3	3						9	9	12.0
Aug		1						2	1		3			2	9	9	12.5
Sep			1			1	1	1		4		1			9	10	13.8
Oct					1	3		2	2	1	1		2		12	13	15.3
Nov			1	2	3	1		1	4	1	2	2		1	18	14	17.0
Dec					3	4		3	1				1		12	15	18.8
Total	1	9	2	5	11	22	8	29	17	7	10	9	8	7	145		

* MMT = Mean Maximum Temperature at Stanley Post Office (°C)

3pt Mean = Three-point moving average of Total Floggings per month

C:\Geoff\Local History\VDL\VDLC Convicts\[Convict Punishment LASHES.xls]Month x Year

Fig. 7 - Floggings per Month v Mean Maximum Temperature

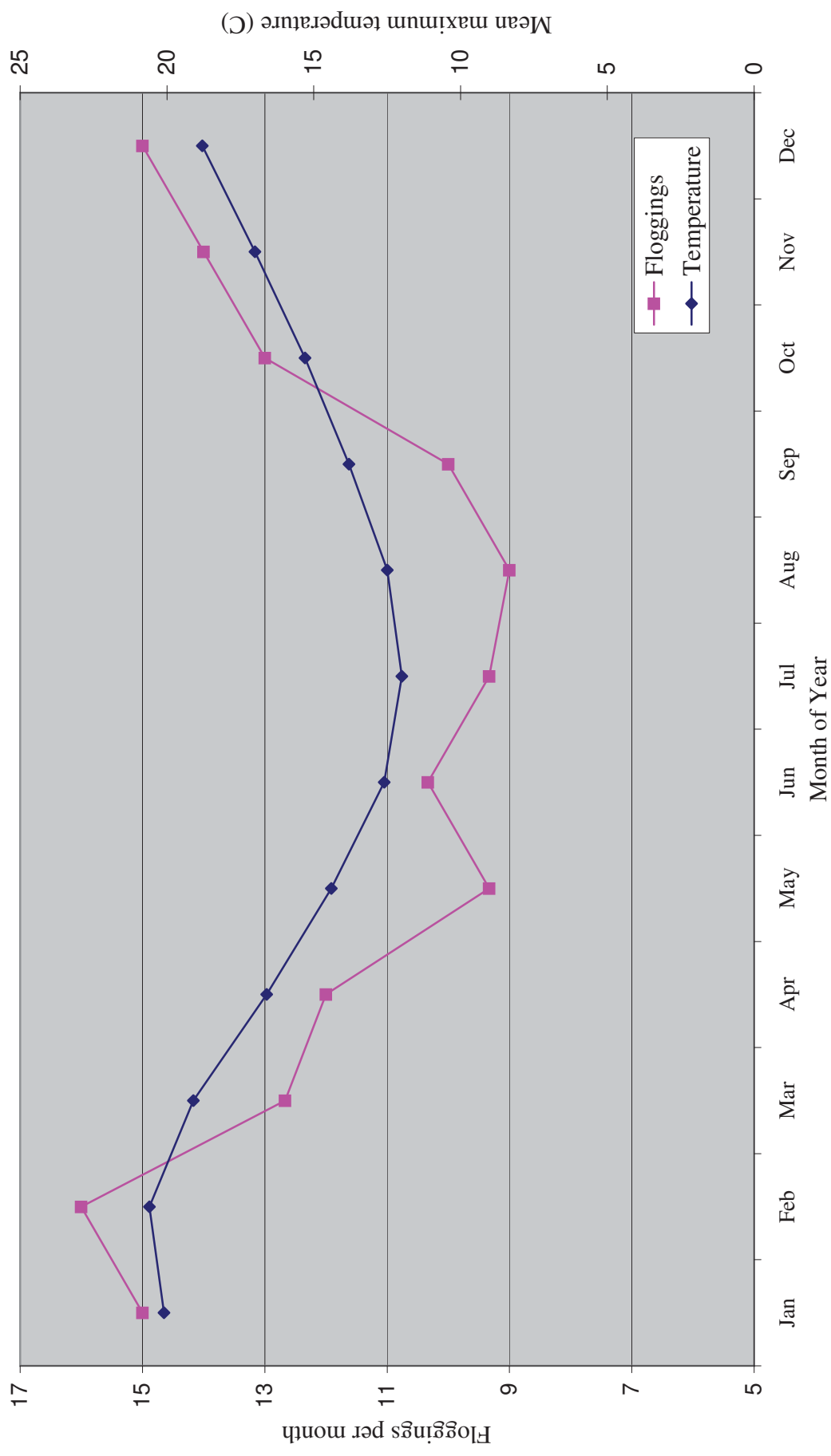


Table 12 - Floggings by Year: Comparisons of VDL Co. and Government

VDL Company

Convict Population

Number flogged

1830	1832	1833	1835	1841
82	119	141	81	55
2	11	22	29	7

Percentage Flogged

VDL Company

VDL (excluding Penal Settlements)*

Port Arthur*

2	9	16	36	13
17	16	18	11	
7	24	23	29	

Mean Lashes per Flogging

VDL Company

VDL (excluding Penal Settlements)*

Port Arthur*

38	29	47	43	35
33	36	37	34	
19	43	50	29	

* NB Government data from AGL Shaw *Convicts and the Colonies*, Table p.202

C:\Geoff\Local History\VDL\VDLC Convicts\[Convict Punishment LASHES.xls]11 Month x Year

Table 13 - Summary of the Number of Convictions

No. of Offences	No. of Convicts	Per Cent. of Convicts	Cumm. Per Cent.
0	205	52	51.6
1	89	22	74.1
2	46	12	85.6
3	23	6	91.4
4	17	4	95.7
5	6	2	97.2
6	4	1	98.2
7	3	1	99.0
9	2	1	99.5
14	1	0	99.7
19	1	0	100.0
Total	397	100	

C:\Geoff\Local History\VDL\VDLC Convicts\Convict Punishment PUNISHMENT (overall).xls|Tab 13

Fig. 8 - Sentencing Trends VDL Company (all years) v Colony (1834)

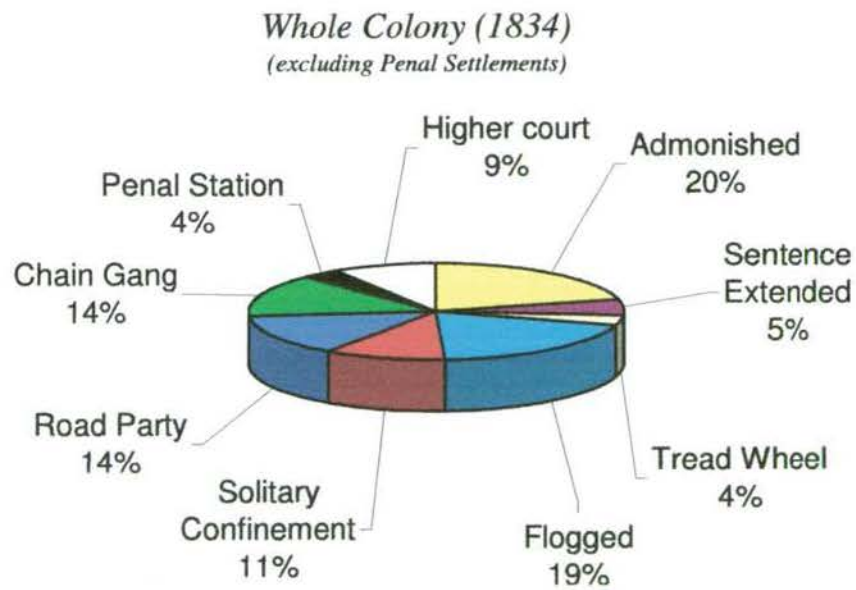
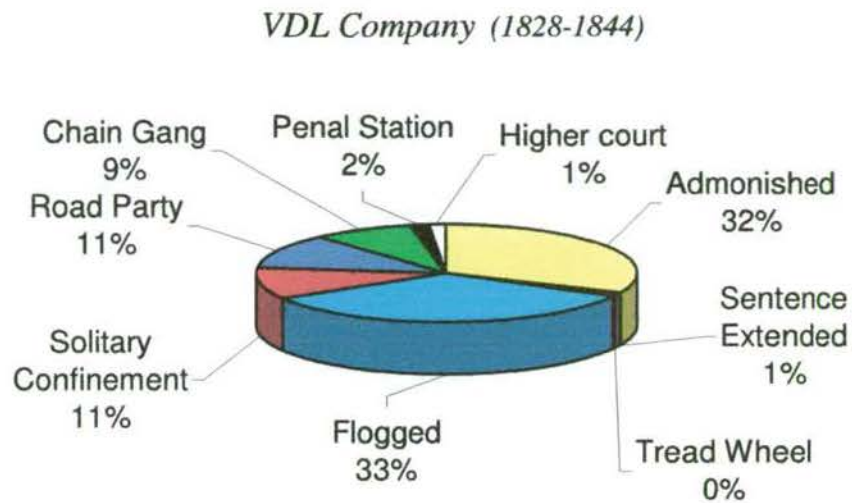
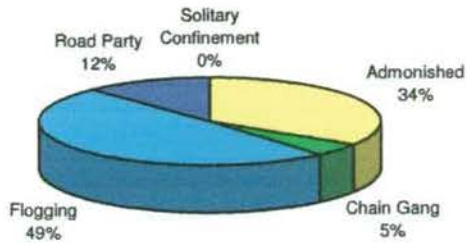
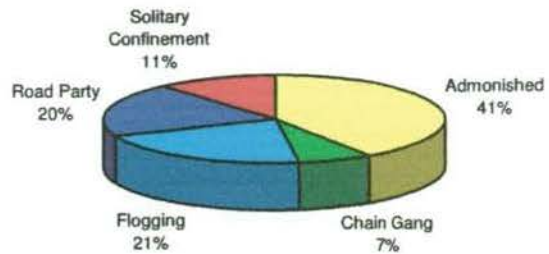


Fig. 9 - Circular Head Magistrates - Analysis of Sentencing

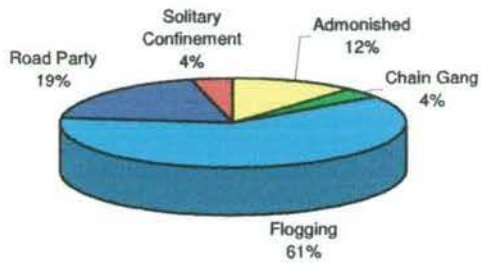
E.Curr (Circular Head 1828-1832)



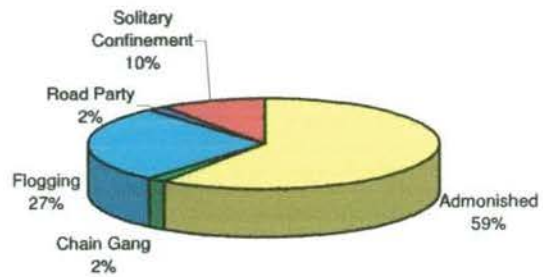
AW Horne (Circular Head 1833-1834)



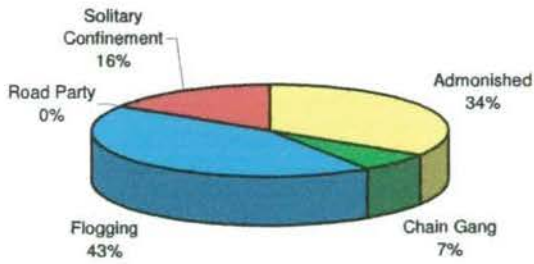
J Milligan (Hampshire Hills 1832-1834)



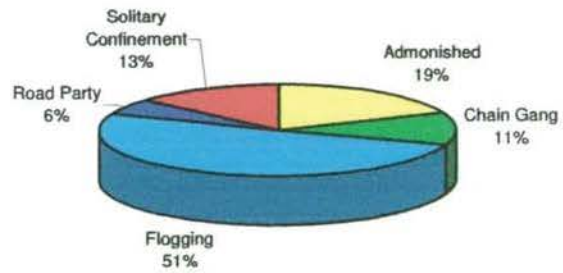
ML Smith (Circular Head 1835)



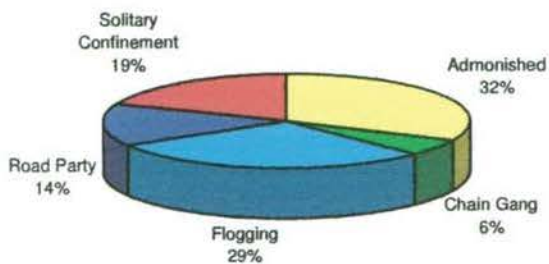
JH Hutchinson (Circular Head 1835-1836)



RC Gunn (Circular Head 1836-1837)



JL Archer (Circular Head 1839-1844)



All Magistrates

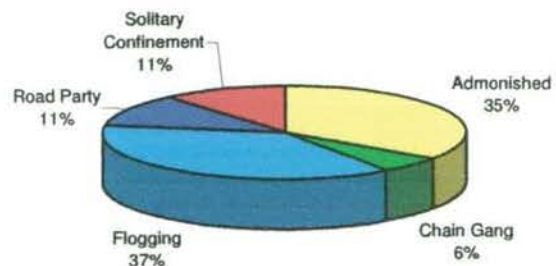
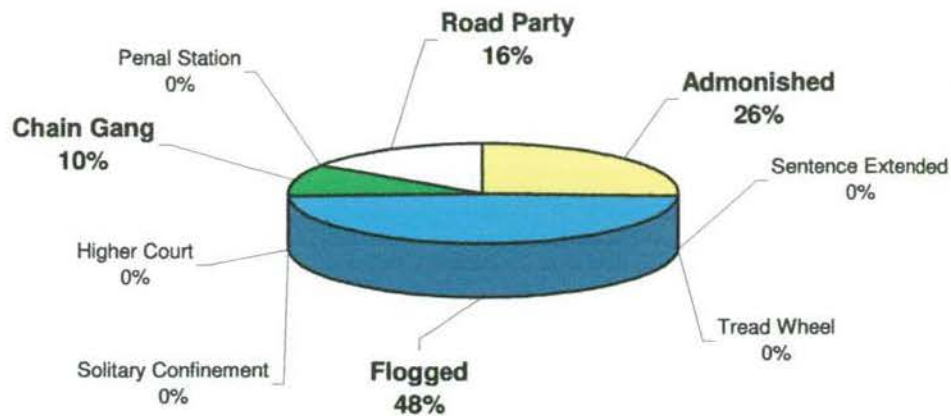
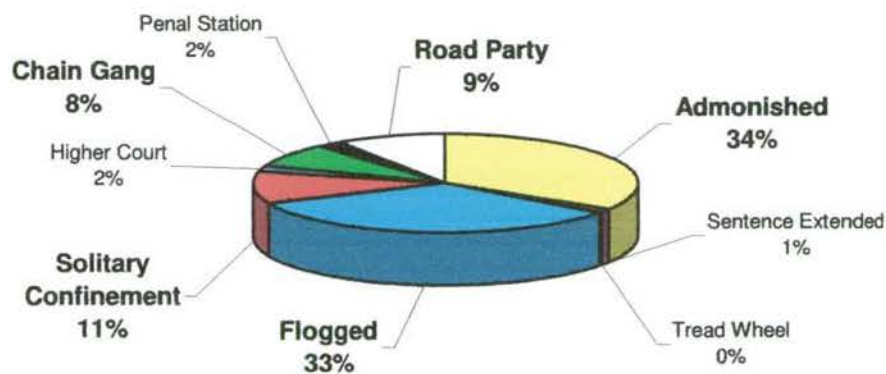


Fig. 10 - Sentencing Trends in the Van Diemen's Land Company

VDL Company 1827-1832



VDL Company 1833-1838



VDL Company 1839-1844

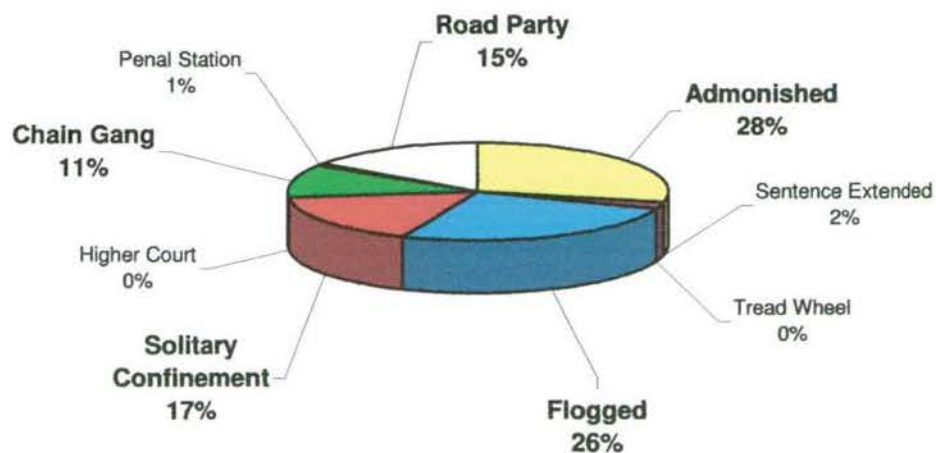


Table 14 – Sentencing Statistics for Edward Curr to Dec 1832

Year	No. Sentenced	Flagellations	Reprimand	Other Punishment	Extant in Conduct Record
1827	1	.		1	1
1828	19	10	8	1	4
1829	8	4	3	1	18
1830	9	5	2	2	1
1831	14	7	4	3	5
1832	22	12	5	5	16
TOTAL	73	38	22	13	45
% of Total		52	30	18	

Ref: AOT VDL83/1/1, plus Conduct Records. Records for J Clark have been removed.

10—ANALYSIS OF CONDUCT RECORDS

Monitoring by the Government

Although the convicts with the VDL Company represented about a half of one percent of the total within the island, their well-being received the attention of Lieutenant-Governor Arthur. In 1833 James Backhouse presented to him an extensive report on all aspects of convict management within the VDL colony, with a separate report dealing specifically with the VDL Company in which there was a strong recommendation for the appointment of an independent police magistrate.¹⁵⁰ When Backhouse alluded to a possible deficiency with the magisterial decisions at Circular Head, he was asked for, and provided with, a separate report on that topic.¹⁵¹ The decisions of the Circular Head magistrates also received scrutiny by Lieutenant-Governor Franklin, and his officers provided feedback from him. One letter noted that a prisoner had been sentenced to forty lashes, but the 'jurisdiction of one magistrate extends only to thirty-six lashes.'¹⁵² There were challenges to the precise wording of charges: for example a magistrate was advised that he had used the words 'To labour in chains,' whereas the Act required that the words 'Hard Labour' be used.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ J Backhouse and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Co*, p.96L.

¹⁵¹ J Backhouse GW Walker, Letter to Lieutenant.-Governor George Arthur, (Hobart Town, 5 April 1833). AOT-CO280/42, pp.79-82.

¹⁵² AOT-POL320 22 March 1839, re John Wilson [Wiltson], 2470 per *Lord William Bentinck*.

¹⁵³ AOT-POL320 12 April 1839, re T Cummings per *Coromandel*.

A case of animal cruelty was heard in the wrong court;¹⁵⁴ a prisoner with a TOL should have been charged under the law relating to ‘Hired Servants’ and not under ‘Convict Law’;¹⁵⁵ another charge did not come within the 15th Section of the Quarter Sessions Act and was illegal;¹⁵⁶ a bi-monthly return of Constabulary activity was late;¹⁵⁷ and no explanation was given why three names were missing from the last return of convicts.¹⁵⁸ Even more remarkable was a letter advising that Jeffry, 956 per *Lady Nugent*, came from the West Indies, and was entitled to serve his term in New South Wales where the Lieutenant–Governor had judged the climate to more closely match that of his native place.¹⁵⁹ An examination of the conduct records for VDL Company convicts shows numerous examples of the imprecise wording of charges. But this series of letters conveyed a very clear message to the company: that convicts were entitled to justice and to the precise application of the law. If cruelty or inhumanity existed within the system that did not mean that it was inherent, or should be condoned, or allowed to remain.

Missing records of sentence

In December 1832 Curr received advice that a TOL had been approved for a convict he regarded as a most unworthy applicant, and he

¹⁵⁴ AOT–POL320 17 July 1838, re S Cartland per *William Metcalfe*.

¹⁵⁵ AOT–POL320 17 July 1838, re S Knapper per *Woodford* (1).

¹⁵⁶ AOT–POL320 19 March 1839, re W Bennett per *Frances Charlotte*.

¹⁵⁷ AOT–POL320 16 April 1839, to the police magistrate, Circular Head.

¹⁵⁸ AOT–VDL14, PSO to E Curr, 2 August 1836

¹⁵⁹ AOT–VDL14, PSO to VDL Co., 20 November 1837.

realised to his horror that there were important records missing from the Government's records of conduct.¹⁶⁰ In January the next year it came to light that the records had not been passed on by the Police magistrate in Launceston to the Superintendent of Convicts, Hobart Town.¹⁶¹ In January 1835 Curr noted that a record was missing for a convict sentenced by AW Horne to two months hard labour.¹⁶² This study has identified records of sentence missing from the conduct records of at least eight different convicts, under at least three magistrates.¹⁶³ No magistrate bench records could be located which would allow systematic cross-checking. However, Curr made a tabular summary of sentencing by him to December 1832,¹⁶⁴ which notes 82 sentences during his tenure as magistrate, including 9 by J Clark. Of Curr's 73 records, only 45 have been located to date, and at least 10 of these records have an incorrect date—1829 instead of 1828—only one of which can be identified. The discontinuities in date, on some conduct records, is reason to believe that the majority of missing sentences are from known conduct records, rather than from missing conduct records.

¹⁶⁰ Curr to Colonial Secretary, 04 December 1832, Charles Chamberlain, 752 per *Chapman (2)*; AOT23/5; BRL VDLC MR18/1, p.312; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.219.

¹⁶¹ Curr to Reeves, 28 January 1833; AOT VDL 23/5; BRL VDLC MR18/1, p.393; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.234.

¹⁶² Curr to Colonial Secretary, 21 January 1835, John Silcox, 1420 per *William Glen Anderson*; AOT VDL23/6; BRL VDLC MR18/2, p.420; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*, p.373.

¹⁶³ Charles Chamberlain, 752 per *Chapman (2)* (25 February 1831, 12 April 1831, E Curr); 414, Fitzpatrick; H0678; K0205; R0453, Russell, (28 April 1827, Adey); 1420, John Silcox (AW Horne); W0732, noted by Duxbury; #B088, Jane Dymond (nee Brooks), (11 Feb 1832, E Curr)

¹⁶⁴ AOT VDL83/1/1

Flogging as a sentence

The records relating to floggings show that there were 145 sentences (several were remitted) from 1828–1841 inclusive. Table 09, the ‘Number of Floggings by magistrate by Year’ shows that seven different magistrates each handed down 15 or more sentences during that period. The years 1835, 1833 and 1836 were clearly the busiest with 29, 22 and 17 floggings handed down respectively. Table 10, ‘Average Lashes per Floggings by magistrate by Year’, shows that the severity of floggings also reached a peak in 1833 and 1835. ML Smith and AW Horne were particularly severe, although we should be wary of comparisons when the time and circumstances were different for each magistrate. E Curr was nearest to JL Archer as the least severe overall, of the eight major magistrates, with a mean of 29 lashes per flogging; despite one ‘severe’ year, viz. 1831 with a mean of 43 lashes,

Table 11: ‘Average Number of Floggings by Month and Year’ is a search for possible associations between season of the year—e.g. harvest season—and numbers of floggings. Hindmarsh, for example, has examined the extent and nature of sentencing in relation to harvest year and yield.¹⁶⁵ There is little visual evidence of an association with harvesting, e.g. a peak at harvest time. However Fig. 7, a plot of ‘Floggings per Month’ against ‘Mean Maximum Monthly Temperature’ for Stanley (Circular Head) is indicative of a smoother trend throughout the year. This could be that there

¹⁶⁵ B Hindmarsh, ‘“Though I knew that hunger would compel me to eat it”: Convict diet in rural Australia’, p168. in R Dare, *Food, Power and Community*, (Adelaide, 1999), pp.167–180.

are more exchanges between supervisors and overseers, or between magistrates and convicts, in hotter weather. More likely the increased incidence of floggings with temperature is due to the increased working hours as day length increased in the warmer months.¹⁶⁶ The convicts and overseers were spending more time together. They were also getting more tired and tempers were getting frayed more often.

Table 12: of comparisons between the VDL Company and the Government convict populations displays the statistics for the rate and severity of floggings for the ‘muster’ years of 1830, 32, 33, 35, and 41, where reliable estimates of the convict population are available for the VDL Company.¹⁶⁷ ‘Percentage Flogged’ is the mean number of sentences per convict, expressed as a percentage. This statistic shows that the VDL Company convicts were flogged less frequently than the average for the colony, with the conspicuous exception of 1835, when 36 per cent. of convicts were flogged, compared with 11 percent for the Colony (excluding Penal Settlements); and 29 per cent. for Port Arthur. Because some of Curr’s records are known to be missing the figure for % Flogged, for the VDL Company in 1832, is more likely to be about 12 per cent., rather than 9 per cent.; and the figure for 1830, while more unreliable, would be about

¹⁶⁶ Thanks to A Dean for this suggestion.

¹⁶⁷ The Colony figures are from AGL Shaw, *Convicts & the Colonies: A Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain & Ireland to Australia & other parts of the British Empire*, (Melbourne, 1977), p. 202.

10 per cent.¹⁶⁸ By contrast, the severity of flogging of company convicts was more in line with expectations at a Penal Settlement, and exceeds the figure presented for the Colony, exclusive of Penal Settlements, for three of the years where comparison figures are available. Table 13, 'Summary of the Number of Convictions', shows that 52 per cent. of convicts had no convictions during their time with the VDL Company; 74 per cent. of convicts had no more than one; and 95 per cent. had no more than four convictions.

Fig. 8, 'Sentencing trends VDL Company (all years) v Colony (1834)' looks at the balance in the type of primary sentence given. The VDL Company had no Tread Wheel and the sentence was rarely used. Compared with the colony, the VDL Company more often reprimanded rather than punished, 32 v 20 per cent.; used solitary confinement to the same extent; used flogging more often, 33 v 19 per cent.; and sent convicts away less often: road party, 11 v 14 per cent.; chain gang, 9 v 14 per cent.; and penal station, 2 v 4 per cent. There was also a new punishment which came to be used in lieu of solitary confinement, that is working by day and cells by night.¹⁶⁹ Supplementary punishments were also used, for example extending the original sentence. Fig. 9 illustrates clearly the preferences shown by the various magistrates. Thus ML Smith had a high proportion of reprimand (Admonished); J Milligan had a high proportion of flogging; and the later

¹⁶⁸ Increase the figure for 1832 by a ratio of 73/45.

¹⁶⁹ e.g. John Davis, 562 per *Bussorah Merchant*, in March 1837 (twice) and October 1837.

magistrates, Hutchinson, Gunn and Archer, tended to make much more use of solitary confinement. This latter trend is clearly evident in Fig. 10 where the major trend with time is to make less use of flogging and more use of solitary confinement.

Curr's record as magistrate

A summary of Curr's records as magistrate, to 14 December 1832, and exclusive of J Clark's records, is presented in Table 14. This shows the number of his records by year, and which of these are extant in conduct records or otherwise known from correspondence. Curr's sentencing preferences are also apparent from calculations below the table, with 30 per cent. reprimanded, 52 per cent. flagellations and 18 per cent. other punishment. Duxbury has compared this figure for flagellations with a benchmark figure for the colony in general of 11 per cent. in 1834.¹⁷⁰ However that comparison is invalid in that, for Curr's case, she has used a percentage of convicts under sentence, but the benchmark figure applies to total convicts in the colony. The correct figure to use for Curr can be constructed using convict muster numbers from Table 1—of which the years 1830 and 1832 are applicable—and the 'Flagellation' numbers from Table 14 for those years. The result is an approximate figure of 8 per cent. to compare with the 11 per cent. quoted above for the colony. The average

¹⁷⁰ Duxbury, J *Colonial Servitude: Indentured and Assigned Servants of the Van Diemen's Land Company 1825–41*, (Melbourne, 1989), p.51, has 51 per cent. for Curr's per cent. Flagellations.

convict under Curr was less likely to be flogged, than in the colony as a whole; those brought before Curr for sentencing were more likely to be reprimanded rather than punished, than those before magistrates generally in the colony; and those who were punished were more likely to be flogged than to receive arguably more severe punishments such as being sent to road parties, chain gangs and penal stations.

The record of Joseph Milligan as magistrate shows that a sentence of flogging achieved little of itself. On five occasions Milligan sentenced a prisoner to a flogging only to have them back before the bench within two days. Curr knew that a prisoner before the bench was a sign that a problem existed. He would attempt to find out what the problem was and attend to it. He would then take notice if there were further complaints as an indication to whether the problem had been fixed. Curr noted that 'The hope of a Ticket of Leave is the strongest hold we have on the good conduct of prisoners. It operates much more forcibly, and I am sure much more agreeably to the master, than the fear of punishment.'¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Curr to Schayer, 15 August 1835, AOT VDL23/7; BRL VDLC MR 19/1, p.61; in JM Bruce, *Woolnorth: Select Documents*.

11—CONCLUSION

The achievements of the assigned servants of the VDL Company have been largely unsung. The North West was mostly unexplored and completely without settlement before the VDL Company came. When roads were located, land was cleared, ditches were dug, animals were tended, bullocks ploughed the fields, crops were grown and buildings were erected, it was largely convict labour that did the hands-on work. They were expected to work long hours, on most days, until they either served their time or died in service. While it is known that a few went on to achieve great things, most probably left the company bewildered as to what to do next and as to how they would survive. Curr has been described as a ‘despot’, with good reason; but this generally applied to absconding servants and not to those who were trying to fit in where the term ‘benevolent dictator’ would be more appropriate. Assigned servants who were cooperative had little to fear and a lot to be relatively thankful for. Their food, accommodation and general conditions were much better than most government prisoners. The one occasion when the assigned servants were rebellious and protested strongly was when Curr was away in England in 1834. As a magistrate Curr is undeserving of his reputation as a ‘flogging’ judge. His record supports his claim that he used the lash less than others, and that the best hold that a master could hold over an assigned servant was the prospect of a Ticket of Leave.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES – BOOKS

- Backhouse, J, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, pp.107–130, + Appendices, (London, 1843)
- Backhouse, J and C Tylor, *The Life and Labours of George Washington Walker, of Hobart Town, Tasmania*. pp.113–132, (London, 1862)
- Bischoff, J, *Sketch of the History of Van Diemen's Land and an account of the Van Diemen's Land Company*. (London, 1832)
- Bruce, JM, *Woolnorth: Select Documents 1826–45* (Burnie, 1994)
- Burn, D, *A Picture of Van Diemen's Land* (A facsimile of a work published in The Colonial Magazine 1840–41), (Hobart, 1973)
- Curr, Edward, *An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land, Principally Designed for the Use of Emigrants*, (London, 1824).
- Gates, W. *Recollections of Life in Van Dieman's Land* (Lockport, 1850)
- Huestis, D, *Narrative of Captain Daniel Heustis in Van Dieman's Land* (Boston, 1847)
- Martin, RM, *Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire*, (London, 1839)
- Melville, H, *The History of the Island of Van Diemen's Land from the Year 1824 to 1835 Inclusive to which is added a few words on Prison Discipline*, London, 1835).
- Melville, H, *Australia and Prison Discipline*, (London, 1851)
- Wait, B, *Letters from Van Dieman's Land written during Four Years Imprisonment for Political Offenses Committed in Upper Canada*, (Buffalo, WW Wilgus, 1843).

PRIMARY SOURCES – MANUSCRIPTS and ARTICLES

- Arthur, G, Lieutenant–Governor, to Home Office, 9 July 1833, AOT CO280/42, p.78L
- AOT CO280/42, p. 77, Lieutenant–Governor to Home Office, 9 July 1833
- AOT CON27— Appropriation Lists of Convicts
- AOT CON31— Conduct Registers of Male Convicts Arriving in the Period of the Assignment System
- AOT CON40— Conduct Registers of Female Convicts Arriving in the Period of the Assignment System

AOT CSO16—Correspondence, 'Record Branch'.

AOT POL318—Head Office Police – Letterbooks of the Chief Police Magistrate with the Colonial Secretary, 1832–1841.

AOT POL319—Head Office Police – Letterbooks of the Chief Police Magistrate with the Police Magistrates, 1835–1845.

AOT POL320—Head Office Police – Letterbook of the Chief Police Magistrate with Police Magistrates Concerning Convicts, 1838–1840.

AOT POL321—Head Office Police – Letterbook of Circulars to the Police Magistrates from the Chief Police Magistrate, 1832–1857.

AOT VDL14—Correspondence Records with the Principal Superintendent of Convicts and the Board of Assignment Respecting the Assignment of Convicts to the Company's Service, 1826–1841

AOT VDL15—Correspondence Records with and respecting Malcolm Laing Smith, Police Magistrate of Horton District, 1835–1836.

AOT VDL83—Lists of Offences By Assigned Convicts on The Company's Properties.

Backhouse, J and GW Walker, *The Report of a Visit to the Settlements of the VDL Company* (Hobart Town, March 1833). AOT-CO280/42, pp.83-118.

Backhouse, J and GW Walker, Letter to Lieutenant-Governor George Arthur, (Hobart Town, 5 April 1833). AOT-CO280/42, pp.79-82.

British Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, 1845, 659, vol. XXXVII, pg.2.

Curr, Edward Mickelthwaite, *Memoranda concerning our family*, Manuscript MS8998, State Lib. Victoria (1877)

Curr, Elizabeth, 'From the Diary of Elizabeth Curr,' p.17 in M Close, *Historic Stanley*, (Stanley, 1982)

Circular Head Police Office Records for 1834–1847, Mitchell Library, Microfilm *Tasmanian Papers* 259.

Hellyer, H, Diary extracts, in B Rollins, 'Life in a lost Tasmanian rainforest, winter 1827', Chapter 11, pp.146-162 in J Dargavel, D Gaughwin and B Libbis (Eds.), *Australia's Ever-changing Forests V: Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Australian Forest History*, (Canberra, 2002)

Schayer, MA 'La Terre Van-Diemen', pp.5–41 in *Nouvelles Annales Des Voyages et Des Sciences Géographiques*, (Avril, Mai, Juin), (Paris, 1839). The quotation was translated by GH Dean, with assistance from W Bush.

SECONDARY SOURCES - ARTICLES

Coney, WB 'Preservation of historic concrete,' *NPS Preservation Brief No 15*, <http://www.oldhouseweb.com/stories/Detailed/13675.shtml> [Viewed 4 Nov 2007]

Duxbury, J Conflict and Discipline: 'The Van Diemen's Land Company,' *The Push from the Bush*, Issue 25, pp.37-51, 1987.

Dunning, TP Convict Care and Treatment: The American Experience in Van Diemen's Land, *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol. 2, pp.72-85

Dunning, T and H Maxwell-Stewart, 'Mutiny at Deloraine: Ganging and Convict Resistance in 1840s Van Diemen's Land,' *Labour History* Vol. 82, <http://historycooperative.press.uiuc.edu/journals/lab/82/dunning.html> [Viewed 28 Nov. 2006]

Hindmarsh, B, '“Though I knew that hunger would compel me to eat it”: Convict diet in rural Australia', pp.167-180 in Dare, R, *Food, Power and Community*, (Adelaide, 1999).

Jackson, WD 'The Tasmanian Legacy of Man and Fire', *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania*, 1999, Vol. 133, No. 1, pp. 1-14

Lennox, G 'The Van Diemen's Land Company and the Tasmanian Aborigines: a reappraisal,' *Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol. 37 No. 4, 1990, pp.165-208

Maxwell-Stewart, H, 'What's that ... you've got in your tucker bag? Food and Food Politics in Convict Tasmania.', *Tasmanian Ancestry*, March 2000, pp.229-233

Maxwell-Stewart, H, 'The Rise and Fall of John Longworth: Work and Punishment at Port Arthur,' *Tasmanian Historical Studies* Vol.6 No.2, 1999

Meston, AL, 'The Work of the Van Diemen's Land Company in Land Settlement,' *Report of the Hobart Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Tasmania, 1929.

Nicholas, S, 'The care and feeding of convicts', pp.180-198 in Nicholas, S (Ed.) *Convict Workers*, (London, 1988),

Rudé, G, '“Captain Swing” and Van Diemen's Land', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, Vol. 12, No.1, 1964, pp.6-24.

Sanderson, RS 'The History of the Van Diemen's Land Company', serialised in *The Advocate* (Burnie, November 1925-March 1926)

Stokes, HJW, 'The Van Diemen's Land Company', *Tasmanian Year Book*, (Hobart, 1971), pp.7-11.

SECONDARY SOURCES - BOOKS

- Bateson, C *The Convict Ships 1787–1868*, (Sydney, 2004)
- Beckett, G, *The VDL Company (Australia's oldest Chartered company): A Study of failed intentions*, 133 pp. + app., (Second Edition, Colonial Press, QLD, undated [2007])
- Binks, CJ, *Explorers of Western Tasmania*, (Launceston, 1980).
- Brown, BW *The Machine Breaker Convicts from the 'Proteus' and the 'Eliza'*, Masters Thesis, University of Tasmania, 2004.
- Duxbury, J, 'Colonial Servitude: Indentured and Assigned Servants of the Van Diemen's Land Company 1825–1841,' *Monash Publications in History*: 4, (Clayton, 1989).
- McFarlane, I, *Aboriginal Society in North West Tasmania: Dispossession and Genocide*, PhD Thesis, University of Tasmania (Hobart, 2002)
- Meston, AL, *The Van Diemen's Land Company 1825–1842*, (Launceston, 1958)
- Newitt, L *Convicts and carriageways: Tasmanian Road Development Until 1880*, (Hobart, 1988)
- Nicholas, S (Ed.) *Convict Workers*, (London, 1988)
- Pink, K *Campsite to City*, (Burnie, 2000)
- Pink, K *Winds of Change: A History of Woolnorth*, (Burnie, 2003)
- Plomley, NJB (Ed.) *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land*, (Hobart, 1991)
- Pybus, C and H Maxwell-Stewart, *American Citizens, British Slaves: Yankee Political Prisoners in an Australian Penal Colony*, (Melbourne, 2002).
- Robson, L *The Convict Settlers of Australia : An Enquiry into the Origin and Character of the Convicts Transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1787-1852*, (Carlton, 1965)
- Shaw, AGL *Convicts & the Colonies: A Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain & Ireland to Australia & other parts of the British Empire*, (Melbourne, 1977)
- Sinclair, K, (Ed.) *A Soldier's View of Empire: The Reminiscences of James Bodell 1831–92*, (London, 1982), pp.82–97.
- Stokes, HJW *The V.D.L. Company 1824-1860*, Masters Thesis, University of Tasmania, (Hobart, 1964)
- Von Steiglitz, KR *A short history of Circular Head and its pioneers also of the V.D.L. Company*, Launceston, 1952.

DATABASES

Ancestry, New South Wales and Tasmania, Australia Convict Musters, 1806-1849, www.ancestry.com.au (Viewed July-November 2007)

Archives Office of Tasmania –Index to Tasmanian Convicts (Viewed throughout 2007)

<http://portal.archives.tas.gov.au/menu.aspx?search=11>

Archives Office of Tasmania, *Tasmanian Convicts*, CD-ROM, (Hobart, 2000)

Bureau of Meteorology—Stanley Rainfall— (Viewed 26 Sep 2007)

http://www.bom.gov.au/climate/averages/tables/cw_091094.shtml

Bureau of Meteorology—Rainfall Map of Tasmania (Viewed 26 Sep 2007)

http://www.bom.gov.au/cgi-bin/climate/cgi_bin_scripts/annual-monthly-rainfall.cgi

National Library of Australia, Source of Fig. 4, Thomas Scott's map 1824 (Viewed 26 Sep 2007) <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t1129>

Musters HO10/46–HO10/51 inclusive, National Library of Australia, Microfilm PRO Reels 78–80.

Appendix 1

Van Diemen's Land Company Sentencing Records for Male Convicts

Glossary of Abbreviations

- 1 Absconding
- 2 Absenting
- 3 Disobedience
- 4 Drunkenness
- 5 Disorderly Conduct
- 6 Neglect, Idleness
- 7 Insolence [Insubordination]
- 8 Other

Ref: AGL Shaw, p.202

Abb	Type	No.	Pct	
FL	Flogged	1	11	
AD	Admonished [Reprimand]	2	12	
FN	Fined (TOL)	3	9	
RP	Road Party	4	8	
CG	Chain-Gang	5	8	
SC	Solitary Confinement	6	6	
SX	Sentence Extended	7	3	
TW	Tread Wheel	8	2	
PS	Penal Station	9	2	
HC	Higher Court	10	5	
DS	Discharged	11	34	By subtraction
RN	Returned (to Govt.)	12	0	
CR	Conviction recorded only	13	0	
MR	Merit Record	14	0	
			100	

From AGL Shaw, p.201, for 1834

Major Magistrates

AWH	AW Horne
EC	E Curr
JHH	JH Hutchinson
JLA	JL Archer
JM	J Milligan
MLS	ML Smith
RCG	RC Gunn
WL	W Lyttleton

PNo	Name	No	Date	Crime	Sent.	Parm	Mag.	Notes
A0109	ANDERSON, William	0						
A0221	ADAMS, John	0						
A0286	ACORN, Philip	1	21-May-34	7	AD		AWH	
A0348	ASHTON, Samuel	0						
A0428	ALEXANDER, Matthias	0						
A0452	ARKLEY, George Lawson	1	24-Oct-33	6	AD		JM	
A0520	ASH, Bartholemew	0						
A0525	ALLEN, John	3	13-Jun-33	5	RP	12	AWH	RN (?), WS p.271
A0525	ALLEN, John	3	04-Jan-34	7	FL	50	AWH	&3
A0525	ALLEN, John	3	04-Feb-35	5	PS		MLS & JHH	&SX, Edward
A0659	ALLMAN, John	1	03-Aug-39	8	RP	12	JLA	
A0662	ARADIN, James	0						
A0670	AMES, John	2	12-Nov-35	6	FL	35	JHH	
A0670	AMES, John	2	01-Jul-36	8	HC		JHH	HC=CG 2years
A0734	ARNEY, Samuel	0						
A0823	ARMSTRONG, Thomas	1	06-Sep-41	3	SC	10	CA	&4
A0872	ANDERSON, Robert	1	20-Jan-43	5	RN		JLA	
B0230	BARTLETT, William	0						
B0750	BUTTERLEY, Nicholas	2	14-Feb-35	1	FL	50	MLS	
B0750	BUTTERLEY, Nicholas	2	23-Feb-35	2	FL	25	MLS	NYD
B0928	BENNETT, Joseph	1	14-May-27	4	CG	1	EC	&7 &2
B1160	BROWN, Joseph	0						
B1211	BIDEY, James	0						
B1227	BIBBY, Thomas	0						
B1228	BROWN, John	0						
B1242	BOLTON, William	0						
B1243	BRYAN, Christopher O'	7	14-Jun-30	4	AD		WL	
B1243	BRYAN, Christopher O'	7	22-Nov-30	6	FL	25	WL	
B1243	BRYAN, Christopher O'	7	23-Mar-33	4	FL	25	AWH	&5
B1243	BRYAN, Christopher O'	7	09-May-33	6	FL	50	AWH	&4
B1243	BRYAN, Christopher O'	7	04-Jan-34	4	RP	3	AWH	&7 &3
B1243	BRYAN, Christopher O'	7	08-Nov-34	4	SC	14	AWH	&7
B1243	BRYAN, Christopher O'	7	04-Feb-35	5	PS		MLS & JHH	HL=3 years, Edward
B1284	BUGG, John	0						
B1285	BROWN, Barnabas	0						
B1395	BROMLEY, George	0						
B1432	BODDINGTON, William	1	25-Jun-39	8	DS		JLA	
B1433	BALES, William	0						
B1486	BISHOP, Thomas	0						
B1487	BALL, Robert	0						
B1495	BROWN, Thomas	1	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
B1508	BENNETT, Charles	1	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
B1509	BECKLY, Charles	0						
B1590	BATT, Henry	0						

B1591	BEACH, George	5	25-Apr-34	3	CG	2	AWH	
B1591	BEACH, George	5	25-Feb-35	6	FL	25	MLS	
B1591	BEACH, George	5	25-Aug-35	6	FL	25	JLA	
B1591	BEACH, George	5	16-Nov-35	6	AD		JHH	
B1591	BEACH, George	5	05-Oct-36	6	SC	8	RCG	Cells after Labour
B1763	BENDER, Conrad Charles	0						
B1802	BOWATER, John	0						
B1821	BOURNE, John	2	30-Dec-33	6	FL	75	AWH	
B1821	BOURNE, John	2	30-Apr-35	7	SC	12	MLS	
B1833	BARNETT, James	1	21-Jan-37	4	AD		RCG	
B1846	BROWN, Thomas	0						
B1848	BATE, Thomas	2	04-Jan-34	6	AD		AWH	
B1848	BATE, Thomas	2	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
B1904	BENNETT, William	2	10-Sep-34	6	SC	7	AWH	&7
B1904	BENNETT, William	2	07-Oct-34	6	CG	3	AWH	
B2117	BROWN, Robert	3	02-Jul-41	3	SC	7	JM	
B2117	BROWN, Robert	3	21-Jul-41	5	DS		JLA	
B2117	BROWN, Robert	3	19-Dec-43	7	RP	1	JLA	[HL=1m]
B2165	BEATTIE, James	4	08-Dec-35	2	FL	35	JHH	
B2165	BEATTIE, James	4	22-Oct-36	7	FL	35	RCG	&2
B2165	BEATTIE, James	4	12-Oct-37	3	FL	50	RCG	
B2165	BEATTIE, James	4	12-Oct-37	1	CG	12	RCG & EC	[HL=12m]
B2257	BRANT, Edward	0						
B2258	BROUGHTON, Thomas	1	03-Aug-39	5	RP	12	JLA	[HL=12m]
B2276	BROMFIELD, James	3	25-Nov-36	7	FL	30	RCG	&5
B2276	BROMFIELD, James	3	04-Feb-37	3	CG	6	RCG	&7
B2276	BROMFIELD, James	3	03-Aug-39	5	RP	12	JLA	[HL=12m]
B2295	BARKER, Richard	0						
B2617	BENNETT, William	0						
B2669	BRASSINGTON, George	0						
B2673	BERRISFORD, William	1	24-Oct-40	6	AD		JLA	
B2776	BLISS, George	0						
B2796	BRYAN, William	3	31-Mar-40	5	FL	24	JLA & EC	
B2796	BRYAN, William	3	01-Jun-40	6	AD		JLA	
B2796	BRYAN, William	3	11-Jul-40	2	CG	6	JLA	&8
B2861	BAKER, Robert	0						
C0686	CLARK, William	1	14-Jan-29	3	FL	25	EC	&7 &6
C0722	COCKHAM, Charles	4	15-Aug-28	1	CG	3	PS	inc.Tr. Wh.=28d
C0722	COCKHAM, Charles	4	16-Sep-28	8	DS		PAM	Acquitted Murder
C0722	COCKHAM, Charles	4	21-Feb-29	8	FL	25	EC	Obtaining sugar
C0722	COCKHAM, Charles	4	25-Jun-29	3	AD		EC	
C0752	CHAMBERLAIN, Charles	4	03-Apr-28	1	FL	25	EC	
C0752	CHAMBERLAIN, Charles	4	25-Feb-31	7	FL	50	EC	&8; WS only; assault
C0752	CHAMBERLAIN, Charles	4	12-Apr-31	7	FL	50	EC	&6; WS only
C0752	CHAMBERLAIN, Charles	4	29-Oct-32	8	FL	50	EC	Assault

C0753	CHAPMAN, Henry	0						
C0786	CURTIS, Thomas	3	04-Dec-28	3	AD		EC	&7
C0786	CURTIS, Thomas	3	13-May-29	2	AD		EC	
C0786	CURTIS, Thomas	3	27-Jun-29	8	AD		EC	assault
C0936	COOPER, George	0						
C0998	CRAWLEY, Joseph	0						
C1054	CORBY, Thomas	0						
C1074	COLE, George	3	20-Jul-33	7	FL	25	JM	
C1074	COLE, George	3	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
C1074	COLE, George	3	17-Nov-37	3	FL	30	RCG	Assumptions made
C1076	COOKE, Charles	0						
C1217	COLE, Richard	0						
C1218	COWLEY, Robert	0						
C1219	CAMEL, Edward	0						
C1238	CUDMORE, Robert Harris	1	01-Jun-40	6	AD		JLA	
C1293	CHARD, John	0						
C1413	CAMPBELL, William	0						
C1443	CHAPMAN, Edward	2	04-Jan-34	6	AD		AWH	
C1443	CHAPMAN, Edward	2	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
C1452	CROWSON, Samuel	0						
C1588	CADEY, Daniel	3	04-Jan-34	6	AD		AWH	
C1588	CADEY, Daniel	3	20-Mar-35	6	SC	4	MLS	
C1588	CADEY, Daniel	3	03-Apr-35	5	FL	50	MLS	
C1589	CRICK, William	0						
C1775	CARTER, James	0						
C1787	CARTER, James	0						
C1971	CLACK, James	0						
C2040	COHEN, Benjamin	1	24-Nov-36	6	AD		RCG	
C2042	COLMER, William	0						
C2288	CARTER, George	2	18-Feb-39	7	CG	12	JLA & EC	Chains remitted
C2288	CARTER, George	2	09-Mar-41	3	FL	36	JLA	
C2288	CARTER, George	2	09-Feb-43	8	MR			Merit (fire)
C2316	COLE, James	4	09-Nov-38	6	FL	30	JHH	
C2316	COLE, James	4	27-Nov-38	6	FL	36	JHH	
C2316	COLE, James	4	08-Jun-40	5	SC	4	JLA	
C2316	COLE, James	4	11-Mar-41	7	SX	6	JLA & SJD	&3 &1; SX=6 months
C2317	CARTWRIGHT, Duke	2	30-Jun-42	1	AD		JLA	Date obscure
C2317	CARTWRIGHT, Duke	2	14-Mar-44	4	RP	3	JLA	&6; obscure ?
C2406	CUMMINS, Thomas	2	09-Mar-39	1	CG	12	JHH & JLA	Chains remitted
C2406	CUMMINS, Thomas	2	19-Mar-41	3	FL	36	JLA	
C2507	CARSON, Simon	0						
D0409	DONALD, Neil Mc	2	06-Aug-29	1	FL	25	EC	
D0409	DONALD, Neil Mc	2	17-Nov-31	7	FL	35	JC & EC	(J.Clark)
D0508	DONAKEY, Michael	0						
D0512	DEBNAM, Joseph	0						

D0516	DONALD, James Mc	0						
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	19-Nov-32	2	AD		EC	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	11-Dec-32	2	FL	25	EC	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	08-Mar-34	8	RP		AWH	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	09-Mar-35	2	AD		MLS	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	09-Jun-35	6	AD		MLS	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	11-Oct-35	3	AD		MLS	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	14-Oct-35	3	FL	50	MLS	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	16-Nov-35	6	AD		JHH	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	14-Mar-36	8	CG	3	JHH	Remitted
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	02-Apr-36	5	SC	7	JHH	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	12-May-36	6	FL	35	RCG	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	01-Jul-36	2	FL	35	JHH	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	19-Dec-36	2	SC	21	RCG	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	11-Mar-37	6	SC	12	RCG	&7; cell after work
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	25-Mar-37	2	SC	14	RCG	cell after work
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	06-Oct-37	2	SC	14	RCG	cell after work
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	12-Sep-38	6	AD		RCG	
D0562	DAVIS, John	19	07-Mar-39	8	CG	6	JLA	TOL suspended
D0567	DRISCOLL, Andrew	2	07-Mar-33	3	FL	50	JM	
D0567	DRISCOLL, Andrew	2	04-Feb-35	7	CG	24	MLS & JHH	CG=24 m., Edward
D0574	DEVLIN, Patrick	0						
D0671	DUKE, John	4	09-Nov-33	7	AD		AWH	
D0671	DUKE, John	4	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
D0671	DUKE, John	4	13-Apr-35	6	AD		MLS	
D0671	DUKE, John	4	10-Mar-36	3	AD		JHH	
D0697	DONALD, Henry Mc	3	13-Jun-32	6	FL	25	EC	
D0697	DONALD, Henry Mc	3	13-Jun-32	7	FL	25	EC	
D0697	DONALD, Henry Mc	3	21-May-34	7	AD		AWH	
D0697	DONALD, Henry Mc	3	06-Jun-34	6	CG	3	AWH	CG=3 m; &RN
D0792	DAVIS, John	2	13-Jun-33	6	AD		AWH	
D0792	DAVIS, John	2	21-Jun-39	8	FL	36	JLA	Assaulted Dist. Const.
D0800	DENHAM, Charles	0						
D0801	DILLEY, Thomas	2	13-Jun-33	6	AD		AWH	
D0801	DILLEY, Thomas	2	20-Nov-34	6	RP	2	AWH	RP=2 m; &7
D0802	DONALLY, Daniel	1	21-Jul-33	4	SC	14	AWH	&8 &RN; month obscure
D0804	DONOVAN, John	6	01-Oct-33	6	SC	4	AWH	
D0804	DONOVAN, John	6	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
D0804	DONOVAN, John	6	25-Feb-35	6	FL	50	MLS	
D0804	DONOVAN, John	6	10-Mar-35	6	FL	70	MLS	&7
D0804	DONOVAN, John	6	24-Jul-35	6	FL	100	MLS	
D0804	DONOVAN, John	6	05-Jan-37	7	FL	35	RCG	
D0805	DOWE, William	1	20-Aug-34	4	CR			&8; no penalty
D1150	DESMOND, Timothy	5	05-Feb-39	3	FL	25	JLA	

D1150	DESMOND, Timothy	5	13-Feb-39	3	SC	14	JLA	
D1150	DESMOND, Timothy	5	24-Feb-39	7	CG	6	JHH & JLA	CG=6 m; Day obscure
D1150	DESMOND, Timothy	5	03-Oct-40	3	SC	7	JLA	
D1150	DESMOND, Timothy	5	21-Jul-41	6	AD		JLA	
D1395	DEAN, John	0						
D1413	DRURY, Charles	0						
D1431	DYER, Richard	0						
D1592	DONAHOO, Timothy	0						
E0105	EVERETT, John	0						
E0244	ENTWISTLE, Thomas	0						
E0265	ELLMES, Henry	3	07-Jan-35	6	FL	25	JHH	
E0265	ELLMES, Henry	3	15-Jan-35	6	FL	35	JHH	
E0265	ELLMES, Henry	3	23-Jan-35	3	FL	25	JHH	
E0299	EDGINGTON, Joseph	2	27-Mar-35	7	AD		MLS	
E0299	EDGINGTON, Joseph	2	08-Dec-35	5	SC	7	JHH	&8 assault
E0300	ELDRIDGE, Henry	1	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
E0301	EDGEWORTH, James	0						
E0353	EVANS, William	5	16-Jul-36	3	FL	35	RCG	Remitted
E0353	EVANS, William	5	01-Feb-37	5	AD		RCG	Date obscure
E0353	EVANS, William	5	21-Sep-37	3	FL	35	RCG	
E0353	EVANS, William	5	22-May-39	3	FL	36	JLA	
E0353	EVANS, William	5	24-Oct-40	7	FL	12	JLA	
E0354	EVANS, William	0						
E0374	ELLISTON, Robert	2	22-Sep-34	3	HC		AWH	
E0374	ELLISTON, Robert	2	20-Nov-34	3	SC	14	AWH	
E0609	EMERTON, William	1	14-Feb-44	3	SC	7	JLA	
F0413	FELL, John	0						
F0414	FITZPATRICK, John	2	07-Nov-31	3	FL	30	EC	
F0414	FITZPATRICK, John	2	17-May-32	3	RP	6	EC	RP=6 m; &RN
F0460	FORD, James	0						
F0477	FRASER, William	4	01-Mar-34	5	AD		JHH	
F0477	FRASER, William	4	17-Mar-34	5	CG	3	JHH	&?? Remitted
F0477	FRASER, William	4	15-Mar-36	5	AD		JHH	
F0477	FRASER, William	4	17-Mar-36	7	CG	3	JHH	&5
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	9	05-Nov-32	1	CG	??	JM	
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	9	24-Jun-33	3	RP	2	JM	
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	9	20-Feb-35	6	AD		MLS	
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	9	25-Feb-35	6	FL	50	MLS	&7
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	9	13-Apr-35	6	FL	50	MLS	&7
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	9	20-Jul-35	6	SC	4	MLS	
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	9	11-Oct-35	3	AD		MLS	
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	9	14-Oct-35	3	FL	50	MLS	Not at muster
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	9	15-Oct-35	3	CG	12	MLS	CG=12 m; not at muster
F0505	FLETCHER, Charles	0						
F0563	FIELDER, Thomas	0						

F0591	FARREN, James	1	11-Mar-35	6	RP	12	MLS	RP=12 months
F0735	FINN, William	3	21-Sep-37	3	FL	35	RCG	
F0735	FINN, William	3	16-Apr-38	6	FL	50	JHH	Magistrate not recorded
F0735	FINN, William	3	31-Mar-40	7	AD		JLA	Month obscure
F0736	FISH, William	0						
F0784	FORD, John	0						Record obscure
F0789	FAGAN, John	0						
F0867	FLETCHER, James	0						
F0933	FRANKLIN, William	0						
F0942	FARRELL, Edmond	0						
G0360	GILCHRIST, James	4	13-Feb-29	8	CG	6	EC	CG=6 m; Stealing
G0360	GILCHRIST, James	4	13-May-29	2	AD		EC	
G0360	GILCHRIST, James	4	13-Jun-33	3	RP	3	AWH	&6; RP=3 months
G0360	GILCHRIST, James	4	20-Nov-34	6	RP	1.5	AWH	RP=6 weeks
G0474	GARLAND, John	0						
G0475	GUFFEE, William Mc	1	16-May-29	6	FL	25	EC	
G0484	GREAVES, Thomas	2	13-Feb-29	5	AD		EC	
G0484	GREAVES, Thomas	2	21-Feb-29	5	FL	25	EC	
G0487	GREENWOOD, Thomas	0						
G0646	GARDINER, George	3	27-Nov-35	3	AD		JHH	
G0646	GARDINER, George	3	08-Feb-36	3	AD		JHH	
G0646	GARDINER, George	3	12-Feb-36	4	FL	50	RCG	&5 &7
G0779	GLEN, James	4	13-Jun-32	6	AD		EC	
G0779	GLEN, James	4	01-Nov-33	7	AD		AWH	Month & Day obscure
G0779	GLEN, James	4	25-Feb-34	7	FL	50	???	
G0779	GLEN, James	4	04-Feb-35	7	CG	??	MLS & JHH	SX=3y & CG=?? Edward
G0784	GOLDING, James	0						
G0982	GUEST, Thomas	0						
G0985	GREEN, William	1	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
G1079	GARDNER, Thomas	2	29-Dec-35	6	AD		JHH	
G1079	GARDNER, Thomas	2	11-Feb-36	3	FL	35	JHH	
G1326	GLEED, William	1	20-Jul-40	8	RP	12	JLA & EC	Larceny under £5
G1398	GLENNING, Peter	0						
G1435	GRANTHAM, John	0						
H0131	HORTON, Samuel	5	29-Oct-33	7	AD		JM	&6
H0131	HORTON, Samuel	5	07-Dec-33	7	AD		JM	
H0131	HORTON, Samuel	5	02-May-36	6	AD		JHH	
H0131	HORTON, Samuel	5	04-Feb-37	7	PS	2	RCG & EC	PS=2Y
H0602	HOWARD, David	0						
H0620	HERBERT, Thomas	0						
H0661	HARLEY, James	1	05-Jan-28	2	FL	25	EC	&7
H0666	HOLLAND, Hugh	0						
H0678	HORSFALL, John	2	07-Jun-30	8	CG	6	EC	CG=6 m; stealing meat
H0678	HORSFALL, John	2	20-Aug-34	4	SX	3	AWH	SX=3m; TOL suspended
H0698	HOGAN, Edward	0						

H0699	HILL, Thomas	0						
H0711	HARTNELL, William	0						
H0721	HIGGINSON, John	0						
H0813	HOWARD, John	0						
H0861	HAIG, George	0						
H0862	HANSHALL, Thomas	1	29-Nov-34	4	CG	0.5	G.King	&8; CG=14 days
H0981	HOWLAND, Thomas	0						
H0990	HAWKINS, Alfred	2	12-Jan-35	2	AD		JHH	
H0990	HAWKINS, Alfred	2	04-Feb-35	7	CG	??	MLS & JHH	CG=??, Edward
H0991	HIND, Frederick	0						
H0996	HOMER, Thomas	2	25-Apr-35	5	FL	50	MLS	Furious riding
H0996	HOMER, Thomas	2	06-Jun-35	6	FL	50	MLS	
H1025	HALL, Patrick	1	19-Mar-33	3	RP	0.5	JM	RP=14 days
H1065	HASTINGS, Henry	1	23-Sep-30	6	FL	50	WL	
H1077	HUTCHINSON, Samuel	7	31-Jan-31	8	RP	6	WL	RP=6 m; assault
H1077	HUTCHINSON, Samuel	7	26-Feb-33	3	AD		AWH	
H1077	HUTCHINSON, Samuel	7	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
H1077	HUTCHINSON, Samuel	7	04-Jul-35	7	FL	70	MLS	Month unknown
H1077	HUTCHINSON, Samuel	7	30-Dec-35	7	FL	25	JHH	
H1077	HUTCHINSON, Samuel	7	30-Jan-36	6	FL	25	JHH	&3
H1077	HUTCHINSON, Samuel	7	04-Jul-36	2	FL	35	WG(?)	&4 &7; year unknown
H1130	HARRISON, John	0						
H1200	HART, John	6	10-Oct-32	2	AD		EC	
H1200	HART, John	6	11-Dec-32	2	FL	25	EC	
H1200	HART, John	6	09-May-33	6	FL	50	AWH	&3 &4
H1200	HART, John	6	28-Jan-35	2	AD		JHH	
H1200	HART, John	6	04-Jul-35	6	FL	50	MLS	
H1200	HART, John	6	25-Aug-35	6	FL	25	JHH	
H1202	HUNT, John	0						
H1213	HUNT, Joseph	0						
H1215	HAYTER, William	0						
H1221	HILLIER, Arthur	0						
H1274	HENDERSON, William	3	03-Nov-32	3	FL	25	JM	
H1274	HENDERSON, William	3	03-Nov-32	3	FL	25	JM	
H1274	HENDERSON, William	3	05-Nov-32	1	RP	6	JM	RP=6 months & RN
H1296	HALL, John	2	14-Jan-33	5	AD		AWH	
H1296	HALL, John	2	15-Feb-33	8	HC		AWH	To Port Arthur
H1393	HAYNES, James	4	28-Jun-34	6	AD		AWH	
H1393	HAYNES, James	4	26-Jan-35	2	FL	35	JHH	&7
H1393	HAYNES, James	4	28-Jan-35	6	FL	35	JHH	
H1393	HAYNES, James	4	04-Feb-35	7	PS		MLS & JHH	HL=2 years, Edward
H1399	HEARN, Daniel	3	18-Oct-33	6	AD		AWH	
H1399	HEARN, Daniel	3	31-May-34	2	RP	2	AWH	&5; RP=2 months
H1399	HEARN, Daniel	3	05-Feb-38	8	HC		DW(?)	Larceny, RP 12 months
H1418	HEWITT, James	1	22-Apr-39	5	AD		JLA	

H1441	HUNTER, Robert	1	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
H1563	HARWOOD, Henry	1	04-Feb-35	7	PS		MLS & JHH	HL=2 years, Edward
H1708	HEALEY, John	3	10-Sep-34	6	AD		AWH	
H1708	HEALEY, John	3	12-Sep-34	6	FL	35	AWH	
H1708	HEALEY, John	3	07-Oct-34	6	RP	3	AWH	
H1841	HUTCHINSON, Henry	2	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
H1841	HUTCHINSON, Henry	2	22-Jun-35	8	PS		RCG & EC	To Port Arthur
H1847	HART, John	0						
H1966	HAGUE, William	1	21-Sep-37	3	FL	35	RCG	
H1967	HIBBERT, Thomas	1	01-Dec-37	8	RN		RCG	Invalid (sick)
H1978	HARDMAN, James	2	01-Oct-36	5	FL	30	RCG	&3
H1978	HARDMAN, James	2	04-Feb-37	8	CG	12	RCG & EC	CG=12 m; minor theft?
H1989	HART, Moss	0						
H2015	HILL, William	0						
H2070	HART, Henry	1	21-Jul-41	6	AD		JLA	
H2078	HOLMES, Samuel	0						
H2211	HUDSON, William	0						
H2248	HARPER, George	1	18-Jul-43	7	AD		CA (?)	
H2352	HUNTER, William	1	15-May-42	5	AD		GLB (?)	
H2415	HARRIS, Samuel	2	17-May-41	5	SC	3	CA	
H2415	HARRIS, Samuel	2	15-Jan-42	5	AD		AG (?)	
H2446	HANCOCK, Moses	1	09-Feb-43	8	MR		n/a	Merit (fire)
H2466	HARRIS, John	0						
H2546	HUDSON, William	0						
J0161	JACOBS, John	0						
J0307	JOHN, Thomas	1	13-Jul-28	1	CR			Sloop <i>Pandora</i>
J0309	JONES, William	0						
J0360	JONES, William	3	27-Sep-33	6	AD		AWH	
J0360	JONES, William	3	28-Jun-34	6	AD		AWH	
J0360	JONES, William	3	18-Mar-35	3	SX	6	MLS	NYD; TOL susp. 6m.
J0411	JEFFKINS, Richard	0						
J0441	JACOBS, Robert	2	31-Jan-31	4	RP	1	WL	&5, HL=1 month
J0441	JACOBS, Robert	2	20-Sep-33	3	RP	6	JM	&6 &RN, HL=6 months
J0515	JEFFERIES, William	0						
J0517	JENMAN, George	0						
J0629	JENKINS, John	0						
J0663	JONES, William	4	20-Nov-35	5	AD		JHH	&7
J0663	JONES, William	4	15-Aug-36	2	FL	50	RCG	
J0663	JONES, William	4	04-Nov-36	1	SX	12	RCG & EC	SX=12 months
J0663	JONES, William	4	28-Apr-37	1	CG	??	RCG & EC	
J0670	JONES, William /4/	0						
J0734	JONES, Thomas	1	27-Apr-38	6	RP	2	RCG	&RN, HL=2 months
J0885	JONES, John	0						
J0946	JACKSON, Thomas Philip	0						
J0954	JONES, Jonathan	1	31-Dec-39	1	CR		n/a	Date unknown

J0956	JEFFRY, Unknown	0						
J0959	JACKSON, William	5	15-May-42	5	AD		JLA	Magistrate obscure
J0998	JENNINGS, John	3	01-Mar-38	5	AD		RCG	
J0998	JENNINGS, John	3	22-Oct-38	6	FL	40	RCG	&7 month obscure
J0998	JENNINGS, John	3	18-Feb-39	5	CG	6	JLA & RCG	&7; HL=6 months
J1079	JACKSON, Joseph	0						
J1171	JONES, Richard	1	07-Dec-44	3	RP	6	JLA	HL=6 months
K0173	KAY, Alexander Mc	0						
K0203	KEY, John Mc	0						
K0205	KNAPPER, Stephen	3	02-Aug-30	8	CR	??	EC	Unspecified [WS p.60]
K0205	KNAPPER, Stephen	3	13-Jun-33	6	RP	3	AWH	&2
K0205	KNAPPER, Stephen	3	20-Nov-34	6	RP	1.5	AWH	HL=6 weeks
K0229	KENNY, Michael	0						
K0308	KIMMER, James	2	25-May-34	7	AD		AWH	
K0308	KIMMER, James	2	16-May-35	5	SC	12	MLS	
K0327	KEYS, William	0						
K0329	KING, James	2	14-May-32	7	FL	30	EC	&3
K0329	KING, James	2	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
K0348	KELLY, John	1	22-May-40	4	CG	2	??	&5, CG=2m; Mag. Obsc.
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	9	25-Oct-33	3	FL	40	JM	
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	9	26-Oct-33	3	FL	50	JM	
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	9	28-Oct-33	3	FL	50	JM	
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	9	29-Oct-33	3	RP	2	JM	HL=2 months
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	9	07-Jul-35	3	AD		MLS	&6
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	9	06-Aug-35	4	AD		MLS	
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	9	11-Oct-35	1	SC	21	MLS	&3 &FL=50 lashes
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	9	05-Nov-35	3	SC	14	JHH	
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	9	11-Aug-37	6	SC	14	RCG	&3
K0355	KNOWLAND, John	1	04-Feb-35	7	CG	??	MLS & JHH	&SX=3 years; Edward
K0576	KITCHEN, John	0						
K0647	KEEFE, Thomas O'	0						
L0131	LANG, James	2	26-May-32	4	RP	1	WL	HL=1 month
L0131	LANG, James	2	21-Mar-33	2	FL	50	AWH	&7
L0246	LEPINE, Samuel	1	13-Jul-28	1	CR			Sloop Pandora
L0369	LEONARD, Richard	0						
L0482	LARCOMBE, John	1	03-Mar-36	4	SC	3	??	Magistrate obscure
L0488	LUCAS, James	0						
L0489	LUDLOW, George	0						
L0490	LYTHGOE, Peter	1	11-Feb-35	2	AD		??	Month / Magistr. obscure
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	20-Dec-32	7	FL	35	JM	&3
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	22-Mar-33	5	FL	50	JM	&8 Assault
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	17-May-33	3	RP	2	EC	HL=2 months
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	04-Jan-34	3	FL	50	JM	&5
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	06-Jan-35	6	FL	35	JHH	&7
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	10-Jan-35	6	SC	14	JHH	

L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	07-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	11-Mar-35	6	FL	50	MLS	
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	23-Apr-35	6	AD		MLS	&7
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	18-Sep-35	6	AD		MLS	
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	05-Jan-36	3	AD		JHH	
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	14-Jun-36	6	CG	3	RCG	HL=3 months
L0618	LUMLEY, John	14	21-Jan-37	7	RP	6	RCG & EC	&SX=12 m; assault
L0630	LAMB, Patrick	1	21-Sep-37	3	CG	12	RCG	HL=12 months
L0654	LAW, Joseph	1	20-Aug-38	3	FL	50	RCG	
L0666	LONG, John	0						
L0690	LANE, Richard	0						
L0699	LEMAN, William	1	04-Feb-35	7	CG	24	MLS & JHH	CG=24 months; Edward
L0769	LANGHAM, John	P						
L0986	LANCASTER, Thomas	1	30-Jul-42	6	RP	12	JLA	HL=12 months
L1089	LAPHAM, James	1	02-Jun-41	3	FL	36	JM	
L1090	LALLEY, Michael	6	27-May-39	5	AD		JLA & EC	
L1090	LALLEY, Michael	6	21-Jul-39	6	AD		JLA	
L1090	LALLEY, Michael	6	14-Nov-39	3	FL	24	JLA	
L1090	LALLEY, Michael	6	20-Jan-40	5	AD		JLA	
L1090	LALLEY, Michael	6	24-Apr-40	5	SC	7	JLA	
L1090	LALLEY, Michael	6	11-Jun-40	6	SC	7	JLA	
L1090	LALLEY, Michael	6	03-Apr-41	3	SC	14	JLA	
L1119	LINDSAY, Frederick Lillycroft	2	27-Mar-40	6	FL	24	JLA	
L1119	LINDSAY, Frederick Lillycroft	2	24-Oct-40	6	FL	12	JLA	&3
L1237	LIDDIARD, John	1	29-Sep-44	7	CG	0.5	JLA	HL=14 days
M0079	MONAGHAN, Owen	0						
M0345	MONTGOMERY, John	0						
M0491	MEE, George	0						
M0553	MITCHELL, James	1	07-May-32	3	FL	25	EC	&RP HL=6 weeks
M0616	MOULDING, Henry	P						
M0744	MULLIGAN, John	0						
M0854	MANION, John	0						
M0860	MITCHELL, John	0						
M0905	MOORE, Joseph	1	21-Aug-33	8	RN		AWH	Accessory to theft?
M0926	MARRIOTT, James	0						
M0932	MURDOCH, James	0						
M0950	MARSLAND, John	5	28-Jun-34	6	AD		AWH	
M0950	MARSLAND, John	5	28-Jan-35	5	AD		MLS	record obscure
M0950	MARSLAND, John	5	18-Sep-35	3	FL	50	MLS	&5; remitted
M0950	MARSLAND, John	5	20-Dec-35	8	SC	14	JHH	receive & harbour
M0950	MARSLAND, John	5	21-Dec-36	2	FL	50	RCG	obscure in places
M0951	MASSEY, Israel	5	31-Jul-33	6	AD		AWH	
M0951	MASSEY, Israel	5	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
M0951	MASSEY, Israel	5	28-Dec-35	6	FL	35	JHH	

M0951	MASSEY, Israel	5	13-Feb-36	8	DS		JHH	assault
M0951	MASSEY, Israel	5	10-Jun-36	3	FL	35	RCG	
M0956	MATCHAM, William	1	04-Jan-34	7	FL	35	AWH	&3
M0979	MOORE, James	3	20-Dec-33	2	FL	60	AWH	&7
M0979	MOORE, James	3	20-Nov-34	6	DS		AWH	
M0979	MOORE, James	3	10-Mar-36	3	FL	25	JHH	
M1109	MOTTRAM, Henry	1	12-Apr-37	1	CG	12	RCG	Record obscure
M1278	MULLIGAN, Charles	1	17-Mar-40	7	FL	24	JLA	&3
M1404	MONAGHAN, Matthew	1	27-Nov-38	4	SC	7	JHH	Work by day, cell at night
M1498	MULHOLLAND, John	0						
M1505	MONAGHAN, James	1	22-Apr-41	6	AD		JLA	
M1561	MORSE, Joseph	0						
M1656	MITTON, Charles	P						
M1671	MILLARD, William	0						
M1679	MEECHAM, James	1	16-Jul-42	5	AD		JLA	
M1695	MARKS, John	5	07-Sep-39	6	AD		JLA	&7
M1695	MARKS, John	5	22-Nov-39	6	FL	36	JLA	
M1695	MARKS, John	5	07-May-40	2	FL	24	JLA	
M1695	MARKS, John	5	10-Jun-40	2	SC	7	JLA	
M1695	MARKS, John	5	20-Jul-40	8	RP	12	JLA & EC	Larceny < £5
M1706	MAHONEY, Daniel	1	07-Sep-39	5	AD		JLA	
M1728	MARSH, Edward	1	07-Sep-39	5	AD		JLA	
N0043	NICHOLSON, Richard	0						
N0091	NEWCOMB, James	0						
N0136	NEADS, Samuel	0						
N0138	NANKERVIS, Henry	1	25-Jun-28	7	DS		EC	
N0199	NEALE, John	1	21-Mar-33	6	FL	50	AWH	&7
N0290	NALTY, John Mac	3	20-Feb-35	6	AD		MLS	
N0290	NALTY, John Mac	3	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
N0290	NALTY, John Mac	3	25-Feb-35	6	AD		MLS	
N0296	NEWMAN, Thomas	0						
O0064	OLIVER, Henry	0						
O0094	OGDEN, William	0						
O0118	OLDEN, John	1	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
O0184	ORTON, Samuel	2	11-May-41	5	CG	3	CA	CG=3 months
O0184	ORTON, Samuel	2	26-Dec-42	4	AD		CA	
O0247	OWEN, Ellis	0						
O0260	OSBORNE, Henry	1	14-Mar-44	2	AD		JLA	
P0027	PIDGEOON, Lawrence	0						
P0322	PRIEST, James	1	27-Aug-28	1	RP	24	EC	RP=2 Years
P0404	PARKER, John	1	11-Dec-32	2	AD		EC	
P0411	PRESTON, Thomas Winter	2	21-Mar-33	4	AD		AWH	
P0411	PRESTON, Thomas Winter	2	09-May-33	4	AD		AWH	
P0661	PRIOR, James	0						
P0672	PILOT, William	0						

P0759	PURCHASE, William	2	30-Mar-32	3	RP	2	EC	&RN, HL=2 months
P0759	PURCHASE, William	2	18-Sep-32	6	RP	3	EC	&RN, HL=3 months
P0767	PRIESTLEY, George	3	26-Mar-38	5	FL	50	RCG	
P0767	PRIESTLEY, George	3	11-Jan-39	3	FL	50	JHH	
P0767	PRIESTLEY, George	3	21-Jan-39	5	FL	25	JLA	Hives of bees
P0777	PEERS, Thomas	6	14-Jun-33	3	FL	50	AWH	
P0777	PEERS, Thomas	6	25-Jul-36	2	AD		JHH	
P0777	PEERS, Thomas	6	14-Nov-36	6	FL	35	RCG	
P0777	PEERS, Thomas	6	17-Nov-36	3	SC	21	RCG	Cell after work
P0777	PEERS, Thomas	6	28-Nov-36	6	FL	35	RCG	&7
P0777	PEERS, Thomas	6	27-Mar-40	7	FL	24	JLA	
P1100	PAGE, Robert	0						
P1183	PHILLIPS, David	0						Hired as a TOL
P1187	PERRY, Elijah	4	02-May-36	6	AD		JHH	Playing cards
P1187	PERRY, Elijah	4	17-Mar-41	1	SC	7	JLA	
P1187	PERRY, Elijah	4	02-Jun-41	7	FL	50	JLA	
P1187	PERRY, Elijah	4	21-Jul-41	5	DS		JLA	
P1195	PAUL, John	1	27-Nov-38	4	SC	7	JHH	Cell after work
P1199	PILLINGER, George	2	12-Aug-37	6	AD		RCG	
P1199	PILLINGER, George	2	21-Sep-37	3	FL	35	RCG	
P1264	PRITCHARD, William	2	03-Aug-41	3	FL	24	JLA	&6
P1264	PRITCHARD, William	2	16-May-43	2	RP	1	JLA	HL=1 month
P1526	PHILLIPS, David	0						
R0090	ROGERS, John	0						
R0181	RICHARDSON, James	0						
R0378	RILEY, John	0						
R0411	ROWLANDS, Moses	0						
R0449	RORIE, Charles Mc	0						
R0452	RAMSEY, Alexander	0						
R0453	RUSSELL, James	4	28-Apr-27	3	CG	6	SA	&6, CG=6m, FL=50, dog
R0453	RUSSELL, James	4	13-May-29	2	AD		EC	
R0453	RUSSELL, James	4	26-May-29	3	FL	25	EC	&7
R0453	RUSSELL, James	4	21-Jul-29	3	FL	25	EC	&7, &CG, & RN
R0555	ROBINSON, Charles	7	25-Jan-31	4	RP	1	WL	&2, HL=1m
R0555	ROBINSON, Charles	7	26-Feb-31	4	FL	30	WL	&5
R0555	ROBINSON, Charles	7	01-Sep-32	8	DS		EC	Assault charge
R0555	ROBINSON, Charles	7	14-Sep-32	8	AD		EC	Fraud with rations?
R0555	ROBINSON, Charles	7	09-May-33	2	AD		AWH	&4
R0555	ROBINSON, Charles	7	18-May-33	2	FL	50	AWH	&4
R0555	ROBINSON, Charles	7	18-Aug-34	4	CG	2	AWH	&5, &RN, CG=2 months
R0630	READING, Andrew	0						
R0696	REED, Thomas	1	13-Jun-33	6	RP	6	AWH	&RN, HL=6 months
R0698	ROGERS, Wiliam	0						
R0710	RILEY, William	2	21-Sep-33	7	FL	30	JM	
R0710	RILEY, William	2	20-Nov-34	6	HC		AWH	&7

R0727	REES, Evan	0						
R0728	RYLES, Charles	0						
R0729	ROWLEY, William	0						
R0802	ROPER, Thomas	1	05-Sep-34	2	SC	3	AWH	&7
R0810	RHODES, Henry	4	13-Jun-33	6	AD		AWH	
R0810	RHODES, Henry	4	28-Dec-33	8	FL	50	AWH	&7 Cruelty to bullock
R0810	RHODES, Henry	4	20-Nov-34	6	AD		AWH	
R0810	RHODES, Henry	4	13-Jul-35	7	AD		MLS	
R0853	READ, John	0						
R0891	ROWE, James	0						
R1110	RAWLINGS, Joseph	1	14-Jun-36	6	AD		RCG	
R1111	RADNAGE, Joseph	0						
R1112	RUSSELL, William	1	07-Jun-36	8	HC		JM	Theft; HC gave CG=3yr.
R1113	RAWLINGS, Jonas	0						
R1354	REDGATE, Henry	0						
R1369	RAZEY, Daniel	2	23-Nov-41	7	FL	36	JLA & SJD	
R1369	RAZEY, Daniel	2	18-Apr-43	5	AD		JLA	
S0433	STANSFIELD, William	0						
S0596	SANDERS, James	1	04-Feb-35	3	RP	12	MLS & JHH	HL=2 m, theft of potatoes
S0682	SHEEN, James	4	31-May-34	2	AD		AWH	
S0682	SHEEN, James	4	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
S0682	SHEEN, James	4	11-May-36	3	AD		RCG	
S0682	SHEEN, James	4	15-Jul-37	3	CG	6	RCG	
S0765	SMITH, James	0						
S0771	SMITH, William	1	03-Jun-34	5	RP	2	AWH	
S0773	SHARP, John	0						
S0774	SCOTT, John	1	13-May-29	2	AD		EC	
S0775	STEWART, John	0						
S0831	STEWART, John	0						
S0912	SMITH, Thomas	0						
S0928	SWEETLING, Richard	2	16-Nov-33	3	FL	30	JM	
S0928	SWEETLING, Richard	2	19-Dec-33	6	FL	30	JM	
S0982	SEARLE, James	1	20-Nov-34	6	SC	7	AWH	
S1058	SALSBURY, John	0						
S1354	STOCK, Edward	0						
S1416	SHIRLEY, Henry	1	21-Mar-33	5	FL	75	AWH	&4, suspicion of theft
S1420	SILCOX, John	3	13-Mar-33	7	SC	7	AWH	
S1420	SILCOX, John	3	28-Dec-33	7	AD		AWH	&6
S1420	SILCOX, John	3	20-Nov-34	8	DS		AWH	&RN, Assault
S1568	SMITH, James	5	01-Jan-38	3	FL	20	RCG	
S1568	SMITH, James	5	05-Mar-38	3	FL	30	RCG	
S1568	SMITH, James	5	02-Aug-38	7	FL	35	RCG	
S1568	SMITH, James	5	02-Feb-39	7	FL	36	JLA	
S1568	SMITH, James	5	17-Aug-41	7	FL	24	JLA & SJD	
S1683	SMITH, Samuel John	0						

S1774	SAGGS, John	0						
S1796	SILLETT, Thomas	0						
S1894	SMITH, Charles	0						
S1905	SHERRATT, William	0						
S2032	SOMES, Samuel	0						
S2123	STANBROOKE, George	0						
S2124	SMITH, John	3	21-Mar-43	5	SC	7	JLA	
S2124	SMITH, John	3	20-May-43	5	AD		JLA	
S2124	SMITH, John	3	27-Jan-44	5	CG	3	JLA	&4; CG=3m, Chns.remitted
S2134	SYMONS, Samuel	2	24-Nov-36	5	FL	35	RCG	
S2134	SYMONS, Samuel	2	26-Jan-44	8	MR			Assistance during a fire
S2155	SPROWLES, Daniel	1	18-Apr-43	5	RP	6	JLA	HL=6 months
S2272	SEALEY, Charles	0						
S2282	STAINES, James	1	21-Jul-41	6	AD		JLA	
S2299	SAUNDERS, Charles	2	20-Aug-38	3	FL	50	RCG	
S2299	SAUNDERS, Charles	2	12-Sep-39	3	FL	25	JLA	
S2519	SHADOWS, Charles	0						
S2572	SPARY, William	1	24-Sep-41	2	SC	7	JLA	&3, SC=7m. (obscure)
S2637	SMITH, James	4	30-Jun-41	3	SC	7	JLA	
S2637	SMITH, James	4	06-Jul-42	5	DS		JLA	
S2637	SMITH, James	4	06-Jul-42	7	SX	6	JLA & PJG	SX=6 months
S2637	SMITH, James	4	02-Jun-43	1	RP	12	CG & JLA	HL=12 m., Mag. obscure
S2644	SMART, William	0						
S2694	SCHOLES, William	0						
T0091	THOMPSON, James	0						
T0352	TURNER, George	0						
T0485	TURNER, Thomas	2	21-Mar-33	6	AD		AWH	
T0485	TURNER, Thomas	2	01-Oct-36	5	AD		RCG	
T0534	THOMPSON, Richard	0						
T0606	TUDDENHAM, John	2	12-Mar-35	6	AD		MLS & JHH	Flagellator
T0606	TUDDENHAM, John	2	20-Jan-37	5	RP	4	RCG	&RN, HL=4 months
T0680	TAYLOR, John	0						
T0759	TAPERELL, William	1	03-Aug-39	5	RP	12	JLA	HL=12 m., obscure
U0006	UNSWORTH, Thomas	0						
V0086	VARNEY, Thomas	1	01-Oct-36	5	AD		RCG	
W0339	WALMSLEY, James	1	04-Apr-37	1	RP	12	RCG	SX=2y; Magis. not stated
W0582	WELLS, William	0						
W0639	WOOD, William	0						
W0703	WHITE, James	0						
W0729	WIGHTMAN, James	0						
W0732	WADDINGTON, John	2	13-Jul-28	1	CR			Sloop Pandora
W0732	WADDINGTON, John	2	22-May-29	5	FL	25	EC	
W0751	WARD, Thomas	1	12-Jan-29	3	AD		EC	&7
W0757	WESTON, John	0						
W0849	WILKINS, John	0						

W0898	WOOLLEN, James	0						
W1020	WILLIAMS, John	3	05-Nov-32	8	FL	25	JM	Conspiracy to abscond
W1020	WILLIAMS, John	3	05-May-34	7	FL	25	JM	
W1020	WILLIAMS, John	3	20-Nov-34	6	CG	1	AWH	CG=1 month
W1023	WOOD, William	0						
W1034	WILKINSON, J.	4	25-Nov-33	4	TW	6	PS	TW=6 days
W1034	WILKINSON, J.	4	23-Feb-35	3	AD		MLS	NYD
W1034	WILKINSON, J.	4	06-Jun-35	7	AD		MLS	&3
W1034	WILKINSON, J.	4	24-Sep-35	7	SC	10	MLS	&7
W1230	WATERS, Charles	0						
W1284	WOOLLEY, William	3	27-Mar-33	3	FL	35	AWH	
W1284	WOOLLEY, William	3	10-May-33	3	RP	3	AWH	RP=3 months
W1284	WOOLLEY, William	3	01-Jun-33	1	SC	7	GSD	
W1344	WARDEN, George	4	03-Jul-33	4	FL	50	WL	&7
W1344	WARDEN, George	4	03-Jun-34	4	FL	25	WL	&2
W1344	WARDEN, George	4	21-Jun-34	4	FL	25	RCG	
W1344	WARDEN, George	4	24-Dec-34	3	RP	3	GK	HL=3 months, &RN
W1459	WRIGHT, William	1	03-Mar-34	7	AD		AWH	&6
W1486	WEBB, Charles	0						
W1487	WEBB, William	0						
W1502	WALLIS, James	2	28-Dec-33	7	AD		AWH	&6
W1502	WALLIS, James	2	22-Sep-34	6	RP	3	AWH	RP=3 m, &RN
W2069	WALKER, George	2	21-Mar-40	6	AD		JLA	
W2069	WALKER, George	2	01-Jun-40	5	DS		JLA	Day, month unknown
W2296	WILLIAMS, William	0						
W2312	WARD, John	0						
W2313	WALKER, John	1	14-Oct-43	2	AD		JLA	
W2470	WILTSON, John	1	09-Mar-39	1	PS	24	JHH	Port Arthur=24 months
W2622	WILLIAMS, Charles	1	14-Jul-42	5	SC	14	JLA	Year obscure
Y0068	YOUNG, Edward	0						
Y0114	YOUNG, John	3	11-Dec-40	5	FL	24	JLA	
Y0114	YOUNG, John	3	11-Dec-40	5	DS		JLA	&8; stealing pr. trousers
Y0114	YOUNG, John	3	29-Aug-43	3	RP	12	GK	Stealing?, HL=12m.

Appendix 2

Van Diemen's Land Company Convicts

Glossary

Abscond.	Absconded
Constable	Constable
Dead	Dead
E.Curr	Edward Curr Esq.
Free	Free Certificate
Gaol	Gaol
Hospital	Hospital
HseCor	House of Correction
MacqHarb	Macquarie Harbour
Maria Is	Maria Island
Married	Married
Nlk_Is	Norfolk Island
Pardon	Pardon
Party	Probation Party
PortArth	Port Arthur
PrisBk	Prisoner's Barracks
Private	Private (not VDL Co.)
PubWks	Public Works
TOL	Ticket of Leave
VDL Co.	VDL Company
VDL Est.	VDL Establishment

The inclusion of some convicts on the list is based on evidence other than musters, e.g. A0823; B1227; B2276.

For six of the female convicts investigations have not been finalised and their inclusion is provisional.

VDL Company Convicts (Ship and Musters 1825 to 1841)

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
#A043	ALLEN, Phoebe	Persian (1)	<input type="checkbox"/>	-			Private	HseCor	Private	?
#B088	DYMOND (nee Brooks), Jane	Midas	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				Private	Married		
#B264	BROWN, Harriett	Jane	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	S.Adey	HseCor	TOL
#C167	CORBET, Margaret	America	<input type="checkbox"/>	-		-	HseCor	HseCor	Private	?
#C296	COOPER, Sarah	Arab (3)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				-	-		TOL
#C325	CALVERT, Mary Ann	Platina	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				-	-		TOL
#E050	EVANS, Elizabeth	New Grove	<input type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	HseCor	Dead
#H241	HEMS, Mary	New Grove	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	E.Curr	?
#H351	HART, Mary	Hindostan (1)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	-	E.Curr
#J144	JARDINE, Anna	Platina	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>							TOL
#K057	KING, Sarah	Lady of the Lake	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-			HseCor	HseCor	E.Curr	?
#L103	LAWRENCE, Isabella	America	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	Private	HseCor	HseCor	HseCor
#M169	MATHER, Margaret	Frances Charlotte (1)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				-	Private		
#M309	MADDEN, Bridget	Gilbert Henderson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	-	Private
#P077	PONSFORD, Harriet	America	<input type="checkbox"/>	-		-	Private	HseCor	Private	?
#R109	ROSE, Sarah	Hydery	<input type="checkbox"/>	-		-	Private	HseCor	Private	TOL
#S412	SEARSTON, Mary	Navarino (1)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	-	Private

No	Name	Ship	VDL Co.	MS25	MS28	MS30	MS32	MS33	MS35	MS41
#W121	WILLIAMS, Harriet	Harmony	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-			E.Curr	TOL	Free	?
#W178	WHITEAR, Mary	America	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	E.Curr	E.Curr	E.Curr	Married
#W200	WELLES, Anne	Hydery	<input type="checkbox"/>	-		-	HseCor	HseCor	HseCor	?
#W350	WOOD, Mary (aka THOMSO	Nautilus	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-		TOL
#Y014	YOUNG, Matilda	Hindostan (1)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	-	Private
A0109	ANDERSON, William	Countess of Harcourt	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PubWks	Dead					
A0221	ADAMS, John	Medway (2)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Private		VDL Co.	PubWks	Private	PortArth	TOL
A0286	ACORN, Philip	Woodford (2)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		PubWks	VDL Co.	Private	?	TOL
A0348	ASHTON, Samuel	Bussorah Merchant	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free	+
A0428	ALEXANDER, Matthias	Eliza (2)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	VDL Est.	VDL Co.	TOL	?
A0452	ARKLEY, George Lawson	Larkins	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
A0520	ASH, Bartholemew	York (2)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
A0525	ALLEN, John	Georgiana (2)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	VDL Co.	PortArth	PrisBk
A0659	ALLMAN, John	Lady Kennaway (1)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	PortArth	
A0662	ARADIN, James	Lady Kennaway (1)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>							
A0670	AMES, John	Mangles	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	PrisBk
A0734	ARNEY, Samuel	Lord Lyndoch (2)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	-	
A0823	ARMSTRONG, Thomas	Neptune (1)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Est.
A0872	ANDERSON, Robert	Gilmore (2)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
B0230	BARTLETT, William	Dromedary	☑	PubWks	Dead	+	+	+	+	+
B0750	BUTTERLEY, Nicholas	Chapman (1)	☑	Private		PubWks	PubWks	PubWks	VDL Co.	?
B0928	BENNETT, Joseph	Woodford (1)	☑	-		PubWks	Private	?	?	?
B1160	BROWN, Joseph	Georgiana (1)	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.
B1211	BIDEY, James	Thames	☑			PubWks	PubWks	PubWks	Constabl	
B1227	BIBBY, Thomas	Surrey (2)	☑	-		Dutton	VDL Est.	Private	VDL Est.	Pardon
B1228	BROWN, John	Surrey (2)	☑	-		Dutton	VDL Est.	Private	VDL Est.	Dead
B1242	BOLTON, William	Prince Regent (1)	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free	+
B1243	BRYAN, Christopher O'	Prince Regent (1)	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PortArth	TOL
B1284	BUGG, John	Mary (2)	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	?
B1285	BROWN, Barnabas	Mary (2)	☑	-		PubWks	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	TOL
B1395	BROMLEY, George	Royal George	☑	-		PubWks	Constabl	Private	Constabl	Pardon
B1432	BODDINGTON, William	Clyde	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
B1433	BALES, William	Clyde	☑	-		VDL Co.	Private	Private	PubWks	?
B1486	BISHOP, Thomas	Eliza (2)	☑	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
B1487	BALL, Robert	Eliza (2)	☑	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Free
B1495	BROWN, Thomas	Eliza (2)	☑	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
B1508	BENNETT, Charles	Eliza (2)	☑	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
B1509	BECKLY, Charles	Eliza (2)	☑	-		-	VDL Est.	VDL Co.	PubWks	Free

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
B1590	BATT, Henry	William Glen Anderson	✓	-		-	Private	VDL Co.	Private	?
B1591	BEACH, George	William Glen Anderson	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	Private	VDL Co.	TOL
B1763	BENDER, Conrad Charles	York (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	PortArth	Party
B1802	BOWATER, John	Georgiana (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	Private	Free
B1821	BOURNE, John	Circassian	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
B1833	BARNETT, James	Circassian	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
B1846	BROWN, Thomas	Surrey (3)	✓					Private	PortArth	
B1848	BATE, Thomas	Surrey (3)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
B1904	BENNETT, William	Enchantress	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	Private	TOL
B2117	BROWN, Robert	John Barry	✓	-		-	-	-	PubWks	
B2165	BEATTIE, James	William Metcalfe	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	Private
B2257	BRANT, Edward	Mangles	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	TOL
B2258	BROUGHTON, Thomas	Mangles	✓	-		-	-	-	Private	
B2276	BROMFIELD, James	Mangles	✓	-		-	-	-	PubWks	Executed
B2295	BARKER, Richard	Norfolk	✓	-		-	-	-		
B2617	BENNETT, William	Frances Charlotte (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
B2669	BRASSINGTON, George	Elphinstone (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
B2673	BERRISFORD, William	Elphinstone (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
B2776	BLISS, George	Neptune (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
B2796	BRYAN, William	Neptune (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
B2861	BAKER, Robert	Lord William Bentinck (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
C0686	CLARK, William	Sir Charles Forbes (1)	✓	PubWks		VDL Co.	?	?	?	?
C0722	COCKHAM, Charles	Woodman	✓	-		PubWks	PubWks	PubWks	PortArth	TOL
C0752	CHAMBERLAIN, Charles	Chapman (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	TOL
C0753	CHAPMAN, Henry	Chapman (2)	✓	-		MacqHarb	MacqHarb	Free	+	+
C0786	CURTIS, Thomas	Governor Ready	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free	+	+
C0936	COOPER, George	Georgiana (1)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private	Free	+
C0998	CRAWLEY, Joseph	Surrey (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Est.	VDL Est.	TOL
C1054	CORBY, Thomas	Mary (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
C1074	COLE, George	Manlius (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
C1076	COOKE, Charles	Manlius (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	?
C1217	COLE, Richard	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Free
C1218	COWLEY, Robert	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Free
C1219	CAMEL, Edward	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Free
C1238	CUDMORE, Robert Harris	Argyle	✓	-		-	PubWks	PortArth	PortArth	
C1413	CAMPBELL, William	England	✓	-		-	Private	PortArth	PortArth	
C1443	CHAPMAN, Edward	York (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
C1452	CROWSON, Samuel	Georgiana (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	Hospital	TOL

No	Name	Ship	VDL Co.	MS25	MS28	MS30	MS32	MS33	MS35	MS41
C1588	CADEY, Daniel	Stakesby	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	?	Free
C1589	CRICK, William	Stakesby	✓	-		-	-	Private	VDL Co.	Free
C1775	CARTER, James	Elizabeth	✓	-		-	-	-	PortArth	VDL Co.
C1787	CARTER, James	Augusta Jessie (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	Gaol
C1971	CLACK, James	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
C2040	COHEN, Benjamin	Lord Lyndoch (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
C2042	COLMER, William	Lord Lyndoch (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
C2288	CARTER, George	Neptune (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
C2316	COLE, James	Moffatt (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
C2317	CARTWRIGHT, Duke	Moffatt (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
C2406	CUMMINS, Thomas	Coromandel (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	Hospital
C2507	CARSON, Simon	[Arrived Free]	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
D0409	DONALD, Neil Mc	Chapman (2)	✓	-		Abscond.	Abscond.	Abscond.	TOL	?
D0508	DONAKEY, Michael	Roslyn Castle	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Pardon
D0512	DEBNAM, Joseph	Georgiana (1)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private	Private	?
D0516	DONALD, James Mc	Georgiana (1)	✓	-		PubWks	PubWks	PubWks	PortArth	VDL Co.
D0562	DAVIS, John	Bussorah Merchant	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
D0567	DRISCOLL, Andrew	Bussorah Merchant	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	Nik_Is
D0574	DEVLIN, Patrick	Mary (2)	✓	-		PubWks	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	TOL

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
D0671	DUKE, John	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
D0697	DONALD, Henry Mc	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	TOL
D0792	DAVIS, John	York (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Party
D0800	DENHAM, Charles	York (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	PortArth	Dead
D0801	DILLEY, Thomas	York (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	Private	TOL
D0802	DONALLY, Daniel	Georgiana (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	Constabl	Party
D0804	DONOVAN, John	Georgiana (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
D0805	DOWE, William	Georgiana (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
D1150	DESMOND, Timothy	Lady Nugent	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
D1395	DEAN, John	Pyramus	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
D1413	DRURY, Charles	Marquis of Hastings (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
D1431	DYER, Richard	Layton (3)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
D1592	DONAHOO, Timothy	[Arrived Free]	✓							
E0105	EVERETT, John	Richmond	✓	Private		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Free	TOL
E0244	ENTWISTLE, Thomas	Surrey (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Est.	VDL Est.	Dead
E0265	ELLMES, Henry	Manlius (2)	✓	-		Private	Private	VDL Co.	Free	VDL Co.
E0299	EDGINGTON, Joseph	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
E0300	ELDRIDGE, Henry	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
E0301	EDGEWORTH, James	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
E0353	EVANS, William	York (2)	✓	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Dead
E0354	EVANS, William	Georgiana (2)	✓	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.	Private	TOL
E0374	ELLISTON, Robert	Enchantress	✓	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.	Private	TOL
E0609	EMERTON, William	Canton	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	PrisBk
F0413	FELL, John	David Lyon	✓	-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	?
F0414	FITZPATRICK, John	David Lyon	✓	-	-	VDL Co.	PubWks	PubWks	Private	Abscond.
F0460	FORD, James	Eliza (2)	✓	-	-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
F0477	FRASER, William	Georgiana (1)	✓	-	-	-	PubWks	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PrisBk
F0493	FERGUSON, Robert	Larkins	✓	-	-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	PortArth
F0505	FLETCHER, Charles	Strathfieldsay	✓	-	-	-	VDL Co.	Private	VDL Co.	TOL
F0563	FIELDER, Thomas	Georgiana (2)	✓	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Dead
F0591	FARREN, James	Enchantress	✓	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.	PortArth	TOL
F0735	FINN, William	Aurora (1)	✓	-	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.	TOL
F0736	FISH, William	Aurora (1)	✓	-	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.	TOL
F0784	FORD, John	John Barry	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F0789	FAGAN, John	Lady Nugent	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F0867	FLETCHER, James	Neptune (1)	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
F0933	FRANKLIN, William	Gilmore (2)	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
F0942	FARRELL, Edmond	Gilmore (2)	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	VDL Co.

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
G0360	GILCHRIST, James	Sir Godfrey Webster	☑	PubWks		PubWks	PubWks	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PrisBk
G0474	GARLAND, John	Chapman (2)	☑	-		VDL Co.	TOL	TOL	?	?
G0475	GUFFEE, William Mc	Chapman (2)	☑	-		VDL Co.	Free	+	+	+
G0484	GREAVES, Thomas	Andromeda	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free	+	+
G0487	GREENWOOD, Thomas	Andromeda	☑	PubWks	Dead	+	+	+	+	+
G0646	GARDINER, George	Sir Charles Forbes [2]	☑	-		Private	PortArth	Private	VDL Co.	Dead
G0779	GLEN, James	Larkins	☑	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	TOL
G0784	GOLDING, James	Larkins	☑	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
G0982	GUEST, Thomas	Southworth (2)	☑	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Est.
G0985	GREEN, William	Southworth (2)	☑	-		-	-	-	VDL Est.	Free
G1079	GARDNER, Thomas	Mangles	☑	-		-	-	-	VDL Est.	Free
G1326	GLEED, William	Neptune (1)	☑							
G1398	GLENNING, Peter	Augusta Jessie (2)	☑	-		-	-	-	-	PrisBk
G1435	GRANTHAM, John	Marquis of Hastings (1)	☑	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
H0131	HORTON, Samuel	Hibernia	☑	MacqHarb		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Dead
H0602	HOWARD, David	Phoenix (2)	☑	Private		Private	Private	TOL	TOL	VDL Co.
H0620	HERBERT, Thomas	Princess Charlotte	☑	PrisBk		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PrisBk	ToSyd	?
H0661	HARLEY, James	Sir Charles Forbes (1)	☑	PubWks		VDL Co.	TOL	TOL	Abscond.	Abscond.
H0666	HOLLAND, Hugh	Medina	☑	Private		MacqHarb	MacqHarb	VDL Co.	PubWks	Pardon

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
H0678	HORSFALL, John	Medina	☑	Private		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Pardon
H0698	HOGAN, Edward	Woodman	☑	-	Dead	+	+	+	+	+
H0699	HILL, Thomas	Woodman	☑	-		MacqHarb	Private	VDL Co.	Private	TOL
H0711	HARTNELL, William	Chapman (2)	☑	-		Private	Private	Private	Govt.	Free
H0721	HIGGINSON, John	Woodford (1)	☑	-		VDL Co.	Free	+	+	+
H0813	HOWARD, John	Asia (3)	☑	-		Private	Private	Private	VDL Co.	Pardon
H0861	HAIG, George	Woodford (2)	☑	-		VDL Co.	Private	Private	Abscond.	Abscond.
H0862	HANSHALL, Thomas	Woodford (2)	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?	?
H0981	HOWLAND, Thomas	Surrey (2)	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
H0990	HAWKINS, Alfred	Surrey (2)	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	Dead
H0991	HIND, Frederick	Surrey (2)	☑	-		VDL Co.	PubWks	PubWks	PubWks	Hospital
H0996	HOMER, Thomas	Surrey (2)	☑	-		Private	PubWks	VDL Co.	Free	PortArth
H1025	HALL, Patrick	Bussorah Merchant	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	TOL	?
H1065	HASTINGS, Henry	Manlius (2)	☑	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free	Free
H1077	HUTCHINSON, Samuel	Manlius (2)	☑	-		PubWks	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	?
H1130	HARRISON, John	Southworth (1)	☑	-		S.Adey	Private	Private	TOL	?
H1200	HART, John	Eliza (2)	☑	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
H1202	HUNT, John	Eliza (2)	☑	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Free
H1213	HUNT, Joseph	Eliza (2)	☑	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
H1215	HAYTER, William	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	PubWks	TOL	Free
H1221	HILLIER, Arthur	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Free
H1274	HENDERSON, William	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	PubWks	PortArth	TOL
H1296	HALL, John	William Glen Anderson	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	PortArth	Constabl	Govt.
H1393	HAYNES, James	Katherine Stewart Forbes	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PortArth	TOL
H1399	HEARN, Daniel	Katherine Stewart Forbes	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private
H1418	HEWITT, James	England	✓	-		-	Private	PubWks	E.Curr	TOL
H1441	HUNTER, Robert	Lord William Bentinck (1)	✓	-		-	Private	VDL Co.	Private	Free
H1563	HARWOOD, Henry	Enchantress	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	PortArth	Private
H1708	HEALEY, John	Southworth (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	Hospital	
H1841	HUTCHINSON, Henry	William Metcalfe	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	Private
H1847	HART, John	William Metcalfe	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	Free
H1966	HAGUE, William	Aurora (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	Free
H1967	HIBBERT, Thomas	Aurora (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	Free
H1978	HARDMAN, James	Aurora (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	Private
H1989	HART, Moss	Aurora (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.
H2015	HILL, William	Layton (2)	✓							
H2039	HARMAN, Ambrose	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Est.
H2070	HART, Henry	Elphinstone (1)	✓							

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
H2078	HOLMES, Samuel	Lord Lyndoch (2)	✓							
H2211	HUDSON, William	Blenheim (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	TOL
H2248	HARPER, George	Recovery	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Est.
H2352	HUNTER, William	Neptune (1)	✓							
H2415	HARRIS, Samuel	Lord William Bentinck (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Est.
H2446	HANCOCK, Moses	Coromandel (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
H2466	HARRIS, John	Augusta Jessie (2)	✓							
H2546	HUDSON, William	Egyptian (1)	✓							
J0161	JACOBS, John	Guildford	✓					?		
J0307	JOHN, Thomas	Chapman (2)	✓	-		Abscond.	Abscond.	Abscond.	Abscond.	Private
J0309	JONES, William	Chapman (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
J0360	JONES, William	Bengal Merchant	✓	-		PubWks	PubWks	VDL Co.	TOL	Free
J0407	JONES, Edward	Lady Harewood	✓	-		VDL Co.	Private	Private	Private	PortArth
J0411	JEFFKINS, Richard	Lady Harewood	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private	Private	Dead
J0441	JACOBS, Robert	Prince Regent (1)	✓	-		PubWks	VDL Co.	PubWks	?	?
J0515	JEFFERIES, William	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	Free
J0517	JENMAN, George	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	Dead	+	+	+
J0629	JENKINS, John	Circassian	✓	-		-	-	Private	Constabl	
J0663	JONES, William	Jupiter	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
J0670	JONES, William /4/	Enchantress	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	PubWks	Dead
J0734	JONES, Thomas	Southworth (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	PubWks	
J0885	JONES, John	Aurora (1)	✓							
J0946	JACKSON, Thomas Philip	Lady Nugent	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
J0954	JONES, Jonathan	Lady Nugent	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
J0956	JEFFRY, Unknown	Lady Nugent	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
J0959	JACKSON, William	Henry Porcher	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
J0998	JENNINGS, John	Blenheim (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	Private
J1079	JACKSON, Joseph	Lord William Bentinck (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
J1171	JONES, Richard	Marian Watson	✓	-		-	-	-	-	PortArth
K0173	KAY, Alexander Mc	Sir Godfrey Webster	✓	PubWks		Private	?	?	?	?
K0203	KEY, John Mc	Chapman (2)	✓	-		Constabl	TOL	TOL	TOL	Executed
K0205	KNAPPER, Stephen	Woodford (1)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
K0229	KENNY, Michael	Bengal Merchant	✓	-		PubWks	PortArth	VDL Co.	?	?
K0308	KIMMER, James	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
K0327	KEYS, William	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private	TOL
K0329	KING, James	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
K0348	KELLY, John	Gilmore (1)	✓	-		-				
K0353	KELLY, Thomas	Katherine Stewart Forbes	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	PubWks	VDL Co.	TOL

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
K0355	KNOWLAND, John	Katherine Stewart Forbes	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	PubWks	PubWks	Party
K0576	KITCHEN, John	Recovery	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
K0647	KEEFE, Thomas O'	Augusta Jessie (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
L0131	LANG, James	Guildford	✓	Private		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	PortArth	?
L0246	LEPINE, Samuel	Morley	✓	Private		Abscond.	Abscond.	Abscond.	Abscond.	Abscond.
L0369	LEONARD, Richard	Governor Ready	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	?	?
L0482	LARCOMBE, John	Prince Regent (1)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Est.	VDL Est.	VDL Est.	TOL
L0488	LUCAS, James	Bussorah Merchant	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	TOL
L0489	LUDLOW, George	Bussorah Merchant	✓	-		VDL Co.	Private	PubWks	PubWks	TOL
L0490	LYTHGOE, Peter	Bussorah Merchant	✓	-		Gaol	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
L0618	LUMLEY, John	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
L0630	LAMB, Patrick	William Glen Anderson	✓	-		-	PubWks	PubWks	PubWks	TOL
L0654	LAW, Joseph	Elizabeth	✓	-		-	Private	PubWks	PubWks	VDL Co.
L0666	LONG, John	Katherine Stewart Forbes	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Dead	Pardon
L0690	LANE, Richard	Georgiana (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
L0699	LEMAN, William	Circassian	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	PubWks	Private
L0769	LANGHAM, John	Stakesby	✓	-		-	-	PubWks	Private	
L0986	LANCASTER, Thomas	Elphinstone (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
L1089	LAPHAM, James	Susan (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
L1090	LALLEY, Michael	Susan (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
L1119	LINDSAY, Frederick Lillycroft	Moffatt (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
L1237	LIDDIARD, John	Canton	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
M0079	MONAGHAN, Owen	Minerva [1]	✓	TOL		VDL Co.	TOL	TOL	TOL	?
M0345	MONTGOMERY, John	Richmond	✓	PubWks		VDL Co.	PubWks	PubWks	PortArth	Private
M0491	MEE, George	Chapman (1)	✓			Private	Free	+	+	+
M0553	MITCHELL, James	Woodman	✓	-		PubWks	Free	+	+	+
M0616	MOULDING, Henry	Asia (3)	✓	-		PubWks	PubWks	PubWks	PubWks	
M0744	MULLIGAN, John	Surrey (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Est.	VDL Est.	VDL Est.	TOL
M0854	MANION, John	Red Rover	✓	-		-	VDL Est.	Dutton	VDL Est.	Pardon
M0860	MITCHELL, John	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	?
M0905	MOORE, Joseph	William Glen Anderson	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	PubWks	?	?
M0926	MARRIOTT, James	Lord Lyndoch (1)	✓	-		-	VDL Est.	Constabl	E.Curr	TOL
M0932	MURDOCH, James	Lord Lyndoch (1)	✓							
M0950	MARSLAND, John	Gilmore (1)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
M0951	MASSEY, Israel	Gilmore (1)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
M0956	MATCHAM, William	Gilmore (1)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Constabl
M0979	MOORE, James	Katherine Stewart Forbes	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
M1109	MOTTRAM, Henry	Emperor Alexander	✓	-		-	-	PubWks	PubWks	Private

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
M1278	MULLIGAN, Charles	Thames [ex Sydney?]	✓	-		-	-	-	PortArth	
M1404	MONAGHAN, Matthew	Siren	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
M1498	MULHOLLAND, John	Sarah	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
M1505	MONAGHAN, James	Sarah	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
M1561	MORSE, Joseph	Recovery	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
M1656	MITTON, Charles	Lord William Bentinck (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
M1671	MILLARD, William	Minerva (2)	✓	-		-		-	-	VDL Co.
M1679	MEECHAM, James	Coromandel (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
M1695	MARKS, John	Coromandel (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	
M1706	MAHONEY, Daniel	Augusta Jessie (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
M1728	MARSH, Edward	Gilmore (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
N0043	NICHOLSON, Richard	Dromedary	✓	Free		+	+	+	+	+
N0091	NEWCOMB, James	Surrey (1)	✓							
N0136	NEADS, Samuel	Chapman (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Dead	+	+
N0138	NANKERVIS, Henry	Woodford (1)	✓	-		VDL Co.	Free	+	+	+
N0199	NEALE, John	Mary (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	Pardon
N0290	NALTY, John Mac	Enchantress	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free
N0296	NEWMAN, Thomas	Emperor Alexander	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	Private	Free
O0064	OLIVER, Henry	Woodman	✓	-		Private	Private	Private	Private	

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
O0094	OGDEN, William	Bussorah Merchant	✓	-		S.Adey	PubWks	Private	PubWks	Party
O0118	OLDEN, John	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	?
O0184	ORTON, Samuel	Layton (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Est.	VDL Est.
O0247	OWEN, Ellis	Augusta Jessie (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
O0260	OSBORNE, Henry	Layton (3)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	PortArth
P0027	PIDGEON, Lawrence	Minerva [1]	✓	PubWks		VDL Co.	TOL	TOL	TOL	Pardon
P0322	PRIEST, James	Sir Godfrey Webster	✓	PrisBk		PubWks	PubWks	Private	PubWks	TOL
P0404	PARKER, John	Woodman	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free	+
P0411	PRESTON, Thomas Winter	Earl St. Vincent	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
P0672	PILOT, William	Persian (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private	VDL Co.	TOL
P0759	PURCHASE, William	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	PubWks	PortArth	?
P0767	PRIESTLEY, George	William Glen Anderson	✓	-		-				
P0777	PEERS, Thomas	Strathfieldsay	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PrisBk
P1100	PAGE, Robert	Lady Kennaway (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	Private	VDL Co.
P1183	PHILLIPS, David	Layton (2)	✓	-		-	-	-		
P1187	PERRY, Elijah	Layton (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	PubWks	VDL Co.
P1195	PAUL, John	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	?	VDL Co.
P1199	PILLINGER, George	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	Private	TOL
P1264	PRITCHARD, William	Lady Nugent	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
P1526	PHILLIPS, David	Layton (3)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
R0090	ROGERS, John	Hibernia	✓	Private		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	?
R0181	RICHARDSON, James	Maria (1)	✓	Maria Is		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?	?
R0378	RILEY, John	Phoenix (2)	✓	Private		VDL Co.	Private	PubWks	TOL	Free
R0411	ROWLANDS, Moses	Sir Charles Forbes (1)	✓	Private		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.
R0449	RORIE, Charles Mc	Chapman (2)	✓	-		Private	Private	?	PubWks	Pardon
R0452	RAMSEY, Alexander	Chapman (2)	✓	-		Private	PubWks	Govt.	PubWks	Free
R0453	RUSSELL, James	Chapman (2)	✓	-		PubWks	PubWks	PubWks	Private	Private
R0555	ROBINSON, Charles	Georgiana (1)	✓	-		Private	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free	+
R0630	READING, Andrew	Manlius (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	PubWks	PubWks	Free	+
R0696	REED, Thomas	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	PubWks	Private	?
R0698	ROGERS, William	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	Dead	+	+	+
R0710	RILEY, William	Argyle	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	?
R0727	REES, Evan	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Est.	VDL Co.	VDL Est.	?
R0728	RYLES, Charles	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	?
R0729	ROWLEY, William	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	?
R0802	ROPER, Thomas	Katherine Stewart Forbes	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private	Dead
R0810	RHODES, Henry	Katherine Stewart Forbes	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
R0853	READ, John	Georgiana (2)	✓	-		-	-	Milligan	Milligan	TOL

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
R0891	ROWE, James	Jupiter	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
R1110	RAWLINGS, Joseph	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
R1111	RADNAGE, Joseph	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	-	TOL
R1112	RUSSELL, William	Bardaster	✓							
R1113	RAWLINGS, Jonas	Bardaster	✓							
R1354	REDGATE, Henry	Augusta Jessie (2)	✓							
R1369	RAZEY, Daniel	Gilmore (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
S0433	STANSFIELD, William	Prince of Orange	✓							
S0596	SANDERS, James	Phoenix (2)	✓	Private		PubWks	PubWks	VDL Co.	PubWks	TOL
S0682	SHEEN, James	Sir Charles Forbes (1)	✓	Private		VDL Co.	PubWks	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
S0765	SMITH, James	Chapman (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?	?
S0771	SMITH, William	Chapman (2)	✓	-		Private	Private	VDL Co.	Private	PortArth
S0773	SHARP, John	Chapman (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Dead	+	+
S0774	SCOTT, John	Chapman (2)	✓	-		PubWks	PubWks	Private	TOL	?
S0775	STEWART, John	Chapman (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	TOL	?
S0831	STEWART, John	Layton (1)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free	+	+
S0912	SMITH, Thomas	William Miles	✓	-		VDL Co.	Dead	+	+	+
S0928	SWEETLING, Richard	Bengal Merchant	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?	?
S0982	SEARLE, James	Roslyn Castle	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	PubWks	Gaol

No	Name	Ship	VDL Co.	MS25	MS28	MS30	MS32	MS33	MS35	MS41
S1058	SALSBURY, John	Surrey (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
S1354	STOCK, Edward	Argyle	✓	-		-	PubWks	VDL Co.	Private	?
S1416	SHIRLEY, Henry	William Glen Anderson	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private	TOL
S1420	SILCOX, John	William Glen Anderson	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private	?
S1568	SMITH, James /?/	Lord William Bentinck (1)	✓	-		-	Private	Private		
S1683	SMITH, Samuel John	Enchantress	✓							
S1774	SAGGS, John	John (2)	✓	-		-	-	PubWks	VDL Co.	Free
S1796	SILLETT, Thomas	John (2)	✓	-		-	-	Private	PubWks	Private
S1894	SMITH, Charles	John Barry	✓	-		-	-	-		
S1905	SHERRATT, William	John Barry	✓							
S2032	SOMES, Samuel	Mangles	✓							
S2123	STANBROOKE, George	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	-	TOL
S2124	SMITH, John?	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	-	TOL
S2134	SYMONS, Samuel	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
S2155	SPROWLES, Daniel	Bardaster	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
S2272	SEALEY, Charles	Henry Porcher	✓	-		-	-	-	-	TOL
S2282	STAINES, James	Henry Porcher	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
S2299	SAUNDERS, Charles	Eden (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	TOL
S2519	SHADDOWS, Charles	Moffatt (2)	✓	-		-	-	-		VDL Co.

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
S2572	SPARY, William	Minerva (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
S2637	SMITH, James	Gilmore (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
S2644	SMART, William	Gilmore (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
S2694	SCHOLES, William	Marquis of Hastings (1)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
T0091	THOMPSON, James	Dromedary	✓	Private		VDL Co.	TOL	TOL	?	?
T0352	TURNER, George	Chapman (2)	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	?
T0485	TURNER, Thomas	Bussorah Merchant	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Pardon
T0534	THOMPSON, Richard	Persian (2)	✓	-		Private	Private	VDL Co.	Private	TOL
T0606	TUDDENHAM, John	William Glen Anderson	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL
T0680	TAYLOR, John	York (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	Private	TOL
T0759	TAPERELL, William	Stakesby	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private
U0006	UNSWORTH, Thomas	Competitor	✓	PubWks		?	PortArth	PortArth	PortArth	Party
V0086	VARNEY, Thomas	Mangles	✓	-		-	-	-	VDL Co.	Private
W0339	WALMSLEY, James	Claudine	✓	PubWks	Dead	+	+	+	+	+
W0582	WELLS, William	Phoenix (2)	✓	PubWks		VDL Co.	TOL	TOL	TOL	?
W0639	WOOD, William	Sir Charles Forbes (1)	✓	Private		VDL Co.	Private	?	?	?
W0703	WHITE, James	Woodford (1)	✓	-		Maria Is	?	Free	+	+
W0729	WIGHTMAN, James	Chapman (2)	✓	-		PubWks	Private	Private	TOL	?
W0732	WADDINGTON, John	Chapman (2)	✓	-		Abscond.	Abscond.	Abscond.	Abscond.	Abscond.

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
W0751	WARD, Thomas	Governor Ready	✓	-		VDL Co.	TOL	TOL	TOL	?
W0757	WESTON, John	Governor Ready	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Free	+	+
W0849	WILKINS, John	Bengal Merchant	✓	-		Private	Private	Private		
W0898	WOOLLEN, James	Roslyn Castle	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	TOL	?
W1020	WILLIAMS, John	Bussorah Merchant	✓	-		VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Private	PrisBk
W1023	WOOD, William	Bussorah Merchant	✓	-		VDL Co.	Private	PubWks	PubWks	?
W1034	WILKINSON, J.	Mary (2)	✓	-		Gaol	PubWks	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	Dead
W1230	WATERS, Charles	Eliza (2)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	VDL Co.	?
W1284	WOOLLEY, William	Larkins	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	PubWks	PubWks	?
W1344	WARDEN, George	Lord Lyndoch (1)	✓	-		-	VDL Co.	Private	PubWks	Free
W1459	WRIGHT, William	York (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	Private	?
W1486	WEBB, Charles	Georgiana (2)	✓	-		-	-	Constabl	VDL Co.	TOL
W1487	WEBB, William	Georgiana (2)	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	Constabl	TOL
W1502	WALLIS, James	Circassian	✓	-		-	-	VDL Co.	PubWks	Abscond.
W2069	WALKER, George	Asia (4)	✓							
W2296	WILLIAMS, William	Elphinstone (2)	✓							
W2312	WARD, John	Recovery	✓							
W2313	WALKER, John	Recovery	✓	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
W2470	WILTSON, John	Lord William Bentinck (2)	✓	-		-	-	-	-	PortArth

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Ship</i>	<i>VDL Co.</i>	<i>MS25</i>	<i>MS28</i>	<i>MS30</i>	<i>MS32</i>	<i>MS33</i>	<i>MS35</i>	<i>MS41</i>
W2622	WILLIAMS, Charles	Layton (3)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.
Y0068	YOUNG, Edward	Sir Charles Forbes [2]	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>							
Y0114	YOUNG, John	Lord Lyndoch (2)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	-		-	-	-	-	VDL Co.