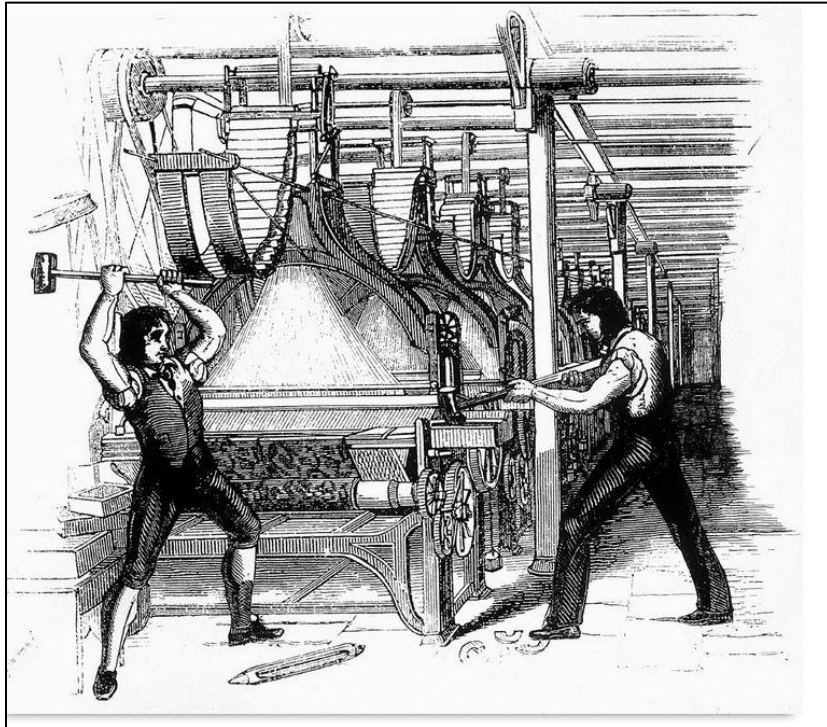# Exiles of conscience – the Australian political convicts

John W. Ross

Cover photographs:

- Luddites smashing a textile machine in England (World History Encyclopedia)
-

THE
PEOPLE'S CHARTER;

BEING THE

OUTLINE OF AN ACT

TO PROVIDE FOR THE

JUST REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN

IN THE

COMMONS' HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT:

EMBRACING THE PRINCIPLES OF

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE,
NO PROPERTY QUALIFICATION,
ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS,
EQUAL REPRESENTATION,
PAYMENT OF MEMBERS, AND VOTE BY BALLOT.

PREPARED BY A COMMITTEE OF TWELVE PERSONS, SIX MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND SIX MEMBERS OF THE LONDON WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION, AND ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

May. 1838.

LONDON:

The *People's Charter* of 1839 (British Library)

Contents

Foreword

The Age of Revolution in Europe began with the French Revolution in 1789 and ended with the widespread European Revolutions in 1848. Before this time, most European countries (with the notable exception of Britain) were ruled by absolute monarchies characterised by an all-powerful king or queen, a population making a poor living from subsistence farming or small industry, inefficient economies and an elite political system that gave no voice to most citizens.

Britain was the first European country to gradually take power away from the monarchs and hand it to the landed gentry, and in time to middle- and working-class people. The main social and economic change during this time in Britain was the Industrial Revolution, which had a fundamental and wide-ranging impact on people's working lives while introducing the mass production of goods and the growth of large cities. The Enclosure Movement that dispossessed thousands of farm workers made agriculture more efficient and created larger farms to feed the expanding urban population.

The French and American Revolutions influenced British political reformers. While Britain had a Parliament with increasing power, very few people had the vote, and the electoral system strongly favoured wealthy landowners. Reformers in Scotland and England, especially the Chartists in the 1830s, campaigned to expand the right to vote.

While rebellions raged periodically in Continental Europe and in North America, the British government decided to reduce the threat of revolution at home by sending their political rebels to the Australian colonies as convicts. Between the start of convict transportation in 1788 to the last ship to arrive in 1868, over 160,000 convicts were sent here, of which some 3,500 were political convicts, or exiles of conscience.

These political exiles can be categorised into three groups: political reformers, economic hardship protesters and patriotic rebels. In time, the Australian colonies received men convicted of seditious or riotous behaviour from every country of the United Kingdom, Canada and New Zealand. This study describes some twenty rebellions, chronologically within each category. Note that the exact number of convicts transported following each rebellion is hard to determine, as different sources quote slightly different numbers. As a result, some figures are recorded as approximate.

The study also considers the impact of these exiles on Australia. Their effect on this country's political development was substantial. But it was protest activities in their own countries that influenced the political and economic scene here, because very few political convicts continued their advocacy after they arrived with long sentences and warnings from the authorities. The colonial authorities could stop rebellious activity in Australia, but could not prevent the colonists from paying attention to the messages of Chartists, Luddites and the Tolpuddle Martyrs that they read in the colonial press.

In the end, the political, economic and patriotic protesters in Britain had positive influences on the politician and economic life of the Australian colonies. Electoral reforms such as universal suffrage were adopted in Australia well before they were in the United Kingdom, and self-government was achieved in the Australian colonies well ahead of Ireland. The trade union movement spread to Australian workplaces and had a beneficial effect on wages and working conditions.

John W. Ross,
Surry Hills,
Sydney
July, 2023.
Email: rossjw@ozemail.com.au

General introduction

Acknowledgement of country

In the spirit of reconciliation, the author acknowledges the Traditional Custodians of country throughout Australia and their connections to land, sea and community. The author pays respect to Elders past and present, and extends that respect to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples today.

Pre-industrial Europe

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Britain and the other European countries were very different from the prosperous and industrialised liberal democracies of today. With the exception of Britain, which was gradually moving towards a Parliamentary system (albeit elected by very few of the population), the rest of Europe was a collection of autocratic monarchies. All were agrarian societies with basic tools and implements made and used by craftsmen, and there was a much smaller gap between rich and poor.

The British Empire was at its height at this time, but a number of its colonies began to assert their independence, having realised that British government policy prioritised the enrichment of the mother country ahead the development of their own. These colonies essentially acted as a source of cheap raw materials for British manufacturing and a market for its manufactured goods, closely regulated under a doctrine of mercantilism and enforced by British Naval power.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a series of revolutions took place in Europe and North America, some peaceful (although transformative) and others more violent. These revolutions reshaped the political and economic landscape of what became known as the industrialised world. In the early eighteenth century, Britain established a system of transporting most of its own convicts into exile across the seas, and from the early nineteenth century this included many of its political rebels.

The Enclosure Movement and the Agricultural Revolution

Enclosure was the division or consolidation of communal fields and other arable lands in Western Europe into the individually owned and managed farm plots of modern times. Before enclosure, much farmland existed in the form of numerous dispersed strips under the control of individual cultivators only during the growing season until harvesting was completed. After that, the land was mainly used by the community for grazing by the village livestock.

Enclosing the land meant putting a hedge or fence around a portion of this open land, so preventing the exercise of common grazing and other rights over it. In England, the enclosure movement proceeded rapidly during 1450-1640 when the main purpose was to increase the amount of full-time pasturage available to owners of the manors. More enclosure occurred during 1750-1860 when it was undertaken for the sake of agricultural efficiency[1].

In the eighteenth century, the British Parliament passed many pieces of legislation, called the *Enclosure Acts*, which allowed thousands of common areas to be privately owned. Wealthy farmers bought up large sections of land to create bigger and more complex farms. This ultimately forced small farmers off their land, and having lost their livelihood, many dispossessed farmers went to the towns and cities in search of work, thus providing a large workforce for the factories and mines[2].

The advantages of the larger farms created by the enclosures were effective crop rotation, savings in time spent in travelling between dispersed fields, and the ending of constant squabbles over boundaries and rights of pasture in the fields. The result was a great increase in agricultural produce[3]. But agriculture did not decline during the dramatic industrialisation in Britain: innovations and mechanisation helped make farming more efficient than ever and therefore able to feed the ever-growing urban population.

Figure 1   McCormick reaper (thoughtco.com)

In 1800, agriculture involved 80% of Britain's total workforce, and even by 1841 20% of Britons still worked in farming. Mechanisation of agriculture included the Rotherham swing plough (Joseph Foljambe, 1730), the winnowing machine (Andrew Rodgers, 1737), the threshing machine (Andrew Meikle, 1787), the reaping machine (Cyrus McCormack, 1834) and steam-powered flour mills. These inventions all transformed harvesting and food production.

Under the enclosure system, more common land was utilised for farming. Mass-produced agriculture implements were stronger, sharper and more durable than traditionally-made tools, thanks to new metalworking methods. Scientists developed better fertilisers to increase yields. These improvements made food cheaper and helped many more people afford healthier diets, so life expectancy rose, particularly among children. But the Agricultural Revolution also had negative effects on the agricultural sector. Jobs were lost, especially seasonal ones when farmers hired machines instead of labourers to gather the harvest[4].

The Industrial Revolution

This was the process of change from an agrarian and handicraft economy to one dominated by industry and mechanised manufacturing. The new ways of working and living transformed society in a fundamental way. The process began in Britain in the eighteenth century, and from there spread to other parts of the world. The English economic historian Arnold Toynbee used the term to describe Britain's economic development in the period from 1760 to 1840.

The technological changes associated with this period include the use of new basic materials such as iron and steel, and new energy sources such as coal, the steam engine, electricity and petroleum. Also critical was the invention of new machines which permitted increased production with a smaller

expenditure of human energy. A new organisation of work known as the factory system entailed increased division of labour and specialisation of function.

Important developments in transportation and communication also occurred, such as the steam locomotive, the steamship and the telegraph, as well as the growing application of science to industry. All of these technological changes made possible a tremendous increase in the use of natural resources and the mass production of manufactured goods.
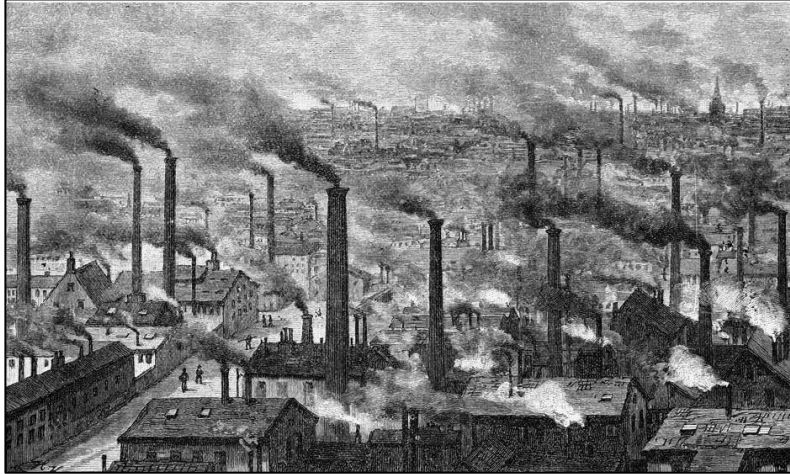
Figure 2   Manchester cotton mill (English Fine Cotton)

 Accompanying these, there were many new developments in non-industrial spheres, including agricultural improvements that made possible the provision of food for a larger industrial population, increased international trade, and sweeping social changes such as the growth of cities and the development of working class movements[5].

The steam engine transformed industry, particularly textiles, which was one of Britain's biggest sectors. Spinning and weaving had been cottage industries centred on a small number of households. A series of machines were invented that revolutionised how cotton was cleaned, spun and woven. These were the flying shuttle (John Kay, 1733), the spinning jenny (James Hargreaves, 1764) the power loom (Edmund Cartwright, 1785) and the cotton gin (Eli Whitney, 1794).

Mechanisation permitted the establishment of textile mills and factories, where initially water-powered then steam-powered machines did the work faster and cheaper than was possible by hand. By the 1830s, 75% of cotton mills were using steam power, and cotton textiles were accounting for half of Britain's exports. Despite the turbulent disruption to traditional ways, many more jobs were created by mechanisation than were lost in older industries. In 1830, about 300,000 Britons worked in one of the more than 4,000 textile mills across the country.

But the new jobs were quite different from those in the past. Factory workers usually had to perform repetitive tasks and were ruled by the clock. Previously, workers were paid for completing a specific project (piecework) and worked their own hours. In the new factory system, a worker normally performed only one task in a production line of tasks that involved many other workers. However, factory jobs ensured regular pay, something that seasonal agricultural workers did not have.

There was a great increase in female and child labour in factories and textile mills. This was partly because they were cheaper than men and had smaller and more dexterous hands, which was useful when using some machines. All workers tended to work twelve-hour shifts until this was reduced by law to ten hours in 1847. Children typically started work at eight years old in mines and factories, and women made up half the workforce in the textile industry.

Figure 3   Spinning jenny (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

The health and safety of workers were often given a low priority by employers until laws made them a mandatory consideration. But successive governments were reluctant to restrict business owners in principle, since interference was considered possibly damaging to the national economy. Workers attempted to act collectively to protect their interests, but employers and politicians resisted the formation of trade unions. In fact, the government banned trade unions between 1799 and 1824.

But from the 1830s, Acts of Parliament began to ensure workers had improved protection and working conditions. Trade unions then grew in stature to ensure these gains were not lost[6].

The convict system

Convicts to North America

From 1615, English courts began to send convicts to the American colonies as a way of alleviating England's increasing criminal population, at a time when gaols were not intended for long-term incarceration[7]. Prior to 1717, the legality of transportation was obscure, as transportation itself was not a sentence, but could be organised by indirect means. British businessmen obtained convicts for transportation from local sheriffs. They selected the convicts that seemed to be useful workers and when the ship arrived in the American colonies, their labour was sold on for the duration of their sentences[8].

The dumping of criminal exiles on the colonies was unpopular, and by 1697 the colonial ports were refusing to accept convict ships. In response, rather than face the expense of building more gaols, the British Parliament passed the *Transportation Act 1717* to create a more systematic way to export

convicts[9].This Act simplified and legitimised the process and increased the number of convicts transported.

Under this Act, the British government subsidised the shipment of convicts through an organised network of contracted merchants. Between 1700 and 1775, about 52,200 convicts were transported to the American colonies. This was a small fraction of the number of indentured servants (about 103,000) who migrated for a specified number of years and African slaves (about 278,000) who were enslaved for life, during the same period.

Many of the convicts were unskilled and were put to work in agriculture, particularly on tobacco plantations, while others with useful skills were sold to tradesmen and manufacturers. Virginia and Maryland (which received 80% of the convicts) repeatedly tried to pass laws to stop the convict transportation system, but they were always overruled by the British Crown. However, from the start of the American Revolution in 1775, colonial ports abruptly ceased accepting convict ships, and the last shipload arrived in 1776[10].

The newly independent United States of America refused to accept any more convicts from Britain. After 1776, the rapidly growing prison population of Britain was housed on prison hulks (old decommissioned ships) in rivers and along the sheltered coastline of southern England. The hulks quickly spread diseases and a third of prisoners died while on board[11]. Britain needed a new dumping ground for exiles, and fairly quickly.

The Australian solution

Its colonies in Africa and the Caribbean did not seem to be suitable destinations for convicts. Then James Matra, a junior officer on James Cook's first voyage to the Pacific in 1768-71, proposed Botany Bay as a suitable location for a colony. Matra's influential friend Joseph Banks vigorously supported the proposal. Banks was President of the Royal Society and had been a botanist on Cook's voyage. In 1786, the British Government agreed it was the best solution.
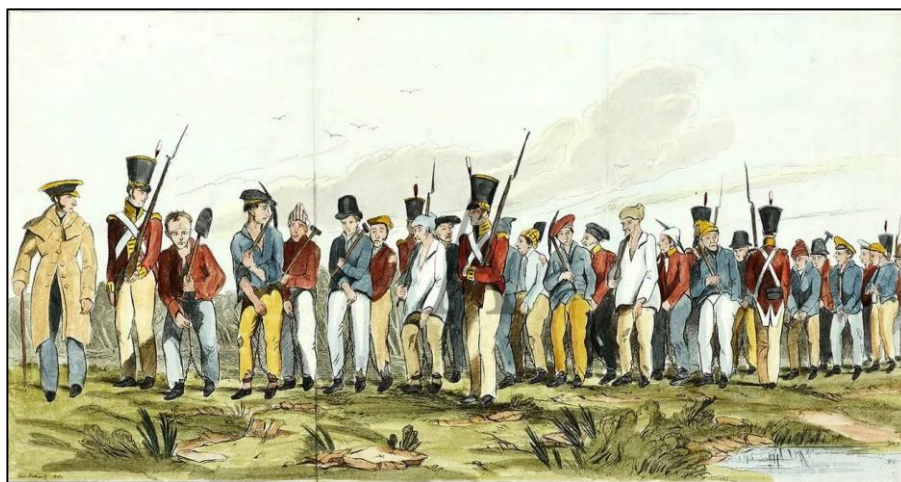
Figure 4   Convict chain gang c18432 (James Backhouse)

Royal Navy Captain Arthur Phillip was appointed first Governor of the colony of New South Wales, and led the First Fleet, landing as instructed in Botany Bay in January 1788. But Phillip quickly realised that Botany Bay was not a good choice for a colony, as it had insufficient fresh water, poor soil and no shelter from southerly and westerly winds. Within a week, the fleet moved north to the

much more suitable Port Jackson (present-day Sydney Harbour), landing the 751 convicts and 252 marines in Sydney Cove (now Circular Quay) to establish a penal settlement.

The convicts were mainly English and Welsh, with a large minority (24%) from Ireland and a small minority (5%) from Scotland. Most were sentenced for minor crimes in the rapidly growing industrial cities, where displaced rural people struggled to find work. Rates of theft in the cities increased as people stole food and clothing to survive. A conviction for theft of these small items could result in seven years' transportation. About 20% of the convicts were women.

During the convict transportation period of 1788 to 1868, more than 166,000 men and women were sent to Australia. The system peaked in 1833, when about 7,000 convicts arrived. Among their number were some 3,500 political prisoners, mainly Irish home rule insurgents, radical unionists, anti-industrial protestors, political reformers and Canadian rebels.

Convicts were not sent to every Australian colony, only to New South Wales (about 80,000 from 1788 to 1840), Tasmania (about 76,000 from 1804 to 1853) and Western Australia (almost 10,000 from 1850 to 1868). Some moved to other States with their assigned masters or were sent there. South Australia was the only State that took no serving convicts, something that South Australians are keen to point out to interstate and overseas visitors.

By the 1830s, both the British people and the Australian colonists were debating the merits of continuing the transportation system. The British thought transportation had not been enough of a deterrent to crime at home, an opinion not helped by reports coming back of former convicts doing much better than they would have with the limited opportunities in Britain. The Australian colonists were becoming more prosperous and politically mature, and there was a growing feeling that the country had been a dumping ground for Britain's undesirables for long enough, and there were demands for it to become a free colony.

However, opinions were divided about the future of transportation among the different groups of settlers: the owners of large farms and businesses were often happy to continue transportation, as they received free or very cheap assigned labour from the system. But new immigrants and existing workers saw convicts as competitors in the employment market.

Eventually, the British government agreed to cease sending convicts to New South Wales by 1840 (apart from a shipload of exiles that turned up on the *Hashemy* at Circular Quay in 1850, to be greeted by mass demonstrations). But they continued to be sent to Tasmania until 1853, including many of the political convicts from rebellions of the 1830s and 1840s. From this time, elections were being held and liberal democratic constitutions were being written, heralding the transition to a collection of self-governing free colonies[12].

The Age of Enlightenment

The dawn of reason
The Age of Enlightenment, also called the Age of Reason, was an intellectual and philosophical movement in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which had a global influence and effect[13]. The movement included a range of ideas centred on the value of human happiness, the pursuit of knowledge by means of reason and the evidence of the senses. It also included ideals such

as natural law, liberty, progress, tolerance, constitutional government and the separation of church and state.

European historians traditionally date the movement as beginning with the death of Louis XIV of France in 1715 (The Sun King and last absolute ruler of France), and ending with the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. The Enlightenment was preceded by the Scientific Revolution, notably the discoveries of the mathematicians Rene Descartes and Isaac Newton. Newton's conception of the universe based on natural and rationally understandable laws became one of the seeds of Enlightenment philosophy.
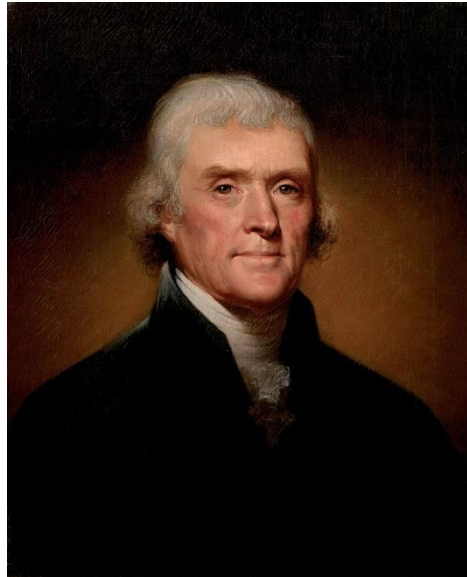

Figure 5   Thomas Jefferson

The ideas of the Enlightenment undermined the authority of the monarchy and the Catholic Church and paved the way for the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The central doctrines of the movement were individual liberty and religious tolerance, in opposition to an absolute monarchy and the fixed dogmas of the Church. It was accompanied by an emphasis on the scientific method along with increased questioning of religious orthodoxy.

Revolutionary impact
The Enlightenment has long been seen as the foundation of modern Western political culture[14]. It introduced democratic values and institutions and the creation of modern, liberal democracies. Many of the political figures behind the American Revolution were closely associated with the Enlightenment, such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. While the philosophers of the French Enlightenment were not revolutionaries, their ideas played an important part in undermining the legitimacy of the Old Regime and shaping the French Revolution[15].

The Enlightenment had less impact in England than elsewhere in Europe, and most textbooks on British history make little or no mention of it. After the 1720s, the country's leading intellectuals, such as Edward Gibbon, Edmund Burke and Samuel Johnson, were quite conservative and supported the status quo. Historians argue that the Enlightenment had come early to England and succeeded such that political liberalism and religious toleration were accepted, whereas on the Continent intellectuals had to fight against powerful opposition[16].

The American Revolution

Independence from the British Empire

The American Revolution was an ideological and political revolution that occurred in British North America from 1765 to 1791. The thirteen colonies gained independence from Great Britain in the American Revolutionary War of 1775-1783 and established the United States of America. It was the first nation-state founded on the Enlightenment principles of constitutionalism and liberal democracy.

American colonists objected to being taxed by the British Parliament, a body in which they had no direct representation. Before the 1760s, the American colonies had gained a high level of autonomy in their internal affairs, which were locally governed by legislatures of colonists. But during the 1760s, the British Parliament passed a number of Acts intended to bring American colonists under more direct rule and increasingly combine the economies of Britain and the thirteen colonies. The *Stamp Act 1765* imposed internal taxes on most things printed in the colonies, leading to colonial protests.

Figure 6   Boston Tea Party (National Public Radio)

The British repealed the *Stamp Act* but then passed a series of *Townshend Acts* in 1767-68 to fund the administration of the American colonies, leading to violent protests in Boston. The *Tea Act* of 1773 repealed most of this but retained a tax on tea, leading to a famous protest known as the Boston Tea Party in December 1773, after which the British effectively rescinded the Massachusetts Bay colony's self-government. Open warfare erupted in April 1775, resulting in several years of war which culminated in the *Peace of Paris* in September 1783. This confirmed the new nation's complete separation from the British Empire.

Economic impact in Europe

The American Revolution affected European economies by spurring the establishment of free trade policies. Britain had controlled American commerce through the policy of mercantilism, under which Britain regulated trade with other countries and its colonies in an attempt to achieve a favourable

balance of trade for itself. But regulation stifled trade, and when these were removed by American independence, transatlantic trade was stimulated, benefitting both countries.

Then during the French Revolution, Britain blockaded European ports and it prospered from the transatlantic trade with little rivalry from European powers. This more than repaired the loss of its thirteen American colonies, and Britain rose to unparalleled economic and political power in the nineteenth century[17].

Political impact in Europe

The American Revolution was an inspiration to liberals and nationalists throughout Europe. It proved that liberal Enlightenment ideals could be put into practice, and many Europeans identified with the American struggle for equality and independence. The American Revolution motivated Ireland to demand more freedoms from Britain. France revolted against what it saw as a tyrannical monarchy and Germany attempted to establish a constitutional monarchy. The efforts of these countries to assert themselves changed the face of European politics.

Irish patriots were inspired to seek concessions from Great Britain, including more self-governance and fewer trade restrictions. Ireland demanded these concessions after war broke out between Britain and the American colonies. By 1779, the penal codes had been greatly modified, Ireland had gained legislative independence from Britain, and free trade within the British Empire was allowed.

The French Revolution of 1789 was by far the most violent of the European revolutions. The monarchy was abolished and the Catholic Church came under the control of the state. Many changes coming out of the Revolution were internal to France: a public school system was established and the middle class became the dominant class. Even though Napoleon later established a virtual dictatorship and King Louis XVIII replaced Napoleon in a restored monarchy in 1814, the French constitution was preserved, giving citizens far greater say in government[18].

The French Revolution

Out with the Old Regime

The French Revolution was a period of radical political and societal change in France, beginning when King Louis XVI summoned an assembly of the Estates General in 1789 and ending with the formation of the French Consulate in November 1789. Many of its ideas are fundamental principles of liberal democracy, and the values and institutions it created remain central to French political life[19].

The 1789 assembly brought together the three broad orders of social hierarchy: the clergy (the First Estate), the nobility (the Second Estate) and the commoners (the Third Estate). The Estates General of 1789 ended when the Third Estate formed a National Assembly and (against the wishes of the king) invited the other two estates to join. This signalled the outbreak of the Revolution.

The causes of the Revolution were a combination of social, political and economic factors which the ancient feudal system of the French nobility and the hereditary monarchy were unable to manage. Widespread social unrest during 1789 culminated in the storming of the Bastille on 14 July. This led to a series of radical measures by the Assembly, including the abolition of feudalism, the imposition of state control over the Catholic Church and the extension of the right to vote. The following three

years were dominated by a struggle for political control, exacerbated by economic depression and civil disorder.

Rapid population growth and the inability to finance government debt had resulted in economic depression, unemployment and high food prices[20]. Combined with resistance to reform by the ruling elite, the result was a crisis Louis XVI was unable to manage. The period from October 1789 to the spring of 1791 was one of relative tranquility during which the most important legislative reforms were enacted.

Figure 7   French Revolution 1789 (yourdictionary.com)

But in April 1792, the French Revolutionary Wars commenced when French armies attacked Austrian and Prussian forces along their borders. Then from September 1793 to July 1794 the Reign of Terror occurred, originally intended to bolster revolutionary fervour, but which degenerated into the settlement of personal grievances. The newly-enacted *Law of Suspects* in 1793 ordered the arrest of "enemies of freedom", initiating a dark period in French history. Some 16,600 people were executed on charges of counter-revolutionary activity[21].

Long-term impact
The French Revolution had a major impact by ending feudalism and creating a path for advances in individual freedoms throughout Europe[22]. It represented the strongest challenge to political absolutism up to that time and spread democratic ideals throughout Europe and eventually to the world. The Revolution stimulated nationalist movements throughout Europe.

In France, the power of the aristocracy was permanently crippled and the Church's wealth was drained, although both institutions survived the damage they sustained. When the First French Empire collapsed in 1814, the French public lost many of the rights and privileges earned since the Revolution. But thousands of men and women had gained first-hand experience in the political arena: they talked, read and listened to new ways; they voted, joined new organisations and marched for their political goals. Revolution had become a tradition and republicanism always remained an option[23].

Two-thirds of France worked in agriculture, which was transformed by the Revolution. When the large estates of hired workers controlled by the Church and the nobility were forcibly broken up, rural France became a land of small independently-owned farms. Harvest taxes such as tithes to the Church and duties to the estate owners were ended, much to the relief of the peasants.

In the cities, small-scale entrepreneurship flourished after restrictive monopolies, privileges, barriers, rules and taxes were removed. But the British wartime blockade virtually ended overseas and colonial trade, hurting the economy of the cities. Overall, the Revolution did not greatly change French business, as the typical businessman owned a small store, mill or shop with a just few paid employees. Large-scale industry was less common than other industrialising countries[24].

Impact on Britain
In Britain, the majority of people, especially among the aristocracy, strongly opposed the French Revolution. Britain led and funded a series of coalitions that fought France from 1793 to 1815 and restored the Bourbon monarchy. Statesmen such as Edmund Burke attacked the Revolution as a threat to the aristocracy of all countries[25].

Despite this official opposition, the French Revolution sparked a great political debate and exchange of ideas in Britain. There was much support for its ideals, such as equality, freedom and the rights of man, even though the violent means resorted to for its ends were condemned. In Ireland, the effect was to transform the attempt by Protestant settlers to gain some authority into a mass movement led by both Catholics and Protestants. It stimulated demand for further reform in Ireland, and resulted in the rebellion of 1798 led by Theobald Wolfe Tone, which was crushed by the British Government.

The French Revolutionary Wars

France goes to war for its Revolution
By 1791, the other monarchies of Europe looked with outrage at the French Revolution and its upheavals, and considered whether to intervene, either to support King Louis XVI or to prevent the spread of revolution to their own territories. Austria and Prussia stationed significant numbers of troops on their French borders. After Austria made threats of using force against France and refused to recall its troops, France declared war on both countries in the spring of 1792. The resulting French Revolutionary Wars were a series of sweeping conflicts between 1792 and 1802.

They pitted France against Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia and other monarchies. Finally, after a decade of constant warfare and aggressive diplomacy, France had conquered territories in the Italian Peninsula, the Low Countries and the Rhineland. French success in these conflicts ensured the spread of revolutionary principles over much of Europe[26]. Early French victories emboldened the abolition of the monarchy in France, but later defeats in 1793 were followed by the Reign of Terror in a disastrous attempt to unify the nation.

Napoleon's Grande Armée takes on Europe
A hitherto unknown French general named Napoleon Bonaparte began his first campaign in Italy in April 1796. The Habsburg forces were evicted from the Italian Peninsula and Austria sued for peace. Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798, annihilating a series of Egyptian and Ottoman armies. He returned to France with his popularity enhanced, then in 1799 staged a coup d'état and installed himself as

Consul of France, putting himself in control of the chaotic French republic. France continued winning battles in Europe, and Britain agreed to a peace treaty in 1802.

The Napoleonic Wars then followed, fought between France under Napoleon and a fluctuating array of European coalitions, lasting from 1803 to 1815. After Napoleon took control of France, he organised a financially stable French state with a strong bureaucracy and a professional army. Britain ended the 1802 peace by declaring war on France. Admiral Horatio Nelson decisively crushed the Franco-Spanish Navy at the Battle of Trafalgar in October 1805, preventing a planned invasion of Britain by Napoleon.

Napoleon then defeated Austria, Prussia and Russia, bringing about an uneasy peace to the continent. But war resumed in 1809 and Napoleon initially took control of Spain, but his army was eventually expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in 1814 after six years of fighting. Meanwhile, Napoleon had launched a massive invasion of Russia in 1812. This disastrous campaign, defeated by both the Russian army and the Russian winter, resulted in the near-destruction of Napoleon's Grande Armée. After this, Napoleon was in retreat, and he was forced to abdicate in April 1814. He was exiled to the island of Elba, but escaped in February 1815 to assume control of France for a further 100 days.

Figure 8   Napoleon's Grande Armee (historyhit.com)

Napoleon was finally defeated at the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815 and exiled to the island of St Helena, where he died in 1821. Napoleon's military success was based on the creation of a highly mobile and well-armed artillery force which gave an increased tactical importance to the deployment of artillery. He used his cannons as a spearhead to pound a break in the enemy's line and then sent in infantry and cavalry. With these tactics, the French army was able to achieve some remarkable successes against larger opposition.

Napoleon's impact on Europe

While the Napoleonic Wars brought radical changes to Europe, after his defeat the reactionary forces in France returned and restored the Bourbon monarchy. Napoleon had succeeded in bringing most of Western Europe under one rule. In most European countries, subjugation to the French Empire brought with it many of the liberal features of the French Revolution, including democracy, due process in the courts, the abolition of serfdom and demands for constitutional limits on monarchs.

As with France, many of the European monarchs were restored after Napoleon's defeat, but the increasing voice of the newly-prosperous middle class meant that these rulers found it difficult to restore pre-revolutionary absolutism, and were forced to retain many reforms enacted during Napoleon's rule. Institutional legacies remain today in the form of civil law with clearly defined codes of law.

France's constant warfare for two decades with different combinations of, and eventually all of the powers of Europe, took its toll. By the end of the wars, France was no longer the dominant power of the Continent. In 1814-15, the Congress of Vienna resized the main powers to balance each other and remain at peace. Britain emerged as the most important economic power, and the Royal Navy held naval superiority worldwide until the twentieth century[27].

Napoleon's dream for the Continent was that of a free and peaceful "European association" that would share the same principles of government, system of measurement, currency and Civil Code. It took a century and a half and two world wars for many of these ideals to finally emerge in the form of the European Union.

The Patriotic Rebellions in Canada

The Lower Canada Rebellion

This was an armed conflict between rebels and the colonial government of Lower Canada (now southern Quebec) in 1837-38. It was preceded by three decades of efforts at political reform in the colony[28]. After the *Constitutional Act 1791*, Lower Canada could elect a House of Assembly, which led to the rise of two parties, the English Party and the Canadian Party. The English Party was mainly composed of English merchants and the middle classes and had the support of bureaucrats and the old-established families. The Canadian Party was formed by French and English aristocrats.

As the population in Lower Canada was mostly French Canadian, most of those elected in the House of Assembly were French-speaking and supported the French-Canadian business class. The Executive and the Legislative Council advised the Governor, and he could veto any legislation. But both Councils were chosen by the English Party, so the French-Canadians in the House of Assembly only had the illusion of power[29].

The colonial Governor Sir James Henry Craig (1807-12) thought the Canadian Party and its supporters wanted a French-Canadian republic. Invasion by the United States was feared, and Lower Canada experienced several political crises until the 1830s. A long list of grievances was submitted to the Governor by the head of the Canadian Party, but when the Party realised the British would not accept the resolutions to deal with the grievances[30], protests led to armed conflict between patriots and the colonial government's militia.

The Upper Canada Rebellion

The Upper Canada Rebellion was an insurrection against the oligarchic government of the British colony of Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) in December 1837. While there had been public grievances for years, the rebellion in Lower Canada the previous month emboldened rebels in Upper Canada to revolt. The Rebellion was largely defeated soon after it began, although resistance lingered until 1838.

The *Constitutional Act 1791*, which created Upper Canada's political framework, caused many of the grievances that prompted the rebellion. Many leading administrators were also businessmen who used their official positions for monetary gain. Also, American-style republicanism was feared because of the increased immigration from the United States. Colonial reformers came into conflict with the colonial administration over demands for responsible government in 1837, and reformers finally took up arms to break the domination of Britain.

The rebellions in Canada are viewed by many historians in the wider context of revolutions on both sides of the Atlantic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, starting with the American Revolutionary War in 1776. These rebellions were inspired by similar social problems stemming from poorly regulated oligarchies and democratic ideals that were also shared by the British Chartists[31]. The Canadian Rebellions are often seen as an example of what might have occurred in the United States if the American Revolutionary War had failed.

The Durham Report and responsible government

The British Whig politician John Lambton, the 1st Earl of Durham, was sent to Upper and Lower Canada in 1839 to investigate and report on the causes of the rebellions of 1837-38. He arrived in Quebec City after being appointed Governor-General. He reported back to the British Government that the real problem in Canada was the conflict between the traditionalist French and the modernising English. He said the French culture had changed little in 200 years and showed no signs of the progress that British culture had made.

His report was highly controversial and was rejected by the dominant Tory elite, while reformers welcomed the ideal of responsible government. The report led to major reforms and democratic advances. The two Canadas were subsequently merged into a single colony called the Province of Canada in the 1840 *Act of Union*. It moved Canada slowly along the path to responsible government, which took another decade to complete.

Durham believed responsible government in Canada was inevitable because of the progressive nature of its influential neighbour, the United States. He believed progressive ideas were already available to and understood by Canadians. In the long run, The Durham Report advanced democracy and played a central role in the evolution of Canada's political independence from Britain.

The European Revolutions of 1848

France leads another revolution

A widespread series of revolutions took place throughout Europe from 1848 to 1849. They were essentially democratic and liberal in nature, with the aim of removing the old monarchies and creating independent nation-states. After an initial revolution in France in February 1848 (which replaced King Louis-Phillipe with the Second Republic, headed by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte/Napoleon III), the revolutions spread across Europe. Most European countries were affected, but there was no significant coordination or cooperation between revolutionary groups.

Figure 9   Barricades in Paris, 1848 (Horace Vernet)

The major causes were widespread dissatisfaction with political leadership, demands for more participation in government, freedom of the press and economic rights[32]. Also contributing was the European potato failure caused by potato blight in the mid-1840s, which triggered mass starvation and civil unrest[33]. Technological change was also revolutionising working class life in the first half of the nineteenth century, and a popular press was extending political awareness. New ideas such as liberalism, nationalism and socialism had begun to emerge.

Many of the revolutions were quickly suppressed, and tens of thousands of people were killed and even more forced into exile. But there were significant lasting reforms, including the abolition of serfdom in Austria and Hungary, the end of absolute monarchy in Denmark, and the introduction of representative democracy in the Netherlands.

Impact in the United Kingdom:

Ireland, previously a separate kingdom, was incorporated into the United Kingdom in 1801, making it effectively a British colony. Tensions arose between the mainly Catholic population of agricultural workers and politically powerful Protestant landowners who were loyal to Britain. A current of

nationalist, egalitarian and radical republicanism had been present since the 1790s, inspired by the French Revolution. This was initially expressed in the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

But the tendency grew into a movement for social, cultural and political reform during the 1830s, and in 1839 was realised into a political association called Young Ireland. This association grew more popular with the Irish Famine of 1845-1849, an event that highlighted the inadequate response of British authorities. The Young Ireland Party then launched a rebellion in July 1848, taking inspiration from the wave of revolutions taking place on the Continent.

Exiling the revolutionaries

Many of the major issues inspiring protests in Europe and North America were also present in Britain and its colonies: an unrepresentative British Parliament, poor economic and employment conditions and oppressive colonial administrations.

The British government avoided major revolution partly by exiling its revolutionaries to Australia as convicts. But possibly as a result, Britain did not achieve universal male and female suffrage until decades after Australia. British law is a combination of statute law (Acts of Parliament), common law (precedents arising from court judgements) and convention (agreed customs and practices). Britain still does not have a written constitution.

The twenty rebellions that resulted in political convicts being transported to Australia can be categorized into three main groups, and this history will describe them in chronological order within those groups. They are:

- o Political reform rebellions.
- o Economic and employment rebellions.
- o Patriotic anti-colonial rebellions.

Political reform rebellions

The political landscape in the early nineteenth century

Elite voting only

The Unreformed House of Commons is the name given to the lower house of the British Parliament before being reformed by the *Reform Act 1832*, the *Irish Reform Act 1832* and the *Scottish Reform Act 1832*. The emergence of petitioning during the reign of Edward I of England (1272-1307) contributed to the beginnings of legislative power for the Parliament of England[34]. Parliament evolved from the great council of bishops and peers that advised the English monarch.

Representative men from each borough and shire were summoned to the Parliament. This evolved into voting by an elite few, so that most men had no right to vote. The House of Commons consisted only of men, increasingly those of great wealth. Women could not vote nor stand for election, and members were not paid (so in practice only wealthy men could represent their counties or boroughs). It is widely thought that the quality of members of the House of Commons declined over the 250 years to its reform in 1832.

With the Industrial Revolution of the early nineteenth century, the new and rapidly-growing cities like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and others had no direct representation in Parliament. Residents of these cities who qualified to vote (by the 40 shilling freehold test) could vote in their country electorates, but most landless citizens of the cities remained without a vote.

Movements for reform

The English Civil War in the 1640s prompted a series of debates over reforming the electoral system, in particular the franchise, the distribution of electorates and the abolition of the House of Lords. But only very minor changes were made to the electoral system.

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 heralded a return to the pre-war system. For a long time after that, any challenge to the system of representation was regarded as treasonous. All real attempts to change the system were resisted until the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. With peace came renewed calls for reform (and protests), but it remained a marginal issue until 1829 when Earl Grey formed a ministry in 1830 that was pledged to electoral reform.

The *Great Reform Act 1832* was passed, extending the franchise by about 50% in Britain. Many rotten boroughs were abolished, seats were given to new boroughs with extra seats to the more populous counties. While many of the abuses of the previous system were abolished, it was still a far cry from universal suffrage, as only about 30% of men could vote[35].

During the ensuing years, Parliament adopted several more minor reforms, but neither political party strove for major reform, despite considerable public agitation for further expansion of the electorate. The Chartist movement was prominent during the 1830s in demanding universal male suffrage and other radical reforms. But the Tory party was united against further reform and the Liberal Party (successor to the Whigs) did not seek revision of the system until 1852.

No proposal to reform the *1832 Reform Act* was successful until 1867, when the *Second Reform Act* was adopted, at which time part of the urban male working class was enfranchised for the first time.

Historians argue that the *1832 Reform Act*, despite the frenzy of Chartist dissent at the time, marked the beginning of the development of a modern political system in Britain[36].

The rebellions

The slow pace of electoral reform in Britain led to several rebellions, resulting in transportation to Australia for many of those convicted. The men who arrived with long sentences for sedition or similar offences were generally treated better than the average convict. They were often well educated or skilled in a trade, so they were very useful in a colony that was desperate for qualified and experienced people.

The political convicts were also carefully monitored by the colonial authorities to avoid a continuation of the political agitation they had practised at home. Several were unusual among the convict population for their propensity to escape back to Europe or North America in order to improve their lives, and in some cases continue their political activities. Others returned to Europe or the United States after being pardoned.

Scottish Martyrs (1794-95)
Rebels transported: 5.

The small number of Scottish convicts transported to Australia (about 8,200 to the eastern colonies and 570-700 to Western Australia) had much to do with Scotland's more liberal penal code: it contained fewer capital offences than England and only moderate punishments were handed down for petty crimes that would result in death or transportation in England.
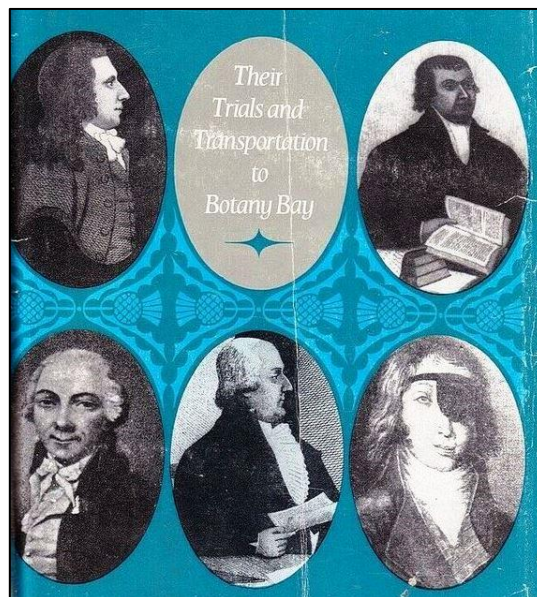
Figure 10   The Scottish Martyrs (Frank Clune book cover)

One group of political prisoners consisted of five Scottish political reformers who became known as the Scottish Martyrs. They were Thomas Muir (political leader and lawyer), Thomas Palmer (Unitarian minister), William Skirving (secretary of the Edinburgh Friends of the People Society), Joseph Gerrald, and Maurice Margarot. They were arrested in 1793 after their advocacy for political and economic reforms that were largely inspired by the French Revolution.

The Martyrs were eventually tried for sedition in Edinburgh and were sentenced to transportation to New South Wales for fourteen years. The severity of the sentence (for Scotland) provoked an outcry among sympathisers, and a number of influential parliamentarians attempted to intervene. Nevertheless, Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary, was determined to make an example of the group[37].

Thomas Muir (1765-1799)

Thomas Muir was one of those who in 1792 established a reform society, the Edinburgh Society of the Friends of the People, and became the most inspiring orator in the fledgling reform movement of the 1790s. He was a gifted speaker and a young man of principle and polished manners that fought for the rights of the poor, for electoral reform, universal male suffrage and freedom of speech.

He was not a revolutionary, although he communicated with the United Irishmen and the French, but shared their reforming zeal. However, after the French Revolution it was a time of paranoia in Britain. Muir was accused of inciting trouble through inflammatory speeches, reading out an address from the United Irishmen and circulating seditious writings.

He was tried in August 1793 and found guilty, but the jury was stunned at the severity of his sentence of fourteen years' transportation (an English jury would have been amazed he was not sentenced to death). It was the first time transportation had been used for sedition.

The trial aroused enormous public interest and a universal outcry abroad. It is believed to have inspired Robert Burns' epic poem "Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled", written at the end of the same month (in which Burns used the martyred knight William Wallace is a thinly-disguised reference to Thomas Muir). Muir's three-hour defence speech was published and became a best-selling pamphlet. Muir and three of his fellow Scottish Martyrs arrived in Sydney in October 1794, and Joseph Gerrald arrived in November 1795.

Muir and his companions arrived with money and were not treated as felons. On arrival, each was given a brick hut, not in the area where the convicts were housed, but in a row on the east side of Sydney Cove, the area reserved for civil staff. On arrival, they were told by Lieutenant-Governor Francis Grose that they must avoid all "recital" of those politics that had brought them to New South Wales as convicts. There is no evidence that Muir aired his views on liberty while in Sydney.

The Martyrs were not required to work, but were not entitled to any government provisions, so they had to support themselves, and Muir quickly occupied himself with trading. Palmer and Skirving had been accused of mutiny on the passage, and Muir wrote a defence for them. He probably advised his friend John Boston in the first civil law suit in the colony, which Boston won against the military.

Despite Muir's silence on his political views in New South Wales, his presence in Sydney continued to disturb the Tory establishment in Britain, who were anxious that he did not spread revolutionary ideas in the colony. By 1795, he had clearly seen the realities of life in New South Wales: the administrator Captain William Paterson allowed the army to take the law into its own hands, the mania for spirits continued unabated, there was bloodshed between the Aborigines and the settlers, there were severe food shortages and burglaries were rife (including his own house).

When Governor John Hunter, the most eminent Scot in the colony, arrived in September 1796, Muir wrote an eloquent legal argument justifying his departure from the colony, which he presented to Hunter as a petition. Muir's argument was that his punishment was simply banishment from Britain, and they were legally entitled to leave New South Wales as long as they did not return home. Hunter was persuaded by the argument and wrote to the Home Secretary, enclosing the petition, and suggested the Martyrs may like to move to Ireland.

But as soon as the opportunity arose, Muir departed from Sydney. In January 1796, he rowed outside Sydney Heads to an American ship, the *Otter*, and left with the ship, accompanied by his two convict servants. He suffered a difficult trip to Europe via imprisonment in Havana and the loss of an eye in a sea battle off Cadiz. He arrived in Paris in November 1797 where he was feted as a hero for several months. But, weakened by his wounds and impoverished, he died near Paris in January 1799, aged 33.

Thomas Muir was a radical ahead of his time, a champion of human rights and a hero to people who had no vote and no voice in government. While his career was cut short, his campaign for parliamentary reform and the wide publicity over his trial and exile to the colonies sowed the seeds of Scottish democracy[38]. While he did not advocate political reform in Australia, his well-publicised argument for his freedom to travel elsewhere was the first stirring of agitation for convicts' rights in the fledgling colony.

Four of the Martyrs died as an indirect result of their punishment, including Muir. Palmer died on the voyage back to England, while Skirving and Gerrald died in Sydney. Only Margarot returned to Scotland[39].

Scottish Radical Rising (1820)
Rebels transported: 19.

The Radical Rising was a series of strikes and social unrest initiated by artisan workers such as weavers, shoemakers and blacksmiths during the first week of April 1820. It was a push for government reform in response to the economic depression and high unemployment following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. The events of the Rising followed years of considerable revolutionary instability on the continent.

As the economic situation worsened for many workers, societies sprang up across the country espousing radical ideas of fundamental change. Very few people were offered power in Scotland in the early nineteenth century. Councillors in Royal Burghs were not elected to their positions, rich landowners controlled county government and there were fewer than 3,000 parliamentary electors in all of Scotland, due to the high property qualification.

The key to change was thought to be electoral reform, and the American and French Revolutions helped promote these ideas. Radical reformers began to seek the universal male franchise, annual parliaments and the repeal of the *Act of Union 1707*. The worst disturbance was a skirmish at Bonnymuir, Stirlingshire, where a group of 50 radicals clashed with a patrol of about 30 soldiers. The Rising was quickly and violently quashed and treason trials were held across several counties in July and August 1820. Of those tried and found guilty, nineteen were transported to Australia, where they largely found sympathy[40].

The effect of crushing the insurrection was to discourage serious radical unrest in Scotland for some years, and the uprising of 1820 was the last armed conflict on Scottish soil. At the suggestion of Sir Walter Scott, unemployed weavers were put to work paving a track in Holyrood Park. But the cause of electoral reform continued, and with the *Scottish Reform Act 1832*, Glasgow was given its own representative in the Scottish Parliament for the first time. The 1820 Scottish insurrection was largely overshadowed by better publicised English radical events at the same time, but the Scottish National Party in the twentieth century has brought the Radical Rising back to school history curriculums.
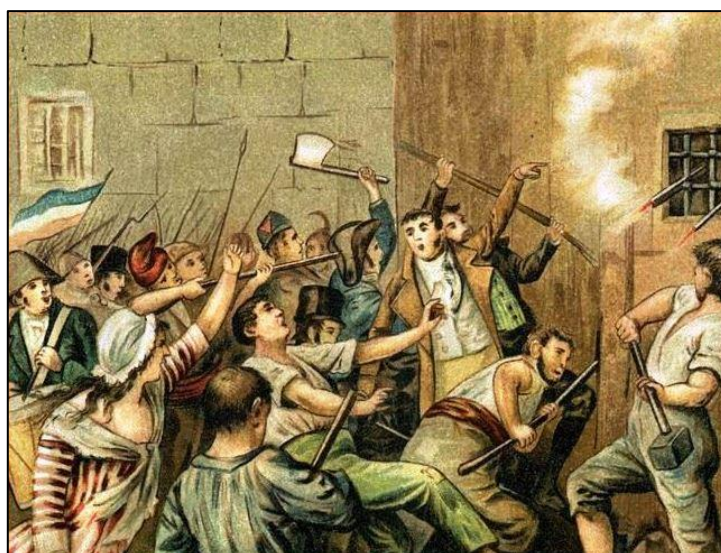
Figure 11   Scottish Radical Rising, 1820 (*The National*, 11 February 2020)

John Anderson

John Anderson (1790-1858) was a weaver and teacher who was born in Stirlingshire, Scotland. He was arrested for putting up radical posters during the industrial uprisings at Bonnymuir. He was sentenced at Stirling in August 1820, transported in the *Speke* and arrived at Sydney in May 1821. He worked for Simeon Lord until 1823, when he became the teacher at Portland Head in the Hawkesbury district. He was granted an absolute pardon in November 1836[41].

He taught for 35 years in a school located within the Ebenezer Chapel. Life was basic in those days, and one of the five male boarders in 1837 later recalled that the boys and teacher slept in the church and on the dining room floor. There was no clock, but when the sun's rays reached a certain distance inside the door they knew it was dinner time. On his retirement in 1855, the people of Portland Head expressed their appreciation for his work by presenting him with a "suitable address" and a purse of 28 sovereigns[42].

Cato Street Conspiracy (1820)

Rebels transported: 5.

The Cato Street Conspiracy was a plot in 1820 to murder all British cabinet ministers and the Prime Minister Lord Liverpool, and was named after the meeting place near Edgware Road in London. The plotters fell into a police trap due to an informer among them. Thirteen were arrested, five were executed and five were transported to Australia. It is uncertain how widespread the conspiracy was, but it was a time of unrest, and a number of trade societies were prepared to lend support[43].

The conspirators were called the Spencean Philanthropists, named after the British radical speaker Thomas Spence (1750-1814), a school teacher from Newcastle-upon-Tyne who arrived in London in 1792. He was arrested soon after arrival for selling the *Rights of Man* by Thomas Paine (Paine was a strong supporter of the French Revolution, and his book proposes the idea that popular revolution is permissible when a government does not safeguard the natural rights of its people).

Figure 12   Cato Street Conspirators, 1830 (George Cruikshank)

For the next twenty years, Spence spent long periods in prison for selling radical books, pamphlets and newspapers. He also published a radical periodical advocating universal suffrage and land nationalisation. By the early 1800s, he was the unofficial leader of those radicals who advocated revolution. He died in 1814, and his disciples formed the Society of Spencean Philanthropists to keep his ideas alive. The followers met in small groups all over London, mainly in public houses where they discussed the best ways to achieve an equal society.

The Spenceans were angered by the economic depression and the political conditions of the time, as well as the Peterloo Massacre (when cavalrymen charged a crowd of about 60,000 who gathered to demand the reform of parliamentary representation in 1819. Eighteen people died and between 400 and 700 were injured). An acute economic slump followed the end of the Napoleonic War in 1815, accompanied by chronic unemployment and a harvest failure due to the cold summer of 1816 (which was caused by the massive eruption of Mount Tambora in Indonesia, which covered the earth in a volcanic cloud for over a year, blocking much of the sun's heat).

The government was concerned enough to employ spies to join the Society and report on their activities. In February 1820, a government spy reported that a group of four Spenceans planned to break into the house where several British government members were dining and murder them. They were convinced that this would incite an armed uprising that would overthrow the government. The men planned to assemble in a hayloft in nearby Cato Street, but several police confronted them and they were all arrested.

Eleven men were eventually charged with involvement in the Cato Street Conspiracy. They were taken to court, but the government was unwilling to use the evidence of its own spies as they had been discredited as former criminals and agents provocateurs at a previous trial. Two members of the group were promised immunity to give evidence against the other conspirators. Five were executed and five more were sentenced to death but commuted to transportation for life: John

Harrison (military veteran and baker), James Wilson (military veteran and tailor), Richard Bradburn (carpenter), John Strange (boot and shoemaker) and Charles Cooper (bootmaker)[44].

Richard Bradburn

The five Cato Street conspirators who were transported arrived in Sydney on the *Guildford* in September 1820. They were sent to Newcastle, a settlement deemed to be for problem prisoners and secondary offenders. The British Under-Secretary for War had written to Governor Lachlan Macquarie warning him of their arrival and the risk they represented.

Richard Bradburn, along with numerous other convicts, escaped from Newcastle in December 1821. In the face of many runaways roaming New South Wales, the new Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane issued a pardon for all who turned themselves in, provided they had not committed murder or other violent acts while on the run.

By chance, Bradburn had come across an escaped convict from Sydney named Francis Clarke whose appearance was remarkably like his own. The two decided, because Clarke's sentence was almost finished, Bradburn would assume his identity and finish his sentence. Clarke, as he was no longer a wanted man, could evade suspicion and perhaps return home to England.

Bradburn turned himself in as Francis Clarke in January 1822 and was subsequently transported to another settlement in Port Macquarie to finish the sentence. By the time of Clarke's release, the Port Macquarie Commandant suspected Bradburn's deception. However, as he was impressed by his work ethic, his skills as a carpenter and good behaviour (presumably the real Clarke was thought to have none of these attributes), he allowed Bradburn to escape punishment. At the end of 1822, Bradburn was chief carpenter at Port Macquarie. He died in 1835, aged 44, and was the first conspirator to die in Australia[45].

Yorkshire Rebels (1820 and 1822)
Rebels transported: 14.

The Yorkshire Revolt of April 1820 was an uprising planned by working class radicals. It was thought to be associated with the Scottish Radical Rising and influenced by the upcoming trial of those arrested in the Peterloo Massacre. They wanted political reform such as universal suffrage, annual elections and an end to the *Corn Laws*. It was confined to the West Riding subdivision in Yorkshire and consisted of outbreaks involving more than 2,500 men. This makes it the largest physical force rebellion in the pre-Chartist era of English history.

The years after the Napoleonic Wars ended were marked by a heightened rhetoric for political violence, matched by assassination attempts on politicians and industrialists. Deteriorating standards were blamed on corrupt and privileged elites who would not share their political power with working men, while siphoning off an undeserved profit from workers' labour.

By 1819, well-organised reformers from all across industrialised Britain were pushing hard for significant political changes. Four great meetings took place in Birmingham, Leeds, London and Manchester to demand reform. The last of these in August 1819 was violently interrupted by local yeomanry Cavalry in what became known as the Peterloo Massacre, setting off widespread protest meetings against the actions of the Manchester authorities.
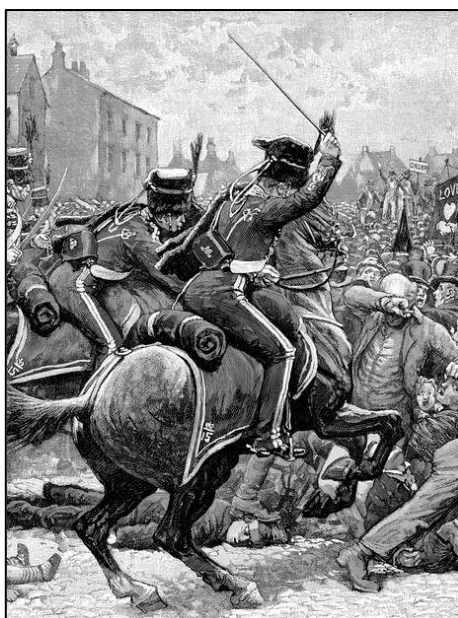
Figure 13   Peterloo Massacre, 1819 (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

After elaborate planning, the Huddersfield region's radical clubs decided to attack the lightly-defended town on 1 April 1820. Hundreds of men marched to four assembly points around Huddersfield. The contingents totalled about 2,000, with a fifth column of a few hundred within Huddersfield itself. But the attack was called off and the insurgents slipped away. Subsequently four arrests were made, and the men were tried. John Peacock (labourer) and John Lindley (nail maker) were transported to Van Diemen's Land. 22 more were arrested after the events of 12 April, tried and 12 were transported aboard the *Lady Ridley*[46].

John Lindley
John Lindley arrived in Van Diemen's Land in the *Lady Ridley* in June 1821 with a 14 year sentence for high treason[47]. He brought testimonials to his good character signed by about a hundred Huddersfield area residents. The Yorkshire Rebels had a propensity for litigious behaviour, as shown by their use of petitions and testimonials. They had petitioned the Home Secretary from York Castle to allow their families to visit them, with 75% of them signing their own names (so they were unusually literate for working class people). The convicts also petitioned their captors on board ship.

Once in Australia, the rebels settled down to a respectable life, received pardons and became productive citizens. The exceptions were William Comstive, Joseph Chapiel and Benjamin Rogers who committed multiple offences in the penal colony. By contract, Joseph Firth made a fortune so large than in 1829 he owned 900 acres at Brown's River as well as a farm and four houses in the Hobart area. In general, the 1820 Yorkshire Rebels received good reports in the penal colony. Most had tickets of leave by 1825 and pardons followed in the 1830s[48]. John Lindley was granted a ticket-of-leave in September 1826 and a free pardon in May 1828[49].

Reform Act Riots (1832)

Rebels transported: 14 (5 from Nottingham, 7 from Bristol, 2 from Yeovil).

From the early nineteenth century, the House of Commons was populated by Members of Parliament who were elected to represent constituencies. The areas covered by the constituencies had not been amended to reflect population changes, so there were many so-called rotten boroughs, returning one or two MPs from only a small number of voters, while some new urban centres like Manchester had no MPs at all. The franchise was small, with only 5% of the British populace able to cast a vote at a general election[50].

In March 1831, an attempt was made by the Whigs to introduce a *Reform Bill* to address the matter. This was defeated in Parliament and the Prime Minister Earl Grey resigned. But Grey was returned to office in the subsequent general election and introduced a *Second Reform Bill*. This passed the House of Commons but was defeated in the House of Lords in October 1831[51].

The rejection of the bill and the second resignation of Grey resulted in a period of political upheaval, since characterised as the nearest Britain came to revolution[52]. Inhabitants of towns and cities were angry at the failure to pass the bill and there were serious disturbances in many towns. Full scale riots broke out in Bristol, Nottingham and Derby[53].
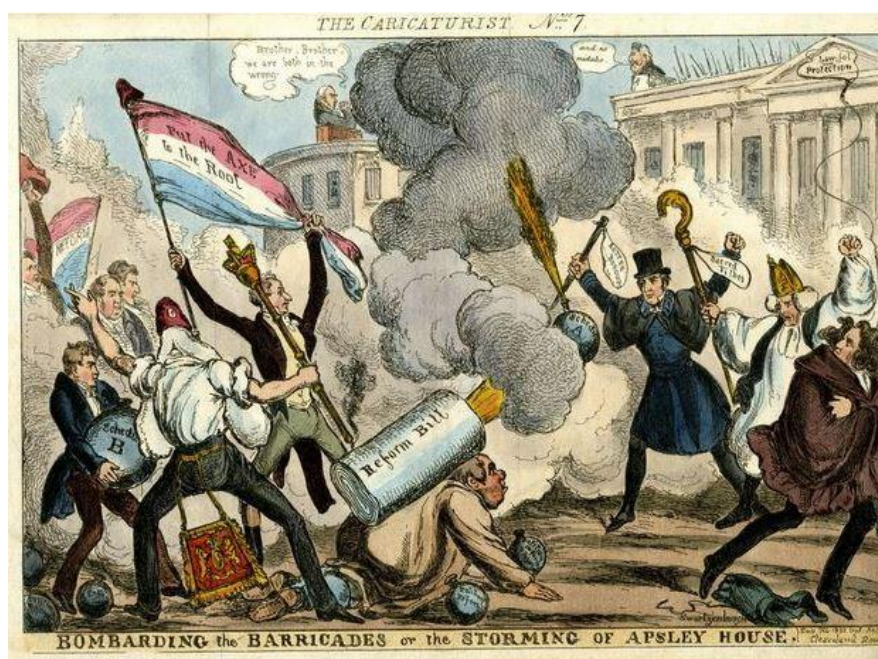
Figure 14   Reform Act riots, 1831 (British Museum)

In Bristol, crowds of people looted and burned down buildings, including the Mansion House, the Bishop's Palace and the new gaol. Bristol citizens had gathered a petition of 17,000 signatures supporting the *Reform Bill*. Despite this, Bristol's Recorder (senior judge) Sir Charles Wetherell claimed in Parliament that the people of Bristol were not in favour of reform. Wetherell was also an MP for the Rotten Borough of Boroughbridge, where only 48 men were eligible to vote, and his statement in Parliament triggered the riots. Many of the rioters were put on trial In January 1832, and seven were transported to Australia[54].

Following Reform Act riots at Derby in March 1832, several prisoners were put on trial at the Derby Assizes for alleged participation in the riot in town. But the evidence of an approver was sought by the prosecution, and he was not believed by the jury, so all were acquitted. But others received various short sentences. Similar sentences were also handed out in London[55].

Valentine Marshall

Valentine Marshall (1814-1887) was tried and convicted for his part in the Nottingham Reform Act Riots. At age 17 he was tried at Nottingham for the offence of "rioting and burning Colwick Hall" and sentenced to be hanged, but this was later commuted to transportation for life after a public outcry[56].

He was briefly held in the County Gaol (now a prison museum called the Galleries of Justice) where his name can still be seen carved into the wall of the prison exercise yard. He was transported to Van Diemen's Land in the *England*, arriving in July 1832. On arrival, he was employed at Hobart Gaol as a messenger.

He married Letitia Riley from Hobart, then in a few years was allowed to leave town and rent a hotel at Middleton. He set up a nursery there and sent plants to town for sale, particularly apple and pear trees. He was a natural businessman with an eye for self-promotion. He would regularly send complementary bunches of flowers to the *Hobart Mercury* which resulted in positive reports of his flowers in the newspaper.

But he did not have an easy family life, as his wife left him and took their daughter back to Hobart. However, in the long run he made the most of his new change of life in Tasmania, even returning to England to help other members of his family migrate and make a new life in the colony[57].

Chartists (1839-1848)

Rebels transported: 102.

Chartism was a working class movement for political reform in the United Kingdom that operated from 1838 to 1857, but was strongest in 1838, 1842 and 1848. Its name came from the *People's Charter* of 1838 and its greatest support was in the English north, the midlands and South Wales. The *People's Charter* called for six reforms to make the political system more democratic:

- o A vote for every man 21 years and above.
- o Secret ballots.
- o No property qualification for Members of Parliament (MPs), to allow everyone to be elected to Parliament.
- o Payment of MPs, to allow people of modest means to leave their livelihood to serve in Parliament.
- o Equally sized constituencies, so that the less populous constituencies did not have more weight.
- o Annual parliamentary elections, to prevent bribery and intimidation.

Petitions signed by millions of people were presented to the House of Commons. These and accompanying mass meetings were intended to put pressure on politicians to concede manhood suffrage. Chartism thus relied on constitutional means to achieve its aims, although there was some

insurgency, notably in South Wales and Yorkshire. The movement eventually died out, but in time Britain adopted the first five reforms.

After the passing of the *Reform Act 1832* failed to extend the vote beyond property ownership (although lowering the threshold from the *Reform Bill 1831*), working class political leaders claimed that a great act of betrayal had occurred. The Whig government in 1835 then passed the widely-hated *Poor Law Amendment* which deprived working people of poor relief (a program of social welfare). The massive wave of opposition to this in the north made Chartism a mass movement when many working class people decided that the present political organisation could not solve their problems.

Figure 15   The Chartist petition, 1839 (Desmond Evans)

102 Chartists were transported to Australia in the wake of three unsuccessful Chartist petitions in 1839, 1842 and 1848. Of the eleven men transported in the wake of Chartism's first peak in 1839, six were connected with the Newport Rebellion (described below), four had taken part in the Birmingham riots, and one was a Lancashire weaver who had killed a policeman.

In 1842, 54 Chartists were transported in the harsh crackdown following the general strike at the Staffordshire potteries, which was sparked by wage cuts. But the strike leaders failed to keep control of the strikers and riots followed, involving extensive damage to houses and property. 274 people were brought to trial. A contemporary account of the events noted that 21 of those transported were potters and 19 were miners.

In 1848, Chartism's final fling as a mass movement was again accompanied by a judicial crackdown. Hundreds of protesters were arrested after riots and many were transported to Van Diemen's Land, including the London Chartist William Cuffay, one of the few political prisoners to continue his activism in the colony[58].

William Cuffay

William Cuffay (1778–1870) was a London Chartist who was involved in the Orange Tree conspiracy and was charged with sedition and "levying war". A group of Chartists had tried to organise an armed rebellion following the rejection of the third national petition for the *People's Charter*. He was

by far the best known of the Chartists arrested in 1848, having been in a tailors' strike back in 1834 and served as auditor for the National Land Company. He was born in Chatham, the son of a freed former West Indian slave. He stood just 4' 11", and was already 61 and had been married three times by the time of his trial.
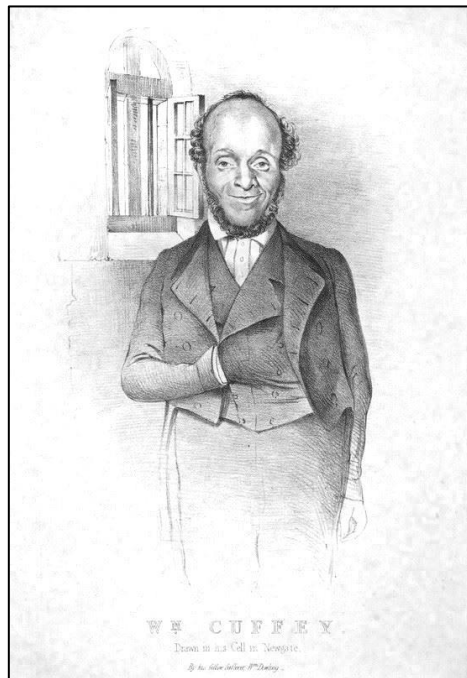
Figure 16   William Cuffay (National Portrait Gallery)

Along with several others, he was seized at the Orange Tree public house in Bloomsbury and tried at the central Criminal Court at the Old Bailey before being sentenced to transportation for life. He and five other Chartists arrived in Hobart in the *Adelaide* in November 1849. They were immediately granted tickets of leave, allowing them to seek paid work, and were pardoned seven years later in December 1856.

Cuffay died in July 1870 at Brickfields Invalid Depot. He had worked as a tailor, returning to political activity after receiving his pardon and leading a successful campaign against the punitive *Master and Servant Act 1854*[59]. Under this Act, employees who left their employment without permission could be hunted down by authorities and jailed. For decades after he was pardoned, Cuffay continued to organise and agitate for democratic rights of convicts. He became one of Australia's first trade unionists, and his activist efforts were regularly reported in the press[60].

Newport Rising of Welsh Chartists (1839)
Rebels transported: 6.

The origins of Chartism in Wales can be traced to the foundation of the Carmarthen Working Men's Association in 1836[61]. The Newport Rising in 1839 was precipitated by the rejection of the first Chartist petition for democracy, and by the conviction of the Chartist Henry Vincent (one of the founders of the Association) for unlawful assembly and conspiracy in August 1839.

In November 1839 about 4,000 Welsh Chartist sympathisers, led by John Frost, marched on the town on Newport. John Frost, Zephaniah Williams and William Jones each led a column of protesters

from different towns to Newport. En route, some Chartists were arrested by police and held prisoner at the Westgate Hotel in central Newport.

Chartists from industrial towns outside Newport became intent on liberating their fellow Chartists. Fighting began, and between 10 and 24 Chartists were killed by soldiers of the 45th Regiment of Foot, deployed to protect the police. The leaders of the uprising were arrested, convicted of treason and sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered, later commuted to transportation[62]. The Newport Rising was the last large scale armed rising in Wales.
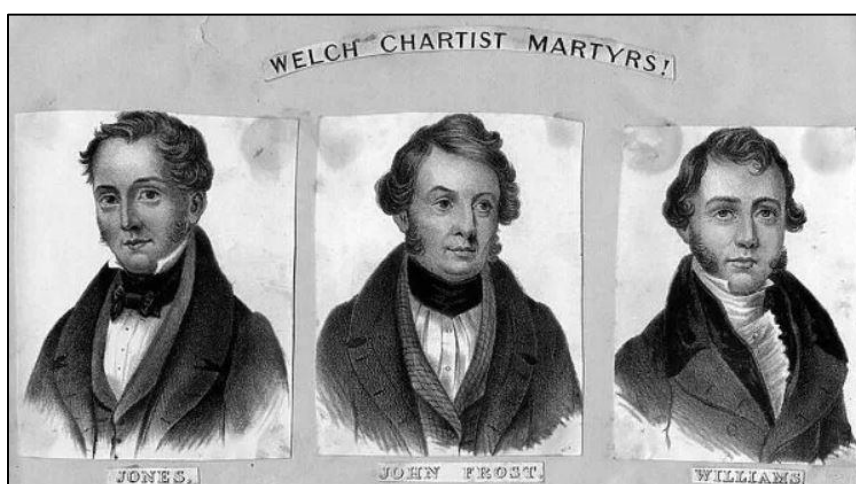
Figure 17   The Welsh Chartists (Mary Evans Picture Library)

John Frost

John Frost (1784-1877) was born at Newport, Wales. In 1806 he took over a tailor's shop, became a radical and from 1816 advocated a programme of parliamentary reform that anticipated the six points of the *People's Charter*. He was elected Mayor of Newport in 1836, and attended the first Chartist convention in London in 1839.

After the first national petition was rejected by Parliament and most of the leaders arrested for sedition, he decided to use physical force, and led a body of working men, mainly miners, in an armed attack on Newport in November 1839. He was arrested, tried and sentenced to transportation for life. He sailed with Zephaniah Williams and William Jones in the *Mandarin* and reached Hobart Town in June 1840.

In accordance with practice, the three Chartists were given the privileges of political prisoners: they were allowed to keep their own clothes, and were not sent to work on road gangs. Frost became a clerk in the commandant's office at Port Arthur. He later became a schoolmaster, and after teaching in various places in Tasmania received a conditional pardon in 1854, allowing him to travel overseas but not to Britain.

Six months after receiving his pardon, he sailed for America with his daughter Catherine. In 1856 he received news of his free pardon and returned to England. He gave lectures on his experiences, some of which were printed as *Horrors of Convict Life* (1856). As old age crept on him he abandoned politics for spiritualism[63].

Zephaniah Williams

Zephaniah Williams (c1795-1874) was born in Merthyr Tydfil, Wales. He became a Chartist in 1838 and several Chartist meetings were held at his Royal Oak Inn in Blaina, where he was an innkeeper, mineral surveyor and merchant. Although he was one of the leaders of the November 1839 Newport uprising, it seems he favoured a peaceful demonstration.

He was captured three weeks later and tried, sentenced and transported with John Frost and William Jones. He was soon employed as a superintendent in the coal mines at Port Arthur. He made two attempts to escape while he was a convict in Van Diemen's Land. He received a ticket-of-leave in November 1849, a conditional pardon in June 1854 and a free pardon in February 1857. He took no part in public life, although he remained in Van Diemen's Land. He acquired over 2,000 acres and built a fine house at Tarleton[64].He discovered coal in the colony, making a considerable fortune from it, thus founding the Tasmanian coal trade[65].

Young Irelander Rebellion (1848)

Rebels transported: 7.

This was a failed Irish nationalist uprising, part of the wider revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe. The one-day rebellion took place on 29 July 1848 at Farranrory, a small settlement near Ballingarry in South Tipperary. A force of Young Irelanders chased the local Irish Constabulary unit, who took refuge in a house whose occupants they held as hostages (the two young children of the widowed Margaret McCormack). The outraged widow demanded the besieged bobbies let her into her own house or release her children, but they refused to do either.

The Young Irelander William Smith O'Brien and the disgruntled mother then attempted to negotiate with the cowering coppers, but this ended abruptly when O'Brien was fired at. A gunfight ensued, and after several hours of shooting, the rebels fled when a large group of police reinforcements arrived, effectively ending the Young Irelander movement. The event is colloquially known as the Battle of Widow McCormack's Cabbage Plot.

The uprising sought to emulate the French Revolution, as with the earlier United Irishmen. In 1848, the French King Louis Philippe was overthrown by the February Revolution and the Second Republic was declared in Paris. Ireland was still reeling from the impact of the Great Famine (1845-1849). The British Government's reaction had been too little too late to prevent great hardship to the Irish people, and Irish officials criticised this delayed reaction to little avail. Inspired by the success of liberal romantic nationalism in the Continent in 1848 and upset with Daniel O'Connell's inclination to renew the alliance with the British Whigs, the group Young Ireland broke away from O'Connell's Repeal Association and took an uncompromising stand for a national Parliament with full legislative and executive powers.

While the young men did not call for rebellion, neither would they make pledges of peace. Their goal was independence of the Irish nation and they favoured any means to achieve it which were consistent with honour, morality and reason. The Young Irelanders yearned to see in Ireland the liberties that had been achieved on the Continent.

After being arrested and tried, seven of the rebels were transported to Hobart in 1849, four of them on the *Swift*: Terence Bellew McManus (who escaped to San Francisco in 1852 where he then lived),

William Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher (who escaped to San Francisco in 1852 and lived in New York) and Patrick O'Donoghue/O'Donohoe/O'Donoghoe. John Martin and Kevin Izod O'Doherty arrived in Hobart on the *Elphinstone* in November 1849. John Mitchel was the first to be sentenced but last to arrive, in the *Neptune* in April 1850.

Thomas Francis Meagher

Thomas Francis Meagher (1823-1867) was born at Waterford, Ireland. He studied law and became an eloquent public speaker. By 1848, he was a rising young leader of the Young Ireland movement, and accompanied William Smith O'Brien to Paris to congratulate the newly-formed French Republic.

He was in the committee of five who directed the abortive Young Irelander insurrection that followed. He was tried at Clonmel with O'Brien and his main associates, and was sentenced to death, commuted to transportation for life. He sailed for Van Diemen's Land in the *Swift* and arrived in Hobart Town in October 1849. He was soon granted a ticket-of-leave and allowed to live in the Campbell Town district. He escaped to San Francisco in 1852 and lived in New York. He was admitted to the bar, became an American citizen and founded the *Irish News*.

Meagher raised and fought in an Irish brigade on the Union side during the civil war. After the war, he was for a short time acting Governor of Montana Territory and died by drowning in the Missouri River in July 1867. He is remembered as a romantic hero of the Young Ireland movement rather than for any practical qualities of leadership[66].

Patrick O'Donoghue/O'Donohoe/O'Donoghoe

Patrick O'Donoghue (1810-1854) was born to a peasant family in County Carlow. He was self-educated and managed to gain a place at Trinity College in Dublin. He then worked in the city as a law clerk. After being transported to Van Diemen's Land on the *Swift* for his part in the Young Irelander rebellion in 1848, he started publishing a weekly newspaper in Hobart Town called *The Irish Exile*, aimed mainly at his fellow Irish prisoners and deportees. It is considered the first Irish Nationalist paper published in Australia.

The paper featured a regular column by John Martin reporting on the situation of the Repeal Movement (a campaign to repeal the *Act of Union* of 1800 under which the Irish Parliament had been abolished). Governor Sir William Denison was highly displeased with the paper, but while publication was not illegal, the wily Governor found that he could suppress the paper by arresting O'Donoghue and charging him with having "left his allocated district". He was sentenced to one year on a chain gang, where he worked and lived with ordinary convicts.

Undeterred, after release he immediately restarted the newspaper, and featured a detailed account of his year among "rapists, muggers and thieves". For this he was again arrested by the Governor and sentenced to another stint in a more distant chain gang. During this sentence, he managed to escape to Melbourne on board the ship *Yarra Yarra* while being moved to Launceston. He succeeded in avoiding the colonial authorities (who may have been secretly happy to see the last of him) and with further help from Irish sympathisers managed to reach San Francisco, where McManus and Meagher also ended up. He died in New York in January 1854.

Kevin Izod O'Doherty

Kevin Izod O'Doherty (1823-1905) was an Irish nationalist and medical practitioner. In May 1848, he became involved with the Young Irelander movement, and as co-editor of the nationalist *Irish Tribune* was sentenced at Dublin to transportation for treason. He sailed to Sydney in the *Mount Stewart Elphinstone* and then on to Hobart in the *Emma*, arriving in October 1849.

He was granted a ticket-of-leave and allowed to settle in the Oatlands district where he became manager of the dispensary in Hobart in 1850, and the next year was acting surgeon at St Mary's Hospital. He received a conditional pardon in June 1853, which allowed him to leave the colony but not return to the United Kingdom. He travelled to Paris and made a secret visit to London where he married Mary Eva Kelly in August 1855. In 1856 he received an unconditional pardon followed by an absolute pardon and returned to Dublin. He became a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland and set up practice.

He returned to Victoria in 1860 and then settled in Brisbane in 1865 where he became a leading physician. He was elected member for Brisbane in the Legislative Assembly in 1867-73 and was responsible for the first *Health Act* in Queensland in 1872. He was a member of the Legislative Council in 1877-85, and a leading figure in the Queensland Irish Association.

In 1886, he moved back to Ireland and was elected to the House of Commons as the member for North Meath, but resigned after the split in Charles Parnell's party and returned to Brisbane. He died at his home in Brisbane in some poverty after being unable to set up medical practice again. While he did not promote the cause of Irish nationalism in Australia, he made an outstanding contribution to public life in the Australian colonies[67].

Impact of political reformers on Australia

On their arrival in the Australian colonies, political convicts were warned not to continue their activism. Despite this enforced silence, their radical causes in Britain must have had an impact here from reporting in the Australian press, especially the Chartists.

Scottish Martyrs

Thomas Muir helped plant a democratic seed in the colony in the 1790s when he argued persuasively that because the punishment of the Scottish Martyrs was only banishment from Britain, they were entitled to the rights of free Britons as long as they did not return to Britain. Meanwhile in Britain, his radical proposals for universal suffrage and working-class inclusion helped give birth to the political reform movement called Chartism[68].

Young Irelanders

After being granted a ticket-of-leave in Van Diemen's Land, the Young Irelander Kevin Izod O'Doherty contributed to the publication of a magazine called *The Irish Felon*[69]. It raised all sorts of issues with colonisation and the treatment of Indigenous Australians, well before their time.

William Smith O'Brien became a leading figure in the anti-transportation movement in Van Diemen's Land. He also drafted an ideal democratic constitution echoing the Chartist agenda. The things he stood for, which were legitimised by a global campaign for his release, were gradually enacted in Victoria, New South Wales and Tasmania from the late 1850s, but Ireland had to wait until the twentieth century[70].

Chartists

Eureka Stockade

Chartists played a prominent role in the Eureka rebellion of 1854. The gold miners who initiated the Eureka affair were goaded into action by poverty and a desire to resist the petty tyranny they saw in the licensing system that governed their claims. What started as a protest movement rapidly became a serious political force under the leadership of the Ballarat Reform League. In November 1854, the miners adopted five of the Chartist demands:

- o Full and fair representation.
- o Manhood suffrage.
- o No property qualification for members of the Legislative Council.
- o Payments of members.
- o Short duration of parliaments.

The response of authorities was to dismiss all attempts at negotiation and to dispatch troops to deal with the rebellion. At least 22 men were killed in the hastily erected stockade where they made their last stand under a banner displaying the Southern Cross. But a groundswell of public opinion against the authorities in the weeks that followed led to democratic reforms and has been credited as the catalyst for fundamental changes in governance over the next few years. This would bring many Chartist demands to fruition in Australia long before they were a reality in Britain.
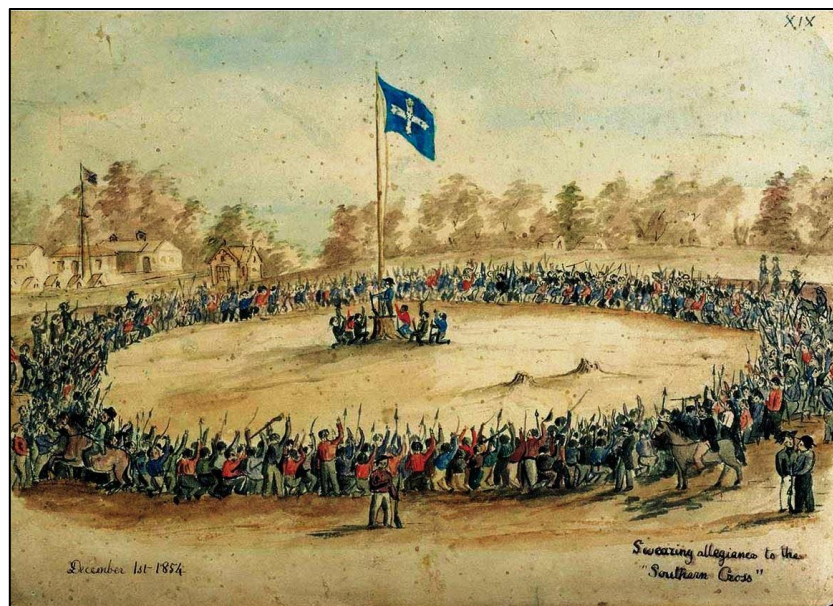
Figure 18   Eureka rebellion, 1854 (National Museum of Australia)

Several leading members of the Ballarat Reform League were Chartists, and some of the miners must have been involved in the Chartist cause in earlier years. For some British Chartists, Australia would have been a place of safety well away from the threat of arrest. Others saw it as a fresh start when it became clear that Chartism was not making any headway at home. The most prominent Chartists transported as convicts were the leaders of the Newport Rebellion. Although they eventually returned home, others like William Cuffay stayed and made new lives for themselves[71].

New South Wales electoral system

Chartism had a strong influence on the electoral system laid out in the *New South Wales Constitution Act* of 1855. The Constitution established a bicameral parliament with a Legislative Assembly elected on a broad property franchise and an appointed Legislative Council. The Legislative Assembly of 54 members could consist of any men qualified and registered as voters, except for public servants, military officers and ministers of religion. Voters had to be men over 21 who met a fairly modest property or income qualification.

The establishment of Responsible Government in 1856 was an important basis for liberal democratic government, but did not itself represent the achievement of democracy. In 1858, the *Electoral Reform Act* gave the right to vote to almost every male in New South Wales, specifically every male over 21 who was natural born or naturalised (and had resided in the colony for three years).

The secret ballot was also introduced in New South Wales in 1858, two years after it commenced in Victoria and South Australia, and was such a new feature of voting that it was known at the time as the "Australian ballot". Electoral boundaries were changed almost totally in 1858 to be more in line with population, but there remained great disparities between electorates, with pastoral electorates having on average half the number of votes as urban electorates.

While almost every man with the right to vote could stand for parliament, very few could afford to, since Members of Parliament were not paid until 1889. Also, until the emergence of political parties in the 1880s (after which Members of Parliament were paid election expenses), candidates needed money to run an election campaign. Until 1893, elections were held at different times in different electorates, which meant that a candidate who was defeated in one electorate could then run in another seat[72].

When the Australian colonies federated in 1901, the *Commonwealth of Australian Constitution Act* only permitted voting rights in federal elections to women who could already vote at a State level (women in South Australia and some in Western Australia had been granted the right to vote). After lobbying by suffragists and some progressive politicians, the *Commonwealth Franchise Act* was enacted in 1902. This gave all women over 21 the right to vote in national elections and stand in the Australian Parliament (despite many not possessing the right to do so in their home States)[73].

Britain lags in electoral reform

While the Australian colonies moved fairly quickly to representative government once the convict era ended, electoral reform in nineteenth century Britain was painfully slow. While the *Representation of the People Act* of 1832 (known as the *First Reform Act*) gave small British landowning males the vote, the *Representation of the People Act* of 1867 (the *Second Reform Act*) also enfranchised part of the urban male working class. Ironically, during the long period between the two Reform Acts, the political opposition warned against the "lower-class democracy" of the United States of America and Australia.

Prime Minister Lord Palmerston had been a major handbrake to reform, and his death in 1865 heralded the beginning of a gradual change. The *Representation of the People Act* of 1884 (the *Third Reform Act*) followed by the *Redistribution Act* in 1885 extended the same voting qualification from the towns to country areas. Despite this long series of electoral reforms over more than fifty years, 40% of men and all women were still without a vote in Britain.

It was not until 1918 that the *Representation of the People Act 1918* (the *Fourth Reform Act*) introduced universal male suffrage and limited female suffrage (all women over 30 who lived in the constituency or who owned land of a certain rateable value or whose husbands did). British women finally gained electoral equality with men with the *Equal Franchise Act* of 1928, which gave all women 21 or over the right to vote.

In summary, Australian men achieved universal suffrage in 1858 compared with 1918 in Britain, and Australian women achieved the same in 1902, compared with 1928 in Britain. This probably resulted from the great difference in the structure of the two societies: Britain had a long-entrenched class of landed gentry who were well looked after by the limited electoral franchise and did not wish to change it, whereas the Australian colonies began the era of self-government with something of a clean slate and a more egalitarian view of how the country should be run and who should be allowed to run it.

Not all Australian Chartists were convicts

A few British Chartists took their Chartism to Australia as free immigrants, not as convicts. The most well-known was Henry (later Sir Henry) Parkes. He was a young ivory- and brass-turner from Birmingham when he migrated to Sydney with his wife Clarinda as a bounty passenger on the *Strathfieldsaye* in 1839. He had received little formal education in England, but educated himself in the library and lecture hall of the Birmingham Mechanics' Institute. At age seventeen, he joined the Political Union of the Chartist Thomas Atwood and publicly wore its badge. Birmingham was the Chartist capital of Britain, and the belief Parkes and the other young Chartists shared was that England held no future for them unless they could wrest from it the objectives of their *People's Charter*[74].
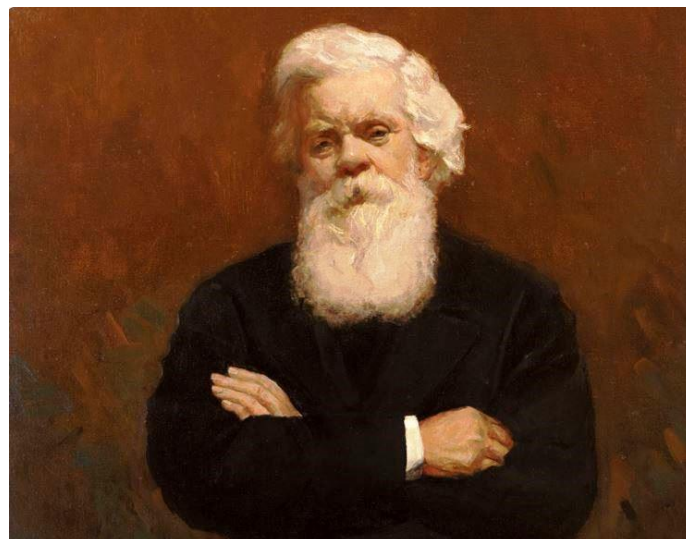
Figure 19   Sir Henry Parkes (Julian Ashton, 1913)

Parkes published verses in Henry Hetherington's *Charter* newspaper in 1839, condemning a society whose injustices forced men like him to make a living in a "foreign wilderness". His talents as a writer and public speaker developed rapidly in the 1840s. In his first public speech in January 1849, he advocated the Chartist goal of universal suffrage as the best guarantee that the people would avoid the violent revolutions of Europe.

Parkes was prominent in the 1853 Constitution Committee, which favoured a New South Wales Constitution featuring universal suffrage, in opposition to William Wentworth's plan to establish an Australian House of Lords (known colloquially as a "bunyip aristocracy")[75]. He eventually served five terms as New South Wales Premier between 1872 and 1891. He was one of those who initiated the process that would lead to federation of the Australian colonies, but died five years before its realisation[76].

The Chartist Robert Booley, an immigrant in the 1840s, helped found the Geelong People's Association in 1851. George Black, a framework knitter and Methodist lay preacher from Nottingham was a delegate to the founding conference of the National Chartist Association in 1840. By 1841 he had been forced out of his trade due to his political involvement and lived as an itinerant Christian lecturer. He served a short prison term in England and migrated to Victoria, where he set up the *Gold Digger's Advocate*.

David Buchanan narrowly escaped prison in 1848 and migrated to New South Wales in 1852. James Stephens was a stonemason who participated in the Newport rebellion of 1839, and narrowly avoided a free one-way ticket to Van Diemen's Land in a convict ship by escaping capture. He eventually migrated to Port Phillip in 1855[77].

Economic and employment rebellions

Introduction to economic hardship rebellions

By the late eighteenth century, the mechanisation of industry and agriculture was putting many people in Britain out of work. This was especially distressing for tradesmen who saw their hard-earned skills being made redundant by unskilled machine operators in factories or by new machines in the agricultural sector.

A severe economic slump followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, accompanied by chronic unemployment when many thousands of soldiers and sailors all returned at once to the job market.

Economic hardship rebellions

Nore Naval Mutiny (1797)
Rebels transported: 15.

The Spithead and Nore mutinies were two major mutinies by sailors of the Royal Navy in 1797. The two events were different: Spithead was simply a peaceful and successful strike to address economic grievances. The sailors' delegates at Spithead negotiated increased pay and other conditions. The Nore mutiny was a more radical action, articulating political ideals as well, but it failed[78]. The country was at war with Revolutionary France at the time, and the Navy was the country's main component of that war.
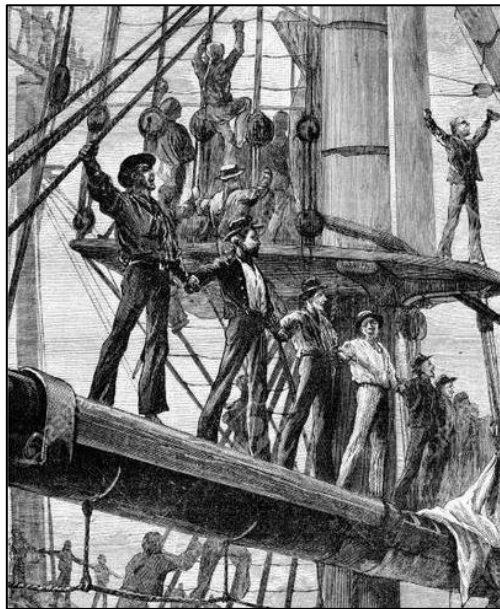
Figure 20   Spithead mutiny, 1797 (*Look and Learn*, 13 December 1969)

Inspired by the success of the Spithead example, sailors at the Thames anchorage known as the Nore also staged a mutiny in May 1797 by seizing control of their ships. But the ships were scattered along the Nore, and so the mutineers were not able to organise themselves easily. They wanted improvements in their working conditions, not sedition, and they blockaded London for a while.

But the mutiny failed and many were arrested and prosecuted. 29 were hanged, 29 imprisoned and 15 were transported to Australia, most notably William Redfern in 1801[79]. The majority of the mutineers were not punished at all, which was unusual at the time[80].

William Redfern

William Redfern (c1774-1833) was probably born in Canada and then brought up in Trowbridge, Wiltshire. After passing the examination at the London Company of Surgeons in 1797, he was commissioned as a surgeon's mate in the Royal Navy. A few months later, the crew of his ship took part in the mutiny of the fleet at the Nore. He wrote a note advising the men "to be more united among themselves". For this, he was taken to be a ringleader and included among the others leaders put on trial.

Figure 21   William Redfern (Dictionary of Sydney)

He was sentenced to death, but his sentence was commuted to transportation to Australia. He spent four years in prison before being transported in the *Minorca*, along with thirteen other mutineers. He helped the ship's surgeon during the voyage and reached Sydney in December 1801.

He commenced duty as an assistant surgeon at Norfolk Island and soon received a conditional pardon and then a free pardon in June 1803. Returning to Sydney after five years hard work, he was appointed assistant to the principal surgeon in the colony due to the skill and good conduct he had exhibited.

As he had no documentary evidence of his qualifications, he was examined in medicine and surgery by three senior doctors and found to be "qualified to exercise the Profession of a Surgeon, etc.". The examination set a precedent for future testing of medical students in the colony. Redfern managed to earn the respect of the two warring personalities in the colony: John Macarthur (by saving his daughter's life) and Governor Lachlan Macquarie (by attending the successful birth of his son).

He became the most popular doctor in the settlement, and despite a busy schedule he conducted a daily outpatient clinic for men from the convict gangs. In 1814, he was asked to investigate the

heavy mortality on three recently-arrived convict ships. His report is one of the major Australian contributions to public health. His wide-ranging recommendations on shipboard conditions were all important, but most notably was his insistence that an experienced naval surgeon be appointed surgeon-superintendent on each convict ship with a rank equal to the ship's master. This put an end to most of the abuses of the past.

Redfern took an active part in the life of the colony. He was an honorary medical officer of the Benevolent Society and served on its committee. He was also a founding director of the Bank of New South Wales. Governor Macquarie appointed him as a magistrate in 1819, but this proved controversial, and the Colonial Secretary Lord Bathurst ordered his removal. Despite his valuable work and high esteem throughout the colony, he became a flashpoint for the feuding between emancipists and exclusivists over the role of former convicts in society.

As early as 1804, Redfern began to advocate for the use of the new smallpox vaccine. He placed notices in the *Sydney Gazette* requesting people to attend his hospital to "receive the Cow Pock" vaccination. Redfern had great forcefulness and independence of character, accompanied by kindliness and integrity. He lacked a gracious bedside manner, but on his retirement in 1826 the *Sydney Gazette* commented that experience and skill made up for "an apparent absence of overflowing politeness"[81].

He was never appointed principal surgeon, despite being the best man for the job after D'Arcy Wentworth's retirement in 1818. This was mainly because his youthful actions at the Nore, however justified, were always resented by the authorities (apart from Governor Macquarie)[82]. He was one of the most outstanding men of the early colony, and is generally regarded as the father of public health in Australia.

Luddites (1811-16):
Rebels transported: 53.

The Luddites were workers who protested against the mechanisation of industry during the Industrial Revolution. From 1811 to 1816, their violent strategy was to smash the machines they thought had taken or threatened their jobs, to burn down factories and to attack the private property of factory owners.

Entrepreneurs had been keen to increase production rates and lower the costs of textiles. This was achieved by inventing machines that could perform much more work than one person using traditional methods. For example, a single spinning machine could have 1,320 spindles compared to the single spindle on a hand-operated wooden spinning wheel. A factory or mill might have sixty such spinning machines, while there were factories that each used 1,000 of Richard Arkwright's spinning water frames.

The future was even worse for skilled weavers who made textiles by hand because the factory machines did not need any particular skill to operate. So weavers employed in the new mills could not command the same wages as before. The lower cost of textiles produced in factories meant that market prices plummeted and skilled workers needed to work for a week to earn what was previously earned in a day. It was not just individuals losing money and jobs. Because textile workers typically concentrated in a particular area, whole communities were thrown into turmoil. Traditional

textile workers quickly saw the threat of the new machines to their livelihood and some men decided to fight back.

In 1790, when Robert Grimshaw planned to install 500 Arkwright water frames in his new factory at Manchester, it was burnt to the ground after only thirty machines had been installed. He then built a new factory far from any textile workers for his own safety and that of his machines. He later fortified the factory and even added cannons to its formidable defences.
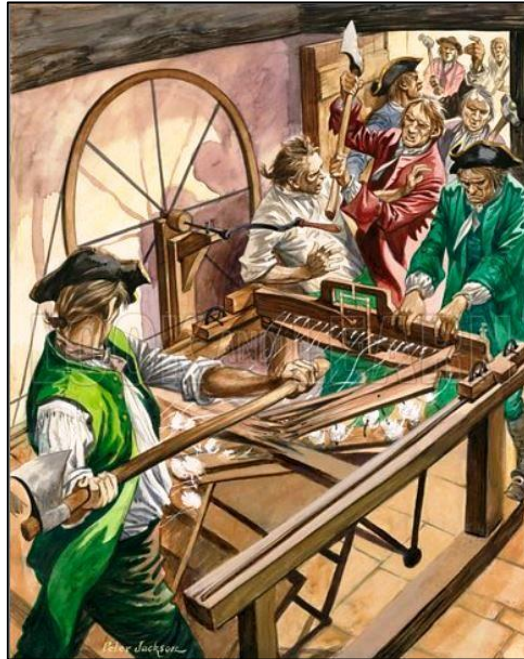
Figure 22   Luddites damaging a spinning jenny, c1770 (Look and Learn)

A new and more violent protest group emerged between 1811 and 1816 in the great manufacturing towns and cities of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. They were named after their mythical leader Ned Ludd, supposedly a Leicester stocking-maker's apprentice who reacted to his master's reprimand by taking a hammer to a stocking frame in 1779.

The Luddites were not really united as a group, but rather working class people in different areas with the same concerns and the same motivation to do something about them. The Luddites' strategy was no-holds barred, and they frequently threatened the factory owners personally.

Some historians have viewed these protesters as part of a wider revolutionary movement that sought to topple the capitalist establishment. There were food riots and strikes over poor economic conditions at this time, and protesting groups sometimes combined their efforts. But other historians see the Luddites as the final death throes of declining trades rather than the birth of a new revolution.

Trade unions were banned at the time, so textile workers had no collective representation for their valid grievances such as wage reduction and poor working conditions. So it is likely that some Luddites felt their only course of action to make their grievances heard was by attacking the threat to their livelihoods. Many would probably have settled for a more balanced system that did not give owners all the power, rather than the overthrow of the new system of employment.

The government went hard in fighting back. In February 1812, the British Parliament passed the *Frame Breaking Act* making the damaging of textile machines punishable by death. Large cash rewards were offered for information on the capture of Luddites. The army was called in to protect some factories and their owners, and to disperse large gatherings of protesting workers. The army sometimes fired on the crowds, causing deaths and injuries. 12,000 troops ensured that order was maintained[83]. The historian Eric Hobsbawn noted that this was a greater force than the army the Duke of Wellington led in the Peninsula War (in 1811-1814)[84].

Figure 23   Luddite plaque, Loughborough (waymarking.com)

Protestors who were caught faced penalties ranging from fines up to transportation to Australia or hanging. Despite the heavy-handed reaction by the government, the Luddites were a minority within the profession of hand weavers. They worked in isolated villages and could not easily gather in groups, so most of them stoically endured the decline of their industry. In fact, a government committee report praised their patience in the face of the momentous upheaval caused by mechanisation[85]. The poet Lord Byron became one of the few prominent defenders of the Luddites after the treatment of defendants at the York trial in January 1813[86].

In the nineteenth century, occupations that arose from the growth of trade and shipping in ports, also domestic manufacturers, had precarious employment prospects. Underemployment was chronic during this period[87]. At a time when financiers' capital was largely invested in raw materials, it was easy to increase industrial activity when trade was good and almost as easy to cut back when times were bad, throwing workers out of work.

Later factory owners invested their capital in buildings and plant to maintain a steady rate of production and return on fixed capital. In the first half of the nineteenth century, periodic outbreaks of violent protest were produced by the combination of seasonal variations in wage rates and wild short-term fluctuations springing from harvests and war[88].

Despite the Luddite movement being largely suppressed by 1816, sporadic outbreaks of industrial machine-breaking continued until the early 1830s. Thomas Burbury was responsible for one of the last recorded examples of industrial Luddism in England, and was transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1832[89]

Thomas Burbury

Thomas Burbury (1909-1870) was a cottage-industry weaver who was sentenced to death at Warwick Assizes for taking part in the burning down of Beck's steam factory at Coventry, where the weavers had been threatened with unemployment by the installation of new machinery. The sentence was commuted to transportation for life, and he arrived in Hobart Town in the *York* in December 1832.

In Van Diemen's Land, after being commended for capturing sheep-stealers and tracking down bushrangers as a constable at Oatlands, he was granted a ticket-of-leave in 1837 and a free pardon in October 1839. Until his death at Oatlands in July 1870, he took part in every public movement in the district and was a member of every public body, commanding general esteem and confidence.

His youngest son Arthur James became a lawyer and his other children married well. Their descendants continued to fill respected roles in Tasmanian society, including Sir Stanley Charles Burbury (1909-1995), Chief Justice of Tasmania and the State's first Australian-born Governor (1973-1982)[90].

Irish Agrarian Rebellion (1821-1824)
Rebels transported: 600.

A wave of extreme violence swept through Munster and south Leinster provinces in Ireland between 1821 and 1824. It had its origins in a local agrarian disturbance that broke out on the large estate of Viscount Courtney in Newcastle West, County Limerick. His agent was replaced by the English lawyer Alexander Hoskins, who set about raising rents and collecting arrears. A blacksmith named Patrick Dillane threw rocks at Hoskins' hired men, and from this action he became known as Captain Rock. A campaign of terror against agents, tithe proctors and their perceived allies gradually spread through the southwest.

Figure 24   Rockites, 1821 (The Irish History website)

Before it finally abated, more than 1,000 people had been murdered, mutilated or badly beaten. This uprising is not well known in the history of Irish rebellions, compared with those of 1798, 1803, 1848, 1867 and 1916. Historians argue nowadays that it was an organised rebellion rather than a series of localised agrarian disturbances.

The Rockite upheaval was ignored in the official narrative of Irish revolts, probably because it did not have a middle-class urban–intellectual leadership. Nor did it have the romance or nobility of Robert Emmet's speech from the dock in 1803 or James Connolly's execution in 1916. But its violence was utterly shocking: women and children were murdered, and rape was used as a weapon of terror and revenge. Bodies were often mutilated and at least three victims were decapitated.

The rebellion was nakedly sectarian. It was undoubtedly sparked by rational economic factors: the slump in agricultural prices after the end of the Napoleonic Wars and a series of bad harvests that led to famine and a typhus epidemic in the years before violence erupted. But the extreme nature of the violence was also fuelled by a millenarian anti-Protestant fervour. Rockism was a religious cult as well as an economic revolt.

The religious dimension of the violence was not entirely irrational: much of the action was aimed against the oppressive levying of tithes by the established (Protestant) church on poor (Catholic) farmers who owed it no allegiance. But their reaction went far beyond the rational. The millenarian fervour helped to dehumanise the victims of the violence and to sanction atrocities against people whom the protestors believed were already doomed to extinction by the wrath of God.

With a binding ideology, its own system of oaths and laws and successful use of agents to spread agitation from one county to another, the Rockite movement was a formidable force. At its height in northern Cork, it could bring thousands of men and women into open insurrection against troops and yeomanry.

The Rockites had no military victories, but its campaign of arson and murder succeeded in cowing the local magistrates, stopping the collection of tithes and lowering rents. It took large-scale military occupations and about a hundred executions, several hundred transportations and the suspension of civil liberties and finally an upturn in the economy to end the three year reign of terror[91].

John Hurley
John Hurley (1796-1882) was born in Limerick. In October 1823 he was sentenced to seven years' transportation for insurrection and in 1824 reached Sydney in the *Prince Regent*. He was free by 1830 and in 1832 became an innkeeper at Campbelltown. He operated coaches from the hotel and became an agent for others. He acquired more hotels in the area by the 1840s.

Figure 25   John Hurley (NSW Parliament website)

Hurley took out his first pastoral lease in 1837 and by 1849 had 40,000 acres at Houlahan's Creek and 50,000 acres that included the site of Cootamundra, a town founded in 1861. He was elected the member for Narellan in the Legislative Assembly and served three terms to 1880. He called himself a liberal and free trader. He was known as a friend to the poor, and reputedly assisted Caroline Chisholm. He died a rich man, leaving his three sons and three daughters an estate of more than £25,000[92].

Swing Riots (1830)

Rebels transported: 461.

The Swing Riots were a widespread uprising in 1830 by agricultural workers in the southern counties of England. They were protesting mechanisation of agricultural processes and harsh working conditions. Machine breaking, which first came to wide public attention with the breaking of industrial power looms by Luddites in 1811-16, significantly increased in 1830, mainly with the destruction of the widely-hated threshing machines[93].

While farm workers had plenty of work during the summer harvest season, wheat threshing was the activity that kept them employed during winter. The new threshing machines took away this important part of their working year.
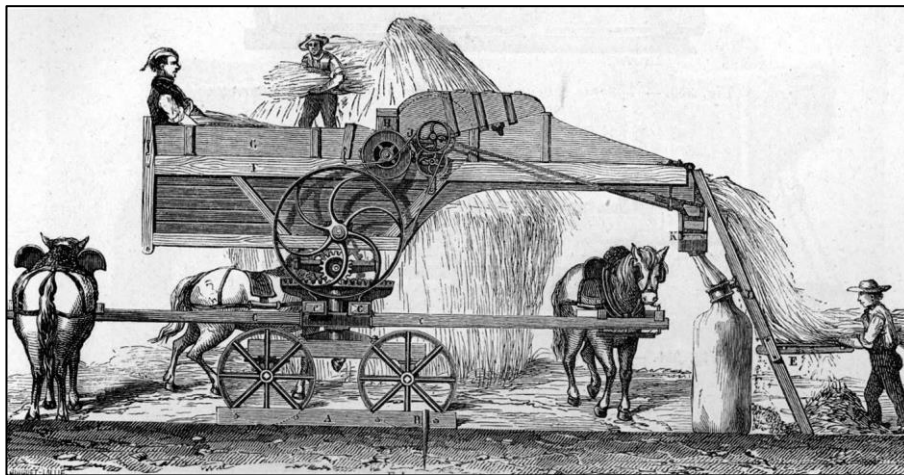
Figure 26   Threshing machine, 1881 (Wikipedia)

Agricultural workers in the southern counties were more conservative than those of the industrialised north and midlands, who had already adapted to a modernised work environment. In the south, agricultural processes on the large and more fertile farms had hardly changed, so the rapid mechanisation after the Napoleonic Wars had a greater impact. This is largely the reason the Swing Riots only took place in this part of England[94].

Workers also protested against low wages and mandatory tithes (payment of one tenth of annual produce as a tax) by destroying workhouses and tithe barns. The rebels' name derived from the fictitious Captain Swing, often used as the signature on threatening letters sent to farmers, magistrates, parsons and others. Swing was apparently a reference to the swing stick or flail used in hand threshing.

After hundreds of arrests and trials, 224 convicts were transported on the *Eliza* and 98 on the *Proteus* to Van Diemen's Land, and 139 to New South Wales, mostly on the *Eleanor*. This was the largest group ever transported from England to the Australian colonies for a crime of social or political unrest. They were granted pardons between 1836 and 1838[95].

William Bartlett

William Bartlett was a ploughman from Wiltshire who arrived at Hobart in October 1831 in the *Eliza* after receiving a seven year sentence for machine breaking. In 1833 he was assigned to a farmer near Perth and in October he was appointed a constable in the Norfolk Plains district. His family joined him in early 1835.

He received a ticket-of-leave in 1835 and a free pardon in February 1836. He remained in the colony, and by 1840 was an employer of servants, so was probably a farmer. Bartlett and his family sailed to Port Phillip in January 1846 where he continued farming in Geelong. He became a respected figure in the community and later served on the first Roads Board for the Shire of Winchelsea[96].

Joseph Fisher

Joseph Fisher (c1809-1882) was a wheelwright and carpenter from Oxfordshire. At age 22 he was sentenced to seven years transportation for machine breaking. His wife Mary and son William joined him in September 1834.

He received a free pardon in February 1836 and settled in the Browns River area. He became a minor success story in the district and a leader in the church. In 1843 he was appointed local postmaster, then in 1844 became the licensee of the Retreat Inn, and briefly the licensee of the Longley Inn. He also established the first coach service between Hobart and Browns River in 1850, and was a signatory to a petition to the Governor for the proclamation of a township in the district (Kingston)[97].

James Ford

James Ford (c1812-1854) was a carter and groom from Hampshire. At the age of 19, he was transported in 1831 for seven years for machine breaking. On arrival in Hobart, he was assigned to the Van Diemen's Land Company, and after receiving a ticket-of-leave in 1835, worked as a paid servant to the Company.

In December 1836, he accompanied the pioneer John Pascoe Fawkner on the *Enterprise* to Port Phillip as a servant. In 1841 he married Hannah Sullivan and farmed at Darebin Creek in North Melbourne. Later, with three other families, he pioneered the settlement at Port Nepean, and named his property Portsea, from which the district later took its name.

He became extremely wealthy during the Victorian gold rush, supplying vegetables to the goldfields. He also had a shipping business, limestone cutting and lime burning businesses (employing twenty Chinese labourers) and owned a hotel. He died in Victoria in 1854[98].

Tithe War (1830-1838)

Rebels transported: at least 7.

The Tithe War was a popular uprising in the southern Irish provinces of Leinster and Munster against the payment of tithes to the Protestant Established Church. Since the 1540s, when Henry VIII transferred the ownership of tithes from Catholic priests and monasteries to the reformed

Protestant clergymen[99], the Catholics of Ireland (the overwhelming majority of the population) were left having to finance a church they did not belong to and which was in fact hostile to them.

Emancipation for Roman Catholics was promised in the *Act of Union 1800*, but this did not happen until the *Roman Catholic Emancipation Act 1829*. But the obligation to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland remained, causing much resentment. With the involvement of many Roman Catholic bishops and clergy, farmers began a campaign of non-payment.

Figure 27   Tithe Collection in Ireland (thewildgeese.com)

In the autumn of 1830, the parish priest Father Martin Doyle advised his parishioners to withhold their tithe payment from the unpopular Protestant curate. Doyle's recommended strategy of passive resistance was simple and extremely effective. If a farmer's animals were seized for non-payment of tithes and taken for sale at auction, the entire parish would attend the auction and nobody would bid, thwarting the legal process by which tithe owners had to collect them.

Using these tactics, the agitation spread quickly from its base in Kilkenny, and by the end of 1831 the concerted refusal to pay tithes was well established throughout Leinster and eastern Munster. From early 1831, tithe agents were regularly chased off property, frequently assaulted by large crowds, and in some cases even murdered. Tithes cast a wide net, enraging the small farmers and labourers with potato plots, who were prone to Whiteboy tactics of violence and intimidation.

The first clash of the Tithe War took place in March 1831 in County Kilkenny when a force of 1120 yeomanry tried to enforce seizure orders on cattle belonging to a Roman Catholic priest. In 1832, a huge gathering of some 200,000 people assembled at Ballyhale and were addressed by the barrister Daniel O'Connell[100]. This was the first of the so-called "monster meetings" of the time, which were to become the hallmark of the Young Ireland and Repeal Movement, founded in 1839.

The agitation had no leader or national organisation similar to those formed for emancipation of repeal. Regular clashes causing fatalities occurred over the next two years[101]. After a few years, the enforcement of tithe collection proved an increasing strain on police relations and the Government suspended collections. One official lamented "it cost us a shilling to collect tuppence"[102].

The *Irish Tithe Act of 1838* effectively ended the hostilities, as tithe was converted into a charge on the landowner and reduced by a quarter. The Tithe War marked an important intersection in the fortunes of a resurgent Catholic Church and a crumbling Protestant one that was on its way to disestablishment thirty years later[103].

Seven farm workers were convicted of the breaking and entering of houses as well as administering an unlawful oath. They were John Mullinan, Michael and Edward Farrell, Edward McNulty, Patrick Redington, Patrick Hagarty and Philip Lacken (or Larkin)[104]. They were sentenced to be hanged, later commuted to transportation[105]. They arrived at Sydney in the *City of Edinburgh* in June 1832[106].

Philip Lacken (Larkin)

Philip Lacken (c1805-1883) was raised in a rural area near Ballina in County Mayo, Ireland. In the early 1830s, many agricultural labourers in Mayo and Sligo were sentenced as rural protesters to transportation for carrying firearms, administering unlawful oaths and what is often vaguely called "Whiteboy activity". At Sligo Assizes in July 1831, Philip and six other were convicted of breaking into the house of Thomas Flynn and stealing a scythe, and two other houses. They were shipped to New South Wales on the *City of Edinburgh*, arriving in June 1832.

Philip was granted a ticket-of-leave in Mar 1841, allowing him to say in the district of Sydney. In August 1842, he was given permission to marry Ellen Bern (Byrne), who arrived from Roscommon in January 1842. Philip remained close to fellow anti-tithe convict Patrick Hegarty (Hagarty), who was also his cousin. Philip received his conditional pardon in Jun 1846, and an absolute pardon in February 1848. Philip was in the list of voters for the Legislative Assembly election in 1859-60 (a right he would not have had in Ireland at the time).

His wife Ellen died in May 1844 and he married Margaret Horey in August that year. Margaret was a bounty immigrant who arrived on the *Runnymede* in August 1841. Philip spent most of his working life in Sydney, managing a dairy in the Newtown area. In 1873, he purchased a block of land in Darlington and built a two-storey stone house. He died there in July 1883, still described as a dairyman[107].

Merthyr Rising (1831)

Rebels transported: 4.

The Merthyr Rising, or Merthyr Riots, was the violent climax to many years of simmering unrest among the large working class population of Merthyr Tydfil in Wales and the surrounding area. In May 1831, coal miners and other employees of William Crawshay protested in the streets against the reduction of their wages and general unemployment. Gradually the protest spread to nearby industrial towns and villages and by the end of May the whole area was in rebellion.

After storming Merthyr town, the rebels attacked the local debtors' court and destroyed the account books of debtors' details. Protestors marched to local mines and persuaded workers to stop work and join their protest. In the meantime, the 93rd Regiment of Foot had been dispatched to Merthyr to restore order. But the crowd was too large to be dispersed and the soldiers simply tried to protect essential buildings and people.

A group led by Lewis Lewis marched on a meeting being held at the Castle Inn by the High Sheriff with local employers and magistrates, to demand a reduction in the price of bread and an increase in their wages. The demands were rejected, so the protestors attacked the inn and were fired upon by the troops, suffering fatal casualties. The troops then abandoned the town to the rioters. Some 7,000 to 10,000 workers marched under the red flag of revolution, later adopted internationally as the symbol of communism and socialism. It is believed to be the first time a red flag was flown as a symbol of working class rebellion in the United Kingdom[108].

Figure 28   Merthyr Rising, 1831 (marxism.com)

After a few days' training in military organisation, the rebels succeeded in ambushing or beating off approaching troops from different directions for several days. But the government representatives managed to split the rioters' council into different factions and when 450 troops marched into town, the rebels dispersed and the riots were effectively over.

Up to 24 protesters had been killed by the troops[109]. 26 were arrested and put on trial. Four were transported to Australia for life: David Hughes, Lewis Lewis, Thomas Davis and Thomas Vaughan, who arrived on the *John* in June 1832[110].

The scale and tenacity of the rising marked a profound shift in opinion and attitude. Almost at once the first trade unions appeared on the coalfield. From that date, the labour movement had a coherent, if erratic, history[111].

Lewis Lewis
Lewis Lewis (Welsh name Lewsyn yr Heliwr) (1793-1847) was a collier and farmer from Brecknockshire. He was described as a charismatic, respected, fair and honourable man in his community. His oratory skills in Welsh and English inspired the protesters into action. After the 1831 uprising in Merthyr Tydfil, he was identified by the ironmasters (owners of the iron mines) as a leader[112].

Lewis was convicted of rioting at the Glamorgan Assizes and initially sentenced to death as one of the ringleaders of the uprising. But his sentence was downgraded to transportation for life thanks to the testimony of Special Constable John Thomas, who testified in court that he owed his life to Lewis

after he threw himself on top of the cornered policeman to protect him from the blows of the rioters[113].

Lewis was granted a ticket-of-leave at Port Macquarie in 1840. He died in the Macleay district in August 1847[114].

Tolpuddle Martyrs (1834)
Rebels transported: 6.

The *Combination Acts* in Britain of 1799 and 1800 outlawed workers from organising to obtain better working conditions (that is, forming a trade union). This was passed by Parliament because of a political scare following the French Revolution. Then in 1825, the *Combination of Workmen Act* replaced these Acts and legalised trade unions, but severely restricted their activity.

Dorset became synonymous with poorly paid agricultural labour. By 1830, conditions were so bad that large numbers of labourers joined the Swing Riots that affected southern England during that autumn, involving two-thirds of the working population in some parishes. Many labourers were arrested and imprisoned.

Figure 29   The Tolpuddle Martyrs (Free Settler or Felon website)

In 1833, six men from Tolpuddle village in Dorset decided to establish the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers to protest against the gradual lowering of agricultural wages[115]. Members were made to swear a secret oath of allegiance. The Society was led by George Loveless, a local Methodist preacher, and met at the house of Thomas Stanfield[116].

A wealthy landowner named John Frampton viewed the group as a threat to his power and status. But because the formation of a trade union was not illegal, he recommended to the Home Secretary that he invoke the *Unlawful Oaths Act 1797*, an obscure law created in response to the Spithead and Nore Naval mutinies, which prohibited the swearing of secret oaths. Six members of the Society were arrested and tried. All were found guilty and sentenced to transportation.

They were James Brine, James Hammett, George Loveless, James Loveless (brother of George), Thomas Stanfield (George's brother-in-law) and John Stanfield (Thomas's son). Five sailed on the *Surry* to New South Wales arriving in August 1834. George Loveless left on the *William Metcalf* and arrived in Hobart in September 1834. They were all assigned as farm labourers.

There was widespread outrage among working men in England at the bad treatment of the six men. They became popular heroes and 800,000 signatures were collected for their release. A political march was organised by their supporters, and the trade union movement supported their families for three years. They were pardoned in March 1836 and all returned to England between 1837 and 1839.

The mistreatment of the Tolpuddle Martyrs helped pave the way for the creation of trade unions and the protection of employees' rights. Their case justified the right of workers to organise themselves into trade unions as an intrinsic right in a free and fair society[117].

There has been an annual gathering to mark the importance of the Tolpuddle Martyrs since the 1930s. It began with the laying of wreaths on James Hammett's grave in the village followed by a procession of banners and speeches. Today, thousands of trade unionists from around the United Kingdom and overseas descend on the small village to celebrate the memory of the six Martyrs and their legacy[118].

George Loveless

George Loveless (1797-1874) was born in the Dorset village of Tolpuddle near Dorchester, where he worked as a ploughman. By 1830, he had become respected in the area as a community leader and Wesleyan preacher. His later writings showed that he was familiar with attempts being made to establish trade unions in London and Birmingham. He claimed to have played no part in the Swing Riots of 1830.

For the next two years, he represented the Dorchester agricultural labourers in discussions with the farmers, who agreed to raise wages. But at Tolpuddle, farmers refused to raise wages, and in fact reduced them. To protect their livelihood, on Loveless's advice the farm workers formed a Friendly Society, which charged an annual subscription and began to hold meetings.

Witnesses reported that members were bound by "unlawful oaths", a felony under a 1797 Act of Parliament, and six of the members were tried and sentenced to seven years' transportation to Australia.

Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Arthur sent him to work on the domain farm as a shepherd and stock-keeper. Loveless read in the London papers of the great campaign in England for their release, and of the Prime Minister's order in March 1836 to grant free pardons to the six. He was offered a free passage back to England, and he returned after a delay to make sure his wife was not already on her way to Hobart, arriving in Jun 1837.

The other Martyrs did not all return (from New South Wales) until September 1839. Hammett went back to Tolpuddle, while the others migrated to Canada a few years later, where George Loveless and his companions became active Chartists. He died on a farm in Ontario in 1874[119].

Bankside Mill Riots (1834)

Rebels transported: at least 4.

Bankside Mill was a steam-powered cotton mill in Oldham, Lancashire. Much of Oldham's history is concerned with textile manufacture during the Industrial Revolution. The local soil was too thin or poor to sustain crop growing, so for decades prior to industrialisation the area was used for grazing sheep, providing the raw material for a local wool-weaving and felt hat-making centre. But in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Oldham changed from a cottage industry township to a sprawling industrial metropolis of textile factories[120]. It became the world's manufacturing centre for cotton spinning in the second half of the nineteenth century[121].

The habit of Oldham employers of putting a large proportion of their earnings back into their businesses resulted in a tendency to cut wages, and wages were low or reduced even when trade was good. This wage-cutting inspired the spinning workers to form a trade union in 1834 to attempt to protect their interests. Wage cutting was the last straw, and when combined with the formation of a trade union, an extremely inflammatory situation was produced which gave rise to the Bankside riots.

Figure 30   Bankside Mill billhead, 1904 (millsarchive.org)

The Bankside Mill, owned by Richard Thompson, was the scene of several disturbances during 1834, because when the mill workers went on strike in January 1834, new hands were taken on, known in the town as "knobsticks" (non-union workers) to break the strike.

In April, three constables received information that an assault was being planned on the strike-breakers at the Bankside Mill. They went to the King William IV Hotel in Cotton Street where a meeting of the new spinners' union was in progress, with about fifty people attending. The men rushed the door to get out, but two were arrested and the union's books seized.

There was outrage in the town that a place of work had been raided when no laws had been broken. Groups of people gathered early next morning around the police station and followed the constables who began to take the prisoners and the union's books to the magistrate. The constables were set

upon, the prisoners released, and the crowd turned its attention to the Bankside Mill. Stones were thrown at the mill, and the crowd was fired upon by mill workers, killing one rioter.

The large crowd then lost control and ransacked the mill and Thompson's house[122]. Eight rioters were tried at the Lancaster Assizes in August 1834 for riotous assembly and damaging Richard Thompson's house. An unknown number of others were tried for rioting at the lesser Court of Quarter Sessions at the Old Bailey. But the mill workers who fired upon the rioters were not charged at all[123].

Samuel Johnson

Samuel Johnson (1816-1872) was a cotton spinner who was one of eight Bankside Mill rioters tried in the Lancaster Assizes in August 1834. The others were William Elson (aged 20), Jonathan Bridge (27), Thomas Wallwork (27), John Southern (18), Robert Wrigley (25), William Travis (20) and Joseph Wright (20). The arrested men had been selected somewhat randomly from a rioting mob of over 2,000. Only those who could be positively identified by the mill owner or the strike-breaking workers were charged.

Wrigley was acquitted at the start of the trial due to insufficient evidence. After the evidence was heard, Southern, Travis and Wrigley were found not guilty. The remaining five were either found guilty or pleaded guilty. All five were sentenced to be hanged, but the judge wrote to the King recommending clemency by commutation of the sentences. They were reprieved about two weeks later and sentenced to transportation for life.

Joseph Wright died on the hulks before transportation. William Elson and Thomas Wallwork arrived in Van Diemen's Land in the *Norfolk* in August 1835. Jonathan Bridge arrived in New South Wales in *Mary Ann* in October 1835.

Samuel Johnson was transported to Sydney in the *Lady Nugent* and arrived in April 1835. His (unexplained) aliases were Sam the Dutchman[124] and the Flying Dutchman[125]. In 1837, he was assigned to Arthur McLeod in the Maneroo district of New South Wales[126]. He received a ticket-of-leave in 1844 which allowed him to stay in the district of Queanbeyan[127], and was recommended for a conditional pardon in 1847[128]. This was granted in July 1852, and a full pardon in Jun 1854[129].

Johnson married the 17 year old Mary Hall in May 1851 at Roseneath, Victoria. She was an Irish Famine orphan girl who arrived in the *Pemberton* in 1849. They had ten children, the last being Alfred James, born in 1872. He died in February 1872 at Stratford, Victoria, aged 55[130].

Rebecca Riots (1839-1843)
Rebels transported: 5.

The farming folk of rural West Wales had been angered by unjust taxes and in particular by high tolls charged to transport goods and livestock along the roads. Many roads in early nineteenth century Wales were owned and operated by Turnpike Trusts. They were supposed to maintain and even improve the condition of the roads by charging tolls to use them. In reality, many of these trusts were operated by English businessmen whose main interest was in extracting as much money as possible from the locals.

The farming community had suffered through bad harvests in the years preceding the protests, and tolls were a major expense for farmers. Charges to take crops and animals to market and bring fertiliser back threatened their livelihoods. The people decided to take the law into their own hands, and in 1839 gangs were formed to destroy the tollgates. It is believed they took their name from the Bible, Genesis 24 verse 60: "and they blessed Rebekah and said to her: let thy descendants possess the gates of those who hate them".

THE WELSH RIOTERS.

Figure 31   Rebecca Rioters (UK National Archives)

Usually at night, men dressed as women with blackened faces attacked the tollgates and destroyed them, calling themselves "Rebecca and her daughters"[131]. The riots were initially successful at achieving their aims, with many tolls being reduced or abolished altogether. However, authorities deployed large numbers of troops to the affected areas and the protests eventually lost momentum. Over 250 people were arrested and five were sentenced to transportation to Australia.

By 1844, *Lord Cawdor's Act* had been passed to control the powers of the turnpike trusts and lessen the burden of the tollgate system. While the Rebecca Riots are usually seen as attacks on tollgates on the Welsh roads, many of the incidents were about general economic conditions and not about tolls at all.

The Rebecca Riots were a significant moment in Welsh history, and had a lasting impact on Welsh culture and identity. They were a symbol of protests against the oppressive economic and political conditions of the time, and helped shape the popular perception of Wales as a nation prepared to fight for its rights[132].

After this, the much-hated tollgates disappeared from the roads of South Wales for over 100 years until they were re-introduced in 1966 for crossing the Severn Road Bridge. This time it was thought of as a tax on the English for the privilege of crossing the border into Wales, and there was no charge for the Welsh crossing into England[133].

From 1977, a Rebecca Race is held every August Bank Holiday in north Pembrokeshire over a five-mile course across the Preseli Mountains. The winner is presented with an axe and is invited to

smash a gate to commemorate the Rebecca Riots. In addition, a walking track known as the Rebecca Riots Trail has been established in West Wales and follows the route of the protests[134].

David Davies (Dai'r Cantwr)

David Davies (c1812-1874) was a Welsh poet and Wesleyan lay preacher. He and his fellow rioter John Jones (1810-1867) (Shoni Sgubofawr) became heavily involved in the riots at some point until their end in late 1843, collaborating in several acts of arson and gate-breaking. Initially supported by the public, very few rioters were arrested and convicted, but some of those taking part in the riots used their Rebecca disguise to exact revenge and extort money from individuals, including Davies and Jones.

Eventually, people turned on both men and in September 1843 they were arrested, Davies near Llanelli[135] and Jones in London. Davies was convicted of demolishing a turnpike and sentenced to transportation for twenty years. He was transported on the *London* to Van Diemen's Land, arriving in July 1844. After arrival, he was assigned to various people, but could not stay out of trouble, and received brief sentences for minor offences such as insolence, drunkenness and using indecent language[136]. It should be noted that this is no worse than the average convict behaviour at the time.

He received a ticket-of-leave in April 854 and was conditionally pardoned in October the same year. He died in the Ross Hotel in August 1874 from smoke inhalation after his pipe accidentally set fire to grass while he was asleep and intoxicated[137].

Five Rebecca Rioters were transported to Australia. The men who accompanied David Davies on the *London* to Van Diemen's Land were John Hughes (Jac Ty-Isha), John Hugh and David James. John Jones (Shoni Sgubofawr) was transported to Van Diemen's Land via Norfolk Island on the *Blundell*, arriving in Norfolk Island July 1844, then being transferred to Van Diemen's Land in April 1847.

David Jones died on arrival in Hobart. John Hughes (1819-1906) arrived in Hobart with a twenty year sentence. He was released after 13 years, was married and lived to 80. John Hugh married after his sever year sentenced expired[138].

Impact of the economic hardship rebellions on Australia

Meeting the challenge of isolation

Australia and Britain were very different in size, population, history, climate, class structure, wealth and resources. As a penal colony, Australia went from complete dependency on ships' provisions followed by near starvation in 1788, which in turn was followed by New South Wales and Victoria becoming virtually self-sufficient in manufacturing by 1890. In the 1800s, Australian manufacturing was powered by the enormous scientific, engineering, communications and transport advances in Britain caused by the Industrial Revolution. Human and animal power gave way to wind power in the early 1800s and Sydney's skyline was dotted with the sails of windmills powering flour mills.

The first steam engine in New South Wales commenced operation in 1815, brought to Sydney by the Scottish engineer John Dickson (1774-1843), who arrived in 1813. Local manufacture of steam engines began as early as the 1830s. Several factors encouraged local manufacturing, including the isolation, the high cost of freight, delays for goods and spare parts and a general lack of interest from Britain in investing in the Australian colonies. The resources and climate were alien to local manufacturers, who had to rely on trial and error to come to grips with a different environment.

Agricultural industries faced difficulties due to the hot climate: this led to over-fermentation in brewing, excessive heat from millstones grinding flour and difficulty transporting dairy products in hot weather[139]. The rural environment confronted by early farmers was characterised by heat, hard dry ground and a complete lack of any infrastructure.

Several inventive British immigrants, some already with engineering experience, were able to devise equipment to cope with the alien landscapes that they were determined would be their livelihood. Thomas Sutcliffe Mort (1816-1878) arrived in Sydney in 1838. In 1861 he patented an ice manufacturing process using the evaporation of ammonia. He and a French engineer Eugene Nicolle established a large freezing works near Sydney, and pioneered the transport of frozen meat to Britain, opening up a new export market for Australian pastoralists.

Figure 32   Stump-jump plough, 1912 (Wikipedia)

Richard Bowyer Smith (1837-1919) announced the stump-jump plough in 1876. This was a radical invention that allowed the ploughshares to glide over stumps and stones that otherwise stopped or damaged the plough, and promised a revolution in clearing untilled land. English-born John Ridley (1806-1887) arrived in South Australia in 1840, bought large tracts of land, and invented a wheat reaper. A decade later, over fifty of the machines were operating around the Australian colonies and were being exported[140].

One critical difference between Australia and Britain, where dispossessed families were forced to move off the land to find work in factories, was that Australian cities were highly urbanised from the start. Immigrants usually stayed in cities to work in factories, and in any case the mass production of farm machinery resulted in less need for rural labourers. A new middle class of wealthy factory owners developed with a large working class to operate their machines[141].

Australian agricultural workers did not suffer from the severe problems of their British counterparts during the early nineteenth century. Mechanisation of farming processes did not seem affect the rural workforce as it did in Britain, because for much of the time there was a shortage of workers, and any productivity gains were seen as a good thing, with few downsides. The Bounty Immigration Scheme of the late 1830s and 1840s encouraged mechanics, tradesmen and agricultural labourers to

fill the gaps in the skilled or experienced workforce, as recommended by the Governor Sir Richard Bourke[142].

Protecting workers' rights

The early convicts were subject to harsh conditions and strict punishment, but these conditions created rebels. The most substantial act of convict resistance occurred in 1804 when a group of mostly Irish convicts launched an all-out rebellion in New South Wales (often called the Second Battle of Vinegar Hill, where the first was in Wexford, Ireland in 1798), inspired by the Irish independence movement. They gathered at Rouse Hill and were suppressed by the military. Despite this defeat, it was clear than the convicts could not be ill-treated without fear of reaction.

As the economy grew in the 1820s, a recognisable working class formed and began to build on this rebellious legacy. In 1824, coopers went on strike, using a picket line for the first time in the country. Workers in other trades soon followed: newspaper typographers, bakers, shoemakers, carpenters, seamen and even whalers. All protested against low wages and poor conditions by banding together and withdrawing their labour. Colonial authorities in New South Wales were outraged at this impertinence and reacted by passing the *Master and Servant Act 1828*, under which a refusal to work could end in prosecution and a prison sentence[143].

A similar *Master and Servant Act* was passed in Van Diemen's Land in 1854. When the Chartist convict William Cuffay was nearing the end of his parole period (the Chartists were pardoned in 1856), he campaigned successfully to have the Act amended to change the more draconian measures. The result was the *Master and Servant Act 1856*, which, among other things, reduced the prison sentence to a fine[144].

Labourers formed societies in the 1830s to represent their interests. They were not quite unions in the modern sense. They were much smaller, usually having twenty to sixty members, and were mainly concerned with pooling funds to protect against sickness and unemployment. From 1830 to 1850 about twenty workers' societies were founded in Sydney and about a dozen in Melbourne. While small, they started an important trend of working people coming together to protect their own interests.

The Gold Rushes of the 1850s saw an explosion of wealth in Victoria and mass migration to the colony. Many of these migrants had been activists in the British labour movement or the Irish independence struggle. They came seeking greater freedom and to make a fortune. But the reality did not match expectations: miners did not own the land they worked and could be evicted at any time, they were forced to purchase licences at exorbitant rates and they had no vote.

Two stonemasons who migrated to Melbourne, James Stephens and James Galloway, had been part of the Chartist movement in Britain. Stephens became President of the Operative Stonemasons Society in Melbourne and Galloway its Secretary. Drawing on these traditions, stonemasons in Melbourne and Sydney campaigned to win the eight-hour day for their industry. Galloway later explained their activism in the colony by saying "we have come 16,000 miles to better our conditions, not to act as a mere part of machinery"[145].

In summary, agricultural workers during the development of the Australian colonies did not suffer the displacement experienced in Britain when mechanisation replaced their jobs. Australia's major

economic development largely took place in towns and cities, where the friendly societies and trade unions that were established to improve and protect British workers' rights also took root in the Australian colonies. British rebels such as the Merthyr Tydfil rebels of 1831 and the Tolpuddle Martyrs of 1834 helped blaze a trail for Australian workers to advance the cause of trade unionism and the modern labour movement in this country.

Patriotic anti-colonial rebellions

Introduction to patriotic rebellions

The British Empire

During the Age of Discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Spain and Portugal pioneered European exploration of the globe, establishing large overseas empires. Becoming envious of the great wealth generated by these empires, England, France and the Netherlands began to establish colonies and trade networks of their own in the Americas and Asia[146]. At its height in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the British Empire was the largest empire in history and the foremost global power for over a century[147].
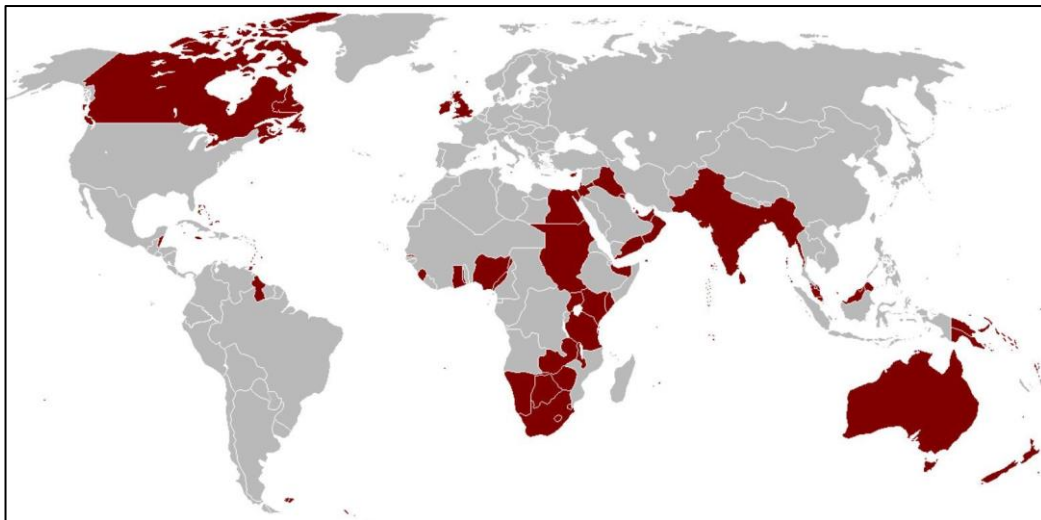
Figure 33   The British Empire in 1921 (Wikipedia)

England's first modern colonisation occurred in the sixteenth century with the Tudor conquest of Ireland, when Henry VIII declared himself the King of Ireland in 1542. Ireland remained a kingdom until united with Britain into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800. From this time, while Irish lords and Irish Members of Parliament sat in the British Parliament, Ireland did not control its own legislative affairs until independence in 1922.

England (known as Britain after the *Act of Union* of 1707 when combined with Scotland and Wales) became the dominant colonial power in North America after a series of wars with the Netherlands and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Britain also became the dominant power in the Indian Subcontinent from 1757.

While the American War of Independence caused Britain to lose some of its oldest North American colonies by 1783, it retained control over Upper and Lower Canada. The British Government then turned its attention towards Asia, Africa and the Pacific. Australia became a British colony in 1788 when it replaced North America as a place of exile for the Empire's convicts and New Zealand was proclaimed a British colony in 1840.

The rebellious colonies

Ireland

Until they achieved independence from Britain in 1922, the Irish suffered from repressive taxes, lack of investment and neglect by the British Government during hard economic times. Since 1691, membership of the Parliament of Ireland had been restricted to members of the Church of England, who were expected to identify closely with the economic and political interests of England.

The *Penal Laws* passed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries imposed a series of legal disabilities on Ireland's Roman Catholic majority, and to a lesser extent on Protestant Nonconformists such as Presbyterians. By the middle of the eighteenth century, demands for political reform were becoming more frequent. While Ireland was nominally a sovereign kingdom with its own monarch and Parliament, in reality the British Parliament granted itself the right to pass laws for Ireland with the *Declaratory Act 1719*. This gave Ireland fewer freedoms than most of North America at that time.

The growing sense of a distinct Irish political identity received a major boost with the French Revolution in 1789. A group of militias known as the Irish Volunteers took inspiration from the overthrow of the French monarchy. A sworn association called the Society of United Irishmen was formed to secure the equal representation of all the people in a national government. Led by the radical barrister Theobald Wolfe Tone, the United Irishmen instigated the 1798 Irish Rebellion.

Canada

Both Britain and France established settlements in present-day Canada in the seventeenth century. A series of wars between the two colonial powers resulted in most of the settled areas coming under British rule by 1763[148]. A large number of British Loyalists migrated to Canada after American Independence in 1783.
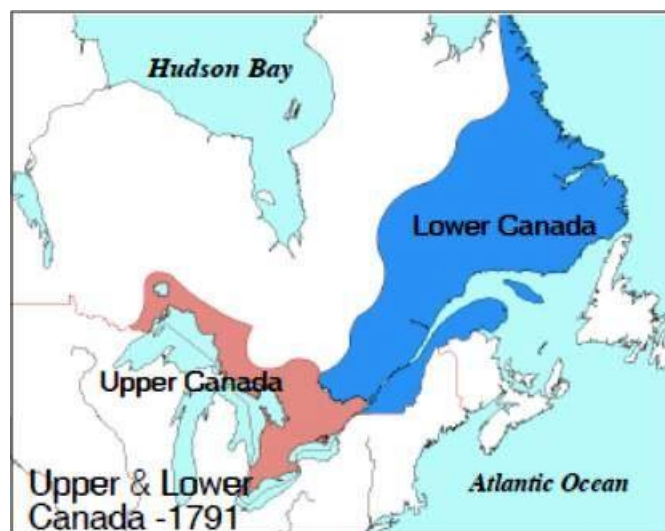
Figure 34   Upper and Lower Canada (Canada History Project)

To accommodate these English-speaking settlers and the longer-established French speakers, the *Constitutional Act 1791* divided the province of Canada into French-speaking Lower Canada (later Quebec) and English-speaking Upper Canada (later Ontario), granting each an elected legislative

assembly[149]. But the assemblies did not represent the broad population, only selective interest groups.

Over 960,000 migrants arrived in Canada from Britain in the decades after the end of the Napoleonic Wars from 1815. In addition, large numbers arrived after escaping the Irish Famine of the mid-1840s and the Scottish Highland Clearances from 1750 to 1860[150]. A movement for responsible government grew during this population expansion.

New Zealand
New Zealand was the last major land mass settled by humans. Most historians date the first arrivals from eastern Polynesia at somewhere between 900 and 1200 AD. From the early nineteenth century, Christian missionaries began to settle New Zealand, eventually converting most of the Maori population[151].

The British Government appointed James Busby as British Resident in 1832 to protect British commerce and to mediate between Maori and unruly European settlers[152]. William Hobson was sent out by the British Government to claim sovereignty for the United Kingdom, making New Zealand a British Crown colony in 1841 (it had previously been administered from New South Wales). The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 to protect the traditional lands of the Maori who acknowledged the sovereignty of the British monarch. But the Treaty became the focus of land appropriation by setters and the British government and disagreements over sovereignty. These tensions led to armed conflict known as the Maori Wars between the colonial government and the Maori that lasted for almost three decades.

Patriotic rebellions

Irish rebels (1798-1806)
Rebels transported: about 2,000.

The Society of United Irishmen was formed in about 1791 as a secret club with a representative selection of Anglicans, Presbyterians and Catholics and given its name by the radical barrister Theobald Wolfe Tone[153]. It was originally formed by Presbyterian radicals angry at being shut out of power by the Anglican establishment, but they were later joined by many from the majority Catholic population.

The war between Britain and France from 1793 forced the organisation underground when the Pitt government suppressed political clubs. By 1797, a revolutionary army was being formed in Ireland by Wolfe Tone's associates. The Naval mutinies at Spithead and the Nore suggested that French-inspired agitators were trying to spread the revolution in England[154].

The Irish Rebellion of 1798 was a major uprising against British rule in Ireland, with the Society of United Irishmen as the main organising force. Following some initial successes, the uprising was suppressed by government militia and yeomanry forces, reinforced by units of the British Army. 20,000 troops eventually poured into Wexford and defeated the rebels at the Battle of Vinegar Hill in June 1798. From that point, the main uprisings of the rebellion had been defeated[155].

In August, nearly two months after the main uprisings had been suppressed, about 1,000 French soldiers landed in County Mayo. Joined by up to 5,000 rebels, they defeated the British at Castlebar

and set up a short-lived "Irish Republic". This sparked some supportive uprisings in other counties which were quickly defeated, and the main force was suppressed in September. The Irish Republic had only lasted twelve days from its declaration to its collapse[156].
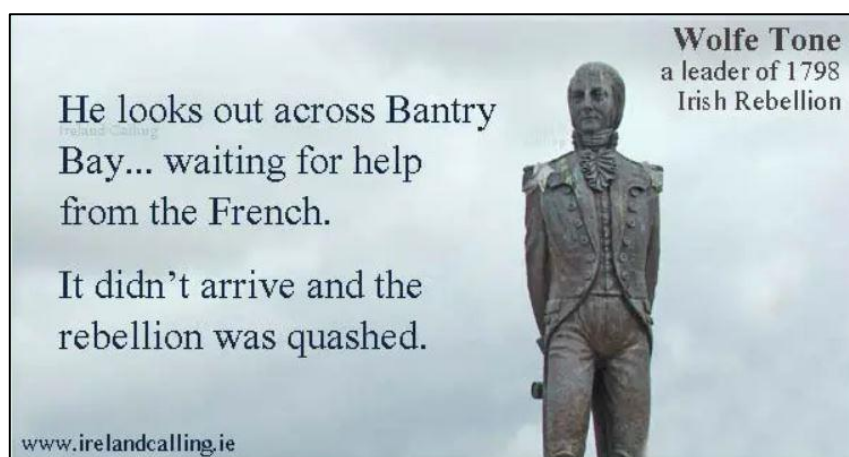
Figure 35   Theobald Wolfe Tone (Ireland Calling)

Small fragments of the great rebel armies of the summer of 1798 survived for a number of years and waged a form of guerilla warfare in several counties. The last rebel group was not vanquished until February 1804. The *Act of Union* of 1800 took away the measure of autonomy granted to the Protestant minority, and was passed largely in response to the rebellion[157].

Despite its rapid suppression, the 1798 Rebellion remains a significant event in Irish history. Centenary celebrations in 1898 were instrumental in the development of modern Irish nationalism, while several key figures such as Wolfe Tone became important reference points for later republicanism. At the bicentenary in 1998, the non-sectarian and democratic ideals of the Rebellion were emphasised in official commemorations, reflecting the desire for reconciliation at the time of the Good Friday Agreement in April 1998. It was hoped this agreement would end the conflict in Northern Ireland.

Reverend Henry Fulton
Henry Fulton (1761-1840) was born in England and ordained to the ministry of the established Church of Ireland by the Bishop of Killaloe. As a student, he met Theobald Wolfe Tone and, being committed to Catholic emancipation and reform, followed him into the Society of United Irishman. He was implicated in the Irish rebellion of 1798, convicted of sedition at Tipperary in 1799 and transported for life with his wife and son. He was one of 73 political prisoners that sailed from Cork in the *Minerva*, arriving in Sydney in January 1800.

Governor John Hunter was perplexed how someone like Fulton should be employed in the colony, but when the principal chaplain Richard Johnson departed in October 1800, Fulton resumed his profession. He was conditionally pardoned in November 1800 and sent as assistant chaplain to the Hawkesbury, and in February 1801 to Norfolk Island. He did well at Norfolk Island and was granted a full pardon in 1805, returning to Australia in 1806.

He was a loyal supporter of Governor William Bligh against the rebels during the Rum Rebellion of 1808 and the subsequent inquiries. For this, he was suspended from duty by the rebel

administration, but was restored to his situation by Governor Lachlan Macquarie soon after his arrival in January 1810[158].

Fulton died at his parsonage in Castlereagh, in November 1840. Twice in his life he went against his own interests to support things he believed in: he lost his living in Ireland in support of Irish nationalism and again in Australia in supporting Governor Bligh[159].

James Meehan

James Meehan (1774-1826) was born in Ireland and was sentenced to transportation for his part in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Commissioner John Bigge later remarked that his offence was not serious. He arrived in Sydney on the *Friendship* in February 1800 and in April was assigned to Charles Grimes, the acting surveyor-general.

While Grimes was on leave from 1803 to 1806, George Evans was appointed acting surveyor-general, but most of the departmental duties were performed by Meehan, who was conditionally pardoned by then. Grimes considered Meehan capable of carrying out the duties on his return. During this time, Meehan measured the farms of grantees and explored part of the Derwent and Shoalhaven Rivers. He received an absolute pardon in 1806.
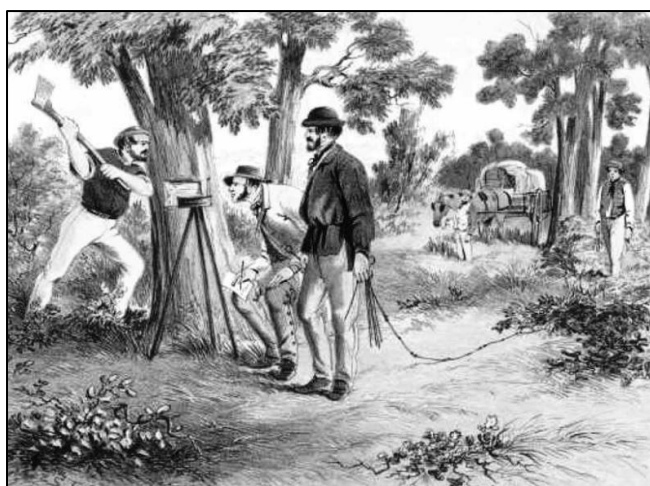
Figure 36   Survey team, 1860s (National Library of Australia)

Grimes was sent to England in 1808 after Governor William Bligh's deposition, and was not permitted to return. After John Oxley became surveyor-general in 1812, a great part of his time was taken up with exploration, leaving Meehan to again undertake much of the routine work of the department, particularly the measuring of grants. Apart from this, Meehan made several contributions to the mapping of the colony, most notably a map of Sydney in 1807.

Meehan was one of the small group of ex-convicts who played an important part in the colony's affairs during Lachlan Macquarie's governorship and justified Macquarie's belief that good conduct and reformation should enable a person to regain the rank in society they lost when sentenced to transportation. Macquarie wrote that he was a valuable man with unimpeachable integrity and professional skill[160].

Canadian Patriotic rebels (1837-40)

Rebels transported: about 243.

After the first insurrection in Lower Canada in 1837, the Montreal prison was filled to overflowing. Lord Durham emptied it, but when hostilities resumed in 1838, the prison filled with even more prisoners. Martial law was declared, allowing the government to imprison people without reason. Twelve were hanged, the last in February 1839.

But the government feared the population would sympathise with the prisoners, so 151 from Lower Canada were transported to Australia (93 Americans and 58 French-Canadians). Almost all were transported in the *Buffalo,* arriving in Hobart Town in February 1840, and the rest in the *Canton*, which arrived the previous month. Most of the American prisoners were landed in Hobart, and the *Buffalo* went on to Sydney where the 58 French-Canadians were landed. They were separated mainly because of the ongoing hostility between the two groups.

The prisoners were in the main literate, idealistic and honest men[161] and were allowed to return in 1844, although they had to pay their fare home. Most had returned by 1845[162].

After the Upper Canada rebellion, over 800 people were arrested for being Reform sympathisers[163]. Several rebels were sentenced to hang, but 92 were sent to Van Diemen's Land in the *Moffatt* in 1838 and the *Marquis of Hastings* in 1839[164]. A general pardon was issued in 1845 and they were allowed to return to Canada.
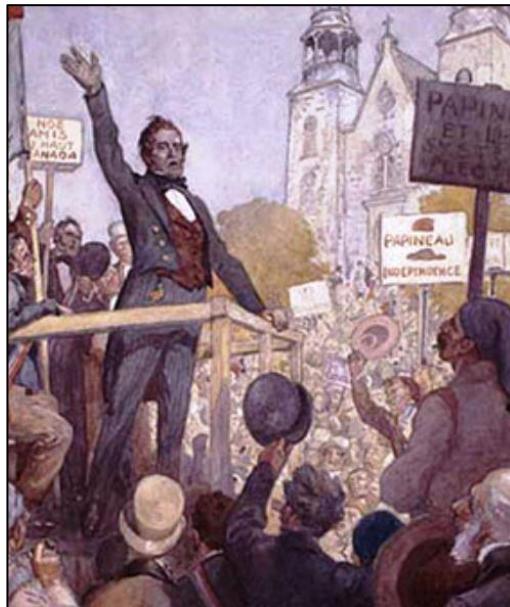
Figure 37   Papineau in Lower Canada, 1837 (Canada War blog)

William Gates

William Gates (c1816-1865) was an American who took part in the Patriotic Movement of 1837-38 aimed at freeing Upper and Lower Canada from British rule. He was one of a force of about 200 men who in November 1838 went to Prescott, where Gates and many other were captured after some fighting. Most were charged with the unusual crime of "piratical invasion".

Colonel Sir George Arthur had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in 1838 (after serving as Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land from 1824 to 1836), and was instructed to deal firmly with the rebels. The disturbances were suppressed, and most of the rebels fled to the United States. 29 were tried by court martial and executed. About 200, including Gates, were sentenced to transportation for life. In his 1850 book *Recollections of Life in Van Diemen's Land*, Gates described how the "Yankee rebels" were treated like slaves. But another American convict Robert Marsh said he was given lighter work after complaining to a magistrate.

In February 1842, along with about seventy of the rebels, Gates received a ticket-of-leave and ceased wearing convicts' clothing. He was employed as an overseer and then as a constable, hoping to catch bushrangers at a bounty of £300 a head. He received a full pardon in September 1845. He moved to Melbourne to earn his fare back to the United States, and in May 1848 landed in New England. Some other literate fellow prisoners of Gates also wrote books about their experiences in Van Diemen's Land, including Benjamin Wait, Daniel D. Heistis, Linus W Miller and Samuel Snow[165].

Francois Xavier Prieur

Francois Xavier Prieur (1814-1891) was born in Quebec, Canada and worked as a storekeeper. In 1835, he came into contact with the organisation founded by Louis Papineau to spread a spirit of nationalism among French Canadians. In 1838 he was sworn in as a member of the Association of Chasseurs, founded to drive the English out of Lower Canada. He appears to have been a leader of the rebellion in his local St Timothee district, where he was captured and tried for treason at the end of 1838. He was first condemned to death, and then was among the 58 French Canadians whose sentences were commuted to transportation for life to New South Wales.
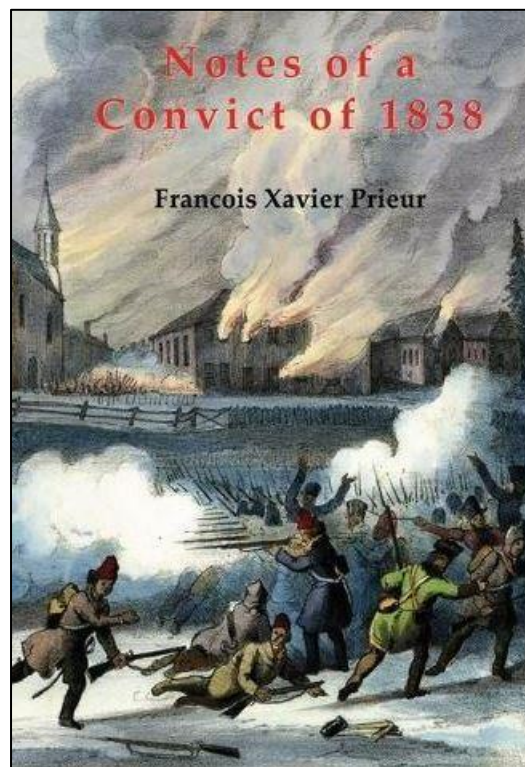
Figure 38   Francois Xavier Prieur's Journal, 1838

They arrived in the *Buffalo* in February 1840. He worked in various assigned jobs in Sydney and was granted a ticket-of-leave in 1842, allowing him to collaborate with some of his compatriots in a variety of business ventures. He was pardoned in early 1844 and left New South Wales for London on the *Saint George* in February 1846, where he found that a fund had been set up to pay their passages back to Canada. He arrived in Quebec in September.

Prieur and other French Canadian convicts such as Leon Ducharme published the journals they kept of their time in Australia. Their impressions of the experience seemed to be highly unfavourable, but their stay was an enforced one and occurred during a time of severe economic depression in the 1840s[166].

New Zealand Maori fighters (1846)
Rebels transported: 5.

The Maori Wars
In 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by colonial authorities and some Maori leaders. The English language version guaranteed that Maori should have undisturbed possession of their lands, forests and fisheries provided they became British subjects, selling land to the government only, in return for surrendering sovereignty to the British Crown. But the Maori version of the Treaty was translated as "governance", not "sovereignty", leading to considerable disagreement over the meaning of the Treaty and the degree of allegiance required to ensure the protection of their land[167].

The New Zealand Wars (formerly known as the Maori Wars) took place from 1845 to 1872, between the New Zealand colonial government and allied Maori on one side and Maori and Maori-allied settlers on the other hand. The conflict arose from Maori resistance to land sales to settlers[168].

While the wars were initially localised conflicts triggered by tensions over disputed land purchases, they escalated dramatically from 1860 when the colonial government became convinced it was facing united Maori resistance to further land sales. The government summoned thousands of British troops to mount major campaigns to overpower the Maori King movement and to conquer farming and residential land for British settlers[169].

Although greatly outnumbered, the Maori were able to able to withstand their enemy with techniques such as anti-artillery bunkers and the use of carefully placed fortified villages (pa) that allowed them to block the enemy's advance, inflict heavy losses, then quickly leave their positions without significant loss. But the British authorities had numbers on their side, and by 1872 the last warring Maori tribes realised they could not win and simply stopped fighting.

Large areas of land were confiscated from the Maori under the *New Zealand Settlements Act* of 1863, purportedly as punishment for rebellion, but in reality it was taken from both loyal and rebel Maori tribes. About half of the confiscated land was eventually paid for or returned to Maori control. The confiscations had a lasting impact on the social and economic development of the affected tribes. It is fair to say that, for the Maori, nothing good came out of 27 years of warfare to protect their land.

The legacy of the New Zealand Wars continues, but nowadays the battles are mostly fought in courtrooms and around the negotiating table. As of 2011, the Crown is making formal apologies to the tribes[170].

Maori War convicts

Between 1843 and 1853, a mixture of more than 110 soldiers, sailors, Maori, civilians and convict absconders from Australia were transported from New Zealand to Van Diemen's Land. Early colonial New Zealand was idealised as a new sort of colony for gentlefolk and free labourers, and New Zealanders aspired to a utopia by brutally suppressing challenges to that dream. In November 1841, Governor William Hobson named Van Diemen's Land as the site to which its prisoners would be sent.

In 1846, New Zealand Governor George Grey proclaimed martial law across the Wellington region. When several Maori fighters were eventually captured, they were tried and found guilty on charges of "being in open rebellion against Queen and country". Five were sentenced to transportation for life in Van Diemen's Land. On arrival In Hobart, the traditionally-dressed Maori attracted a lot of attention, and the locals loudly disapproved of their New Zealand neighbours' treatment of indigenous people. The blatant irony of this was the Tasmanians' own near-genocidal war against Aboriginal people.

Governor Grey had wanted the Maori warriors sent to Norfolk Island or Port Arthur (where the worst of the worst were normally sent) and hoped they would write back to their allies at home complaining of the harsh treatment they received there (obviously to discourage further rebelliousness). Instead, they were held for a while in Hobart, where they were visited by well-wishers.
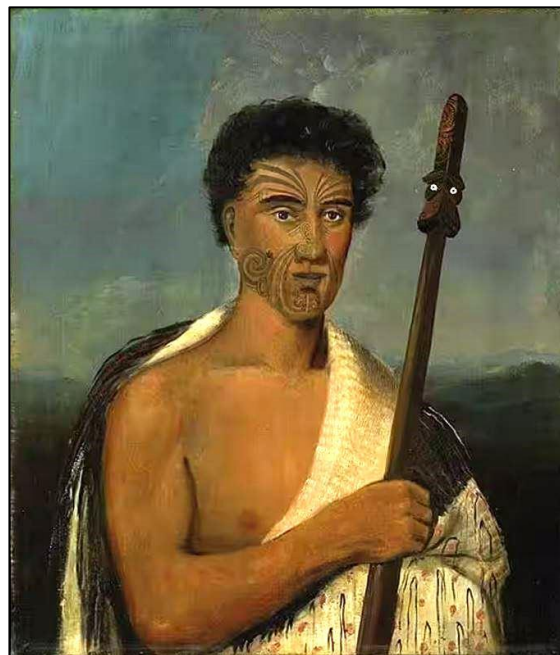
Figure 39   Hohepa Te Umuroa, 1846 (William Duke)

They became the media darlings of their day: the colonial artist John Skinner Prout painted watercolour portraits of each of them, and William Duke created a portrait of Te Umuroa in oils[171].

They were also visited by the local press, who were vigorous in criticising their transportation[172]. But the citizens of Hobart were worried that the Maori could become contaminated through contact with other convicts, so arrangements were made to send them to Maria Island off the east coast, where they could live separately from other convicts, and also housed separately from the 400 other convicts already on the island.

Their lives in captivity were as gentle as possible and involved Bible study, vegetable gardening, nature walks and hunting. It is not known if they wrote home to their fellow warriors extolling the splendid treatment they were unexpectedly receiving. After lobbying from Tasmanian colonists and a pardon from Britain, four of the five, Te Kumete, Te Wareteti, Matiu Tikiahi and Te Rahui, were sent home in 1848. Te Umuroa died while in custody at the Maria Island probation station.

Transportation to Van Diemen's Land ended in 1853, at which time New Zealand was obliged to upgrade its flimsy gaols so criminals could be punished within its own borders[173].

Hohepa Te Umuroa

Hohepa Te Umuroa may have been born in the early 1820s. He worked for a time as a labourer, but when the Maori leader Te Rangihaeata began armed resistance against the settlers in the Wellington area in 1846, he joined other Wanganui Maori who travelled to Taupo. In May 1846 he took part in an attack on a farm in the Hutt Valley, and in August was captured along with six other Wanganui Maori by a party of other Maori allied to the government.

Five of the captives were tried by court martial, convicted, and then sentenced to be transported for life. By mid-1847, Te Umuroa fell seriously ill with tuberculosis. He died in July 1847 and was buried in a small public cemetery rather than in the convict cemetery. His death spurred the Australian authorities into action. Both Lieutenant-Governor Charles La Trobe and the Colonial Office questioned the legality of the court martial under which the five had been tried and their subsequent transportation.

While the four remaining Maori were returned to Auckland in March 1848, Te Umuora was not returned until 1988, when he was reburied at the cemetery at Jerusalem on the Wanganui River[174].

Irish Fenians (1868)

Rebels transported: 62.

How not to run a nationalist rebellion

The Fenian Rising of 1867 was an unsuccessful rebellion against British rule in Ireland, organised by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). In September 1865, the British government moved to close down the Fenians' newspaper *The Irish People*, and arrested much of the leadership of the IRB. During the latter part of 1866, the IRB tried to raise funds in the United States for a new rising planned for the following year.

Figure 40   Fenian volunteer (Hispano-Irish Association)

The Fenians were a transatlantic organisation consisting of the IRB founded in Dublin in 1858, and the Fenian Brotherhood founded the same year in the United States. Their aim was the establishment of an independent Irish Republic by force of arms. At the end of the American Civil War in 1865, the Fenians hoped to recruit willing Irish veterans of that war for an insurrection in Ireland. They collected about 6,000 firearms and had as many as 50,000 men willing to fight[175].

However, the rising of 1867 was badly organised. A brief rising occurred in County Kerry in February followed by an attempted nationwide insurrection, which included an attempt to take Dublin in March. But due to poor planning and government infiltration of the insurgents, the rebellion never got off the ground. More of the leaders were arrested, and although some were sentenced to death, none was executed. A series of attacks followed in England during September 1867 aimed at freeing Fenian prisoners, after which three Fenians were executed.

When it became apparent that the coordinated rising that was planned was not happening, most rebels simply went home[176]. The uprising failed because of lack of arms and planning as well as the British authorities' effective use of informers. Most of the Fenian leadership was arrested before the rebellion even took place[177].

Panic in the West

62 convicted Fenians were transported to Western Australia in the *Hougoumont*, arriving in Fremantle in January 1868. The ship carried a total of 280 convicts and 108 passengers. The transportation of political prisoners contravened the agreement between the British government and the colonial authorities in Western Australia, and news of their impending arrival caused panic in the colony.

The transport of military prisoners (about seventeen of the Fenians) was also highly unusual, given the British government's previous firm policy to not transport them. While convict transportation to New South Wales and Tasmania ceased decades ago, Western Australia still wanted convict labour to help with building projects[178].

The presence of Fenians meant that the literacy rate on board was much higher than most convict ships. A more typical cross-section of convicts would include a mixture of unemployed factory workers from Manchester, pickpockets from London or cattle-rustlers from Ireland. Consequently, a number of shipboard journals have survived, some of which have been published (for example, that of Thomas McCarthy Fennell).

In addition, many articles about the voyage were later written by Fenians who went on to become journalists, such as John Boyle O'Reilly. Several Fenians entertained themselves during the journey by producing seven editions of a shipboard newspaper entitled *The Wild Goose,* which survive in the State Library of New South Wales. Only one hand-written copy of each issue was made, which was then read out aloud to the convicts.

The *Hougoumont* also carried the last living Australian convict (although he was not a Fenian). Samuel Speed was born in Birmingham in 1841. He was tried in Oxfordshire for setting fire to a haystack. The motive for this seemingly pointless act of vandalism was that he was homeless and begging for food, so he committed arson in order to get arrested and spend some time in a warm cell. He was sentenced to seven years transportation and arrived in the (often very warm) West along with the feared Fenians. He was never convicted again, and went on to live a perfectly ordinary and law-abiding life in the sunniest capital city in the nation, passing away in 1938[179].

John Boyle O'Reilly

John Boyle O'Reilly (1844-1890) joined a newspaper at Preston in Lancashire at age 15, and became a reporter. He got involved in the Fenian movement and returned to Ireland in 1863. He enlisted in the 10th Hussars and concentrated on persuading his fellow soldiers to join the revolutionary organisation. Soon "treasonable songs and ballads" that he taught the soldiers were being heard throughout the regiment.

His seditious activity was betrayed in November 1866, and he was court-martialled in June 1867. He was convicted of having withheld knowledge of "an intended mutiny" and ordered to be shot, but this was commuted to 20 years penal servitude. After two years in English prisons he was transported with 61 other Irish expatriates in the *Hougoumont*, arriving at Fremantle in January 1868.

With the help of the priest Patrick McCabe and the settler James Maguire, he escaped on board the American whaler *Gazelle* in February 1869, and transferred to two other ships before finally arriving

in Philadelphia in November 1869. He promptly became an American citizen and settled in Boston, where he worked as an editor and journalist and was part owner of a Catholic newspaper called the *Boston Pilot*. An ardent democrat, he advocated home rule for Ireland by constitutional reform and not physical force.

In 1875, he and others devised a daring scheme to rescue six of the Irish military prisoners who were still in Fremantle gaol. This involved the American whaler *Catalpa*, which went to Bunbury to await the arrival of a whale boat carrying the escapees from Fremantle. After a squall and a skirmish with a government ship, the mission was successful and the Fenians reached New York in August 1876.

O'Reilly won repute in America as a poet and lecturer. He died at Hull in August 1890 from an overdose of chloral, which he regularly took as a cure for insomnia. There are memorials to him in County Meath, Boston, Washington and at Australind (near Bunbury), near where he made his escape to America in 1869[180].

Thomas McCarthy Fennell

Thomas McCarthy Fennell (1841-1914) was born in County Clare, Ireland. He was one of the first Clare men to join the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1863, and was responsible for recruiting, organising and training local volunteers. In March 1867 he took part in a raiding party on the Kilbaha Coastguard Station to seize arms for the Rising. He was shot in the hip, and then captured three days later while recovering in a friend's house.

In July 1867 he was tried, found guilty and sentenced to ten years' hard labour. In October he boarded the *Hougoumont*, arriving in Fremantle with the other Fenian convicts in January 1868. The United States government put pressure on the British government to free the American Fenians in captivity, including many Civil War veterans. Some of the Fenians were released in 1869.

Fennell was released in 1871 with the remaining Fenians. The only ones not released were the military Fenians, Irishmen who had taken the Fenian oath while serving in the British Army. The British government considered them common criminals never to be released. After Fennell's release in March 1871, he travelled to New Zealand where he was immediately arrested as a banned "ex-convict" and sent to New South Wales, where the local Irish raised funds for his passage to America.

In America, he met with John Devoy to discuss how to rescue the military Fenians still serving indefinite time in Western Australia. Fennell's idea was implemented, and six prisoners made good their escape in the American whaler *Catalpa* in April 1876. Fennell later claimed the idea was not originally his, but was suggested to him by two unnamed individuals In Australia.

After marrying in 1874, he moved to the City of Elmira in upstate New York, where he became the proprietor of the Commercial Hotel, and spent the rest of his life there. He also served as local agent for the Cunard Line, a city Park Commissioner and the city's first Superintendent of Public Works. He also wrote articles for the local newspaper.

He kept in touch with his Fenian comrades from the past and supported various Irish causes, including fundraising to rescue the military Fenians. He died in 1914 after a brief illness[181].

Impact of the patriotic rebellions on Australia

The Irish patriotic rebels who were transported to the Australian colonies had little impact on the development of the colony, as their main concern was to leave Australia and continue the fight for an independent Ireland, either from the United States, England or Ireland. However, the Australian Council of Trade Unions website argues that the major Irish convict rebellion outside Sydney in 1804 was a warning to authorities that bad treatment of the convicts would not be without consequences[182].

The Canadian patriotic rebellion, on the other hand, had a strong influence on the evolution of self-government in the Australian colonies. The recommendations of the Durham Report regarding self-government eventually spread to other British settler colonies including in Australia and New Zealand in the 1850s. Western Australia achieved self-government in the 1890s.

The parallel nature of government organisation in Australia and Canada to this day is ongoing evidence of the long-enduring effects of the report's recommended model for transition to responsible government.

Notes

[1] enclosure, Encyclopaedia Britannica online.

[2] Enclosure Movement, History Crunch website.

[3] Arnold Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, 1884.

[4] The Impact of the British Industrial Revolution, World History Encyclopedia website.

[5] Industrial Revolution, Encyclopaedia Britannica website.

[6] The Impact of the British Industrial Revolution, World History Encyclopedia website.

[7] Convict Labor during the Colonial Period, Encyclopedia Virginia website.

[8] Convict transportation peaks, Defining Moments, National Museum of Australia website.

[9] Convict Labor during the Colonial Period, Encyclopedia Virginia website.

[10] ibid.

[11] Convict transportation peaks, Defining Moments, National Museum of Australia website.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Sebastian Conrad, Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique, *The American Historical Review*, 1 October 2012.

[14] Daniel Brewer, *The Enlightenment Past: reconstructing eighteenth century French thought*, 2008.

[15] Jean-Christian Petitfils, *Louis XVI*, 2005.

[16] Roy Porter, *The creation of the modern world: the untold story of the British Enlightenment*, 2000.

[17] European Responses to America, Encyclopedia website.

[18] Lasting Impacts of the American Revolution Had on Other Governments in Europe, Classroom website.

[19] Ferenc Feher, *The French revolution and the Birth of Modernity*, 1990.

[20] Thomas Sargent and Francois Velde, Macroeconomic features of the French Revolution, *Journal of Political Economy*, 1995.

[21] Hugh Gough, *The Terror in the French Revolution*, 1998.

[22] Ferenc Feher, *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity*, 1990.

[23] Paul Hanson, *Contesting the French Revolution*, 2009.

[24] Alan Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, 1999.

[25] Emma Vincent Macleod, *A War of Ideas: British Attitudes to the War against Revolutionary France, 1792-1802,* 1999.

[26] French Revolutionary Wars – Campaign in 1792, Encyclopaedia Britannica website.

[27] The Royal Navy, Encyclopaedia Britannica website.

[28] Jan Henry Morgan, *Welcome Niall O'Donnell (a Chronicle of Lower Canada: Book One)*, 1992.

[29] Gilles Paquet, *Lower Canada at the turn of the nineteenth century: restructuring and modernisation*, 1988.

[30] Gilles Laporte*, Brief History of the Quebec Patriots*, 2015.

[31] Michel Ducharme, *The concept of liberty in Canada in the era of the Atlantic revolutions (1776-1838)*, 2010.

[32] R J W Evans, *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-49*, 2000.

[33] Cormac O'Grada, *The European subsistence crisis of 1845-50: a comparative perspective*, 2006.

[34] The origins and growth of Parliament, National Archives of the United Kingdom.

[35] H J Hanham, *The Reformed Electoral System in Great Britain*, 1968.

[36] Eric J Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783-1870*, 1996.

[37] Benjamin Wilkie, *The Scots in Australia, 1788-1938,* 2005.

[38] Thomas Muir entry, Dictionary of Sydney website.

[39] Benjamin Wilkie, *The Scots in Australia, 1788-1938,* 2005.

[40] The Radical Rising of 1820, Scotland's People website.

[41] *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Adver*tiser, 3 November 1836.

[42] John Anderson entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[43] Malcolm Chase, Arthur Thistlewood (1774-1820), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

[44] Spencean Philanthropists, British History, Spartacus Educational website.

[45] The Transported Five, The Cato Street Conspiracy website.

[46] Fred Donnelly, The Yorkshire Rebellion of 1820: What Caused It?, *Albion Magazine Online*, Summer 2007.

[47] John Linley, Convict Records of Australia website.

[48] Fred Donnelly, The Yorkshire Rebellion of 1820: What Caused It?, *Albion Magazine Online*, Summer 2007.

[49] John Linley, Convict Records of Australia website.

[50] The Great Reform Act, Power and Politics and Protest, The National Archives Learning Curve.

[51] Reform and the Birmingham connection, Parliament of the United Kingdom website.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Jeremy Caple, *The Bristol Riots of 1831 and Social Reform in England*, 1990.

[54] The 1831 Reform Riots in Bristol, Bristol's Free Museums and Historic Houses website.

[55] The Reform Riots 1831-32, The Ex-Classics Website.

[56] John Frost Sutton*, The Date-Book of Remarkable and Memorable Events connected with Nottingham*, 1852.

[57] Carol Raabus, Nottingham's convict connection to Hobart, ABC Local radio, 9 September 2010.

[58] Chartists transported to Australia, Chartist Ancestors website.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Joey Watson and Ann Arnold, The convicts who shaped Australian democracy as we know it, Late Night Live, 29 September 2019, ABC website.

[61] David Williams: *John Frost: a Study in Chartism*, Cardiff, 1939.

[62] David V. J. Jones, *The Last Rising: The Newport Chartist Insurrection of 1839*, 1999.

[63] John Frost entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[64] Zephaniah Williams entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[65] John Humphries, *The Man from the Alamo*, 2004.

[66] Thomas Francis Meagher entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[67] Kevin Izod O'Doherty entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography.*

[68] Joey Watson and Ann Arnold, The convicts who shaped Australian democracy as we know it, Late Night Live, 29 September 2019, ABC website.

[69] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 February 1850.

[70] Joey Watson and Ann Arnold, The convicts who shaped Australian democracy as we know it, Late Night Live, 29 September 2019, ABC website.

[71] Chartism in Australia, Chartist Ancestors website.

[72] 1856 to 1889 – Responsible Government and Colonial Development, Parliament of New South Wales website.

[73] Franchise Act, National Museum of Australia website.

[74] Thomas Keneally, *Australian Origins to Eureka, Volume 1*, 2009.

[75] Sir Henry Parkes entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[76] Henry Parkes, Parliament of New South Wales website.

[77] Chartism in Australia, Chartist Ancestors website.

[78] The Spithead and Nore Mutinies of 1797, Royal Museums Greenwich website.

[79] Ian M. Bates*, Champion of the Quarterdeck: Admiral Sir Erasmus Gower (1742-1814)*, 2017.

[80] Ann Veronica Coats, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797*, 2011.

[81] *Sydney Gazette*, 6 September 1826.

[82] William Redfern entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[83] Luddite, World History Encyclopedia website.

[84] E J Hobsbawn, The Machine Breakers, *Past and Present*, 1952.

[85] Luddite, World History Encyclopedia web.

[86] Lord Byron and the Luddites, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, worldsocialism.org website.

[87] Charles Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763*, 1965.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Thomas Burbury entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography.*

[90] Ibid.

[91] James S. Donnelly Jnr, *Captain Rock: the Irish agrarian rebellion of 1821-1824*, 2009.

[92] John Hurley entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[93] 332 Agricultural Workers are Transported to Tasmania as Punishment for Machine breaking, History of Information website.

[94] Bruce W Brown, *The machine breaker convicts from the Proteus and the Eliza*, 2004.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ronan Miles, *The Reformation in Dublin*, 1926.

[100] *Kilkenny: History and Society*, 1990.

[101] William Sheehan, *Riotous Assemblies – Rebels, Riots and Revolts in Ireland*, 2011.

[102] Conn Hallinan, *Coin of Empire*, 2003.

[103] Tithe War (1830-1838), encyclopedia.com website.

[104] *Sligo Journal*, 29 July 1831.

[105] *Sligo Journal*, 5 August 1831.

[106] Philip Lacken entry, Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Dic Penderan (Richard Lewis), 100 Welsh Heroes website.

[109] 1831: Merthyr Tydfil uprising, libcom.org website.

[110] Convict ship *John* 1832, Free Settler or Felon website.

[111] The Merthyr Riots: Settling the Account, Genuki UK & Ireland Genealogy website.

[112] The Merthyr Rising, Culture Matters UK website.

[113] Lewis Lewis, Convict Records website.

[114] Ibid.

[115] John Stevenson, The Tolpuddle Martyrs, *History Today*, 11 November 1983.

[116] Frederick Burwick, *British Drama of the Industrial Revolution*, 2015.

[117] Tolpuddle Martyrs' Sculpture, Age of Revolution website.

[118] Tolpuddle Martyrs' Festival 2023, Tolpuddle Martyrs website.

[119] George Loveless entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[120] Edwin Butterworth, *Historical Sketches of Oldham*, 1981.

[121] R. McNeil and R. Nevill, *A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of Greater Manchester*, Association for Industrial Archaeology, 2000.

[122] Derek Bickerstaffe, *Politics and Party Organisation in Oldham 1832-1914*, 1964.

[123] Ross Johnson, *Sentenced to cross the Raging Sea,* 2004.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Samuel Johnson, Convict Records website.

[126] Return of General Muster of Convicts in New South Wales on 31 December 1837.

[127] Tickets of Leave Index 1810-1848, New South Wales Records and Archives.

[128] Pardons Recommended for Convicts 1826-1856, New South Wales Records and Archives.

[129] Samuel Johnson, Convict Records website.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ben Johnson, The Rebecca Riots, Historic UK website.

[132] Rebecca Riots remembered, 13th May, FelinFach website.

[133] Ben Johnson, The Rebecca Riots, Historic UK website.

[134] Rebecca Riots remembered, 13th May, FelinFach website.

[135] Statement by William Francis on the arrest of Dai'r Cantwr, Gathering the Jewels, Welsh History website.

[136] David Williams, David Davies, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, National Library of Wales.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Plotting the Rebecca Rioters, Literary Atlas of Wales website.

[139] Margaret Simpson, Industrial Revolution in Australia – impact on manufacturing in the 1800s, Powerhouse Museum website, 29 August 2018.

[140] Ann Moyal, An Entrepreneurial Nation: Agricultural Invention and Innovation in Nineteenth Century Australia, *Australian Dictionary of Biography.*

[141] Margaret Simpson, Industrial Revolution in Australia – impact on manufacturing in the 1800s, Powerhouse Museum website, 29 August 2018.

[142] Australia's Early Immigrant Schemes, Australian Society of Lacemakers of Calais Inc. website.

[143] History of Australian Unions, Australian Council of Trade Unions website.

[144] A. P. Davidson, A Skeleton in the Cupboard: Master and Servant Legislation and the Industrial Torts in Tasmania, *University of Tasmania Law Review*, 1976.

[145] History of Australian Unions, Australian Council of Trade Unions website.

[146] Jean Russo, *Planting an Empire: the Early Chesapeake in British North America*, 2012.

[147] Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, 2004.

[148] Gratien Allaire, From "Nouvelle-France" to "Francophonie canadienne", a historical survey, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2007.

[149] Jeffrey L. McNairn, *The Capacity to Judge*, 2000.

[150] John A. Gallagher, *The Irish Emigration of 1847 and its Canadian Consequences*, 1936.

[151] Thor Wagstrom, Broken Tongues and Foreign Hearts, *Indigenous People and Religious Change*, 2005.

[152] Claudia Orange, James Busby entry, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1990.

[153] A. T. Q. Stewart, *The Summer Soldiers: the 1798 Rebellion in Antrim and Down*, 1995.

[154] Thomas Pakenham, *The Year of Liberty*, 1969.

[155] Daniel Graham, *The People's Rising: the Great Wexford Rebellion of 1798*, 1995.

[156] Gur Beiner, *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory,* 2007.

[157] Seamus Nevin, History Repeating: Georgian Ireland's Property Bubble, *History Ireland*, 2012.

[158] Reverend Henry Fulton entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[159] Ibid.

[160] James Meehan entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography.*

[161] *Buffalo* Convict Ship, Australian Convict Records website.

[162] Gilles Laporte, *Breve histoire des patriotes*, Quebec, 2015.

[163] Carol Wilton, "Lawless Law": Conservative Political Violence in Upper Canada 1818-1841, *Law and History Review*, 1995.

[164] William Kilbourn, *The Firebrand: William Lyon McKenzie and the Rebellion in Upper Canada*, 2008.

[165] William Gates entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[166] Francois Xavier Prieur entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[167] Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars*, 2019.

[168] Danny Keenan, New Zealand Wars overview, *The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 2012.

[169] B. J. Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-1870*, 1967.

[170] Treaty Claims Settlement Bill, Government Bill – New Zealand legislation, 2011.

[171] Kristyn Haman, The New Zealand convicts sent to Australia, *Australian Geographic*, 25 October 2017.

[172] Hohepa Te Umuroa, The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand website.

[173] Kristyn Haman, The New Zealand convicts sent to Australia, *Australian Geographic*, 25 October 2017.

[174] Hohepa Te Umuroa, The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand website.

[175] *James H Murphy, Ireland, A Social, Cultural and Literary History, 1791-1891*, 2003.

[176] Joseph Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918*, 2008.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Barry Godfrey and Lucy Williams, Australia's last living convict bucked the trend of reoffending, 10 January 2018, ABC News website.

[179] Ibid.

[180] William Boyle O'Reilly entry, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

[181] Thomas McCarthy Fennell (1841-1914), Fenian Graves website.

[182] History of Australian Unions, Australian Council of Trade Unions website.

Table of Figures

References

Dictionary of Sydney website www.dictionaryofsydney.org

Encyclopaedia Britannica online, www.britannica.com

National Library of Australia – Trove digitised newspaper archive, 1803 to 1955.

A. J. Gray, 'Anderson, John (1790–1858)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/anderson-john-1704/text1849, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 6 June 2023.

G. Rudé, 'Frost, John (1784–1877)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/frost-john-2071/text2587, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 10 June 2023.

G. Rudé, 'Meagher, Thomas Francis (1823–1867)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/meagher-thomas-francis-2440/text3251, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 10 June 2023.

G. Rudé, 'O'Doherty, Kevin Izod (1823–1905)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/odoherty-kevin-izod-4319/text7007, published first in hardcopy 1974, accessed online 6 May 2023.

A. W. Martin, 'Parkes, Sir Henry (1815–1896)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/parkes-sir-henry-4366/text7099, published first in hardcopy 1974, accessed online 12 June 2023.

Edward Ford, 'Redfern, William (1774–1833)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/redfern-william-2580/text3533, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 12 June 2023.

G. Rudé, 'Burbury, Thomas (1809–1870)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/burbury-thomas-1850/text2145, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 13 June 2023.

Martha Rutledge, 'Hurley, John (1796–1882)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hurley-john-3826/text6071, published first in hardcopy 1972, accessed online 13 June 2023.

G. Rudé, 'Loveless, George (1797–1874)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/loveless-george-2373/text3119, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 15 June 2023.

K. J. Cable, 'Fulton, Henry (1761–1840)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fulton-henry-2074/text2593, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 20 June 2023.

T. M. Perry, 'Meehan, James (1774–1826)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/meehan-james-2443/text3257, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 20 June 2023.

'Gates, William (1816–1865)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gates-william-2084/text2613, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 21 June 2023.

Vivienne Parsons, 'Prieur, François Xavier (1814–1891)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/prieur-francois-xavier-2564/text3499, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 21 June 2023.

Wendy Birman, 'O'Reilly, John Boyle (1844–1890)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/oreilly-john-boyle-4338/text7043, published first in hardcopy 1974, accessed online 22 June 2023.

Index