The Life, Position and Influence of Women in the Early Settlement of Van Diemen's Land (1803 - 1850).

B. P. Andrews.
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SCHEME OF THESIS.

1. Female Convicts
2. Wives of Convicts.
3. Free Organized Emigrants
4. Ordinary Women of Settler and Official Class.
   (a) Homes
   (b) Housekeeping
   (c) Social Life
   (d) Education
5. Occupation of Women.
6. Women and Property.
7. Marriage.
8. The Governors' Wives.
9. Conclusion.
THE LIFE AND PART OF THE FEMALE CONVICTS.

So much of the actual records of female convicts is unpleasant and detrimental both to those in authority and to the women themselves, that it is necessary to remember that there must have been many whose deeds are unrecorded for the simple reason that they came to the colony, became satisfactory domestic servants or satisfactory wives and mothers, and as such do not figure prominently in records. By these as well as by the settlers' wives, homes were established and young colonists brought up. Nevertheless, the records of female convicts do not make pleasant reading.

To understand the behaviour and the treatment of these women, the nineteenth century atmosphere of England must be realised. There are two extreme twentieth century views. One is an over sentimentality resulting in horrorstruck condemnation of authority. The other is a clear cut puritanical disgust at the women themselves. Neither of these judgments is just.

In England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was very easy for women to become criminals. The life of the upper and middle class woman was the sheltered home life - but what was there for the poorer class of woman? There were few ways by which she might make an honest living. She could be a servant, a nurse, or perhaps a shop assistant. All three of these were very badly paid. Poverty, particularly during the depression after the Napoleonic Wars, must have resulted in a large number of women becoming destitute. It was no wonder that many turned to prostitution or stealing. From this class - some convicted on one slight offence, others after a hardened life of crime - was drawn the supply of women convicts to the colonies. If before transportation they had had experiences of Newgate prison, there was only a very small chance that they went to the colony in the mood to live blameless lives.

Conditions on the transports were at first appalling. At first male and female prisoners were sent together. The officers and soldiers selected their companions for the voyage from the female convicts - a privilege not shared by the male convicts. Thus a sentence of transportation for women often included prostitution. (1) Conditions on the ships gradually improved - though much depended on the personality of the captain and of the surgeon-superintendent. The first to improve the discipline on convict ships were Captain Brown and Dr. Reed of the "Horley". They tried by influence and example to improve the morality on their ship. (2) By 1818 much of the gross immorality on the vessels had disappeared and this, strangely enough, is deprecated by Cunningham, a surgeon of the time, who said that looseness in morality made the convicts more amenable. (3) Dancing and concerts were sometimes
encouraged on the ships; but this often led to difficulty in discipline.

In 1820 Lieutenant Governor Sorell wrote to Governor Macquarie in reference to a female convict ship - "Nor do I conceive it possible for that branch of the service to be carried to higher perfection. The health, cleanliness and order of these prisoners are not more becoming than their respectful and grateful demeanour." (4)

In 1824 Mrs. Elizabeth Fry wrote to Governor Arthur expressing her views as to improved methods of bringing out the female convicts and also of their treatment on arrival. I shall quote her letter in full, both because it illustrates the conditions and because it is an example of an Englishwoman's exercising some influence over the life of these unfortunate women.

"Respected Friend,

I take the liberty of stating our views relating to the female convicts in Tasmania.

We suggest that a building be erected at Hobart Town for the reception of the female convicts. That a respectable matron be there stationed to superintend the whole establishment. That part of the building be appropriated to an adult and girls' school and that a schoolmistress be selected by the matron from among the reformed prisoners. That immediately on the arrival of a ship, the convicts be quietly conducted from the ship to the building. That those whose conduct has been favorable on board ship should be taken into service by the respectable inhabitants. The others to remain confined receiving suitable instruction and employment until they amend in character and disposition.

We also suggest that a sufficient supply of strong and decent clothing be provided for them during the voyage, and that on their discharge from prison their own clothing shall be restored to them. We consider it desirable that a matron should be constantly on the ship, especially while it is lying in the Thames, to attend to their clothing and to search their visitors in order that no spirituous liquors, or anything else that is improper be introduced. Could the matron also accompany them on the voyage, it would be highly useful.

Believe me to remain,

Thy obliged friend,

ELIZABETH FRY. " (5)

Some of Mrs. Fry's intelligent and practical suggestions were subsequently carried out. Even before her letter, clothing
or rather the material for clothing, had been provided. The object seemed however to be to provide occupation for the women on the voyage. In 1805 in a despatch to Lieutenant-Governor Collins, Lord Hobart ordered that materials for clothing should be issued on board ship and the women kept busy making them up. (6) This practice continued and in 1844 provision was made for the making up of shifts, linens or cotton jackets or gowns of serge, petticoats of serge or cotton, aprons, caps and stockings. (7)

The next problem was, as Mrs. Fry's letter suggests, what was to be done with the women when they reached the settlement. It is interesting to note that probably the first occupation given women in Tasmania was to cut grass. The three women convicts in Bowen's settlement were set to work to cut grass probably for thatching. (8) When the settlement was transferred to Sullivan's Cove, Collins had fifty convicts of whom only two were women. Throughout all these early years, the number of females in the settlement was much less than the number of males. So the demand for female convicts came from the colonists themselves. They were needed as domestics - but it was the morality of the colony that suffered because of the lack of females. Standards of morality anywhere in the early nineteenth century were not high and officials set an example that could only do harm to those in their charge. The early despatches frequently ask for female convicts.

In 1804 the assignment system was inaugurated by Governor King. (8) By this system a master was bound to keep a servant for a year. Female convicts were of no use to the government and tickets of leave were freely given. Females who arrived with any property were discharged to enjoy it. The government was rather relieved if a female convict was followed by her free husband. The woman was assigned to him and he became responsible for her conduct and her whereabouts. But not many were so respectfully assigned. Officers "protected" some, some lived in skilling with men convicts and others were at the mercy of a superintendent who acted as a kind of broker and disposed of them. Some, assigned to married settlers, would find themselves quite fortunately placed; but much depended on the character of the settler and his wife and, of course, on their own suitability for the position. Those who did not find occupation were at first allowed to find their own lodgings but later on, were lodged in a barrack or factory. (9) During Davey's administration of the colony, two hundred female convicts arrived by the "Kangaroo". News of their arrival was spread abroad. They came and vanished! Some of these hasty unions became quite satisfactory and ended in marriage.

The factory, which at first was a lodging place until the women found occupation, soon became a penitentiary where those women, whose evil habits detached them from employers, were kept. Of the early factory John Oxley in 1810 wrote that
it had failed in its purpose. The women, through association with each other, came out worse characters than they had entered. Their occupation was to prepare flax, hemp and wool. The expense, however, was so great that the articles could be bought 100% cheaper in the markets. Those who left the Factory and went into service became degrading influences in the families where they worked. After the failure of this factory, the system lapsed; but Sorell realized the need for some place where unsatisfactory or unemployed female convicts could be occupied and supervised. Macquarie, however, in his autocratic manner, dismissed the idea. In 1817 Sorell submitted a proposal to erect a place for lodging, employing and keeping in order of female convicts at Pittwater. (10) Macquarie replied that there was no necessity as he would not send any more female convicts than those required by the settlers. Refractory females were to be sent to the Seminary in Sydney. (11) When Commissioner Bigge made his exhaustive report on the colony of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (1819-51), he expressed the opinion that employment and lodging for female convicts was very necessary. Sorell referred him to Macquarie's former despatches. Again in December 1820 Sorell assured Macquarie that unless some building was erected, there was no alternative but to allow the mass of females to go at large. (12) Macquarie then gave his consent for a barrack to be erected. While authorities argued and considered during these years, many women were thus unacquainted and undisciplined.

In his report to Arthur in 1824 Sorell wrote that he placed the small factory next to the prison, with a view that the two might, after a new Goal had been prepared, be united as one House of Correction for females. (13) By 1824 this building had become dilapidated and too small. It was separated from the Goal only by a brick wall. (14) Accordingly in 1827, Lowe's Distillery at the foot of Mt. Wellington was purchased by the Government and converted into a Factory and House of Detention for Females. The building contained several wards in which lived two hundred and thirty prisoners. They picked and spun wool, washed for the hospital and for the Orphan School. They slept in hammocks and the whole place was very clean. For misconduct the women's hair was cut off and in extreme cases, solitary confinement was used. (15)

In his report to Bathurst on the 9th of June 1824 Sorell wrote —

"Upon arrival of a Female Convict Ship, I always see them on board and inspect the ship. The Surgeon Superintendent makes the appropriation. The Chief Constable repairs on board and lands them a few at a time seeing each delivered at the House appointed. Females of a bad character are selected by the Surgeon Superintendent and placed in the Factory on landing." (16) Backhouse, a Quaker visitor to Van Diemen's Land criticized the system very severely. He saw that female prisoners on their arrival in the Penitentiary were further contaminated by "the old hands". Smoking and drinking were common. He suggested,
too, that the children of the women in the factory should be sent to the Orphan School as soon as they were weaned to save them from evil influences. (17)

Yet how were those evils to be altered? The problem of women convicts was a difficult one. What mode of correction to women could be used? Giving evidence before Commissioner Rigge, J. B. Bootman said that women convicts were punished by solitary confinement; that an iron collar was sometimes used for the worst characters and that stocks had been erected at Launceston for detaining them for a short time. In 1836 a despatch stated:

"The women, however, who are detained in the Female House of Correction, really occupy them as such— that is they perform their labour and suffer discipline within the building in which they sleep. Their employment is to wash for the Government Establishments and to pick, card and spin wool for manufacturing into blankets." (18)

The Colonial Times of 1840 February 18th has a very stringent criticism of the factory and of the little value it had as discipline—

"The system with regard to the management of female prisoners is decidedly and most radically wrong: they are subjected to no punishment, they are exposed to no., or at least but to few hardships! The washtub forms an opportunity for the merry laugh, the song and the joke and this punishment is laughed at. Then there are the cells; these are rather uncomfortable for the rats run over the inmates and this they do not like."

"We know for a positive fact that the female servants shout in derision and perfect ridicule at the state of punishment inflicted upon them at the Factory.

A record of 1833 will show the type of women who were in the Factory:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under Colonial Sentence</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solitary Confinement</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing: Children</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old and Infirm</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses, Laundresses</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants, Cooks, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Assignable</td>
<td>4</td>
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(19) That only four were assignable is an indication that the Factory was certainly not contributing to the welfare of the community. There was always much difficulty in finding employment for women from the Penitentiary. (20) The women themselves often preferred the companionship of the Factory life to the isolation of domestic service. The influence of these women in the ordinary settlers' homes could not but be
What was the part played by the ordinary women of the island with regard to this Factory? That they could not but be concerned is obvious both for practical domestic reasons and for general morality. The plight of the women themselves must, too, have concerned at least some of these respectable more fortunate women. In 1841 a meeting was held at Government House for the formation of a Tasmanian Ladies' Society. The object of this society was to find the best means of "promoting the good of the Female Convicts." The matter was urgent as after 1840 Van Diemen's Land was the only colony to be receiving them. The Society aimed to make every effort "to bring about the moral and religious improvement" of the convicts. The Society was affiliated with Mrs. Fry's Society in England. Sir John Franklin was the patron and Lady Franklin the Patroness. Members of the Committee were authorized to visit the Factory at any time "or on any day they may think proper, Sundays included." (22) Thus the conscience of women in Van Diemen's Land was being awakened to the difficulties that faced the women convicts.

In 1843 Lord Stanley suggested that a female penitentiary should be established about twenty miles from Hobart. This was to be not so much a prison as a very real training ground for domestic service in the colony. There is a record for requisition of material for its erection but the suggestion was an unpopular one in Tasmania and was never carried out. (23)

A definite contribution to the welfare of women convicts and thus to the community as a whole was made by Mrs. Bowden. She was a woman who had had experience in dealing with the insane. She came out to be Matron of the Penitentiary suggested by Stanley. She was assisted by her husband, Dr. Bowden, and by a staff of female assistants. Instead of a Penitentiary, the ship the "Anson" was anchored in the harbour and became a training school for women convicts. The work was hampered much by the hostility of the government but it seems clear that women from the "Anson" began life in the colony much better equipped than those without this training. They were taught needlework, reading and religion. They remained on board for six months and if they were considered satisfactory, they then became passholders and went out to service. The ship was a model of decorum and cleanliness; but its complete isolation from the life of the colony left the women ill equipped to face the temptations the colony offered. (24)

Lady Denison paid a visit to the ship in 1846 and recorded in her journal that Mrs. Bowden reigned "with pretty despotic authority." At the time of her visit there were 486 prisoners some of whom were girls as young as twelve, thirteen or fourteen. With material as young as this Mrs. Bowden really had some chance of doing good. If the women had children these were sent to the Orphan School. (25)
According to Mrs. Herodith, the author of "My Home in Tasmania", women who came from the "Anson" were very satisfactory. A nursemaid from the "Anson" was clean, cheerful and industrious. Another woman who had lived a most dissolute life became willing, orderly and industrious. (26) There is the other side to the picture, too. The women were docile and submissive on the ship; but once in the colony revealed the tendencies they had repressed so that even the high hopes of Mrs. Boarden and her assistants turned to scepticism.

As domestics the convict women were apparently very unsatisfactory – but the moral tone of the colony made it very difficult for them. In the early days of the settlement, the demand was so great that many who were quite unfitted for service were assigned to the settlers. One of the greatest evils was in the transportation of these women to the various homes. They were usually escorted by a convict constable and there were no proper lodging places on the way. A convict was subjected to the good treatment or the evil treatment of that constable and it was his word against hers if she protested. (27) When they reached the home, they were faced with the hardships of isolated settlers' homes. Some, of course, found adequate refuge and protection in homes where the settlers' wives were both kind and capable. The early despatches laid down definitely that the women were only to be assigned to married and respectable settlers. (28) Some of them escaped on the way to their positions and advertisements appeared in the Gazette for their recapture, e.g. "Mary Duff, height 4 feet 11 inches, aged 27, hair brown, eyes dark hazel, a farm servant, tried at Stirling 22nd, September 1826 – absconded on the 27th April 1833 while on her way from Campbell Town to Hobart Town." (29) Others absconded from their masters and others from their husbands.

As servants their wages were to be £7 a year and the masters were bound to keep them for a year. The government allowed a ration for each convict servant. In 1828 the rations to female convicts in private service were:

- \( \frac{3}{4} \) lb. of flour; \( \frac{5}{4} \) lb. of meat; 2 oz. of tea; ½ lb. sugar; 2 oz. soap; 1½ oz. of salt; per week.

For wearing apparel they were to be issued each year:

- one cotton gown; two bedgowns or jackets; three shifts; two flannel petticoats; two stuff petticoats; three pairs of shoes; three calico caps; three pairs of stockings; two neck handkerchiefs; three check aprons; one bonnet.

For bedding they were given a calicoase stuffed with wool, two blankets and a rug. (30)

Mrs. Fenton's Diary gives a most disagreeable picture of convict women as servants. She engaged a nurse for her baby. She was a woman who had had experience with every independent family in Hobarton. She discovered later that the woman was
notorious in the colony. She had sent her on ahead to their new home in Fenton Forest. When Mrs. Fenton arrived, she found the woman had entertained the rest of the convicts at Mrs. Fenton's expense. Stores had been pillaged and the time had been spent not in preparation but in drunken revelry. (31) In Backhouse's Narrative he tells how he paid a visit to John Glover, the famous painter. Mrs. Glover who was quite elderly did all the housework herself rather than employ convict females. (32)

Mrs. Meredith's book tells of later times and her experience of convict women seems to be much happier. However, she too had many difficulties. Most of the problems of colonial housewifery arose from the servant problem. Prisoner women servants were of lower grade than the men. Mrs. Meredith's first nurse girl taken from the factory was dirty, drunk, smoked, swore, took fits and finally married! A highland girl seemed kind; but she stole the key of the storehouse and drank six or eight dozen bottles of spirit with the groom. She was sentenced to six months' hard labour at the wash-tubs in the Factory. From the "Anson," however, Mrs. Meredith had some satisfactory servants. (33)

All of these women, whether young or old, pretty or plain, were practically certain of one thing - marriage. They had, too, the delights of courtship. If a suitor presented a gay print gown, bonnet and ribbons, or yards of calico, matters were becoming serious! A present of a shawl was very affecting; but when yards of flannel were given, the end had come and the settler's wife had to seek a new servant. (34) Many of these women made successes of their marriages. The cottages were kept clean and tidy. They did washing or sewing to earn money for themselves. The greatest trouble was drink, especially where there were no children to occupy them. (35) Female prisoners had to behave well in service for a year before marriage was approved. Marriages were however approved of by the authorities as a way of disposing of a very awkward responsibility. There were, as I have said, many successful marriages - one female convict who was a domestic servant and had been transported for robbery, was respectably married soon after she came to the colony and each year sent home £50 to her mother. (36)

The whole question of female transportation was realized as one of great difficulty. In his speech on Transportation Sir William Molesworth made the position very clear. Authorities found it so difficult to control women convicts that the majority of convicts sent to the colonies were men. Respectable settlers preferred men domestics to women domestics for dealing with them was not as complicated as dealing with women. The solution of the position for women was marriage and Molesworth recommended that every encouragement should be given to this. There was, however, a grave difficulty if a convict woman was married to a free man. The husband was free to leave the colony and the woman was not. This was often made an excuse.
for desertion, and women thus placed were often in desperate
straits. Marriage, too, was often a cloak for licentiousness.
So even this solution was not always satisfactory. Molesworth
declared:

"The difficulties which beset the question of female trans-
portation appear to me to constitute the most grave and valid
objections to the whole system of transportation."

But this record of the life and part of the female convicts
in the early settlements is very incomplete. Authentic records
are those made by those in authority, or by those whose position
in life was secure. Only by imagination can we realize the life
from the convict woman's point of view and only by a study of
every individual case arrive at some fair estimate of what their
life was or what their real contribution to the life of the
settlement was. Degradation, and misery and difficulty they
contributed; but some service too. The following quotation
from Mrs. Meredith may offset the mass of unsavoury material
given:

"I have now lived above nine years in the colony, the wife
of a settler, and during that time, we have been served by
prisoners of all grades and (with one or two exceptions)
served as well and faithfully as we could desire. What more
could be said by any farmer? their wives at home?"
II. WIVES OF CONVICTS.

Women who deserve a special place are the free wives of convicts, particularly those who followed their husbands out to the colony. In despatch after despatch, requests were made by the Lieutenant Governors that convicts' wives and families should be allowed to come out and join them. There were three aspects of this. Some women came simply because they wished to be with their husbands. To some who had known position and respect in England, great credit is due for their courage and initiative. There is the doubt however whether their presence was a help to their husbands. The position a wife of a convict held in a penal settlement was one of great difficulty and his wife's suffering might well add to the mental anguish of a prisoner. (1)

To others the life of a convict in Van Diemen's Land, where at least material necessities such as food and clothing were sure, was preferable to the life they had lived in England. Men, finding in the penal settlement material security, would wish their wives and families to share it. Encouragement was given by the authorities. To enable a prisoner to support his wife when she joined him, the convict was, if well behaved, released to work for himself. In 1821 Sorell wrote to Goulburn re applications for passages for convicts' families:

— "and from the favourable impression which the hope of receiving their wives and families excites in this class of people, I am induced to recommend the applications to favorable consideration." (2)

In the early settlement of New South Wales, married convicts were granted fifty acres of land while a single convict was only granted thirty acres. Ten acres were allowed for each child. This system was used in the other settlements until the increased influx of free settlers. (3)

Some passages were obtained under false pretences. In 1804 a woman pretended to be the wife of one of the prisoners; but threw off the mask and lived with another man. Her husband proved to be in England. When she reached Hobart Town she was sent to Port Jackson to be dealt with. (4)

The third type of convict's wife was she who possessed capital and came out to join her husband partly as a commercial enterprise. The husband would be assigned to his wife and could live in comfort on her money or co-operate with her in some business on the land. The success and worth of this arrangement depended greatly on the characters of the two people thus placed in this rather curious position.

But to whatever class these women belonged, it was many years before the wife of a convict or of an emancipist was accepted by the free settlers.
Very great difficulties were faced and were created by the emigration of women under organized emigration schemes. A committee in London arranged and encouraged their transport and committees in Hobart Town and also in the northern settlements were after 1832 there to receive them. But the results of the scheme were often very unfortunate. A woman must surely have been reduced to the utmost distress or else be lacking in self-respect to have had the bravery to set out on an expedition the obvious purpose of which was to supply a deficiency in female population. Some quite sincerely thought and were led to think that easy employment was waiting for them; but most of them were fitted for town work and not to fill the need for servants in the country districts.

In 1822 ten females of the Guardian Society came to the colony to serve as domestics. (1) On board they were put in charge of the Surgeon of the ship; but there was a lax and inadequate control of those on the ship (2) and the conduct of the women and the officers was deplorable. However, there was an official enquiry when the ship reached Hobart Town and Sorell saw that the officers concerned were censured. The girls themselves married anyone in the colony as a blind for setting up sly grog shops. (3)

In 1824 there appeared in the Hobart Town Gazette an extract from an English paper that shows one attitude to this organized emigration:

"It appears that the best article of traffic in that settlement would be respectable females. One speculator proposed to take from one hundred to two hundred as a first order and so certain is he of disposing of them that he only stipulates that they be under fifty." (4)

In 1832 the "Princess Royal" arrived in the colony with female emigrants. Just before the boat was expected, a committee of women was called at Government House - its object being to find employment and residence for the women arriving. This meeting is interesting both from the point of view of the emigrants and also as an example of actual benevolent work undertaken by women of the privileged class of the colony. The Committee pledged itself to inquire into the conduct and qualifications of female emigrants and to advise them as to choice of situations - to hear any complaints and generally to watch over their future welfare. The Committee was to meet regularly at all times and daily just after the arrival of a ship with emigrants. (5)

The ship had an unfortunate arrival for it ran aground at Frederick Henry Bay. Vessels were sent with constables (who were married men) to try to get the ship off. The women were removed from the boat and taken in small boats to Hobart Town and there were lodged in the Orphan School which had been pro-
pared for them. In nine days, as a result of the work of the ladies' committee, seventy-two of the women were placed as milliners, dressmakers or domestics. Those who were not placed were females of the very worst character whom it was impossible to place in families. There were, according to Governor Arthur, three classes.— Some of the women were suitable to become the wives of decent tradesmen. These women had undertaken the voyage on the understanding that all the women were of the same type. Others were suitable as domestic servants. Some of these were of irreproachable character while others had lower standards. The third class was the lowest type whose influence on the second type was degrading and whose standard of life was a humiliation to the first type. The conduct of the Matron, Mrs. Mathews, was admirable; but her task was too difficult. Arthur suggested that in future the surgeon should be invested with magisterial authority. He also suggested that the women should be of one class only—either country women from agricultural districts or women of known respectable character. The selection should be made by persons officially responsible, not by persons affected only by benevolent motives. (6)

The endeavours of the Ladies' Committee to dispose of the undesirable element were unsatisfactory. They were finally compelled to expel the undesirables from the colony. "The Courier" announced:

"The Ladies' Committee has at last resolved to expel certain individuals of free female emigrants who have unfortunately set at defiance all propriety of conduct since their arrival and which has been such as to deter responsible settlers from employing them in their service." (7)

The wage of female free servants was higher than the wage of convicts. Commissioners of Emigration gave assistance to females between the ages of fifteen and thirty. A bounty of £2 was given and a free passage on ships for females only was granted. (8) The following quantities of provisions were allowed to each female daily:

- **Sunday:**
  - 2/3 lb. bread
  - 1 lb. beef
  - 1 oz. sugar
  - 1/2 oz. of tea
  - 1/2 lb. of flour

- **Monday:**
  - 2/3 lb. bread
  - 1 lb. pork
  - 1 oz. sugar
  - 1/2 oz. tea
  - 1 oz. cocoa
  - 1/4 lb. flour
  - 1/2 pint of pease

and so on alternate days. Thus materially were the emigrants helped. (9)
In 1854, two hundred and eighty-six women arrived by the "Strathfieldsey." The reception of this ship was unfortunate. Two thousand people waited to meet the boat and some of the women in spite of the efforts of protection by the Ladies' Committee were insulted. (19) No real preparation had been made at Belle Vue where they were to stay. For sleeping arrangements there were only a few dozen blankets and bed ticks filled with straw. The house was surrounded by a rioting crowd. (11) Mrs. Arthur and one or two more ladies assisted with all their power. (18) After the initial difficulties, however, the Ladies' Committee found within a week employment for two thirds of those who had availed themselves of government accommodation. About forty left the ship immediately either in the care of friends or to seek their friends. The delay in placing the remainder was due firstly to had weather which prevented the settlers' coming into town and secondly to the unsuitability of the women themselves. The Ladies' Committee in its report stated that as all families in Hobart Town and its neighbourhood were now supplied with servants, it would be some time before any great number of free women would find employment - though there were still some vacancies in Launceston. (15)

From then on this female emigration fell into even worse disrepute. Attack after attack on the system was made by the colonial newspapers. An advertisement by the Secretary of State in an English newspaper offered to bring out unmarried females for £5 cash or £8 credit. The majority who came out thus under the auspices of the Emigration Committee were not fitted for domestic service. A few married, a few went into domestic service; but the majority suffered poverty, destitution and seduction. What the colony needed was not the type who wanted to live in the town as milliners or dressmakers - there were too many of those already - but country girls who would be willing to go out to the outlying farms as domestics, dairy-maids and laundresses. It was most unwise for any young woman to come to Van Diemen's Land unless she possessed some means or was prepared to work on a farm. (14) A letter signed "Matilda" in a newspaper of 1835 told the unhappy story of a young emigrant of seventeen, finding honest employment impossible, was forced to place herself in the care of a so-called protector. The letter purported to be written by one of the women emigrants and if this were so, was one of the very few contributions made by women to the early newspapers. The report of the Ladies' Committee must only have been effective in a very limited way if such cases as that quoted by "Matilda" were true. (15)

If a newspaper may, for purposes of attack, have exaggerated the conditions, there can be no exaggeration in the official report of the arrival of the ship "Beadles" in 1856. (16) There were on board twelve girls from the Cork Foundling Hospital who were under age, and thirty-four from Dublin affected with hereditary disease. Colonial revenue was being spent on bringing out these women. What place was there
for them in the life of the colony and what good contribution to the community could they possibly make?

In 1836 the ship "Amelia Thompson" brought two hundred free emigrants to the colony. These were sent to Launceston where there were more vacancies and the majority found employment. Some of these were, however, too young for servants and these were kept at the expense of the government in an asylum until they were old enough for positions. (17)

In 1836 unmarried females were being employed as general servants, housemaids, cooks, laundresses, nurserymaids, dairy maids, straw hat makers, needlewomen. Their salaries varied from £10 to £15 a year. (18) When the ship containing female emigrants was due persons wanting servants made application to the Colonial Secretary. (19)

At first the system had been under the regulation of committees whose efforts, though often misguided, were at least well meaning. By 1837, the system had come under control of a Mr. Marshall whose methods were those of a profiteer. A newspaper condemned his method as one of "street-sweeping and kidnapping." (20) When the ship arrived persons unauthorized by the Ladies Committee came on board and Mr. Marshall placed the women at a profit to himself. The average profit was £7/10/- per emigrant. There was at this time a great demand for servants. The papers were full of advertisements for housemaids and nurses. Yet many of the women were unsuitable or unwilling to take the positions. So great was the demand that the Registry Office allowed persons wanting to fill positions to register free. (21)

In 1837 the female Emigrant Ship the "Lady MacNaughton" arrived with typhus on board. The spread of this disease was due to overcrowding. -

"But how is it that Mr. Marshall is suffered to huddle together a number of poor creatures and to send them on a long voyage with no more room allotted for their accommodation than they would enjoy on a voyage from Ireland to Liverpool?" (22)

So in the colonies the same conscience was awakening that was to bring about the humanitarian legislation of the middle nineteenth century in England. These women were the product of the overcrowding and misery and poverty in England at this time. Their treatment was the product of the same system. That the conduct of these women in the convict settlement of Van Diemen's Land was not always irreproachable, can be readily understood.

Molesworth's report on Transportation summed up the position with regard to this free emigration. It failed firstly because its management was undertaken by benevolent people who did not understand the realities of colonial life. Later Mr. Marshall became the committee. The result was that Hobart Town became crowded with prostitutes. But Molesworth's main point was this:
"It is vain to think of altering the proportion of sexes in the penal colonies by means of good female emigration as long as transportation continues because respectable women will not consent to go alone to dwell among convicts." (23)

But, as with the case of female convicts, official records deal mainly with the failures. Many of these emigrants did make real contributions to the life of the settlement. Some married and married successfully. By the marriage of free women with free females, there grew up an intermediate class. They and their families came between the privileged official or landowning class and the convicts. Thus was created a strata in society whose interests were wholly opposed to bond labour in every form. (24) The free women particularly would be anxious for distinction from convict women. Snobbery and pettiness resulted; but of real benefit was the growing spirit of resistance to transportation.

Those of the free emigrants who became servants were quite often satisfactory and were a definite help in the development of the colony. The milliners and dressmakers, so complained of, were an asset to the other women. Their influence as well as the actual increase in the numbers of women, brought about increasing demand for clothes, ornaments and other luxuries. Merchants benefited and the import trade increased. The trade balance, however, was not favourable to the settlement, its imports far exceeding its exports.

It is impossible to generalize as to the life these women led. To be a servant in a convict colony could not have been ideal. Many were ill equipped to meet exigencies. It is clear, however, from the records that the majority of women were, to say the least, unsuitable and many undesirable.
IV. THE LIFE AND PART OF THE WOMEN OF SETTLERS' FAMILIES.

After the sordidness of the stories of convicts and female emigrants, consideration of the ordinary women of the settlement is somewhat of a relief. Yet of this side of the women's life, there is unfortunately very little record. Their life and place was in home-making and this is not a matter for despatches. Yet the life of these women can be realized mainly by reading between the lines of the accounts of the settlement. For example consider the "starvation time" of early days. There were women living in the colony then who suffered with men the hardships of the time. Women in makeshift homes were cooking or managing on rationed food. They were wearing clothes they had probably brought out with them. They were having babies, losing them or bringing them up under starvation conditions. And later on, when the settlements began to spread, what courage, endurance and adaptability it must have taken to face the isolation of aborigine and bush-ranger, the privation and lack of ordinary necessities.

Giblin in his recent book on the history of Tasmania says -

"But what is to be said about the wives of such men, who gently reared, without training suitable for new conditions, bravely accepted the prospect of risks and sacrifices for themselves and their children and with their partners faced a meagre environment, primitive and inferior at the outset."

(a) The Homes of the Women.

The living conditions of a woman depend a great deal on the kind of home she has to live in. So I will show first of all the kind of houses that were provided for these women to make into homes.

In Bowen's and Collins' settlements the first homes were tents; but the work of clearing and building was quickly begun. The huts were at first of the simplest kind - just a lean-to with the roof resting on the ground. These "skilllings" became the sheds when the other and proper hut was built. The next hut was one of upright logs covered with shingles. There were two rooms, sleeping berth in one and in the other a square recess for a fireplace built of stones. This room was used for cooking and as a sitting room. The crevices were filled with wool and a square opening, closed by a shutter when necessary, let in the light. The seats were often only short logs of wood. In these primitive conditions a settler's family sometimes lived for several years until a better house could be built. This hut then became the convicts' quarters. (2) Wattle and daub huts were of the same type. Huts could be made of various materials such as split bulings, wickerwork daubed with clay or log and turf. All were very low built. (3)

But conditions improved and with convict labour quite comfortable homes were built for the free settlers. In 1814
Curt described a typical farmhouse of about 1824 and the
description is not attractive. The cottage was of sods, logs
and mud thatched with straw. In the yard a few logs made a
pictyre. The yard was untidy with heaps of ploughs and harrows.
Dead Kangaroos and other meat hung on the trees and the dogs
were everywhere. He added a cryptic comment on the women in
charge of these hovels:

"As to the thrifty mistress of the house, her place is
too frequently supplied (among the lower classes in particular)
by being of a different nature — generally a convict or one
free by expiration of her term of transportation."

In 1829 many of these homes still existed, Mrs. Fenton
on her journey to her new home passed many dreary habitations —
with little or no garden — the yards filled with wood, sheep-
skins, pigs and farming implements. (8) She visited a large
country house which was new and capacious but had filth to the
door — no carpet — and a dirty table with three legs. A fearful
serving woman rushed in with a blazing block of wood in a shovel
to relight the fire. The mistress of this house later drifted
in dressed in a beautiful dress of pale lilacs. She, apparently,
was one of the pioneer women, unable to adapt herself to new
conditions. In Hobart Town houses at this time — at least in
prosperous circles — were quite comfortable. The Franklands' 
house described by Mrs. Fenton was small but cheerful with an
English drawing room with carpet, steel fender and fire irons. (10)
Tales of having to live in a bark hut had terrified Mrs. Fenton,
but when, at length, she reached her own country home, she found
it a long shapeless naked brick cottage — but quite habitable. (11)

Widowson also described the homes existing about 1829.
Generally speaking they were of wood with small badly kept gar-
dens; but new buildings were of brick and stone. (13) He saw
many neat farmhouses of brick and freestone and on the main
road to Launceston many "good substantial dwelling houses." (14)

All writers of the time seemed to agree that rent of these
homes was exorbitant. A four roomed cottage with a kitchen at the
back was, in 1838, from £300 to £330 per year while larger houses were often from £200 to £300. (15) In 1831 rent of from one to one and a half guineas per week was charged for small unfurnished houses. (16)

In 1830 there was a definite rule that buildings in Hobart Town and its suburbs were to be of brick and stone. (17) By 1831 many of the old wooden buildings had been pulled down and many respectable commodious houses had been built. (18) About this time James Backhouse visited a country home of a working couple. He found a neat, clean brick house with a thriving garden - and the wife was successfully restraining her husband from drink. (19)

By the 40's great progress had been made though there still existed houses of the poorest type. In Hobart Town the houses were more snug than showy and nearly all had gardens. (20) Mrs. Meredith's first country home was one of comfort, but when she and her husband moved to Port Sorell she had a very different experience. Here she lived in a house built of upright slabs with the walls thinly plastered within not without. The slabs were inches apart and the draughts were appalling. Into her parlour there opened five doors and one French window. (21) Here too, lived the "skeletons" - wretchedly poor farmers with their wives and families living in miserable huts and hovels rented on exhorbitant terms. (22)

From this time and before it, strong houses were built by convict labour. Many of these are still being lived in today. To modern eyes they are extremely inconvenient with their many rooms, stairs and long passages. They were built without apparent consideration for those working in them - whether convict or free servants or the mistresses themselves. Yet they were comfortable homes for the well-to-do and excellent places to carry out that hospitality for which time and again in early accounts, Tasmanian women were praised.

(b) Housekeeping.

Much of the lives of these pioneer women was spent in housekeeping. From this arises these questions: - What materials were there for them to use? What household utensils were available? What necessities had they to do without? What luxuries were practicable? The demand that women created for household comforts had a big influence on the imports of the settlement. For many years the imports far exceeded the exports and writers of the time often accused the settlers of unnecessary extravagance. How far the presence of women affected this extravagance is an interesting speculation. The more women there were the greater was the demand for such things as cooking utensils, furniture, linen and, of course, clothes themselves.

In the early days when store ships from England were irregular the women had to manage on the materials the colony itself offered. Native animals were hunted for food and the
women learnt how to cook them. Roast kangaroo figured largely on the menu. During the famine period food was a constant problem. Vegetables, meat and flour were all scarce. In 1806 G. F. Harris wrote in a letter home to England that he and his wife possessed "neither tea, sugar, coffee, soap, candles, oil, wine, spirits, beer, porter, cheese, butter, or money." (1)

From about 1819 there were fairly regular shipping services and many necessary goods were for sale. In 1819 Mr. Haywood had for sale from the "Dorset Schooner" tea and sugar as well as a variety of earthenware. (2) On March 5th, Messrs. Kemp and Gatehouse had soap for sale at 9d. per lb. (3) On May 15th a ship brought china, sugar, china and candy. (4) Each advertisement seemed to add something to the goods women had been needing in their housework, their furnishing or their dressing. The ship "Hibernia" brought cutlery, crockery, gingham and hollands. (5) On October the 8th at the stores of Captain Howard were offered: coffee, wine, tea, tobacco, ladies' shoes, earthenware, wine glasses, tumblers, muslins, knives and forks, nails, tinware. (6) These may seem just meaningless lists; but in them can be seen something of the lives of the women. Things we take for granted were things demanding special advertisement. A General Market was opened in Hobart Town where the produce of the settlers was made available to the home market. In 1820 a list gave the following prices: Wheat 8/- a bushel; cheese 2/- a lb.; new potatoes 10/- a cwt.; hams 2/- a lb.; fowls 5/- a pair; butter 3/6 a lb.; eggs 8/- a dozen.

More luxuries gradually became available particularly in dress and a list of 1820 included: a fashionable assortment of ladies' straw bonnets, buckskin; doe and kid gloves, rich Leghorn and white satins, thread, lace poplins, hair brushes, women's cotton stockings. This list is an indication that the vanities or refinements of civilized life were becoming important and that women were trying to live as they had done in England. (8)

Again in 1820 they could obtain pepper, window glass, hair sieves, scissors, books, shoes, nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, stationery, Cheshire cheese, flannel, fashionable ribbands.

Fruit and vegetables were by this time growing abundantly. There were potatoes, cabbages, carrots, parsnips, leeks, shallots, celery, radishes, lettuces, horseradishes, turnips, artichokes, asparagus, cucumbers, pumpkins. For fruit the housewife could choose from Tasmanian grown apples, pears, plums, mulberries, raspberries, cherries, currants, and peaches. (29)

Fish and oysters were brought to town; but the high cost of labour made them very dear. (10) In 1821 the price of meat at the Market was: beef 5d. per lb.; mutton 5d. per lb.; veal 6d. per lb. and pork 7d. per lb. (11)

By 1822 Hobart Town women could buy bed furniture, black velvet, bed ticking, plain and diaper towelling, linen sheeting,
huckaback, damask table linen, parasols, white and chintz bed
lace. (12)

Because goods were not available in the colony, it does
not follow that all the women did without them. Advice to
emigrants always included a list of what things emigrants should
bring with them. Thus those who could afford to, would follow
the advice to bring sieves, cooking utensils, knives, forks,
spoons, plates, dishes, tablecloths, sheathing, towels, linen,
mattresses, chunas and dishes. Chairs, tables and other furni-
ture could be bought in the colony, though many brought their
own. (13) By 1823 the colony was able to supply the local needs
of furniture, leather and soap. The latter was made from seaweed,
suet and whale-oil, (14)

By 1827 there were numbers of wholesale and retail traders
where shopping could be done. The colony had still to import all
its manufactured goods except leather, parchment, soap and
candles. There was one person making hats. (15).

Mrs. Fenton's experiences in housekeeping though briefly
described, give some idea of the difficulties and of how many
of these women could adapt themselves. She came from India
where she had done no housekeeping. When she reached her new
home at Fenton Forest, she found chaos. Her servants were
incapable and, having no cook, she was forced to do the work
herself. She restored order, learnt how to make butter and
bread and how to cope with the servants. She even found leisure
to admire the wattle in bloom. (16) Butter making was not
taken as a matter-of-course occupation for a settler's wife.
There was a recipe given for it in the Hobart Town Gazette during
1819; (17) but in 1829 not more than twelve to twenty settlers
made it. (18) It had also reached the price of 6/- a lb.

Melville's Almanac of 1833 gave advice to emigrants that
showed that thirty years after the first settlement, the hard-
ships were still not over:

"Never forget you are in a country where for a few years
at least, prudence requires the veil of oblivion should be
drawn over many of the comforts and still more of the luxuries
of life, to which you have been accustomed for many years." (19)

According to Mrs. Meredith, one of the worst tasks of
the housewife was the dealing out of stores each week to all
on the farm. Each week it was her task to dole out flour, meat,
tea, sugar, salt, soap and tobacco. (20) Everything that was
required by the Merediths for their home on the East Coast had
to be brought by water to Swansea and then by cart to the home.
Everything from pins or a pair of gloves up to a cask of wine
or a ton of sugar had to be brought thus laboriously and there
were many of course more isolated than the Merediths.

Women did other things, too, connected with the house as
well as the actual housekeeping. There was the garden to help
with, chickens, ducks and turkeys to rear; butter and cheese to
make, mushrooms to be made into ketchup. (21) A "cockatoocorb"
wife employed by Mrs. Meredith to wash and iron, sent word she
could not come because she had to stop at home to keep the cattle
off the wheat. (22)

An important part of the housekeeping was of course the
servant problem. This I have dealt with in the previous sections
on female convicts and free emigrants.

(c) Social Life of Women.

Hospitality and liberal entertainment in the home became a
feature of colonial life. Journeys were so long and inns so few
that strangers were always made welcome even in the poorest home.
A visitor meant a relief from isolation and the visitor was
always glad of the shelter. One wife of a settler living near
Frederick Henry Bay said that she was seldom without visitors.
At one period she was not more than three days at a time for six
months without some person using her hospitality. On his visit
to the East Coast, James Backhouse was deeply impressed by the
kindness and hospitality in the homes. Calling at a small home he
was fed on a hearty meal of boiled mutton and tea. Mr. and Mrs.
Meredith, travelling on horseback across country, received the
ready hospitality of an overseer's wife who insisted on making
the inevitable tea in a teapot of gigantic capacity and especially
cooking for them a "fat cake" - a piecrust made with dripping or
fat and baked in a frying pan. (2) Entertainment in the home
could only be limited for there were very few aids to it. Books
were very few and the loan of a new book was an event. (3)
Backhouse's Quaker soul was shocked because by the 1830's most
of the houses of the more prosperous settlers had pianos. (4)
So the evenings were spent in music and if the company and the
house were suitable, dancing. An advertisement of 1837 advertised
violins as well as pianos for sale. So the dances would be
enlivened. (5)

In Hobart Town hospitality was limited to the social strata
to which a family belonged. There was much visiting among the
merchants but not any understanding between them and officials. (6)
Society was divided into cliques. The aristocracy was the govern-
ment clique who were in the main unpopular for their assumed super-
iority. Next in precedence was the class of wealthy free inhab-
itants - the settlers, the merchants, the large retail dealers.
Next came, the free working class and last the convicts. These
classes did not mix with each other. (7) As in all small
societies there was not a very liberal feeling and there was
often ill will between families of the same class in society. (8)
Women are much more affected by this snobbery than men. If it
is true that they often are the authors of pettiness, it is also
true that in their social life they suffer from it more than men
do. So the social life of many women must have been spoiled by
this small minded snobbery that existed.
A great feature of the social life of the colony was the picnic. These were sometimes walking picnics but were more often combined with a riding expedition. An old lady when asked how they amused themselves when she was young replied "we had to do everything for ourselves in the way of pleasure; but we always had picnics." (9) Even in the simplest social function such as a picnic the lack of the female element was sorely felt. Lloyd wrote -

"Speaking of balls, picnics and such sociable meetings as require an equality in rank and numbers of both sexes to establish a success, it was much to be regretted and formed a great drawback to the legitimate and healthy progress of the colony, that there was unfortunately a considerable preponderance of male population. Up to the year 1830, for every available bright-eyed and lovable spinster, there were at least four eligible, sighing and willing bachelors." (10) However, this lack of the female element did not, I am sure, prevent those women who were there, enjoying all social occasions, thoroughly.

Mrs. Fenton described a picnic at Sochorone which she attended soon after her arrival. Dinner was served to the picnickers in a tent. (11) A picnic from a country home was less formal, but nevertheless to the modern picnicker who carries her herewithal on her back in a knapsack, it seems rather cumbersome. A capacious oxen cart drawn by four fine oxen was used. Into the bed of the cart was placed fresh straw and on to this were piled baskets, boxes, cloths, parapods, cushions, shawls, cloaks and the younger members of the party. A jaunting car or phaeton next set out followed by the horse-riders. By the evening all would return and spend the night in music and dancing. (12)

Even when there were very few women, dancing was a social feature of the colony. On May 16th 1814, there was a grand ball at Government House at which there were forty-five guests. Of the forty-five, twelve were ladies. Of those twelve only four were single. (13) On October 13th 1814 Mr. and Mrs. Lord gave the grandest dinner party that had up till then been held. Rev. Knopwood left at 9 o'clock, but the rest of the company stayed on until a late hour. (14)

During Sorell's governorship there was very little official social life. There were no balls, levees or public entertainment under government patronage. This was due to the presence of Mrs. Kent as hostess of Government House and the hostile attitude of many of the colonists to her. (15) But during this time much entertaining in the form of balls and dinner parties was carried on among a small clique of officers, merchants and country gentlemen. (16) When Macquarie visited Hobart Town for the second visit, it is interesting to note that it was the bachelors of Hobart Town who gave a public ball in his honour. One hundred and fifty sat down to supper and the gentlemen danced together till morning. (17)
Under Governor Arthur, government entertainment was very formal, consisting of icy reunions and stiff levees livened by an occasional ball. (18) Entertainments at Government House were ceremonies rather than parties of pleasure. (19) But during this period there was increased immigration and Hobart Town became the scene of gaiety and fashion. (20)

It was quite usual for ladies to walk to the balls for carriages were very few. At a ball at Government House in 1828 many of the ladies arrived up to the ankles in mud. (21)

Mrs. Fenton attended a party at Government House in 1829. There were fifteen or twenty people in the drawing room - all of whom presented a very solemn and formal aspect. One woman marvelled that Mrs. Fenton should have travelled from India without her husband's escort. She replied that in those modern times it had become safe for any but very young girls or very old women to travel alone. (22)

In the Courier of September 21st 1832, there is an account of a grand ball given by Governor and Mrs. Arthur at Government House in honour of the King's birthday. The verandah was boarded up to give room for quadrilles. After nine, the rooms were filled, invitations having been sent out with no political or other distinctions. The ball was opened by Miss Arthur and Captain Foster. (23)

With the coming of the Franklins social life was given a decided impetus. The women's part in it, too, became more important for Lady Franklin was a leader both intellectually and socially. Moreover there were now more women in the colony and as the hardships became less, these were more at leisure for social occasions. To mark the arrival of the Franklins there were great public festivities. The streets were thronged and the windows were crowded with fair spectators. (24) The Franklins gave balls and were entertained at many. A ball in their honour at Campbelltown was a scene of great gaiety and sociability. The Governor and his wife stayed till a late hour, but the others continued "long after sunrise had warned them to desist." (25) Between nine hundred and one thousand invitations were issued to a Ball for the Queen's Birthday in 1836 - but owing to the poor state of the roads, the danger of bushrangers and the bad weather, less than four hundred attended. Supper tables were placed in a long line on the verandah in the front of the house. The lighting for the ball cost £100. (26)

Balls, routs and parties could by 1838 be catered for by hired caterers. Dinners were dressed "and sent out in English style." (27)

Taste for dancing was universal among the young ladies of Tasmania and this entertainment they preferred to all others. Lady Franklin's attempts to introduce the more intellectual
Lady Donison's Journal threw many sidelights on the social life of "the forties." On April 22nd, 1847 she gave a small dance to leading colonists; but found the matter of precedence a difficulty. There were present the wives of two Legislative Councillors and the question was which was to take precedence at dinner. She chose one who seemed to be a nice respectable venerable old lady, but who turned out to be a woman of some notoriety in the colony. (39) At a Ball given in honour of the Governor and his wife at Launceston, all the guests were late because Launceston only boasted two cabs! At this ball supper was a stand-up affair in a tent especially pitched for the occasion. (30)

Women coming into a ball from outlying districts often travelled into town on horseback carrying their ballroom finery with them. This horse riding was necessary in winter when the roads were impassable for vehicles. (31)

Other forms of entertainment were concerts, plays, regattas and horticultural shows. Races, too, a popular form of amusement were graced by the presence of women. The first Hobart Town concert was held at the Court House and was patronized by Governor and Mrs. Arthur. (32) This was followed by others. In 1840 the "Colonial Times" gave an account of a concert at which Mr. Clarke was the chief performer. Incidentally the occasion was used by the paper for an attack on Lady Franklin who did not patronize the concert while such people as Colonel Elliott and his wife were there. (33)

In the theatre, Hobart Town audiences apparently liked melodrama to the exclusion of plays of a higher order. (34) The outstanding theatrical personage seemed to be Mrs. Clarke. She managed the Theatre Royal as well as taking principal parts in the productions. Here are just a few comments showing her popularity and versatility:

"Mrs. Clarke's part was extremely fatiguing calling forth utmost exertions of that lady's admirable musical powers." (35)

"On Saturday two favourite pieces, "Black Eyed Susan" and "Dolly and the Rat" were extremely well performed. Mrs. Clarke sang the ballad of the former piece charmingly." (36)

"Our old favourite, Mrs. Clarke, has returned after an absence of nearly three years and made her appearance last night in her favourite character of Lady Margaret in 'The Vampire'." (37)

"The admirable way in which Mrs. Clarke has managed the Theatre Royal ....... Every credit is due to the lady for the exertions she has used ......... Not a word, not a gesture in the lightest degree offensive is permitted to transpire." (38)

The morality and propriety of the theatre were carefully guarded by these colonists - outposts of Victorian decorum. Great
censure was incurred by a Mrs. Thomson who, in singing the ballad "Buy a Broom" used it to solicit money from the audience. (39) But judgment was suspended when it was learned that Mrs. Thomson was the only support of her young family. (40) To the theatre came men and women of all classes and this common enjoyment mitigated somewhat the snobbery that was too great a feature of colonial life.

As early as 1815 Knopwood wrote of races at which a great many ladies and gentlemen were present. (41) On the racecourses at Ross, (42) Launceston and Hobart Town, grandstands were erected for the ladies and these presented a galaxy of beauty and fashion. (43) And what could be more delightful than this tribute from the Colonial Times of 1840 to the contribution ladies made to the enjoyment of the Races?

"The Ladies! There is perfect magic in the very word - so we will give them a paragraph to themselves. We have been in many lands, and in many parts of such lands; but never, to our English way of thinking, did we see congregated together, so lovely an assemblage of Eve's fair daughters, as graced the Race Course with their beauty during each day of the races." (44)

This hospitality, these picnics, balls, plays and races are one side of the social life of the women of the colony. There is a bleaker side. For many women isolation meant very little share in these festivities. For the poor in isolation it was hopeless. Here is a glimpse of one woman of about 1830:

"We found in the hut a lonely woman, her husband being engaged with the others among Lord's cattle on the further side of the House. We seated ourselves a few minutes in the hut inquiring how she managed in so lonely a retreat. "Nothing troubles me," said she, "except sometimes when I awake at night and Mike, our dog, comes to haunt me." (45)

Then there was the lack of occupation for the poorer classes. Hobart Town on Sunday was a dreary picture with idle men and women hanging about just waiting for the public houses to open. (47) The extravagance that probably arose out of the social side of the life was severely criticized at the time. In 1831 in Ross's Almanac it is stated that the inhabitants of Hobart Town generally speaking both male and female were more expensively clothed than their contemporaries in England. Extravagance existed in all classes. The average expense of each person was £50 a year while £100,000 per year was paid for imported goods. Women, of course, could not be wholly to blame for this; but must have shared in the extravagance. (48)

(d) Education.

Both Lady Franklin and Mrs. Meredith criticized severely the standard of culture of the women of their time in the colony. Their criticism was probably just - but the facilities for education were so very few that little opportunity was offered to women
of the settlement for intellectual study. Books were difficult to obtain and the newspapers were often only instruments for virulent attacks on the government.

Apart from dancing, the young ladies of the colony enjoyed a little singing and other music - but anything more difficult was unpopular. (1) Drawing room conversation was very limited and Mrs. Meredith was grieved that someone she visited had never read Shakespeare - an omission in the life of a pioneer's wife that is readily understood. Young women in the country had a rather veterinary turn of conversation. They were good fearless horse-women whose conversation always took a "turfy" turn. (2) The habits of mind of the young people were sadly prosaic, dull, matter-of-fact and apathetic. (3) The older women Mrs. Meredith visited often had a wrong sense of values, for they kept her waiting while they attired themselves fashionably leaving only five minutes for actual social intercourse. (4) This unhappy pretence was due of course to lack of experience and possibly to an inferior feeling given by Mrs. Meredith's greater social poise and education.

Lady Franklin's criticism was just as severe but she saw clearly that it was lack of educational facilities that was the trouble. Speaking of the young women of Tasmanian society, she said:

"Their frivolity, emptiness and ignorance and boldness of manner are deplorable - at least in this town. However naturally shy and reserved, they lose it all as soon as they go into society and yet they are sharp-witted and pretty and no doubt have as much moral aptitude for good things as the generations from which they spring...."

A great proportion of women in this country live in much seclusion. They ought to have a love of reading and of improving study. Their time is divided between housekeeping and their children and the being able to read with enjoyment and profit the best works of the wise and good, would be of inestimable advantage to them. At present it may be said of the girls generally, that they do nothing. (5)

In considering the question of education there are two aspects: the women who helped in the education and the education itself. The first mention of a schoolmistress I was able to find was in a letter from Macquarie to Davey 18th July 1815. In this he stated:

"A convict woman, named Mary Martin, strongly recommended by Mr. Marsden now proceeds to the Derwent in the Eme at her own request to be employed there as a Schoolmistress for which I believe her to be very fit and therefore recommend that she may be employed in that capacity at Hobart Town." (6) I could not however, find any other reference to Mary Martin.
In 1818 Sorell wrote to Macquarie with regard to a salary for Mrs. Fitzgerald who was the wife of the schoolmaster of the Government School established by that time.

"If I knew the means of obtaining anything for Mrs. Fitzgerald (who I believe pays much attention to female scholars) I should be happy to improve her situation." (7) Macquarie replied that he had no objection to paying Mrs. Fitzgerald a small annual salary. (8) Mrs. Fitzgerald seems to be then the first official schoolmistress in the colony. In November 1818 the Fitzgeralds' school was the best in the settlement. Mrs. Jones had a small school and the daughter of the Chief Constable also instructed. (9) At first Mrs. Jones kept a girls' school, but by 1830 she had given it up and instructed privately. (10)

In 1830 Miss Jane Miller announced the opening of a school for young ladies at her father's house in Bathurst Street and in the next year, when her husband opened a day school for boys, Mrs. Headlam announced that she was prepared to give her attention to half a dozen young lady boarders. Her syllabus included instruction on piano, the English language, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, chronology, and plain and fancy needlework. (11)

Perhaps the most advertised and well-known private school was that of Mrs. Clarke. As Miss Davie she arrived in the colony and soon married George Carr Clarke. (12) She established a school for young ladies in Hobart Town first at the corner of Harrington and Macquarie Streets, and later in Murray Street. (13) In 1827 she closed the school in Hobart Town and moved to Ellen Thorp Hall in the Midlands. This became one of the most popular girls' schools for the well-to-do. According to her prospectus, pupils were educated in every branch of female acquirement usually taught in the first schools in England. English and French, writing, arithmetic, geography, useful and ornamental needlework, music, drawing and dancing were taught. The terms for board, washing and education of pupils were:

| Above eight | £40. 0. 0 |
| Below eight | £35. 0. 0 |

Mrs. Clarke also was willing to take over the clothes of her pupils for an additional £15 or £20. (14) In Ross' Almanac 1829 it is stated that the school was useful and well-conducted by Mrs. Clarke whose long and successful experience in teaching gave general satisfaction to the parents. (15)

Reporting on the settlement in 1826 Archdeacon Scott was very emphatic as to the need for improved education especially for girls. Unless education could be offered to girls of all classes, the moral tone of the colony would not improve. He suggested that male and female Orphan Schools should be established for the children of convicts. These should be run by a Married Clergyman whose wife could help him or act as Matron. The first children to enter these schools should be the wholly destitute and then as many girls as possible. Salaries of Masters and
Mistresses should be raised so that more eligible people should take the positions. The salary for a man and his wife should be at least £75 per year plus a house with meat and flour at the government's expense. (10)

In 1826 public schools existing were at Hobart Town run by Mr. and Mrs. Stone; at Clarence Plains run by Mr. and Mrs. Holmes; at Pittwater run by Mr. and Mrs. Jarrett; at Launceston run by Mr. and Mrs. Headlam. (17) Entrance to these schools was given first to those children who were entirely destitute, second to those with one parent living, third to those with destitute parents, fourth to those who could pay £13 per year. (10) In 1827 the combined salaries of five schoolmistresses was £75 a year. (19) In 1827 there existed the following private schools for girls - Academies belonging to Mrs. Lemprière, Newtown, Mrs. Midwood, Miss Sharland, Miss Anderson and Mrs. Powell in Launceston. (20)

Women were in charge of the Female Orphan School and a woman was matron of the Male Orphan School. A Ladies' Committee was behind the organization. But this Committee was dispensed with by Franklin in 1837 and the entire management placed under a superintendent. (21)

Archdeacon Scott strongly recommended the formation of Infant Schools. With Mrs. Arthur as Patroness an Infant School Society was formed to raise funds to maintain a school and to supervise its working. (22) Funds were raised by means of Fancy Fairs. (23) Years later in 1847 Lady Denison found that the Society had become very unbusinesslike. There were no reports and the Infant School had become a burden borne by Dissenters only. She convened a meeting and a more active interest was taken in the school. Visits were to be made at unexpected times to supervise the work of the school. (24)

In 1832 some artists of respectable talent emigrated to the colony. (25) Drawing and landscape painting became quite a fever among the sons and daughters of Tasmania. (26) In 1837) a Mr. Chapman advertised a Drawing Academy with a special class for lady pupils at 11 a.m. (27)

Governesses were employed in some families. The following advertisement does not offer a very attractive prospect:-

"Wanted, in a family a few miles from Hobart Town, a respectable Female to instruct three children in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, to work at her needle and to make herself generally useful." (28)

Two sisters, "delightful young women" were mentioned by Lady Franklin as being very happily placed as governess at Spring Bay. (29)

But in spite of these private schools so bravely advertised and in spite of the government efforts, provision
was hopelessly inadequate. Because adequate salaries were not paid, suitable women did not become teachers. As late as 1840 Lady Franklin wrote of education for girls:

"It is greatly needed there is no provision whatever for the education of girls - a few miserable schools at Hobarton and one in the interior (noted for its balls and concerts and matchmaking) not deserving scarcely the name .......... The colony is even more in want of education for girls than for boys for boys can go home to England and the girls cannot and do not." Lady Franklin tried to obtain suitable people from England to start a girls' school that "would train up women worthy to be wives and sisters of the pupils of the college. It would renovate the face of things." (30)

But the struggle for feminine education in the colonies was only a replica of the struggle for it in England from this time onward - while the difficulties to contend with were far greater. Much credit is due to the women who, on a tiny pittance, struggled to teach and to those who were advanced enough to try to further this instruction and to improve the conditions for it.
V. OTHER OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN.

Women of the nineteenth century did not have many
opportunities for work apart from housework, but there were
a number of women in Van Diemen's Land who through necessity
and initiative undertook work outside the home sphere.

There were quite a number of women innkeepers for
example. It is thought that the first licensee was a woman,
Maria Hayes, who owned "The Derwent." At any rate she was
running this hotel when in 1817 she married William Stocker.
The Bush Inn was originally licensed by Mrs. Ann Bridge in
1825 and was a popular place to stay at from Hobart Town. In
1827 Rachel Williams owned "The Horse and Groom" in Melville
Street and Mary Townsend the "Bird in Hand", Long Meadow. (1)
Inns in the country were often favorably described by travellers.
Mrs. Ransome's Inn at Green Ponds was a comfortable two storey
brick building called the "Royal Oak Inn" and had good accommo-
dation. (2) Storey described an inn at Victoria Valley kept by
a tidy little woman, Mrs. Stock. "Here we had an excellent dinner
on mutton chops and tea." (3)

At Carrick there was according to Mrs. Meredith - "the
neatest of all possible inn parlours and the prettiest and most
obliging of all nice amiable landladies." (4) There were
boarding houses, too, kept by women. Widowson recommended one
kept by a widow named Mrs. Wood. This was perhaps the best
lodging for a family as it was much quieter and more respectable
than an inn. (5) In 1834, a Mrs. Baines, having relinquished
her licence, still entertained at "The Retreat" during the
summer season and from her place fishing excursions were
arranged. In the same year Mrs. Jones had a Tea, Coffee and
Chop House near the Old Wharf. (6)

In Collins' settlement women had been allowed to come
out with their soldier husbands. Their work was to wash for
the military:

"The comfort and appearance of the military depending
much on their cleanliness, the Right Honourable the Lords
Commissioners of the Admiralty were pleased to admit a certain
number of women to accompany their husbands in present expedition
for the purpose of contributing to that end by washing for the
detachment." The wife of William Bean was to wash for fifteen
persons; the wife of George Carley was to wash for fifteen;
the wife of James Spooner was to wash for fourteen persons. (7)

Later most of the washing for government purposes was
done at the factory and for private purposes in the home. In
1835 a Mary Crossall had as her occupation that of a washervoman. (3)
Backhouse mentioned a washervoman in Launceston who charged five
shillings for a dozen articles and who spent £5 on a coral necklace
for herself and a watchchain for her husband. (9)
Women kept shops of all kinds. In 1806 the Widow Purcell was a public baker. (10) Another woman owning a bakery was Mrs. Sarjeant in 1851. A Mrs. Mary Ann Peck was a retail dealer in 1835 and in the same year Mrs. Sarah White owned Tasman's Brewery. (12) Milliners and dressmakers there were in abundance particularly after the organized female emigration. (13)

In 1827 Mrs. Wise, the wife of the superintendent, was matron of the hospital and there were recognized midwives. (15) The hospital was a long brick building in a healthy and airy situation. (16)

Possessing great local influence in the colony was Mrs. Maria Lord. In 1830, acting as agent for Edward Lord she tried to create a monopoly in wheat. She possessed from three thousand to five thousand bushels and declined to supply the stores. Her action was criticized by Hull to J. T. Bigge. (17)

In 1822 the first public vehicle from Hobart to Launceston was owned by Mr. Cox. When he died, his widow carried on the business for some years. When in 1849 she offered her establishment for sale it consisted of seven coaches, one hundred and fifty horses and twenty-four sets of four horse harness. (16) In 1844 she was given the government contract to convey the mail by a day coach three times a week for the sum of £140 0: per year. She provided one armed guard and the government, another. (19) She experienced a series of unfortunate accidents and finally decided to give up the business. On this decision the Colonial Times wrote - "In retiring from her present business, Mrs. Cox will carry the sympathy of the public with her, and it is only to be hoped that whoever succeeds Mrs. Cox will display the same zeal for the public accommodation which she has always done." (20)

Benevolent work was a sideline of a few of the women. I have mentioned the committees formed in connection with the Female Factory, the Organized Female Emigration and the Infant School. Mrs. Arthur was the patroness of a Benevolent Society for the help of the poor and destitute. (21) In 1835 a Maternal and Doreas Society was formed. Its secretaries were Messrs. Jennings and Giblin. This Society did very good work. Personal visits were paid to the poor and the visiting and help was given quietly and unobtrusively. Necessaries and baby linen were given, but rarely money. (22) Lady Denison formed a committee for the establishment of a House of Refuge for unfortunate women who had no means of maintenance and whose numbers at that time were continually increasing. (23)

These then are some of the occupations of the women - as housekeepers, teachers, servants, innkeepers, nurses, society workers, shopkeepers - they all played their part in the development of the colony and in overcoming the difficulties and hardships that faced all. Material about them is very scanty. Most of them were too busy to write of their experiences or their reactions. They did their work probably some badly, but the majority with courage and acceptance.
VI. WOMEN AND PROPERTY

The right of women to own land in the settlement was for some years a matter of controversy. The question always arose when women made application for a grant. In 1807, one thousand acres were granted to Mrs. Paterson, the wife of Lieutenant Governor Paterson with little or no demur from the Government. (1)

In 1812, however, Major Geils asked for a grant for his wife and also for his six children. The latter part of the request was refused by Macquarie, but Mrs. Geils was given a grant with some cattle in her own name. The grant was one thousand two hundred acres which she could take all in one place or divide it. With the land she was granted twelve cows and four working oxen. (2) Not satisfied with this, Geils petitioned for more land for his wife and demanded that eighteen convicts should be allowed her for working the land. Macquarie, writing to Davey, said peremptorily that Mrs. Geils was to have only six convicts and said definitely that no more land was to be located to Mrs. Geils. (3)

Thus a wife of an official, could obtain land. Very different was it in the case of a convict’s wife. In 1813 William Jemmet, a convict, received help to bring out his wife and family. When however, Mrs. Jemmet applied through Davey to Macquarie for land, she was refused the right to receive land in her own right. (4)

Land was given to women as part of the marriage settlement. When in 1821 Miss Davey married Thomas Scott, she was given two small farms as a marriage settlement. (5)

In 1822 Wilmot recommended that Mrs. Catherine Garret should be made a grant of land in proportion to her means. (6) The difficulty now arose as to whether single women should be granted land. There were no official instructions prohibiting land grants to women but Macquarie had declined to do so — at least to single women — “on the grounds that such persons are incapable of cultivating land and are therefore not adding to the resources of the Colony.” Macquarie’s practice extended to Tasmania and was adopted by Sorell on his orders.

In 1823 both Eliza Walsh (8) and Anna Turnbull applied for grants, but they found that the Lieutenant Governor would not give the land without a letter from the Earl of Bathurst. Miss Turnbull possessed property worth six or seven hundred pounds which she intended to lay out in stock and improvement. (9)

In 1826 Bathurst wrote:

“I am not aware of any reasons why females should be excluded from holding lands in the colony.” The only stipulations were that they intended to stay on the land and had sufficient funds. (10)
In spite of this, when Mrs. Bradley applied to Governor Arthur for a grant in 1827, she was refused by him. As a result, Hay wrote very strongly that there was no reason at all why women should not be granted land under the same stipulations required of all other grantees. (11) So women, married or single, were able to acquire properties and these are mentioned in traveller's account of Van Diemen's Land. For example in Ross' Almanac of 1829, the extensive sheep farm of Mrs. Burn four miles up the Clyde is mentioned. (12)

In 1833 was passed The Married Women's Act which rendered effectual conveyance made by married women of their jointure or other property without fine or recovery if they acknowledged the deed before a Judge-Advocate. (13)
VII. MARRIAGE.

Marriages were for some years the exception rather than the rule. In the northern settlements there was no chaplain until 1819; but the presence of Rev. Knopwood in Hobart Town did not mean a great many marriages. Instructions from authority to the Lieutenant Governors were always to encourage marriages as much as possible. I have mentioned, too, the government's attitude to the bringing out of a convict's wife and also of the encouragement given to the marriage of a convict woman with a free man.

The first marriage notice for the settlement was on March 15th 1804, announcing the marriage of Ann Skelhorn to Corporal Cangels of the Royal Marines at Governor Collins' house. (1) On July 1st 1804 Rev. Knopwood married Mr. Ingles to Miss Rebecca Hobbs (2) and on July 23rd. 1804 he married Samuel Gun, a prisoner, to Miss Paterson, a free woman. (3) Knopwood was, however, particular that due formality should be observed, for when in 1805 he was asked to perform a marriage at eight o'clock that morning he refused to do so until the banns had been asked and so the marriage was postponed. (4)

A well-known and much quoted marriage is that of R. C. Burrows to Elizabeth Tucker who had co-habited together for fourteen years - the wedding notice adding: "verifying at last the old adage "Better late than never"." (5)

Macquarie continually urged that the celebration of marriages should be given every encouragement and facility in the power of the Lieutenant Governor. (6) In spite of government efforts (hindered often by the governors' own lives) marriage was often disregarded and even held so lightly up till Governor Arthur's time, that the sale of wives was common. The Hobart Town Gazette of February 17th 1817 reported a sale at which one wife was sold for fifty cws, another for £5 and a gallon of rum, a third for twenty cws and a gallon of rum. Bidding was keen and the bidders many and various. (7)

When the Rev. John Youl became chaplain at Georgetown in 1819, he married in a very short space of time forty-one couples. He made many unorthodox unions orthodox. (8)

From Arthur's time the standard of morality gradually improved, but while these conditions remained, the position which women held in the community was an unenviable one, at least to the self-respecting.
VIII. THE GOVERNORS' WIVES.

I do not intend to deal very fully with the position and influence of the governors' wives. Such a discussion would be outweighed with the consideration of Lady Franklin's work. There is so much material available about her and so very little about the others, that it is hard to judge the relative value of their part in the development of the colony and their influence on the women of their time. Lady Franklin and Lady Donison, also, were in Van Diemen's Land at a time when conditions were becoming easier and when the position of women was more assured. I do not wish to belittle the work of Lady Franklin but I cannot help regretting that Mrs. Davey's and Mrs. Arthur's letters are not available.

Collins' wife did not accompany him to the settlement and as a result of his appointment he was separated from her for fifteen years. (1) The wife of Thomas Davey would need to be a woman of some endurance and tact for Davey's character, though age of generosity was not one of discretion. West remarks that Mrs. Davey was a lady of meek and uncomplaining spirit and was spoken of by the colonists with respect. (2) Mrs. Davey also owned and let property.

The position of women probably suffered somewhat during Sorell's term of office. It was most unfortunate that a man of such ability and popularity as an administrator should have so hurt the moral feeling of the respectable and perhaps rather self-righteous portion of the colonists. Others found the situation a pretext for their own open disregard of domestic obligations. (3)

Mrs. Arthur was associated with benevolent work. She was patroness of the Infant School Society and Benevolent Society. (4) She organized the Ladies' Committee to try to help the Female Emigrants and really took an active part in the work. (5) She took her part in the social life of the colony, attending concerts (6) and regattas (7) and giving balls and levees. Her social life must have been much restricted by Arthur's strictness with regard to social decorum. There grew up a "court circle" which excluded even the mercantile class. So her life must have been rather narrowed by this and by the hostility many felt towards Arthur himself. (8)

Lady Franklin suffered much criticism at the time. "Her masculine intellect and adventurous spirit led some to ascribe to her more than the usual authority of her sex and station;" (9) but study of her work shows that wherever possible she was influenced by the desire to promote the welfare of the colony. Social life, as I have already said, became gayer under her influence. Her first drawing room assembly in 1837 showed a diverse crowd of people. (19) Intellectual ability was more important to her than social standing. Her excursions were an example of hardihood and daring. Her journey to Macquarie Harbour
was especially one of risk - but was a pleasant change to her after some of the political difficulties that were harassing her and her husband at the time. In this expedition she and her maid were the only women, and of it she wrote: -

"Our expedition has been a rough and anxious one - but on this very account it has afforded a very salutary change to our thoughts long harassed by recent political matters at headquarters." (11)

Property was bought by her, but with the purpose of turning it to good use and she possessed capital of her own to do it. She helped to develop the Huon district, frequently visiting Franklin. She promoted an interest in science as much as she could and it was a very great pity that after her departure the fine museum at Lenah Valley should have been given up. (13)

Her efforts with regard to education were enthusiastic and her interest in the Female Factory was sorely needed. Her influence on the position and importance of women in the colony must have been far-reaching. Liking it or not, people could not but admit that a woman had shown herself capable of far more than housekeeping and social frivolities and that physically and intellectually she could take her place with men. The real recognition of Lady Franklin did not come until after she had left the colony.

Lady Denison whose lively journal aroused much comment and criticism seemed to take an active interest in the people themselves, in her situation and in her husband's problems both constitutional and judicial. Socially she was an asset, entertaining with dinners and balls. It was she who tried to introduce a new note into government house entertaining by arranging "tableaux vivants" as a change from the usual dance. (15) In social service she re-organized the committee for the Infant School (14) and established a house of refuge for destitute women. (15) A unique description of hers is that of the entertaining of aborigines at Government House on Christmas Day 1847. (16) From her journal she appeared to be an intelligent lively person with a sense of humour and with less seriousness of purpose than Lady Franklin possessed.

Although I do not wish to deprecate the work of these women who helped their husbands in difficult official positions - sharing the criticism levelled at their husbands and often receiving criticism against themselves - yet it must be borne in mind that these women came, stayed a few years and left. They had their influence but it could never be as far-reaching or as important as the influence of the ordinary women who lived all their lives in the country and to whom the coming and going of the Governor and his wife was of little real importance.
It has become rather a common contention that Tasmanian history is best left undisturbed and uninvestigated - that there is so much of shame in its early history that the sooner we, as Tasmanians, forget about it, the better. This contention is obviously a foolish one. The early history of Tasmania reveals much that is scalded. Women, particularly, who came here, had difficulties from which a modern woman might well flinch. They were surrounded by the ugliness of crime and the uncertainty of actual existence. Convict servants were often insolent; bushrangers were a real danger; and poverty was an everpresent threat.

In 1814, bushrangers attacked Mr. McCarthy's home at New Norfolk. There were one man and three women at the home when bushrangers arrived. The women were tied while the bushrangers ransacked the house. (1) Mrs. Meredith and her daughters had to sit by and watch while bushrangers robbed their house of every-thing of value. (2) Others had more terrifying experiences still than these. Work demanded that the men were often away and women had no alternative but to remain alone. Aboriginals in revenge for ill treatment by white men were another danger.

Destitution threatened women whose husbands died. Sometimes grudgingly, the government paid a pension to wives of government officials. For example, when the Colonial Surgeon, Mr. Luttrell, died, leaving his widow destitute, Arthur suggested to Bathurst that the government should pay her £50 per annum which he said was a bare subsistence in the colony. (3) In the reply permission was given for the allowance; but the definite stipulation was made that this was not to be a precedent for other females. (4) Less generous still was the payment of one year's salary to the widow of a Harbour Master in 1807. (5) What of the widow left with children and with no means of subsistence in a colony where even the prosperous suffered handicaps?

Lack of medical help was another drawback that must have been courageously met by women. Medical help in Hobart Town was limited, but in isolated areas was non-existent -

"On the 28th ultimo at Mr. Fryett's farm near Herdsman's Cove, a woman named Catherine O'Neill was safely delivered of three fine boys. The mother is doing well, but the infants all died before proper medical attendance arrived." (6)

Hardships that may appear absurd and trivial were very real - for example as late as 1830 the mothers at a Quaker meeting had to bring their children with them because there were no suitable people with whom to leave them. (7) And what of Mrs. Fenton who had had no experience of walking and who wore black satin boots to her new home and was forced to walk a long way till her boots were in ribbons? (8) Some of these little hardships were due to inexperience, but others
were due to circumstances. What a welcome it must have been for
women who came to Hobart Town before 1816 to see the bodies of
felons swinging near the wharf on Hunters Island.

There is not sordidness in the way in which most women of
all classes faced these hardships great and small. But what-
ever our outlook on this past, the pageant of these women, convict
or free, wrong doer or wronged, milliner or governor’s wife, is a
fascinating one. I cannot but feel that the peace that Tasmanian
women enjoy now is something made more worthwhile by that background
of unhappiness and struggle.
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6. Papers in Royal Society of Tasmania.
44.

10. Knopwood's Diary, 3rd. April, 1830.
15. Ross' Almanac, p.53, 1829.
18. Ross' Almanac, 1839, p.126.
   Dispatch No. 32, Enclosure No. 1.
20. Ross' Almanac, 1826, p.56.
23. Ross' Almanac, 1835, p.220.
29. Lady Franklin's Diary, Jan. 1838.
30. Lady Franklin to Mrs. Simpkinson, 28th April, 1840.

(V. OTHER OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN.)

1. Bent's Almanac, 1837, p.103.
2. Ross' Almanac, 1839, p.23.
5. Widowson, p.23.
7. Garrison Orders, 26th October, 1806.
10. General Orders, June 1806.
17. Hull to J. T. Bigge, 7th September 1820.
19. Dispatch No. 163, 30th July, 1844.) Government Records
   Eardley Wilmot to Lord Stanley
   Office.
WOMEN AND PROPERTY.

L. G. Paterson to Under Secretary Sullivan, 21st April 1807, 

Macquarie to Major Gells, 1st June, 1812, 

Macquarie to Davey, 10th Sept., 1813, 

Macquarie to Davey, 10th Sept., 1815, 


Under Secretary Wilmot to Sorell, 22nd Oct., 1822, 


Miss Turnbull to Earl Bathurst, 20th Dec., 1823.


Hay to Arthur, 22nd June, 1827.


Ross' Almanac, 1829, p. 60.

Ross' Almanac, 1835, p. 354.

I. MARRIAGE.

Knopwood's Diary, March 10th, 1804.

Knopwood's Diary, July 1st, 1804.

Knopwood's Diary, July 23rd, 1804.

Knopwood's Diary, Feb. 13th, 1805.

Derwent Star, March 6th, 1810. (From West, Vol. I., p. 47)

Macquarie to Major Gells, 6th Feb., 1812, 

Macquarie to Sorell, 20th March, 1817.


Fenton, p. 50.

West, Vol. I., p. 34.

II. THE GOVERNORS' WIVES.


West.

Bathurst to Sorell, 26th Jan., 1819, Series III., Vol. II., p. 807.

Davey to Bathurst, 14th Dec., 1817, Series III., Vol. II., p. 634.

J. T. Bigge's Report, 3rd Feb., 1823.


Minutes of Meeting of Committee, (in Govt. Records Office, Hobart.)

Bent's Almanac, 1826, p. 111.

^ 1827, p. 115.


Mercury, October 3rd, 1872.

From Franklin Papers, April 1842, (in Royal Society of Tas.)

Mercury, Oct. 3rd., 1872.

Lady Denison's Journal, 1847.

Lady Denison's Journal, Aug. 12th, 1847.

CONCLUSION.

1. William Holsgrove's Account, 26th October, 1814.  
   H.R.A., Series III.,
2. Giblin, p. 305.
4. Despatch No. C., Goderick to Arthur, 16th July, 1827.
5. Paterson to Wyndham, 39th August, 1807.  
8. Mrs. Fenton's Diary.