This first issue of Chainletter for 2011 looks at the Vandemonians on the Victorian goldfields.

It was inspired by the work of our first volunteer working party on the Tasmanians recorded in the Victoria Police Gazettes. It soon became clear that the narrative of offences, persons wanted and convicts absconded, was of the Victorian goldrushes, in particular in the chaotic 1850s.

We explore the debate over the Vandemonian presence in colonial Victoria—now understood from our own research to have been formidable. Hamish Maxwell-Stewart estimates that around 30,000 crossed Bass Strait from the late 1840s. Indeed both free and unfree Vandemonians fled in such numbers, despite the 1852 Victorian legislation to exclude ticket-of-leave holders, that the convict system broke down.

It was assumed then—and since—that most of the Vandemonians were the source of crime and disorder. But the numbers we uncovered from our research, put paid to that ‘urban myth’.

In fact, the whole purpose of Founders and Survivors is to uncover the hidden, private history of ‘life after sentence’—of survival and of founding a new society.

The articles in this issue reflect these themes. They are contributed by people who have provided their convict family histories to the project, or who have volunteered to work for us.

They tell good stories and just one of a man who remained trapped in a cycle of crime and marginalisation. Significantly, the Argus commented on the execution of James Young that he had ‘no friends’ in the colonies. Convicts who succeeded ‘made friends’ and established family relationships. That is why the key to this hidden history—the invisible Vandemonians—is genealogy. Please continue to contribute and urge and assist others to do likewise.

Lastly, the Victorian floods from November to March devastated some old mining towns of the Central Goldfields—Creswick, Carisbrook, Clunes and Maryborough. They desperately need tourists to restart their economy. History, walks, good food and wine abound.

Do pay them a visit if you can.
Volunteers’ Corner

Transcription Workshop

Our first transcription workshop was held at Melbourne University on 12 February to a ‘full house’ of 40.

Dr Colette McAlpine of the Female Factory Research Group in Tasmania, conducted the class and declared herself delighted with the enthusiasm and expertise of the participants. A number volunteered immediately set to work on convict ships with Colette, and already one ship has been completed and entered in the database.

We hope that by the end of the year we will be in a position to set up similar group projects working on convict ships. First we have to complete the transfer of earlier entries to our online database to the new format. Then we need to run the full convict database through the Tasmanian deaths database, to find those who died in Tasmania. Once that is completed, we will know who has been traced and who remains to be followed.

How You Can Help

First we need to persuade as many people as possible to submit their convict ancestors.

Second, if you submitted a convict to the old version of our database (before March 2010), you may need to make a new entry in our new database. If you are unsure whether you need to resubmit your convict, please contact Claudine at clchionh@unimelb.edu.au.

Third, we need people to be scouring the web for convicts and putting them in. Therefore, we are asking for volunteers to form a couple of online groups. These are:

Swing Rioters & Machine Breaker Group

This group could transfer Geoffrey Sharman’s magnificent compilation of the Swing Rioters transported to VDL on the Proteus, the Eliza and various other ships in the early 1830s. Each entry that uses his work will acknowledge it.

You can do further research on the convicts via Ancestry’s Australian indexes and the UK censuses. You can also now use the National Library of Australia’s digitised newspapers via TROVE. Finally, you can find descendants in the National Archives of Australia 1st AIF records.

We can run workshops and provide support, but the group will need an online co-ordinator to ensure that researchers are not doubling up on convicts already in the FAS database and to provide help with sources.

If you are interested in this group, please email me, Janet McCalman, on janetsm@unimelb.edu.au.

Goldfields Groups

We hope that the Goldfields special issue of Chainletter may inspire many of you who live or have connections with the Victorian goldfields region, to form local and online groups to ‘collect convicts’ from local sources: in your historical societies, internet sites and local newspapers.

We have a number of people who long ago expressed interest in regional groups: Bendigo and Ballarat, but we also need groups to work in Castlemaine, Daylesford, Maryborough and every gold town and hamlet in-between.

You can sign up online via our volunteering enrolment link on the ‘Becoming Involved’ page (tab is at the top of the Home Page).

If you are interested in becoming a co-ordinator of your local group, please again email me, Janet McCalman, on janetsm@unimelb.edu.au.

We have a limited number of Ancestry.com subscriptions available to any volunteers who wish to commit serious time to the project. And we will supply one to each group co-ordinator who needs it.

Again, we will provide support and advice. We can run workshops to get everyone started, and advise on research strategies. If Victorian birth, death or marriage certificates are needed, we can, within certain constraints, purchase those with our research funding.

Victoria Police Gazettes Group

This has been our first volunteer group and we have just completed working through the Victoria Police Gazettes (VPGs) at the Public Record Office (PROV) in North Melbourne, the State Library and even at the Mildura Historical Society which holds a run of the VPGs. We have learnt a lot about how to go about this research and we have had some lovely days (and lunches) at the PROV.

The VPG work involved smart detection. Former convicts were identified by their ship and physical descriptions, but former convicts were also keen to create new identities. They took the names of other convicts, especially the dead; they concocted strings of pseudonyms; they forgot their own ages. However, tattoos proved to be a very bad career move for the ex-convict hoping to melt into the Victorian gold rush hordes. Many who were convicted in the 1850s simply disappeared from sight in the Australian records thereafter. Those who married were more likely to die with family who remembered their place of birth and parents’ names. Those who died in benevolent asylums had their parents’ names and place of birth on the record; those who died in lunatic asylums or gaols, died with no kin recorded. And we have no idea how many died, alone and unidentified in bush.

One tip for genealogists, always look again in Australian Death Index for given names in abbreviated form: e.g. Wm, Geo, Thos—it was the preferred method of recording for institutional deaths.

Special thanks to Nola Beagley, Geoff Brown, Sharon Lucey, Jenny Wells, Judy Price, Leanne Goss, Leanne Watmuff, Barry Parson, Shirley Anderson and Janine Sexton.
DEATH OF AN OLD VANDEMONIAN. The Geelong Advertiser of the 24th April records the death of an old reprobate who will probably be remembered in this colony:—"An inquest was held at the gaol yesterday on the body of Daniel Pass, a prisoner, who died on Tuesday evening. From the evidence it appeared that the deceased had been admitted to the gaol on the 7th December, under sentence of 12 months’ imprisonment, for keeping a disorderly house. He was put to hard labour, but relieved from work on the 19th March in consequence of illness, and he was since under medical treatment for heart disease. Deceased was fifty-two years of age. During his illness he was visited daily by the gaol surgeon, had the attendance of one of the prisoners, received the medical comforts prescribed regularly, and had a glass of wine five minutes before he expired at the hands of the governor of the institution. The deceased was an Englishman by birth, and arrived in Tasmania in 1831. He had been employed as a bailiff, and, it is stated, held, at one time the office of hangman in Hobart Town. For the past seventeen years he was known to the police at Geelong as a brothel-keeper. Dr. Mackin stated that he had received every possible attention and comfort in gaol, but his constitution was broken up by dissipation, and he died of ‘fatty degeneration of the heart’ (Mercury 5 May 1873).

Few re-offending Vandemonians in colonial Victoria were to enjoy such a tasteful obituary. Convicts had already been escaping from Van Diemen’s Land (VDL) to the shores of the mainland, joining up with whalers and sealers and taking Aboriginal women. As VDL sank into depression in the 1840s, and the huge increase in transportation displaced free labourers, increasing numbers of emancipists and ticket-of-leave holders sought a livelihood over Bass Strait. They were welcome in that they could be paid less than free immigrants, but by the end of the 1840s, Melbournians feared that the VDL governor was dumping broken-down former convicts on their limited coffers (Argus 3 and 10 October 1848).

As for crime, ‘old hands’ were assumed to be the culprits. Tarradale in Gippsland ran a lucrative trade in stolen cattle and the export of casks of salt meat to Hobart. A correspondent reported to the Hobart Courier that the ‘very worst class came from Hobart Town, and I seldom saw a crime committed by any of the steady residents of the town, but always by the Vandemonians’ (The Courier, 25 August 1847).
Between 1851 and 1861, half a million people poured into the Colony of Victoria seeking fortune, health or anonymity. Among them were most of the estimated 30,000 former or absconded Van Diemen’s Land convicts who went to Victoria, either temporarily or permanently. That figure amounts to nearly half the total number of men, women and children transported to Van Diemen’s Land between 1804 and 1853, so Victoria looms large in Australian convict history.

But that story has been dominated by the fear of Vandemonian crime, particularly at the height of the alluvial gold rushes. The Argus in May 1859 deplored the weakness of the authorities in new fields such as Back Creek, where 30,000 people had congregated, while ‘on the outskirts of this immense industrious army hang some hundreds of thieves, cheats, loafers and scoundrels of all descriptions’. To a man and a woman they were ‘Vandemonian desperadoes’ (Argus 27 May 1859). But were they?

The Victoria Police Gazettes

Our volunteers have now completed their survey of the Victoria Police Gazette lists of ticket-of-leave holders, wanted people, and released prisoners. This does not capture all those who fell foul of the law between 1855 and 1884, but it is a goodly proportion of those who committed thefts, crimes of violence and the stealing of horses and livestock. Drunkenness and disorderly behaviour were dealt with by the police courts and not until the later period could we pick up repeat offenders who were gaolled, usually in regional centres. In the 1850s and early 1860s, at least, communications between the Convict Department in Tasmania and the Victorian Police were frequent as notices for absconders were sent outside the island. What mattered to us was that each individual was identified by the ship on which they were transported, with their place and year of birth and physical description.

We were able to match about half of those who were recorded as having been sent as ‘bond’ to VDL, but over time, we faced diminishing returns as less checking was conducted between the two colonies, and convicts became more inventive with their identities. The hardened criminals were the most elusive. By the time Noah Smart (Ratcliffe 1845) was stabbed to death by Ellen Francis at his home in Cecil Street, South Melbourne because he had alleged stolen the clothes and money from her de facto, he had been ‘John Taylor’ and ‘Robert Davis’ (Argus 6 December 1876). In 1894, Ellen Francis, now Elizabeth Gascombe and free again after serving fifteen years of a commuted death sentence for the stabbing, threatened to ‘put a bit of cold steel through Mrs Jane Kelly, a fellow lodger in South Melbourne’ (Argus 10 January 1894).

We found around 600 Vandemonians, many of whom we could trace to a death certificate, but many also simply disappeared into new identities or new hunting grounds in other colonies or overseas. The New Zealand gold rushes of the 1860s lured many honest and dishonest diggers from Australia. Even if this amounts of a quarter of those who re-offended in Victoria after either absconding or finishing their time in Tasmania, we are still talking about just 10 per cent of the 1850s Vandemonian migration to Victoria. Certainly much crime went undetected, especially in the early years of the gold rushes, when police were few and fields were effectively self-governed and the sound of diggers firing guns into the air around their tents to ward off thieves was their only defence. None the less, it is clear that the majority of the Vandemonians ‘went straight’.

The biggest crime wave was in the 1850s, but a second rise in imprisonments was to be found in the 1870s, as ex-convicts aged and could not do physical work. Drink had befuddled them and gaol at least provided a dry bed and a feed. Often the crimes were petty thefts of clothes and the penalty was three months in gaol.

What was noticeable was that these recidivists were ‘noticeable’. They were visibly scarred from burns, cuts and floggings, worn and weathered, and often ugly. That was the ‘Vandemonian cast’ that everyone noticed and which automatically disqualified you from employment. When Ellen Weavell (nee Jones, Emma Eugenia 1842) and Elizabeth Leedham (nee Barratt, Rajah 1841) were arrested in Melbourne for vagrancy and prostitution in 1859, they were described as ‘two terribly dissipated looking women’ (Argus 11 October 1859).
The Invisible Vandemonians

The invisible Vandemonians were able to slip into colonial Victoria and conceal their past with a story of jumping ship at Port Phillip or of being free immigrants, and it is their descendants who are contributing the family histories to Founders & Survivors. The recidivists rarely left surviving descendants, unless children were ‘rescued’ by the Industrial Schools or orphanages, or one steady son or daughter pulled through.

The law-abiding Vandemonians clearly did not look like ‘real Vandemonians’. They could sell their skills and put their experience into the growing colonial economy: Annabel Anderson’s story of her ancestor, James Kimber, is a story of real colonial success. And within it, there is a nugget. James Kimber was one of the early diggers who found gold early and left the diggings to invest his winnings wisely. He was not alone.

On 19 December 1851, The Colonial Times in Hobart reported:

Yesterday two men returned from Mount Alexander to Collingwood with 10lb of gold, the produce of one fortnight’s gold hunting. One of the greatest wonders of the present day, is the number of formerly poor men who are now daily drawing large sums of money from the local banks in exchange for gold and cheques. A person of some experience who has come down from the gold fields, declares it as his opinion that generally speaking, the Vandemonian expatriates are the most fortunate of the diggers, a very large proportion of them having managed to secure a fair share of the ‘nuggets’.

It makes sense. The Vandemonians already in Victoria had the bush craft and the hardiness to take first advantage of the easy alluvial finds. Some former convicts, like Christian Asquith, were among those to find new fields, although the role of Vandemonians and poor shepherds in ‘finds’ tended to be played down later and their claims to rewards outbid by more respectable claimants (see James Flett, The History of Gold Discovery in Victoria (Hawthorn Press, 1979)).

Again, along with the talk of ‘Vandemonian pollution’, tales of vulgar displays by successful diggers and their clearly equally undeserving female companions have survived into Gold Rush folklore. It was clearly outrageous that the poor should have windfalls and celebrate it. So, of course, the assumption is that this easily won gold went down the throats of the undisciplined and was squandered. But was it?

How many suddenly had a little capital with which to buy land or return Home, only their descendants can tell us. Almost two years ago, Jane Duvall in the United States, sent us the story of her ancestor Samuel Phillips of Northamptonshire, who at twenty-four in 1829 had been sentenced to fourteen years for poaching. He left behind Sarah Patrick, also aged twenty-four, and pregnant. Phillips was a ploughman and illiterate, and served his sentence in VDL uneventfully. Then in 1852 he came to Victoria. Twenty months later he was on a ship to England, and six weeks after landing at Liverpool, there was a double service at the Corby parish church where Samuel Phillips, now nearly fifty, married Sarah Patrick and they witnessed the christening of their first grandchild—the offspring of the daughter Sarah Patrick had been carrying when Samuel was transported. But Samuel had another surprise: a large amount of money, and with those funds he bought a very good farm and built a house next to the Duke of Grafton’s estate, which the family still farms.

More common, however, were those who benefited from what Castlemaine historian Heather Holst argues was even more important than gold—the Miner’s Right. The Miner’s Right entitled miners to rent potentially auriferous land and erect a dwelling. Charles Fahey has written of the Cornish miners continuing an old tradition of hut building on their mining leases. (These two studies are contained in the collection Gold Tailings reviewed in this issue of Chainletter.)

Miner’s Right provided security because families could not be evicted from their homes and led to high home ownership in gold field towns—69 per cent in Ballarat West in 1870. In smaller towns, a secure roof over a family’s head, a bit of ground to run chooks, keep a cow, perhaps a horse and cart, and grow fruit and vegetables, were the guarantee of subsistence for those who left the convict system with nothing other than their wits and their physical capacities. It was rural poverty, but it was survival and it sustained many families for up to three generations. And when country towns began to have better schools, especially technical and high schools, those institutions provided stepping stones into upward mobility.

The stories contributed by descendants and volunteers, and the two books reviewed in this issue of Chainletter, all enlarge on these themes. We hope that among readers, there will be others who have similar stories of founders and survivors and will submit their family history to the project.
James Kimber was one of the ‘machine breakers’ transported in the Eliza in 1831. He was also one of the many lucky Vandemonian diggers in the Victorian gold rush, and invested his winnings wisely.

Born in 1810 or 1811, James was the only son of John and Jane Kimber, agricultural labourers who lived at Milton Lilbourne near Pewsey in Wiltshire. He had one older sister Elizabeth and his birth was to be followed by that of four sisters—Sarah, Jane, Mary (who died as an infant in 1822) and Caroline. Each member of the family, including the daughters, was an agricultural labourer.

Agricultural labourers found themselves in a parlous position in the early 19th century, and in many counties of England were no longer able to earn enough to support themselves or their families. Their poverty and frustration exploded in 1830 in a series of local protests and uprisings. There was no political organisation behind the protests which took the form of ritualised smashing of threshing machines by groups of men, inciting each other, excited by the stories of similar outbursts in neighbouring counties and fuelled by the hope that farmers and landowners would be forced to raise wages.

In Wiltshire, nightly meetings were held and people assembled with flags flying and horns blowing in an atmosphere of great excitement. Mobs of men, some inebriated, marched around farms and villages breaking threshing machines and levying donations of food, drink and money under threat of dramatic language. Anonymous threatening letters were sent under the name ‘Captain Swing’—a non-existent person whose name referred to the swinging movement of the flail used to thresh grain, and symbolising the profession of the agricultural labourer. It was at the height of the disturbances in Wiltshire that farmers’ labourers in the Milton area became involved, including eighteen-years-old James Kimber.

Concerned that the protests might spread to industrialised areas, and mindful of the lessons of the French revolution, the government acted quickly to restore stability. In Wiltshire, about three hundred men were arrested and charged with machine-breaking and related offences and brought before a Special Commission which had been set up specifically to hear these cases and reassert government control. The Special Commission opened its session in Salisbury on 27 December 1830. It completed the trials of over three hundred men in eight days and then moved on to perform a similar task in a neighbouring county.

James Kimber was found guilty of breaking a threshing machine and was sentenced on 8 January 1831 to be transported for seven years. He was one of 150 men from Wiltshire sentenced to transportation for periods varying from seven or fourteen years, to life. The sentences appear harsh, but the destruction of machinery was a capital offence. The government however could not execute hundreds of England’s peasantry and retain any semblance of legitimacy. Ultimately, nineteen men were executed for their involvement in the Swing riots, but most were given prison sentences varying from a few months to a few years.

James Kimber was held at Fisherton gaol in Salisbury until 26 January 1831 when he was taken to the prison hulk York at Portsmouth. The next day he was put onto the ship Eliza for transportation to Van Diemen’s Land. The Eliza commenced its journey from Portsmouth on 8 February 1831 with over two hundred convicts on board, every one of whom had been convicted of machine breaking or related offences.

The Eliza docked in Hobart in May 1831. Reactions to the men’s arrival were mixed. Concerns about the political behaviour of the convicts were counterbalanced by appreciation of their value as an agricultural labour force at a time such skills were in strong demand. When the Eliza docked on 29 May 1831 the local newspaper encapsulated these mixed feelings, noting the arrival of ‘rioters, incendiaries, and machine breakers’ but also commenting that the greater proportion of them ‘are said to be able-bodied, hard-working countrymen’—much more useful to the colony than London pick-pockets.

James Kimber was one of twenty-five Eliza men assigned to work for the Van Diemen’s Land Company, located in the far north west of the colony. The company held 300,000 acres and ran its operations from three establishments—one at Woolnorth in the far north west corner of Van Diemen’s Land, a company headquarters situated at
Circular Head and a property at Surrey Hills. James served the first four years of his sentence at Woolnorth, and then in January 1835 was moved to Circular Head. He moved stock (horses and sheep) from Woolnorth to Circular Head, acted as guide for travellers between the two establishments, and was involved in shoeing horses at Woolnorth. After his move to Circular Head, he became a house servant to the company’s Chief Agent Edward Curr in February 1835, but from March to September, was back to working as a farm labourer, and in October, as a gardener in the extensive fruit orchard and vegetable gardens at Circular Head. Despite agitating for a ticket of leave, James was never granted one. The company’s manager Curr, was loath to lose skilled agricultural workers and used James’ conduct record to deny, then delay, support for an application for a ticket of leave. James’ record sheet shows two offences committed in Van Diemen’s Land—‘insolence’ in 1834, and then in 1835, ‘improper conduct in being found in his master’s plantation in company with the female convict, servant of Edward Curr, after dark’. Apparently this was not the first such offence by James Kimber—Curr wrote that he had committed this offence several times. The punishment meted out for insolence in 1834 was a reprimand. For the dalliance with the convict servant, James was given twelve reprimand. For the dalliance with the convict servant, James was given twelve months. He used the money to purchase fifteen acres of land in South Preston, on the corner of High and Miller Streets, using most of it for a market garden. James called his property in Preston ‘Poplar Grove’ and worked there as his children grew up, married and established their own homes. He had some success as a market gardener winning first prize for his cucumbers at the Melbourne Horticultural Society in 1858 and third prize for wine grapes in 1859.

In 1857 Edwin Collins was charged with stealing cucumbers from James Kimber described in court as a ‘gardener on the Plenty River’. James appeared in court, swearing that five cucumbers—which he produced in court—were his and had been stolen from his garden at night. A determined persistence in his character comes through the brief press report of the case—James had spent two days in town looking for the cucumbers and eventually found them in a shop in Russell Street. He said he could identify them as grown by him as he knew his own cucumbers ‘by their habits’. Collins was found guilty.

By the 1870s, James had established on his property three acres of orchard, nine acres of cultivation, three acres of English grasses, a four room cottage, sheds, stables, a piggery and fowl houses. He also set up a small bacon curing business in the 1860s. The presence of water in the creeks, availability of raw materials and a farming hinterland encouraged the establishment of bacon curing establishments and tanneries in the southern part of Preston.

After working on his land in Preston for fifteen years, James retired, returning to live in ‘Mulberry Cottage’ in Rotherwood St, Richmond in about 1871. Before moving back to Richmond, James had sold no fewer than six cottages on allotments of land in Union and Mulberry streets in 1867. Then, in March 1871, he also put on the market for sale or lease part of his property in Preston—a house and 15 acres of market garden, advertised as located opposite the Junction Hotel. His bacon curing business was leased to a Mr Hearn.
The first of his children to marry was Elizabeth who in 1861 married Harry Bouverie-Isworth, a man at least ten years her senior. Elizabeth and Harry lived in Wood Street, Preston. Harry was bankrupt by 1866. He appears to have recovered, to run a horse-drawn cab business into Melbourne, and was the contractor for conveying mail between Melbourne and Preston, advertising ‘Harry Bouverie’s Royal Mail Line of Waggonettes’ in local newspapers. Elizabeth and Harry had eleven children. After Harry’s death in 1881, Elizabeth married Martin Cagney. They lived at a property called ‘Bondi’ in High Street, Preston and she had three more children.

In the 1880s James subdivided his land in Preston. While there was a new land-boom in progress, his motivation appears to have been more about ensuring security for his daughters and their growing families than about taking advantage of the rising price of land. He also gave away to his daughters and their families a number of properties in Richmond—in Union, Swan and Lord streets.

Rosa died on 24 December 1894 aged seventy-six of pneumonia. James died less than a year later, at Mulberry Cottage in Rotherwood St Richmond, on 11 September 1895 at eighty-five years of age. The cause of death was given as ‘asthenia after tram accident’. In the certification relating to his death, James’ profession was given as ‘Gentleman’.

—Annabel Anderson, Melbourne

John Farrell (Forfarshire 1843) Accused of the Murder of Scobie, Bakery Hill Ballarat

Geoff Brown, Victoria Police Gazette Team

John Farrell was tried at the Old Bailey London together with James Kain. They were indicted with stealing nine ivory balls, valued at one pound seven shillings & six pence. Both were found guilty. John Farrell was sentenced to be transported for seven years, and James Kain was sentenced to be confined for nine months. Farrell was aged 24 years and Kain 36 years (Proceedings of the Old Bailey, London, 13 June 1842).

John Farrell had a minor part in one of Australia’s most significant events, the Eureka Stockade. He was charged with the murder of James Scobie at Ballarat on 6 October 1854, together with James Francis Bentley, Catherine Bentley and William Henry Hance.

The murder of Scobie and subsequent burning down of Bentley’s Eureka Hotel were symptoms of the unrest on the Ballarat diggings. At the initial inquest into Scobie’s death, Bentley and his employees denied taking part and the matter was adjourned. The diggers were not happy, and a meeting on 17 October 1854 turned into a riot and Bentley’s Hotel was torched. Extra troops were sent from Melbourne, which increased gold licence inspections, further aggravating the feelings of the diggers and resulting in the Eureka uprising on 3 December 1854. The evidence at the trial of Farrell and the others was that Scobie had gone to Bentley’s Hotel about midnight on 6 October seeking drink. When refused he kicked in a glass pane on the door and insulted Mrs Bentley. He then left the hotel, to be pursued shortly after by Bentley, Farrell, Hance and others. On their catching up with Scobie there was a scuffle and Scobie was later found dead.

The verdict of the jury was: Catherine Bentley, not guilty; James Francis Bentley, John Farrell and Hervey Hance, guilty of manslaughter. The judge sentenced Bentley, Farrell and Hance to three years hard labour on the roads. Character evidence given at the trial for Farrell stated that he was a very kind and quiet man. He was Chief Constable, and at Castlemaine had once rendered every assistance in securing prisoners attempting to escape from goal. On 15 July 1856 he was granted a Ticket of Leave for the Heidelberg district. He was described as having been born in 1821, a native of London, sailcloth tacker, 5 feet 8.25 inches, fair complexion, fair hair, grey eyes, with blue marks on his right arm, two blue dots inside and outside of left arm, and varicose veins on both legs (VPG 17 July 1856, Argus 20 November 1854). On 29 September 1856 John Farrell received permission to reside in the Western Port district in lieu of the Heidelberg district (VPG 2 October 1856).
Harry Dillon and Peter Butler in their recent biography of Lachlan Macquarie,\(^1\) assert that the British Government’s attitude to transportation and the Australian colonies had more to do with paranoia about the rising crime rate at home rather than with the rehabilitation of offenders or the formation of a civilised nation-state over the seas.\(^2\) Lachlan Macquarie distinguished himself (and made enemies in high places) by utilising the services of ex-convicts. He found that the most meritorious, honest and capable men were ex-convicts.\(^3\) He could not subscribe to the conventional view that conviction left a stain on an individual’s reputation, a view that was held by the haughty ‘exclusives’ who were intent on monopolising Australia’s growing wealth.\(^4\) The authors argue that Australia’s egalitarian ethos has its roots in Macquarie’s benevolent policies, especially among the law-abiding children of convicts, who regarded Australia as theirs by birthright.\(^5\) The national character had been honed and sharpened in the competition between the moneyed pastoralist free settlers, on the one hand, and the ex-convicts and their ‘currency’ offspring, on the other.

Inspired by this reading, I have been reviewing the family’s research into the life of my convict great-great-grandmother. I have re-read Mary Bentley’s trial papers from the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh, I walked the streets of her home town (Dalkeith, Scotland) and I have studied the history of the places that she frequented. Arrested by police for her part in a Saturday night mugging in the back street of Dalkeith, Mary was not processed in the local court, but sent to Edinburgh, to be examined and tried in very intimidating surroundings. The entire conduct of Mary’s case reinforces the comment regarding the then-prevailing paranoia about the rising crime rate.

Mary Bentley was transported to Van Diemen’s Land.\(^6\) Within three months of arrival in Hobart Town she had formed a relationship with another convict William Peeler;\(^7\) they married in 1839.\(^8\) The couple had four children when, in 1848, Mary was granted a Conditional Pardon. Almost immediately the Peelers left the colony, arriving in Melbourne in September 1848,\(^9\) after an epic nineteen-day voyage through stormy Bass Strait.

When news broke of the Mount Alexander gold discovery the Peeler family were living in the Melbourne suburb of Richmond. The family was soon on the road to the diggings. In company with other Tasmanians, the Peelers camped in a gully that soon became known as Launceston Gully. Most of the miners in this gully had a prison record. They had no desire to be conspicuous. Sharing a common background, they shared a common abode. The nearest town, two miles away, was Castlemaine. As luck would have it, their new life lay in the world’s richest alluvial goldfield. William Peeler was a successful goldminer. When the diggers moved on to another ‘rush’ Mary and William Peeler stayed at Launceston Gully. Their life in the colony was blameless. Both had been the product of a crowded urban environment; they made a new life in the Victorian bush. Their offspring were all decent, law-abiding, productive folk. Four of their five children married. Thirty-six of their grandchildren lived to adulthood, all were over six feet in height, healthy young colonials—they would have towered over their little grandparents. These grandchildren included Walter Peeler who was awarded the Victoria Cross by King George V in 1917.\(^10\)

Thanks to the comprehensive records of the convict era my cousins and I have been able to form a very clear picture of our convict ancestors. Oral history from long-settled family elders complements the official record. Their faces have been developed as ‘Identi-kit’ images and published.\(^11\) Their home-site is marked by a pile of chimney stones in a paddock in Launceston Gully. Their grave is in the nearby Harcourt cemetery. Their memory is held in high regard by their over four hundred living descendants.

1. Dillon, Harry and Butler, Peter, Macquarie: From Colony to Country (Random House, North Sydney, 2010).
2. Ibid page 315.
3. Ibid page 260.
4. Ibid page 262.
5. Ibid page 311.
6. Mary Bentley per Atwick 23 January 1838.
New Book

*The Wealth Beneath Their Feet: a family on the Castlemaine Goldfields*

Marjorie Theobald, Australian Scholarly Publishing
2011, $39.95

This is a book to delight both family historians and lovers of the Victorian goldfields. Marjorie Theobald is a retired university historian, renowned for her histories of teaching and women’s education. Now, she has returned to live in Castlemaine and written a history of the pioneering families in her Australian family tree. Connecting them all were the Mount Alexander goldfields and their towns.

It was her father who ignited her historical imagination. He was passionate about Castlemaine history, long before anyone else much cared. And he took her walking around the abandoned diggings, the bush cemeteries and the collapsed huts and campsites. He vividly read the past from that landscape and his daughter brings that vision to us.

Fascinating also are the lives—fortunes and more often misfortunes—of eight families struggling to survive in a new country, working in a life-threatening industry, growing fruit, vines and crops, raising families, going to war.

We learn much about schools and their teachers: some good, some hopeless; of the frustrations of the bright but poor, and of the impact of the School of Mines and Castlemaine High School that later propelled Marjorie herself into university and teaching.


probably no tragedy in this district has ever occasioned so profound and painful sensation as the murder of poor Margaret Graham. The whole of the surrounding circumstances are so horrible, that the morbid imagination of a French novelist could not invent a darker picture. From hints that have been let drop, it is not unlikely that the worst phase of this shocking occurrence has yet to be made public. In the penal colonies crimes of equal atrocity have been perpetrated, but even in communities familiarised with the terrible, such an offence would have excited extreme loathing. Happily the free settlements have been comparatively exempt from deeds that sink the authors below the level of carnivorous brutes. We have very little doubt that the miscreant who sacrificed to his depraved appetite the existence of a virtuous young woman, will prove to be an offshoot of Vandemonian stock. It is now possible to understand the hatred—the unutterable abhorrence—which old colonists express for a policy which has made this colony a cesspool of the social off-scourings of Great Britain.

10 January 1865
A reward of £200 has been offered for the apprehension of the villain who murdered Margaret Graham.

Capture of suspected murderer of Margaret Graham last evening between 7 and 8 pm. The man David Young alias Robert Young alias Robert Mansfield alias Tatham, the supposed murderer of Margaret Graham was brought into Daylesford and lodged in the lockup. Mounted Constable Brady of Daylesford accompanied by Constable Wilkinson of Creswick, made the arrest at Kingston. He admitted he was the man bearing the above aliases and that he occupied a tent near the Grahams home, and that he knew Margaret Graham.

The Margaret Graham Murder
One of the most sensational and the best-publicised murders in Daylesford happened in December 1864 when the newly married seventeen-year-old Margaret Graham was allegedly raped and murdered.

Maggie Graham worked as a barmaid in various hotels and restaurants about the town and was the stepdaughter of Joe Tatham, a tinsmith from London, who was strongly against her marrying George Graham who, he said, was ‘not of the most moral description.’ Graham, he said, was twice her age (he wasn’t, being only twenty-seven at the time of marriage), and lived a precarious life as a miner. Maggie obtained written permission from her mother and married him anyway. Tatham refused to have anything more to do with her.

The Grahams lived in a two-roomed weatherboard cottage at the West End of Albert Street, close to where Perrins Street meets the Ballarat road; the nearest building was Perman’s Refreshment Room near the corner of Albert and West Streets. Perman’s, as one witness was to say, was a thinly disguised brothel. It was quite easy to get a beer license and a bar could be set up in the front room of a house. Many Refreshment rooms existed around the town. Not quite hotels and not quite brothels, many of them would have girls renting a room at the back, and a pretty girl would attract custom.

George Graham had gone to work at the Wombat Hill mine on the afternoon shift leaving Maggie with the child Louisa Golding, the niece of the neighbours, Rotherys, who lived somewhat further off than Perman’s, in West Street.

Graham arrived home at midnight and found his wife lying across the bed in a pool of blood with her nightdress pulled up to her chest and her throat cut. He ran to Perman’s and returned with Perman and two men, and ‘for decency’s sake’, he covered his wife. The police and Dr Doolittle soon arrived with the editor of the Express and secured the ‘crime scene’; later the photographer Thomas Chuck would arrive to take what would be the very first photographs of a crime scene in Victoria. An engraving taken from one of the photographs has survived and shows a simple rectangular weather-board house with three men lounging outside: one leaning against the end wall, one squatting by a corner and one sitting under a bush staring at the camera. Presumably some of them were police, perhaps Detective Walker, who found a clay pipe in the house that later was to link David Young to the murder.

Suspicion had immediately fallen on Young who was living in a tent not far from the Grahams’ house. He had...
spoken to Maggie on a couple of occasions and according to eight-year-old Louisa Golding, Maggie was frightened of him.

Young was born in Gloucestershire and was thirty-four years of age at the time of the murder. His father had been a forester employed in the Royal Forest but had ‘by industry and good behaviour’ ‘raised himself’ to the position of head gardener of the estate of a wealthy gentleman in Gloucester. At an early age Young was sent to work in the mines and the consensus of the newspapers was that he ‘he fell into bad company’ and commenced a life of ‘dishonesty and lawlessness’.

In 1851, at the age of sixteen, he was transported for ten years for theft, and sent to Port Arthur to work in the coal mine, where he was involved in a mutiny that resulted in a longer sentence.

He came to Victoria under a conditional pardon and was employed variously as a gold miner, labourer, hawker and gardener. He served time in Victoria for a burglary at Longwood, and came under the notice of police several times, the newspaper reporter says, for ‘crimes of a more horrible nature’ for which he was not convicted owing to the inability of his ‘unfortunate victims of the opposite sex’ to give evidence against him.

All this of course was unknown at the time of the murder: all that was known was that a suspicious man had been camped near the house and had disappeared the day before the murder.

Sarah Spinks of Connell’s Gully was returning from Jamison’s Theatre on the night of the murder in company with Angus Miller, and had seen a man leaning against a stump 160 yards from the Grahams’ house, and this fact plus Maggie Graham’s fear of the man camped nearby led to the manhunt for David Young.

After much coming and going by the police, Young was tracked down near Kingston where he had been working on the farm of Dr Coates.

The evidence against Young was slim: one clay pipe. The pipe, found sitting on a meat safe by Detective Walker, was identified as one that Young had been smoking when he worked for Thomas Hathaway, the livery stable owner. The murderer had entered the house by removing the wooden barrel that sat on top of the chimney to improve the draft of the fire, and had climbed down leaving marks on the inside of the fireplace that looked like they could have been marks from corduroy trousers.

The trial took place in Castlemaine in July 1865 and Young was defended by Pearson Thompson and prosecuted by Charles Smyth, assisted by Butler Cole Aspinall.

Mr. Smyth in his opening address outlined the prosecution case — that Young had removed from his site in Albert Street to Cheesborough’s farm at Glenlyon and then walked the six miles back to Daylesford to rape and murder Maggie, and was seen by Sarah Spinks lurking near the Graham house. Words that Young had allegedly spoken to Maggie were used to implicate him and it was stated that Hathaway would identify the pipe as Young’s.

The first witness was George Graham who testified about the circumstances of finding his wife dead and of remarks Young is alleged to have made; on one occasion he had said to Margaret ‘he would like to marry her’. Under cross-examination by Thompson he said ‘I know Perman. I should say his house is a brothel’, ‘the place is a grog shanty’.

Graham said that Maggie had told him that Young had called at their house and asked, ‘if Tatham lived there?’ and she told him ‘he had lived there’.

Thompson questioned him about their relationship with the Tathams and he replied that they were at variance. His marrying Maggie offended Tatham, and they were married without Joe Tatham’s knowledge.

In fact at the inquest after the death, Graham had more or less said that Joe Tatham killed his step-daughter. Why Thompson didn’t bring this up at the trial is baffling.

The next witness, John Perman, admitted that he wore corduroy trousers and corroborated Graham’s evidence regarding finding the body. He admitted he knew Graham worked night shift and he had been to the Grahams’ house that day to return a borrowed tool.

Dr Frank Wadsworth Doolittle took the stand and testified that Mrs Graham’s throat had been cut on two sides by a blunt knife cutting the jugular veins and the carotid artery. Both he and Dr McNicoll examined her ‘privates’ but were unable to say whether rape had occurred. Dr Doolittle thought it had.

When McNicoll gave evidence he stated, ‘I do not think any recent forcible connection took place’. Pearson Thompson neglected to follow this up, a reprehensible lapse as Young was being portrayed as a lustful killer.

Detective Thomas Walker was next to give evidence, mainly about the marks inside the fireplace made by someone in corduroy trousers coming down the chimney, but also about finding a pipe on top of the meat safe. The pipe, he stated, was like ‘hundreds of pipes like this in a shop in Daylesford’. He had seen the pipe on the night of the murder but he was looking for a murder weapon and assumed the pipe was Graham’s until 3 January, when Detective Williams produced it and gave it to him. This pipe was to be the one thing that convicted David Young.

Louisa Golding, an eight-and-a-half-year-old girl next gave evidence of the conversation between Maggie and Young. She was with Maggie the night of the murder singing hymns and, she said, Maggie was frightened.

George Cheesborough from Glenlyon was next and his evidence was concerned with Young’s employment there and the fact that Young was seen in Tilley’s paddock where later a shirt
was found hidden in a tree. The shirt had one bloodspot on it.

Sarah Spinks from Connell’s Gully was next in the box, she had been at Jamison’s till 10:30 and then walked home with Angus Miller, a neighbour. They had seen a man who looked like Young standing by a stump 160 yards from Graham’s house. The man looked a little like Young by the clothes he was wearing, although later she retracted this and said, ‘It did not strike me who the man was. Afterwards, it did, from the dress corresponding, and from what the children told me. At the time, and since, I fancied the prisoner was the man, but he seems now too stout’, and ‘Looking at the prisoner now, I can’t say that he is the man I saw that night’.

Some inconclusive evidence about hairs and blood sent for analysis was discussed with expert witnesses: John Kruse, a chemist from Melbourne, and Sydney Gibbons, an analytic chemist, who when cross-examined by Thompson, admitted that he had ‘heard of coition taking place between Graham and his wife’. He also stated he thought coition may have taken place eight or ten hours before death. Thompson failed to follow up this evidence.

Thomas Hathaway’s evidence regarding the pipe was probably the most damning of all: Young worked for him and had left a pipe burning in the barn. Hathaway had picked it up, had a good look at the way it was marked and had identified it as the one produced in court, the one found on top of Graham’s meat safe.

One of the last witnesses was Michael Wolf, a labourer from Limerick, Ireland, who had been in the colony twelve months and had worked with Young at Kingston. He said that Young had talked about the Daylesford murder on several occasions and had said that it was committed ‘by a person who was courting her before her marriage, and came down the chimney at night and cut her throat with a razor, and got his will of her which was the price of her or any other woman who had served a man as she did’.

The policemen who visited the house on the night of the murder were recalled to testify whether they had seen the pipe sitting on the meat safe or not, Thos Walker testifying that Mrs Tatham had said it was George Graham’s pipe.

Pearson Thompson started his summing up by saying he was very unwell and wasn’t sure he could continue but he would try—he made a point of the array against him: two eminent counsel, a mob of police, and such an amount of collective talent he had never seen before in this court. He also said that by trying the case in Castlemaine fair play had not been shown to the accused. Also the prosecution had called witnesses that the defence had not been informed of, and although application had been made to the Attorney General for funds to procure defence witnesses, it was the rule that expenses were not paid unless the testimony was of material importance. The witness the prisoner desired to appear had refused to come until his expenses were paid, and as the prisoner was destitute, the witness was absent.

Thompson went on to say that the prisoner had never attempted to take liberties with the deceased and what he had said to her were mere civilities.
The evidence of Hathaway he characterized as perjury in pursuit of the £200 reward and Mrs Spinks’ evidence that she could identify a man seen briefly at a distance on a dark night as very doubtful.

That Young had walked from Cheesboroughs at night through the paddocks to avoid being seen was impossible, Thompson asserted, as he was last seen at Cheesboroughs at 9.30 and Margaret was killed around 11, and it would take much longer than one and a half hours to walk through paddocks filled with corn.

He also made the point that if Young had come down the chimney why was not soot found on Margaret Graham, on the bed or for that matter on Young’s corduroy pants, and the police had not made any attempt to prove this was true.

The medical evidence seemed to contradict the assertion she had been violated and therefore there was an absence of motive on the part of the prisoner for the crime.

Mr Smyth for the prosecution summed up their case relying heavily on the allegations that the pipe belonged to Young, and during his summing up Young interjected, once saying, ‘Where is conscience? And is there not a God? That pipe was never between my lips. Money and gold are the champions of this colony.’

The judge’s summary to the jury left no doubt of Young’s guilt and they duly brought in a guilty verdict after deliberation of one hour. When asked if he had anything to say before the sentence of death was passed on him, Young told very eloquently how he had learnt of the murder from people at Blanket Flat while on his way to Kingston. Never once did he admit any guilt even though he was pressed hard for it.

Even as he stood on the scaffold, he was asked, ‘Did you murder Margaret Graham?’ Young raised his manacled arms as high as he could and said ‘I did not. Pray for me’. Within seconds the trap opened and Young was gone from this world, the first man to hang in Castlemaine prison.

The Mount Alexander Mail added: ‘It is in the highest degree unsatisfactory that the wretched man should have died without confessing his guilt, and there will always remain on the public mind an uneasy sensation of doubt, which it will be difficult to remove’. And so it was.

The case was debated many times over the years and rumours constantly surfaced about deathbed confessions of George Graham, the first one as early as 1866 and later in the 1890s when he died. His confession was not verified and remains an unsubstantiated rumor.

Further reading:

The Daylesford murder: a full account of the capture, trial and execution of David Young for the murder of Margaret Graham, at Daylesford in the Colony of Victoria, on Dec. 28, 1864. Castlemaine: Published at the Office of the Mount Alexander Mail, [1865?] Held at State Library of NSW and State Library of Victoria.

New Book

This is a welcome collection that brings together some of the innovative new historical work on the Victorian goldfields. The focus is on family and community—the way newcomers built a sustainable life on the goldfields.

Charles Fahey, known for his work on Victorian regional economic history, brings us two studies: one of the families of George Lansell (of Fortuna) and his business ‘servant’, Isaac Edward Dyason, who left remarkable diaries. The other is of the Cornish who transferred their deep lead mining skills, home building and Methodism to Bendigo and other deep lead mining towns. Val Lovejoy and Keir Reeves write on the Chinese; Dianne Hall and Lindsay Proudfoot on the Irish; and Sara Martin and Leo Martin on different aspects of heritage and memory. Perhaps of greatest interest to descendants of Vandemonian goldseekers, is the chapter by Heather Holst, who works with the homeless and has just completed a PhD on ‘Making a home in Castlemaine in the nineteenth century’. Her insights into the impact of Miner’s Right on poor people’s chance to build a home explain how many otherwise destitute former convicts became founders and survivors. Alan Mayne eloquently ties all these themes together at the end.
Who’s Who & Where...

University of Tasmania
Associate Professor Hamish Maxwell-Stewart
Dr Alison Alexander
Associate Professor Alison Venn
Professor Haydn Walters
Associate Professor John Bass AM

University of Melbourne
Professor Janet McCalman
Dr Rebecca Kippen
Associate Professor Shyamali Dharmage
Dr James Bradley
Sandra Silcot
Claudine Chionh
Gavan McCarthy

Australian National University
Dr Len Smith

Flinders University of South Australia
Associate Professor Ralph Shlomowitz
Dr Peter Gunn

All Souls College, University of Oxford
Dr Deborah Oxley

University of New South Wales
Associate Professor David Meredith

University of Guelph, Canada
Professor Kris Inwood

University of Ohio, Columbus
Professor Richard Steckel

Founders & Survivors: Australian life courses in historical context 1803–1985, funded by the the Australian Research Council and the Institute for the Broadband Enabled Society (IBES)

Centre for Health & Society,
University of Melbourne, Vic, 3010, Australia
(Victorian inquiries)

or C/- School of History & Classics,
Private Bag 81, Hobart, 7001, Australia
(Tasmanian Inquiries)

Do you want your convict’s original record transcribed?

The Port Arthur Historic Sites Research Centre offers a range of services:

Research
We can provide copies of records relating to Tasmanian Convicts held at the Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office. They can include:
- Conduct/Polic record
- Indent (which may provide details of relatives)
- Physical description
- Appropriation list
- Surgeon’s report (of the voyage to the colony)
- Application for permission to marry

We can check a variety of indexes for further reference to a convict and can conduct a name search to determine whether a person arrived in Tasmania as a convict.

Transcriptions
For those having difficulty deciphering the abbreviations often found on conduct records, indents or description lists, we can assist by producing a typed transcription.

Fees
Minimum Fee – $35 (includes up to one hour search/transcription time).
In excess of one hour, at the hourly rate of $35 per hour (or part thereof).
Additional costs include printouts @ $0.66 per page, plus postage and packing.
Most basic searches take 1–2 hours and are completed within 4–6 weeks of request.


Contact
For more information about our Enquiry Service contact our Resource Centre
Ph: +61 (0)3 6251 2324 / 6251 2326
Fax: +61 (0)3 6251 2322

Chainletter: edited by Professor Janet McCalman (University of Melbourne) and Dr Alison Alexander (University of Tasmania).
http://foundersandsurvivors.org/
inquiries@foundersandsurvivors.org