

WOMEN TRANSPORTED

LIFE IN AUSTRALIA'S CONVICT FEMALE FACTORIES



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THE EXHIBITION RUNS FROM 2 AUGUST UNTIL 9 NOVEMBER 2008 AT THE PARRAMATTA HERITAGE CENTRE AND THEN TOURS.

PARRAMATTA

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FRONT COVER IMAGES
(LEFT TO RIGHT FROM TOP)

WOMEN AND FAMILY OF AUSTRALIA'S CONVICT FEMALE FACTORIES, 1850-1880, PHOTOGRAPHS (DETAILS), COURTESY OF FAMILY DESCENDENTS

CONSTANCE TRUDGETT	JANE CASTINGS	MARY CARROLL
MARY ANNE SMITH	EMMA (EMMILLA) MAYNER	MARIA JANE CASTINGS
BRIDGET LEE	ANNE DUNNE	SARAH BICKLEY
MARY HUTCHINSON (MATRON)	BRIDGET LEE	ANN GORDON (MATRON)

BACK COVER IMAGE

WINDOW GRILLE FROM THE PARRAMATTA FEMALE FACTORY (BUILT 1818-1821), PHOTOGRAPH (DETAIL), PARRAMATTA HERITAGE CENTRE COLLECTION

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FOREWORD

Paul Barber
Lord Mayor
Parramatta City Council

WOMEN TRANSPORTED is a landmark exhibition long overdue.

Here, finally, is the story of the women, their lives forged by suffering and dislocation, who became the mothers of our nation. They are, literally, the ancestral mothers of one in five Australians living today. This exhibition reveals their heroism, their grit, and the astonishing ability of most to bounce back and adapt to alien circumstances in a hard and foreign land. They brought to Australia a kaleidoscope of different trades – and contrary to the myth, only a handful were prostitutes. They went on to pioneer the land, raise families, conduct businesses, run farms and work in the myriad of occupations which kept the early colony alive. They indelibly defined the Australian character and it is surely time their story – our story – is told.

Their story, of course, is also the story of a city.

Parramatta was the alternative seat of the first government in this country and the location of the first successful farm. It has the oldest remaining public building, the oldest house in Australia and the oldest continuous place of worship.

Etched into the sandstone of these historic sites ... are the stories of ordinary folk who peopled this first chapter of our nation. Beyond the buildings, it is hard to peel back to the real stories of the people who made that history.

Parramatta is the right place to begin the hunt, home to the first Female Factory and the model for all others, and home over the next 180 years to so many other, often pitiful, sites of female incarceration, from female prison, to factory to orphanage and asylum.

Over the next few years Parramatta City Council will deliver an ambitious heritage tourism project to animate the stories and characters of our nation's history. Our goal is to create themed trails of discovery linking historic sites throughout the City. We now have Federal support to begin the research – and these early stories of women will be a key starting point.

I congratulate the visionary curator Gay Hendriksen and all those at the Parramatta Heritage Centre who initiated this exhibition. Congratulations also to Associate Professor Carol Liston, historian and representative of the University of Western Sydney partnership. Visions of Australia lives up to its name by supporting the touring of this exhibition and the telling of these stories around the remarkable number of female factory sites across the country. The project drew on tireless community support and shared knowledge from across Australia.

Similarly these industrious women spread across our new nation and thus became the mothers of contemporary Australia. Here is their story.

REVEALING THE HIDDEN STORIES

Karen O'Donnell

Manager

Cultural Heritage Programs and Visitor Information

Our perceptions of self and society are built upon our understanding of the past. Parramatta and Australia as a nation have evolved through the experiences and efforts of those who lived before.

While the history books reflect the larger than life characters and famous and notorious identities, it is the hidden stories of ordinary people that we relate to. These stories are often passed down within families and are increasingly popular as an area of wider heritage research.

The WOMEN TRANSPORTED exhibition seeks to reveal these stories, to pay tribute to the memories, experiences and efforts of the many women who found themselves torn away from the lives they knew and thrown into an unfamiliar landscape. The exhibition reveals the human stories behind the historical facts and challenges the common stereotypes of the Colonial era. In particular, this exhibition reveals the significant contribution of these women to the nation.


A great debt of gratitude is owed to the diverse contributors and partners in bringing the vision of this exhibition to fruition. Of particular note are the efforts of the tireless volunteers of the Parramatta Heritage Centre who have been instrumental in developing primary research and contributing immensely to the body of knowledge around the lives of these women.

Thanks also to the many institutions, research organisations, private collectors, community groups and site managers who have contributed objects, knowledge, skills and expertise. Appreciation is also extended to the teachers and other professionals who contributed to the development of the education and public programs that bring the exhibition to life.

The exhibition is a testament to the professionalism and vision of the staff of the Parramatta Heritage Centre, and the support of Parramatta City Council. The efforts of our Curator, Local Studies, Archives, Education/Public Programs and Visitor Information Centre staff demonstrates the passion they have for the living heritage of Parramatta.

Finally, the significant involvement of the families and descendants cannot go unmentioned. This exhibition would not have been possible without their efforts in passing on the personalised stories of these women and their contribution is greatly appreciated.

The Parramatta Heritage and Visitor Information Centre is proud to present this unique reflection on an important aspect of our settlement history.



*Convict women were women transported,
transported from one place to another,
one life to another, one world to another.*

WOMEN TRANSPORTED – MYTH AND REALITY

Gay Hendriksen
Curator
Parramatta Heritage Centre

Standing here with the others, no more waves. I feel sunlight, I see stone walls, wood, people milling around. The river reminds me of home but all else is strange. It is all so unreal. It feels like Britain might not exist any more, except the soldiers are the same, attitudes are the same. I am pushed from pillar to post the same. I see mistrust in her eyes, perhaps it's because my voice is not like hers, the matron's. To her, my kind can't be trusted. I stand here rejected. Some say it's genetics, others say it's my family, where I come from.

I see a small child with her mother and for a moment I forget where I have come. I am with my little Molly. Where is she now, who is she with? I think I will never see her again. But here now girl, pull yourself together. Get through this, perhaps here will be a new start, the chance I never had. Perhaps if I keep my head down and my mouth closed it might be different ... but then that always was hard for me!

I dream, they dream, our dreaming and realities are different.

These could be the thoughts of one of the convict female factory women. Their stories range from those of machine breakers and displaced farm workers to petty thieves and family women just trying to survive. There were at least 24,960 convict women transported to Australia.¹ An estimated 9,000 to 10,000 convict women were in one of 12 convict female factories. In the Colony of New South Wales these were: Parramatta (two factories), Newcastle, Bathurst, Port Macquarie, and Moreton Bay (two factories). In the Colony of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) these were Hobart Town, Cascades, Launceston, Ross and George Town.

Convict women were women transported – transported from one place to another, one life to another, one world to another.

From where we stand now the beginnings of Australia, as a colony, seems like a whirlpool of ideas and experiences. The colonial convict women coming to Australia would have been experiencing and witnessing the full effects of the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution. They may have shared some sentiments with the French. Some certainly participated in and witnessed the breaking of the looms in England's north. The Irish in some cases would have been reacting to the hundreds of years of British colonisation. Some would have committed crimes just for survival while others were old hands at the criminal game.

For many this would have been travelling to a *new world*, new possibilities, and new *utopias*. The climate was different, the surrounding environment unfamiliar, the plants and animals and even the light seemed different – over the oceans to a land of myth, the unknown.

Why were convict women sent to Australia? From a practical perspective it was to clear the overcrowded gaols, to populate the country.

It has been customary to send, without any exception all [females] whose state of health will admit of it, and of whose age does not exceed 45 years.²

A VIEW OF PART OF PARRAMATTA 1796–1809,
UNSIGNED, WATERCOLOUR,
DIXSON LIBRARY,
STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

THE FIRST FEMALE FACTORY WAS LOCATED ON
THE NORTH SIDE OF THE RIVER ABOVE THE GAOL
AS SEEN ON THE RIGHT HAND SIDE OF THIS IMAGE.



The women were selected if they had good chance of survival. Whether it was an official intention or not, about two thirds of the women transported were unmarried.³ The ratio was one to 5.3 women to men (132,308 men were transported).⁴ The women brought over 180 trades with them so they also provided economic value to the colony.

WHY THE CONVICT FEMALE FACTORIES?

Why were the convict female factories developed? This is a question without a definitive answer. Some aspects of the answer lay in the intersections of history and personalities, as well as the idea of social benefit and reform. This was matched with the coloniser's desire for economic power, as defined by the historical and political climate in which Britain existed.

Part of the answer can also be found in the practical need to solve the problem of what to do with the convict women once they arrived in the colony.

As soon as the first ship arrived with the women on board in 1788, Phillip's solution was to put the women in tents away from the men, a solution which was totally inadequate as is demonstrated by the night of 6 February 1788. Bowes Smith described the scene as *beyond my abilities to give a just description of the scene of debauchery and riot that ensued during the night*.⁵

The cost of supporting the female convicts, keeping them safe and stopping them from being idle was coupled with the moral concerns of Marsden and others for these *fallen women*. Some of the female and male convicts would have had spinning and weaving related skills (although there is no known evidence that women were transported for these skills).

At this time Britain was a maritime power and was at war with France. When flax was discovered in the colony, the supply of flax for maritime purposes was a consideration for Britain. Governor Phillip noted the advantages of the flax plants near the *settlement* (Sydney Cove).

After the Government House was moved to Parramatta, convicts were accommodated in huts, some of which (those of unlimed bricks) were set aside for the convict women.⁶ The first Parramatta Gaol was built in 1796, possibly in George

Street and was a log construction. This was replaced by a new combined gaol and factory used by men and women on the north side of Parramatta River (where Riverside Theatres and Prince Alfred Park now exist). There is an intriguing early map which gives the gaol as no. 30 in what exists now as George Street and Prince Alfred Park. In Prince Alfred Park there was a two storey stone building surrounded by a stone wall. Its construction had begun by 1802, and it was completed in 1804.

Governor King was looking at ways flax could be grown and woven. In March 1801 he reported that a number of women were employed in linen and woollen manufactories,⁷ producing linen and hemp rope. In May 1803 there were 95 women employed in this way.⁸ It appears that women were employed in Sydney and Parramatta picking oakum (unravelling and cleaning old rope) and spinning. The locations of this work have not been confirmed. From 1803–1807 Parramatta exceeded Sydney's production each year, with the majority of work occurring in Parramatta from 1804.⁹ Early wool experiments were also occurring.

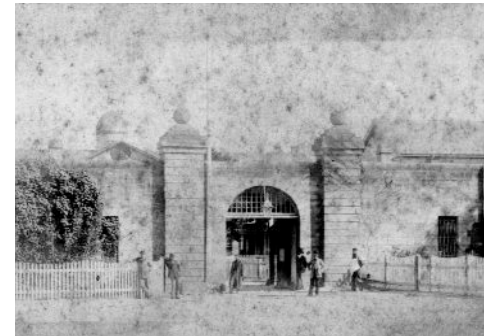
All of these conditions and considerations intersected at this point in time ... the answer was a factory. This factory, above the 1804 gaol, was along the lines of the *manufactories* in the work houses of Britain and was effectively the first convict female factory in the Colony of New South Wales.

The primary role of the first Parramatta Female Factory was to produce cloth. It became evident early on that it was inadequate for the number of women being transported or committing offences in the colony. In 1818 Governor Macquarie commissioned Francis Greenway to design a second factory for 200 women. This factory produced linen, wool, linsey-woolsey (a coarse fabric with a linen warp and a woollen weft) and twine. The women worked at wool picking, cloth scouring, spinning, carding and from the 1830s weaving.¹⁰ They also did laundry, stone breaking, oakum picking, needlework, straw plaiting, cleaning and other duties the factory required such as nurse, monitor and portress.

The second factory was a place where the convict women were received from the ships, and from which they could be assigned. There was also a hospital for the infirm and for women *lying in* (waiting to give birth). Convict men could apply for a *bride* there, although contrary to popular story, there needed to be agreement from the convict factory woman (the story that dropping a handkerchief was a sign of agreement is unfounded). There was also a penitentiary section.

By the 1830s this factory was inadequate and there were problems with how to best control the women. Gipps commissioned a three storey single cell structure. Three classes were developed to deal with the different requirements. First Class was for those waiting for assignment, Second Class was for small offences and Third Class was for re-offenders in the colony for crimes such as theft and murder. In the 1830s there could be between 500 and 700 women and over 100 children at the factory at any one time. In the 1840s up to 1,200 were recorded.¹¹ In 1847 with the cessation of transportation the factory closed and was reused as the Parramatta Asylum.

Bathurst, Port Macquarie, Newcastle and Moreton Bay were developed as factories which were adjunct to the gaols. Bathurst was developed as a part of populating the west. The others were used to deal with the most troublesome of the Parramatta Female Factory inmates such as women involved in factory riots (of which there were five), firstly Newcastle then Moreton Bay and Port Macquarie.



PARRAMATTA FEMALE FACTORY, c.1865,
PHOTOGRAPH,
COURTESY OF RALPH HAWKINS

CHRONICLES OF THE SEA.

No. 14.] PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY, PRICE ONE PENNY. [March 24, 1838.

LOSS OF THE AMPHITRITE.



Loss of the Amphitrite, Captain Hunter, August 31st, 1833.

The Amphitrite convict ship, commanded by Captain Hunter, sailed from Wexford on Sunday, August 25, 1833, on her voyage to New South Wales, having on board one hundred and eight female convicts and twelve children, under the care of Mr. Forrester the surgeon, and a crew of sixteen persons. The captain was part owner of the vessel.

When the ship arrived off Douneau, the gale of the 29th began; and on the morning of Friday, the 30th, the captain bore the ship to the gale being too heavy to sail. On Saturday, at noon, the vessel was about three miles to the westward of Douneau harbour, where they made land; and the captain set the topsail and main-forest, in the hope of being let off shore.

From three o'clock the sea was in sight off Douneau, and certainly the sea was most heavy, and the wind

extremely strong; but no pilot-boat went out to her, and no life-boats or other assistance were despatched. She was observed from three o'clock till about half-past four in the afternoon, when she came round into Douneau harbour, and struck on the sands. By four o'clock it was known that it was a British ship; but some said it was a brig, others said it was a merchant-vessel, though all said it was English.

It appeared from the statements of three men who were saved out of the crew—all the rest having perished—that the captain ordered the anchor to be let go, in hopes of swinging round with the tide.

In a few minutes after the vessel had gone aground, multitudes rushed to the beach, and a brave French sailor, named Pierre Hain, who had previously received the thanks of the Humane Society of London, addressed himself to the captain of the port, and said that he was resolved to go alone, and to reach the vessel, in order to tell the captain that he had not a moment to lose, but

CHRONICLES OF THE SEA NO. 14, MARCH 24 1838,
INCLUDING THE LITHOGRAPH
LOSS OF THE 'AMPHITRITE'
(FEMALE CONVICT SHIP),
CAPTAIN HUNTER, AUGUST 31ST, 1833
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM
COLLECTION

Similarly in Van Diemen's Land the problem of housing and employing the convict women led to the development of factories at Hobart Town and George Town. These were followed by the Cascades Female Factory which worked on a similar line to the one at Parramatta, but with the hulk, the *Anson*, being used for some of the women's work and with Brickfields used as a place for assignment. The riotous factory women were sent on to the factories at Launceston and Ross. Factory records in Van Diemen's Land show work in the following areas: needlework (ranging from surplices, *waiscoates*, and *trowsers* to stockings and slop clothing), washing, carding, picking wool, spinning, picking oakum, acting as a monitor, cooking, and weaving.

FROM SILENCE TO FREEDOM

CONVICT WOMEN, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

The female factory phenomenon was a social and penal experiment surrounded by questions concerning society such as *what constitutes the social contract, human rights, equity, state responsibility? What are our conceptions and misconceptions of women within a penal system?* The questions are as relevant now as they were in the early nineteenth century.

In the early Colonial period the apparently opposite concepts of Romanticism and Classicism appear in visual art, writing, philosophical ideas and social/political ideas. These opposites seem to indicate a split personality, but if one looks behind the notions to the cause, both appear to be attempts to respond to the chaos, violence and massive upheaval present in the society of the time. As a result there was rethinking of what constitutes an ideal society and what constitutes freedom, as well as who has and should have power. As Claire Valier notes:

*Theories of crime and punishment have, from the outset, been linked to visions of 'the good society'. Ways of understanding crime and punishment have carried within their carefully constructed arguments, and key concepts, ideas about the kind of society that it would be desirable to live in.*¹²

Interestingly the different phenomena that resulted from these responses reflect the literally *age-old dichotomy* of rational and non-rational. Which is the higher order thinking? Is it the internal or the external that should govern action? Do regulations and *social contracts* such as in Plato's *Republic* give us freedom or do we get freedom from a return to nature and release from corrupt society? Is that freedom for a group or for individuals? What is at our core as human beings?

Notions of freedom and notions of human nature inform our ideas of society and of behaviours that are considered the *norm*. Notions of the *norm* evolve and change as societies evolve and change – whether the norm is around ideas of gender, religion, race, economics or genetics. Who we imprison and why is determined by the notions of *normal* behaviour.

Laws change, and our agreements are changing all the time. Thou shalt not kill, however, it's acceptable to kill if the *state* decides it's necessary in order to administer justice. You can kill defending property. *Thou shalt not steal* unless you do it in business and own a fortune to cover your legal costs, or if you don't get caught. These are all knotted threads that exist but are counter to any unification of ethics.

Criminality is defined by social agreement. Those who are conforming are part of society. Those who are not are *criminals*. Durkheim says:

*We must not say that an action shocks the conscience collective because it is criminal, but rather that it is criminal because it shocks the conscience collective. We do not condemn it because it is a crime but it is a crime because we condemn it.*¹³

If criminality is a matter of social agreement then the first question is who is agreeing and upon whom the effects of that agreement are imposed.

Underlying punishment is the basic idea of social control, the need to make people conform to a set of norms that a particular society believes in. Working out the norms of behaviour and setting appropriate punishments is not always straightforward. To kill someone is wrong. So what makes it right when the state kills someone as punishment? Is killing acceptable if you defend yourself, your children, your property? Is stealing alright to save yourself or your family from starvation? Are civil and political dissenters to be punished or those with particular sexual preferences? Is it less unethical to rape than take large sums of money through corporate fraud? Our levels of punishment suggest so. Which does our society think more serious, more punishable? Which did eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain consider worse? Is repeat offending a sign of genetic disposition? With cultural diversity and multiple ethical codes should there be different rules for different communities (such as witnessed towards Aborigines in Colonial Australia and in the Northern Territory now with respect to alcohol curfews)? These questions were around in the 1800s, are alive and well now, and are still controversial.

Behind these questions of crime and punishment are our philosophies, ideas of ethics and freedom, and thoughts on what makes a good society. Notions of power also inform the questioning. For imprisonment, specifically the female factories, fear, freedom, power and the desire to impose conformity underlay the dynamics.

Our current society has a fear of *other* which has led to a preoccupation with security. In comfortable middle class Australia and other Western societies, the predominant response is the *having mode*. There is a fear of loss of property and opportunity and a focus on gain of property. If one *has* one is secure. The society needs protection from the terrorist (43 million dollars worth in the last USA annual budget!) and the criminal to the point where each person must have a secure mobile phone, secure computers, secure homes in private streets, and constant monitoring to survey our activities. With this underlying motivator of fear Australia could easily slip into prejudiced behaviour such as the early settlers showed to the convict women when they arrived at the factories.

The fear of *other* in Colonial New South Wales translated easily into fear of these *bad girls*. Governor Hunter said of the convict women:

*... to the disgrace of their sex, [they] are far worse than the men, and are generally found at the bottom of every infamous transaction committed in the colony ... they have grown disorderly beyond all suffering*¹⁴

Views of what these women were like, and what they should be, both posit a sense of exclusion. They are not trusted by certain authorities and they feel a sense of exclusion because they do not meet the moral code that has been set by a power group beyond their own typical origins in poverty.

The dilemma is expressed in the Molesworth Committee final report:



REVEREND S. MARSDEN,
SENIOR CHAPLAIN OF NEW SOUTH WALES AND
FOUNDER OF THE NEW ZEALAND MISSION, 1835.
RICHARD WOODMAN, STIPPLED ENGRAVING,
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA

... that society had fixed the standard of the average moral excellence required of women much higher than that which it had erected for men, and that crime was regarded with less allowance when committed by a woman than if perpetrated by a man, not because the absolute amount of guilt was supposed to be greater in the one case than the other, but because the offender was deemed to have receded further from the average proprieties of her sex ... a higher degree of reformation is required in the case of a female, before society will concede to her that she has reformed at all ...¹⁵

The convict woman's individual power and freedom was imprisoned in more ways than the physical. So what do these questions and ideas have to do with convict female factories in Australia? The factories and the women were like the centre of a vortex. The treatment and perceptions concerning convict female factory women – convict women in certain locations subject to certain experiences – were informed by the notions existing in early Colonial times, as interpreted by individuals and government bodies with the power to inform action. Their decisions determined the environments within which these women lived.

Convict women are imbued with the power of sexuality and the criminal capability of doing anything attributed to them by others, usually those in power who had the ability to record and influence. This is a closer reflection on the writers than the women. Marsden, with his fundamentalist approach, saw any variation from his views as full of vice and corruption. Although he fought for improvements to the factory, he speaks of it as *a grand source of moral corruption, insubordination and disease, and spreads its pestilential influence through the most remote part of the colony.*¹⁶ He describes the actions of the convicts, particularly the women as:

... destructive of all religion, morality and good order, and destroys at once the most distant hope of any reformation being produced in either. Nothing can be more distressing to the serious, reflecting mind, than to see the vices and miseries of these abandoned females.¹⁷

Some of Marsden's response is likely to be the intolerance of difference which was typical of a number of men from the comfortable middle class of the Colonial period. The Irish (which many of the women were) for him were dangerous rebels. It was his hand that wrote the death penalty for the men in the Vinegar Hill uprising even though the men did not kill anyone. His written opinion that women were concubines if they were not Anglican and were cohabitating reveals both his intolerance of non-Anglican religious practice as well as the choices made by the women to cohabit. There is also perhaps a sense of fear of the *other*, the sense of horror, fascination and danger described by Sartre in *Being and Nothingness*¹⁸ or by Claire Valier in describing Bauman's concept of the *vagabond* and that *there is no insurance which can protect a person from slipping into vagabondage in an uncertain world.*¹⁹

This attitude was not confined to the powerful middle class men. Mrs Charles Meredith said of the convict women servants that they were unfit because of:

*Their inherent propensities to do evil, every shape of vice and depravity seeming as familiar to them as the air they breathe ...*²⁰

In contrast to these views, Mary Lethbridge and Thomas Reid describe the convict and factory women as essentially good. Mary Lethbridge wrote to her mother Anna Josepha King about factory women in her household:

*I have a very nice nurse for him, from the Factory, indeed I have been lucky in the three women, they go on very steady, they are all Irish. I cannot do without three women at present, on account of all the washing. We wash everything at home and what with the dairy, poultry, baking, making candles and so on, we find plenty to do.*²¹



SARAH LAWSON, LATE 1790S, WATERCOLOUR
ARTIST UNKNOWN, MINIATURE ON IVORY,
DIXSON LIBRARY,
STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

Thomas Reid, while Surgeon on the ship *Morley*, noted that the women *all appeared orderly, attentive and respectful*. He commented about the convict women who were destined for the Female Factories in Hobart Town and Parramatta:

*I cannot hesitate but to declare my conviction, that if duly protected, and not exposed to more than common temptation, they will realize the most favourable expectations, and even forever set, an example of propriety to others in their situation.*²²

Reid didn't see the women as inherently bad. Instead he says, *Should it be attributed to the lower class as a crime that their parents were too poor or profligate to secure for them the benefits of education?*²³

The life in the colony that the women were presented with elicited a range of responses. Some just couldn't cope with life after total dislocation and the resulting sense of powerlessness. Others went on to make a life for themselves, have families and contribute to society in such a way that we have to really search to uncover their lives as convict women and female factory inmates.

One person who made a significant contribution to the prison conditions, work and punishment of convict women in Britain and the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land was Elizabeth Fry. She lobbied for better conditions, including aspects of the convict female factories. Fry had previously worked with the women in Newgate Prison, where through the Ladies Committee she had established The British Ladies Prison Visiting Association, and was able to ensure the provision of materials such as clothing and sewing supplies. *The Rajah Quilt* is one result of this. She also lobbied well within the British political system to effect change.

Fry liaised consistently with Samuel Marsden. Her letters to him reveal her concern for the women, and her belief in work and reform rather than isolation:

*The subject has been brought before the House of Commons ... thy copy of thy letter to the Governor of New South Wales and the information contained in it has been much spread in this country and it is quite my opinion that some beneficial alterations will **in time** take place ... we are deeply interested in the welfare of the poor convicts as to their situation here and their voyage and when they arrive in Botany Bay ... be kind enough to remember me to any female convicts that we have had under our care. I hope they will not forget all our desires for them.*²⁴

She also had representatives in the colonies assessing conditions in the female factories and working with the women. Charlotte Anley and Kezia Hayter were two women who fulfilled these roles in the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Kezia Hayter says very little of the women but notes in her diary:

*"As thy day thy strength shall be" I have abundantly realized this today in my very arduous duties at the Factory but I come away each time with increasing encouragement and hope that I have been useful. If I have been nothing else I have been a comforter to many a sad and sorrowing heart and none can say how much more useful God will condescend to make me.*²⁵

Charlotte Anley recorded a conversation between herself and a Third Class inmate of the Parramatta Female Factory which indicated Charlotte's willingness to accept the idea of the women's action as a result of environment rather than genetics determined by class.

*I replied that I could readily believe the **act** of murder to be one of awful passion, and not of premeditated crime. Here she interrupted me with an expression of deep emotion, such as I can never forget and exclaiming 'Then you do believe that?' 'Yes, I replied' ... She said more mildly 'May God bless you for that!'²⁶*



ELIZABETH FRY READING THE BIBLE TO A WOMEN'S PRISON (NEWGATE), 183-, ARTIST UNKNOWN, WATERCOLOUR, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA

Fry and Marsden, although from different religious backgrounds (she was a Quaker and he an Anglican), both were instrumental in changes in the factories and both saw themselves as working on the spiritual development and salvation of these *lost souls* of women. There are many aspects of Marsden's behaviour and role in the early colony that spark debate but Marsden did lobby for better conditions in both the first and second factory in Parramatta. Fry lobbied in regard to these and factories in Van Diemen's Land. Her philosophies and attitudes towards reform through solitary confinement and work were an important part of her approach to treatment and effecting change with the women.

PRISON STRUCTURE AND PUNISHMENT

Between the ideas of Marsden and Fry and the Parramatta factory women, were the factory staff members whose work it was to implement the ideas and be the eyes of the state. They are as different in experience and views as the women they were responsible for. As the Parramatta Factory spanned 43 years the different government attitudes also affected change.

The plans developed by the authorities themselves indicate the government's attitudes. The first Parramatta Factory focused on manufacturing rather than ideas about crime and punishment. The design was unable to house the women. Others such as Hobart Town were an afterthought with the men's gaol adjacent. Marsden says of Parramatta:

The number of women employed in the factory under Mr Oakes the superintendent is 150 – they have 70 children. There is not any room in the factory that can be called a bedroom for these women and children. There are only two rooms and they are both occupied as workshops, over the gaol, almost 80 feet long and 20 wide. In these rooms there are 46 women daily employed, 24 spinning wheels on the common wheel and 22 carding. There are also in them the warping machine &c belonging to the factory.

These rooms are crowded all day and at night such women sleep in there as confined for recent offences, amongst the wheel, wool and cards. The average number of women who sleep in the factory are about 30 in the whole. Many of these women have little bedding and some no bedding – they sleep on the floor.²⁷

The second Parramatta Female Factory, like Cascades Female Factory, was about housing the prisoners and work. Later additions were made to both to deal with the various needs that arose over time, such as separating the women into classes, adding Third Class quarters in Parramatta, the nursery addition in Cascades and the Gipps' single cells building in Parramatta with its counterpart in Cascades. The other factories in the Colony of New South Wales were either to populate the frontiers, like Bathurst or places for the problem women in Parramatta like Port Macquarie and especially Newcastle and Moreton Bay. Similarly in Van Diemen's Land, George Town was used as a place away from the influences of Hobart Town. Launceston and Ross were used especially for the troublesome at Cascades. Launceston interestingly uses the panopticon approach outlined by Foucault as a cruel ingenious cage.²⁸ For this the focus has moved from the manufacturing and guardian approach to higher supervision. In his words:

Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power... the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of a central tower from which he is spied upon.²⁹

This is quite different to the Greenway main factory building which presents as an imposing edifice of power, not unlike the Colonial Government would like to present itself and one that relies on the idea of turnkeys rather than the all-seeing eye.

Being sent to a different location was also a form of punishment. This was also a convenient solution for an authority that has difficulty handling the women, however possibly not thought through well as both Newcastle and Launceston record riotous behaviour after sending groups of women who had rioted at the larger female factories, such as the group of 19 sent to Newcastle after the 1833 riot.

Staff approaches changed over time, according to both the Government attitudes and numbers of women passing through the factories at different times.

The first intended Superintendent was a weaver brought out especially for his skills. Unfortunately he fell overboard on the journey out. George Mealmaker then became the first superintendent of the first factory at Parramatta. He was in fact a convict (with weaving skills relevant to the factory) and was sent out for writing seditious pamphlets in connection with the Scottish martyrs. These pamphlets were about freedom and a call to rebellion against the British power with lines like:

The time has come when you must either gather round the fabric of Liberty to support it, or to your eternal infamy, let it fall to the ground, to rise no more, hurling along with it everything [that] is valuable and dear to an enlightened people ...

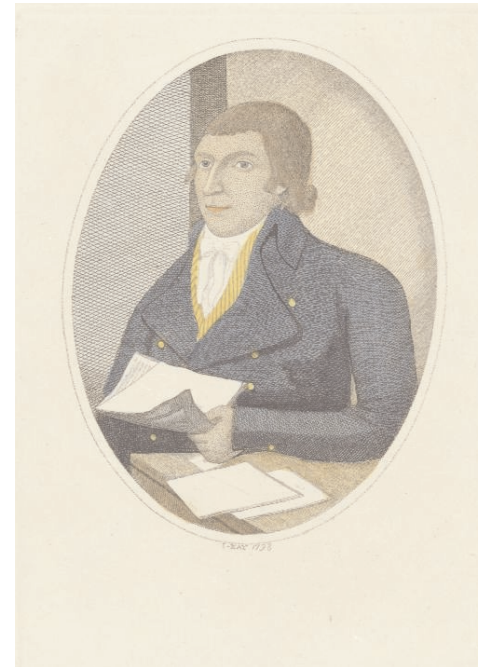
*You are plunged into war by a wicked Ministry and a compliant parliament ... Thousands and tens of thousands of your fellow citizens ... are reduced to a state of poverty, misery and wretchedness.*³⁰

His time as superintendent was only a few years and his demise through alcohol could well be his response to the sense of deep disillusion that comes from idealists fettered. Although the evidence is not apparent one could muse that he would have empathy for the women. Mealmaker's appointment was directly related to intention of success for the weaving industry. He was given a home as well as a good salary for supervising the growth of the flax, as well as the spinning and weaving of the flax, wool and hemp.

Francis Oakes, although a local entrepreneur/opportunist, appeared to also have some understanding for the women. In some of his letters he talks of the negativity of certain punishments such as head shaving and calls for increases in rations. Tuckwell also showed concern for the women's rations.

The first matron appointed was Elizabeth Fulloon (Raine). She was followed by Matron Ann Gordon who, in public sentiment reached almost mythic proportions. Her name was synonymous with the factory for a time. Over 30 descriptors for the factories include her name – to be Gordanized, Gordon's Seminary, Gordon's nunnery, Gordon's school for girls. Her employment began with a riot and finished with a riot. However she maintained relative stability during her time there. She seemed to have been able to maintain some order from a committee of management perspective as well. Whether this was from authoritarian approaches or understanding the women is unclear. However, it is possible that with her firmness in the factory she also understood the women.

Extracts from letters to her daughter indicate a caring attitude:



PORTRAIT OF GEORGE MEALMAKER, 1838,
JOHN KAY, ENGRAVING,
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA



MATRON ANN GORDON, UNDATED,
PHOTOGRAPH,
COURTESY OF JOHN RAYMOND

Be comforted and consider you have a friend a home and a mother that never forgot you although length of time and circumstance and thousands of miles across a wide ocean separated us. Yet my poor child you were never forgotten by your mother. All I wish is to see both of you and your dear little boys ...

From your affectionate mother

*Ann Gordon*³¹

Gordon, in fact was one of the highest paid women in the colony at that time, receiving £150 per annum. Her demise was not from her actions but her husband's illicit activities with the factory women.

Towards the end of the Parramatta Factory period John Clapham and Julia Leach were engaged by Elizabeth Fry but with an unsuccessful outcome. A record of their arguments indicates their diametrically opposed methods and approaches.

Clapham said of Julia Leach and the factory women:

*I was to be placed under the authority of an **inexperienced** woman, who I believe to be in every way unfit for so important a trust ... I soon saw what a lamentable state the factory was in, nothing but cursing, swearing, smoking and frequently drinking ... She (Mrs Leach) was frequently excited with drink and I am sorry to say on one occasion, I carried her from the public cabin to her own when she could not walk.*³²

Visiting Justice Campbell said of the situation:

*As regards the officers of the establishment including Mr Clapham as one of them, it must have been apparent to everyone that either Mrs Leach or Mr Clapham must go ...*³³

At Cascades the earliest staff were Esh Lovell, superintendent, and overseer, Jesse Pullen. In 1832 John Hutchinson was superintendent and Mary Hutchinson was matron, William Cato was overseer and Elizabeth Cato Assistant Matron.

Mary Hutchinson's father was Francis Oakes from the Parramatta Female Factory. She would have known the women at the first factory by virtue of her father's work. She spent her working life at Cascades and Launceston Female Factories.

If we consider the management and the subjects upon which the punishments, reform and work are applied, as well as the contexts they experience, we can begin to understand the convict female factories and the women who were the focus of their construction and form.

NEITHER ANGELS NOR DEMONS

Who were the convict female factory women? Where did the women come from? 33.8% of convict women came from England, 56.3% from Ireland, 5.1% from Scotland, 1.5% from Wales, 1.4% from outside England and 1.9% unknown.³⁴ The high proportion of Irish-born women convicted indicates the approach of the British Government of the time to the Irish. It also represents migration as a result of the difficult social and political conditions in Ireland. 8% of the Irish were convicted in England.

The general profile of the women transported doesn't match the common stereotype at the time, of genetically degenerate, without hope of redemption or unskilled and illiterate. Babette Smith describes the attitude:

The descriptions of female convicts [that] have come down through the years are virtually unanimous in their picture of degraded, dissolute, worthless people. And although many people believed life in New South Wales provided opportunity for reform, the theory that 'the criminal classes' were a race apart, irreclaimable and perhaps genetically determined was highly regarded ...³⁵

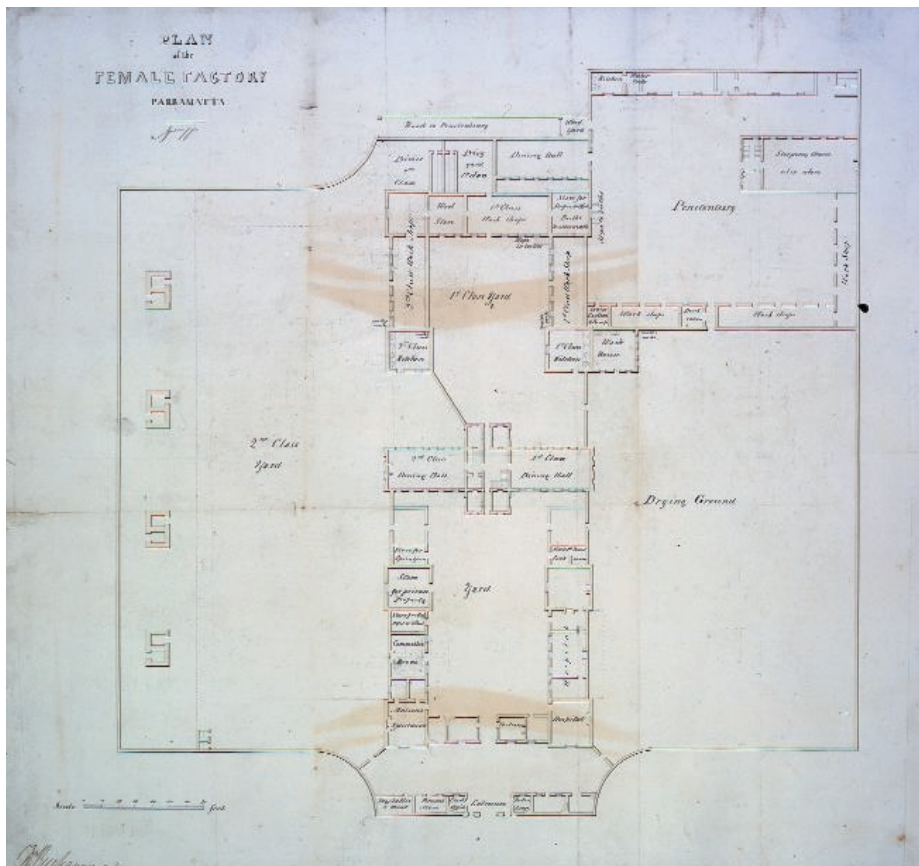
A comparison of crimes and literacy can give some insight into the reality. Of the women 65.3% had no prior convictions, 28% had one prior conviction. The remaining 7.9% had multiple convictions. This suggested that the majority were not of a *crime class*.

Of women convicts from England 75% had some level of literacy (could read only or read and write). English immigrants to Australia had a 78% level of literacy. This shows there was not a marked difference between convicts and the general population – not sufficient to condemn them with being an almost different genus of human.

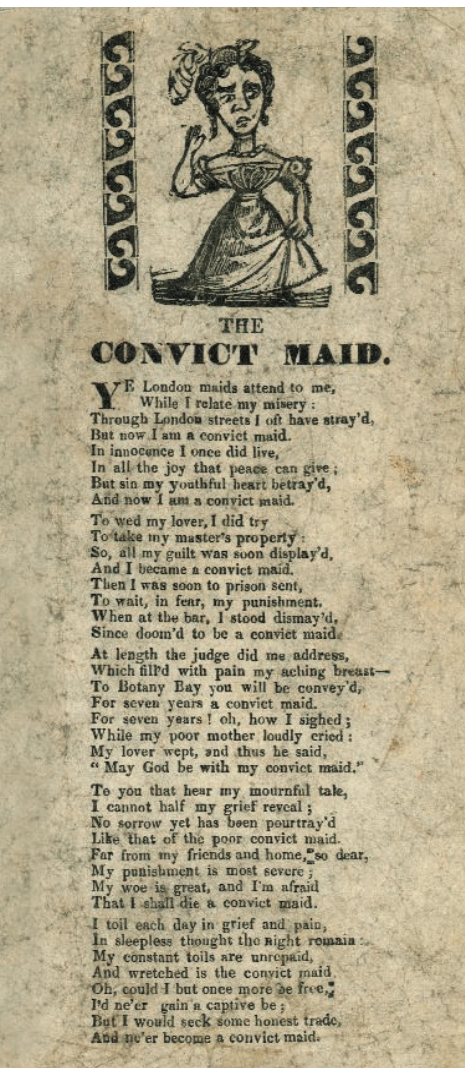
In Ireland convict literacy was 46.6% (could read only or read and write) compared to Irish immigrants literacy of 47.4% so again there was no significant difference between the convict women and the general population.

The difference between the English and the Irish literacy statistics may reflect the levels of poverty and the banning of Catholic schools in this period:

*It was an offence against the law for a Catholic to keep a school, to act as a private tutor, or to send his children abroad to be educated.*³⁶



PLAN OF THE FEMALE FACTORY, PARRAMATTA, NO 11, 1833, NATIONAL ARCHIVES, UK



THE CONVICT MAID, BROADSHEET ARTICLE,
UNDATED, INK ON PAPER,
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM
COLLECTION

In terms of skills, the convict women brought over 180 trades with them which suggests that laziness was not an inherent trait as some commentators would suggest. There was not a significant difference between crime committed in the country and the city³⁷ which presents the possibility that there wasn't a crime class and shows that cities were not the main place for crime.

Of the women transported 52.8% were aged from 17 to 29 and 64.7% were aged from 17 to 34 years of age. Whether official government policy or not, the majority were of childbearing age and often came with young children (13 years or over not allowed).

Another useful set of statistics for identifying who these women were are the actual crimes that led to transportation. Crimes related directly to theft make up 91.2%, with the remaining crimes being breaking 2.5%, vagrancy 2.0%, and violent crimes 1.8%. Of theft 36.6% was of clothing, 21.3% money, 11% fabric, 10% household items, 9.3% food or animals, 8.2% jewellery and 3.7% other.³⁸

Prostitution is not included here, as it was not a crime for which women were transported. The general statistics show that the convict women seldom committed violent crime. Theft was not mainly of food, but largely related to common opportunities and items which could easily be exchanged for money. This therefore doesn't contradict the idea of theft for basic survival.

These facts present quite a different picture to the descriptions of *damned whores*, degenerate women with little chance of reform.

What happened when these women came into the factories? Some information can be gleaned from records but given the incomplete nature of both the New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land records, definitive statistics are difficult to ascertain.

From 1826 to 1840 the highest annual level of transportation is recorded. This is also reflected in the rise in factory numbers recorded in Parramatta, where a zenith of 1,200 was recorded in the 1840s (in a factory built for 200). This figure doesn't include accompanying children who usually exceeded 100 at any one time in this period.³⁹

In a sample of 195 women in Parramatta Female Factory from 1801 to 1836 the following crimes were included: 20 prostitution, 14 theft-related, two highway robbery, three abuse and assault, two murder and two police nuisance. These are common crimes in the profile of convict women generally. Also included are 45 drunk, 26 vagrancy, 15 absconding, 21 absenting, nine relating to escape (found at large), five disorderly conduct, two disobedience, two insolence, and two at large – representing the desire for freedom and *escape* from the situations experienced. The six given up by master and eight useless in service may indicate a desire to return to the factory which is also indicated in a number of trial comments by the women. The remainders include bigamy, complaints about rations, pregnant, one found in carnal connection, in a public house at nine o'clock, incapable of earning a living and notorious bad character.

Of 138 women recorded in newspapers as being sent to the Parramatta Female Factory, 59 of the reasons were theft-related, three forgery-related, one soliciting, one stabbing, which, like the previous sample, one might expect for convictions. The 15 absconding, 11 drunk, five disorderly conduct, four disobedience and insolent as before are possibly indicators of a desire to escape their situations.

Other single crime types range from being in the factory with mum, being a reigning sultana, tossing tobacco over the wall, being in the wrong place at the wrong time and machine breaking.

In Van Diemen's Land in a sample of 51 punishments there were 26 absconding, 23 attempting to escape, one misconduct and one violence and breaking of spinning wheels.

Looking only at the range of crimes in these two samples there are the crimes typical of what would have occurred in Britain previously. The comparatively larger number of absconding, absenting, escaping, vagrancy and drunk certainly indicate a local response to local situations.

In addition to the individual reactions there were also a number of riots recorded at Parramatta, Cascades and Launceston. In Parramatta 5 have been recorded – 1827, 1831, 1833, 1836 and 1843. The first included around a 100 women escaping through the town. The *Sydney Gazette* newspaper described the event:

A numerous party again assailed the gates, with pick axes, axes, iron crows ... the united force of which, wielded as they were by a determined and furious mob, soon left a clear stage and the inmates were quickly poured forth, thick as bees from a hive, over Parramatta and the adjoining neighbourhood. About one hundred came into town, exclusive of numbers that took different routes. Constables were seen running in all directions. A captain, a Lieutenant, two serjents; and about 40 rank and file, were seen flying in all directions with fixed bayonets, for the double purpose of securing the fugitives, and staying the mutiny; and so violent were the Amazonian banditti, that nothing less was expected but that the soldiers would be obliged to commence firing on them ...[the convict women] Went along, carrying with them their aprons loaded with bread and meat ...⁴⁰

The absence from common knowledge and story of these riots and the estimated 9,000 women who went through the factories is a testimony to the lack of acknowledgement of these women to date. Most convict female factory women got on with their lives despite the dislocation, dissolution of family, experiences of starvation, appalling living conditions in Britain, and the backlash of the fight against the industrial revolution and in Ireland the ongoing fight against colonisation and the power structures that developed from it.

Their stories in Britain and its colonies are mostly about struggle. In the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land after going through the factories their fortunes were as varied as we experience today – from highly successful to ordinary stories to tragedy. The women range from the highly successful in business, the notorious, the seditious, those who were not a part of the *norm* and those who went on to live ordinary lives in town and bush.

Of the women, who represent the range, Maria Riseley (later Lord) was one who became highly successful, although her journey was not an easy one. Jane Wilkinson (later New) was notorious and caused a scandal. Charlotte Badger, unusually became a pirate, Anne Entwistle and Mary Hindle were examples of sedition. Catherine Lowry, Molly Morgan and Mary Wilson presented stories with unusual aspects. Susannah Watson, Emmilla Mayner, Anne Dunne, Elizabeth Browning Owen and Honora MCarthy present final success despite adversity.

Maria Riseley was one of those successful in business. She was convicted in Surry of stealing and transported to Australia for seven years. She arrived on the *Experiment* in 1804 and was sent to the Parramatta Female Factory. Maria went on to have a family of seven children and marry Edward Lord in 1808.

Edward Lord became one of the richest men in Tasmania. Maria's business acumen can be given reasonable credit for his fortune. She died in 1859.

Jane Wilkinson (New) was one of the notorious women. By 16 she had four convictions for stealing. In 1824 she was transported for seven years to Van Diemen's Land where she met James New who brought her to Sydney where they married in 1826. In 1827 she was sentenced for shoplifting and sent to the Parramatta Female Factory in Second Class. James New consulted attorney Francis Stephen, brother of John Stephen. This was the beginning of what became a colonial scandal which brought down John Stephen, contributed to difficulties for Governor Darling, and resulted in a change to the law, as questions of jurisdiction between colonies arose. Jane escaped the factory and the colony never to be found. There is some conjecture that she went to the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, living with a Samuel Butler.

Another notorious woman was Charlotte Badger who was convicted for the theft of four guineas and transported for seven years in 1800. After Charlotte was assigned she became pregnant and was returned to the Parramatta Female Factory. Her daughter Anny was born, the father, an un-named soldier. Charlotte was then sent to Van Diemen's Land on the *Venus*. The voyage was problematic from the beginning. Captain Chace resented the women on board. They were put ashore at Twofold Bay and left to fend for themselves for 15 days. The ship returned and they were locked below decks. Charlotte, and another convict woman Kitty, were ordered to be whipped for causing trouble (not a punishment permitted for women). The men were reluctant; Captain Chace whipped the women himself and accused the men of mutiny. Arriving in Port Dalrymple in 1806 the Captain went ashore to report the crew who then decided that rather than stay and be hung they would take the ship and sail away. Thus Charlotte through circumstance becomes a pirate. The last sighting was in Tonga.⁴¹

One of the seditious women was Anne Entwistle, whose story by circumstance is entwined with Mary Hindle's. She, along with Mary Hindle, was sentenced to death in 1826 for *machine breaking*. Ann was accused of *destroying shuttles with a piece of iron* at Helmsshore Mill in Lancashire which she did. Mary was accused of *shouting encouragement to the rioters*. She said that she had gone to the scene of the riot to look for her daughter. Both had their sentence commuted to life and were transported on the *Harmony 1* arriving in Sydney in 1827.

Ann Entwistle was 46 years old and a widow with three children, Catholic and illiterate. Mary Hindle was 28 years old, married with one child, literate, Protestant and a laundress. On arrival Anne was assigned but was returned to the Female Factory in 1828 into First Class, as *unsuitable*. Two years later Ann had married John Butcher and was granted a *ticket of leave* in February, followed by a *conditional pardon* in 1844. Her death date is not known.

Mary Hindle was assigned to John Nicholson on arrival. She received a *ticket of leave* in 1831. In 1838 she was reported as a runaway while being escorted to the Female Factory, Parramatta.

While in the Factory she sent a petition to the Governor:

*I hear that pardons have been granted to the men involved in the crime [machine breaking] and I humbly implore your Excellency to include me in the number of those who have received the Blessing of such Clemency ... do not suffer me to languish the remains of my existence in hopeless Slavery.*⁴²

Mary was released from the Factory in 1840 and worked as a laundress for Thomas Ryan, Chief Clerk to the Principal Superintendent of Convicts. Once again she absconded and was returned to the Factory. In 1841 Mary committed suicide.

In the year 2000 the building where Mary was held in Lancaster prison, 174 years ago, has been made into a Community Centre and named the *Mary Hindle Centre*.

Catherine Lowry who was originally from Ireland was brought up in Manchester. She was a weaver by trade and was illiterate. When 19 years old she was transported for ten years, already having five previous convictions for receiving, felony and disorderly. She was known as being six years *On the Town* (working as a prostitute). In Van Diemen's Land Catherine was charged more than 50 times, sometimes with disobedience but mostly with disorderly conduct and drunk. She spent time in Female Factories in Launceston and Cascades as well as Launceston Gaol.⁴³

Molly Morgan's actions after her transportation from England seem to have been driven by practical issues and the desire to reunite with her children. Mary (Molly) Morgan had a daughter Mary to William Gough. She then married William Morgan and had a son, James. She was sentenced to death for the theft of linen yarn but was transported on the *Neptune* and arrived with William Morgan (tried for the same crime) for the first time in New South Wales in 1790. He enlisted in the New South Wales Corps and both were sent to Norfolk Island.

Molly returned to Sydney and was assigned to Nicholas Nepean with whom she lived. She then absconded on the ship *Resolution* back to England, and bigamously married Thomas Meares, who accused her of burning down their house in 1803. She was then transported for *arson*, arriving on the *Experiment* with her children in 1804. She was sent to the Female Factory in 1806. Molly lived in Church Street, Parramatta on a land grant, until being sent to Newcastle for branding government cattle as her own. In 1819 she was sent on to Wallis Plains, near Maitland. She married Thomas Hunt and opened a wine shanty on the banks of the Hunter River, dying in 1835.

More familiar are stories like that of Susannah Watson who had four husbands and eight children. Of five children left in England, only three survived childhood. With two previous convictions, she was convicted for shop robbery and transported in 1828 for 14 years. She never saw her children who had been left in England again. Susannah arrived on the *Princess Royal* in 1829 and was sent to the Factory on arrival with her youngest son, Thomas. While on assignment she was sent to the Parramatta Female Factory, Third Class, six weeks, for insolence. Susannah then had a son Charles to Isaac Moss, born in the Factory in December 1830. Thomas was sent to the Male Orphan School and Susannah was reassigned, later returning to the female factory Third Class for two years, for shoplifting. Thomas died in the orphan school and Charles Isaac Moss Watson was also sent there, remaining until he was 11 years old. In 1833 she was sentenced to three days in the cells at the Factory for improper conduct. Susannah was then with John Clarke and had a son John Henry. Later she was with L.S. Downs, to whom she had a child Agnes.

Susannah received a *ticket of leave* but was returned to the Female Factory in 1840, Third Class, for six months for obtaining bread under false pretences. Agnes died in January 1842. Susannah married William Woollard and received her *certificate of freedom* in July 1844.



SUSANNAH WATSON, c.1880.
HAND COLOURED PHOTOGRAPH,
COURTESY OF BABETTE SMITH



EMMA (EMMILLA) MAYNER AND HER DAUGHTERS,
c.1860, PHOTOGRAPH,
COURTESY OF SHIRLEY MOORE

Susannah married again in March 1851 to John Jones and in 1856 they moved into the Braidwood District. Her life became more settled and she died in 1877 at Gunning.

Her letter to her daughter reveals the settled life but the yearning to be reunited with her:

Dear Hannah, you must make your mind up at once and let me know. I should wish very much for you to come and pleading wither to come out where life is better⁴⁴

Emma (Emmilla) Mayner was transported for seven years. She could neither read nor write and her occupation was nursemaid. In Australia she married Charles Wilson and had eight children, dying at Uralla in 1886.

Mary Wilson was transported for life. She had been married to Leonard White and had a daughter Eliza Jane born about 1804. Leonard White was hung for his part in the crime for which she had been transported. Eliza Jane accompanied her mother and arrived on the *William Pitt* in Sydney in 1806. Both were sent to the Female Factory, Parramatta. She then married James Styles (Stiles) in 1811 and had three children to him. She died in 1850. Although her life was now more settled her aliases indicate a varied past – Mary Wilson had also been known as Mary White, Jane Leonard, Jane Rhodes and Ann Styles.

Anne Dunne was born in Carlow, Ireland c.1810. She was found guilty of *stealing linen*, and transported for seven years. She had one previous conviction, which carried a sentence of seven months. Anne arrived on the *Hoogley* in 1831 with a son, John. They both went directly to the Female Factory. She was assigned to Penrith, firstly to G. Wentworth, then to Mrs McHenry. Anne married James Tompkins and possibly died in 1879.

Elizabeth Browning Owen was transported, aged 29, on the *Morley* in 1820. Her offence is not described but she was a needleworker and brought with her four children – John nine years, Eliza seven, Robert five, and Elizabeth three. She was assigned to the Female Factory, Parramatta and her two daughters were sent to the Female Orphan School. On several occasions she applied for their return to her but not until her remarriage to Emanuel Marvin in 1822 was she successful. Elizabeth was granted a *ticket of leave*, and died in 1839.

Honora McCarthy was tried in County Cork on 17 March 1849 with Margaret Connell and Margaret Cronin. They were charged with *threatening to burn a house*, and were all found guilty. Honora arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1849. She was an orphan and an illiterate nurse girl. She married John Deacon in 1846 and had children, John, William, Sarah, Mary, Dora and Timothy. She was later *free by servitude* and died in 1889.

These profiles represent a sample of the over 9,145 convict female factory women so far identified. The majority of the female factory women were either working class or in dire poverty. No female convict was recorded as having, by Colonial definition, a professional occupation. This is still the case with women incarcerated.

As noted by Wendy Bacon:

When we think of women prisoners, let us think of them first of all as people and as women. And just briefly consider that nearly all of the 400 or so women in prison tonight [1985], in Australia, are working class women. Many of them living below the poverty line before they went to prison ...⁴⁵

FACTORY LIFE WITH THE WILD, THE WOEFUL AND THE WILLING

What was life like in the female factories for these convict factory women? The different women's stories indicate different ways, times and sentencing. The women were sent to the first factory to be assigned or if they had committed a further offence in the colony. At the time of the second factory in Parramatta a convict woman could be put in the factory if they had not been assigned at the ship docks on arrival. By the 1830s the classification system was in place, and they would be put in the First Class. If the women were assigned and absconded, were insolent to their mistresses or masters, did not do their work or were pregnant, they could be sent to the factory, Second Class. If they were lying in waiting for a birth they may be at the factory. If the crime was more serious such as theft or murder they would be sent to the Third Class, the penitentiary class. This was similar in Van Diemen's Land.

Unlike the men, the women were not usually flogged and the death penalty was very rare. Additional punishments in the colonies included demotions of class and therefore liberty, different periods of time in the cells, solitary confinement (sometimes with bread and water only), treadmill, gagging, head shaving, and cap of disgrace, and in Van Diemen's Land, iron collars, gagging and the treadmill. These aspects of incarceration are beyond the comprehension and experience of many of our comfortable new millennium lives in Australia.

The one punishment that was consistently hated in all the female factories was head shaving, to the point that in Parramatta it was a catalyst for one of the riots. The meaning of head shaving – cutting hair, cutting power, cutting freedom over one's own body, cutting at identity – all seemed to feature in the women's abhorrence of it. The hair cutting was considered by them far worse than a period in the cells. A warder at Millbank (a British prison) noted convict women's responses before transportation:

*Oh yes they would sooner lose their lives than their hair.*⁴⁶

Marsden recorded the beginnings of a riot in 1833 which started as a result of hair cutting:

*I told you when I was in Sydney on Tuesday that I expected the women in the Factory would excite a riot again. They began on Wednesday night to be very troublesome and this morning they struck work. This was also the day for their hair to be cut. They one and all are determined not to submit to this operation. 40 Soldiers with their officers were ordered to attend the constables to the factory. Anderson and I went before, Captain Westmacott gave directions for the soldiers – the women had collected large heaps of stones and as soon as we entered the third class they threw a shower of stones as fast as they possibly could ... I have no doubt but all the officers who saw their riotous conduct will be convinced of the necessity of keeping them under by the hand of power.*⁴⁷

The women seemed generally to be able to deal with the physically painful punishments and the isolation punishments but not the punishment that related to their concepts and identity as female. *The Sydney Morning Herald* of 16 May 1831 notes that *Bridget Radcliff was charged by her master with insubordination, and refusing to work. Bridget stated, that since her locks had been shorn at the factory, she had no heart to do anything. One month to the third class in the factory.*⁴⁸

After the death of Maria Murray the inquest was reported 17 April 1834 that Mary was *heartbroken* and had been in a *desponding* way since her return from the factory and expressed to her fellow servant a few days ago, that she was *heart broke*.⁴⁹



ANNE DUNNE, c.1860.
AMBROTYPE PHOTOGRAPH,
COURTESY OF MAUREEN UPFOLD,
SUSAN BULBROOK AND HELEN SOARS

A little relief came from the attempts of women outside the penal system to apply some humanity to the factory women's lives. First there were Elizabeth Fry's emissaries who, although perhaps driven by religious zeal, observed and tried to effect a difference in the women's lives. In a practical way it was about assisting with materials for skills development and lobbying powers in government to work differently with the women in the system. They were followed by the Sisters of Charity whose role was less judgmental than most. Although working with the hopes of religious conversion, their humanity and sheer hard work shines through; particularly with the difficulties they experienced from the church clergy. Sister Mary Baptist de Lacy describes the change in the women while the sisters were working with them:

They must acknowledge that there is a visible reformation in the conduct of the women. I will give here an instance of it. On a late occasion when they were unjustly deprived in both quantity and quality of the rations allowed by Government, they acted with the utmost forbearance, but when the Governor Gipps went to the factory to pay his accustomed visit, they represented to him in the most respectful language their grievances and called on him to have their wrongs rectified.⁵⁰

The women were often perceived as lazy, without skills and in need of redemption through work. Their range of occupations suggest the contrary, as represented in documents related to the convict women.⁵¹ In all factories the women did spinning, and in the 1830s the women were to be taught weaving to stop them from being idle. These skills have been noted in Factory papers such as the *Weekly Return and Distribution of Prisoners and Children in the Female Factory, Parramatta from 27 February to 3 March 1832*,⁵² where matron Ann Gordon records weavers' numbers in the Third Class as 28 from Monday to Friday and 29 on a Saturday. Elizabeth Fry and others saw the factory work as the path to change for the women. Other work recorded at Parramatta includes spinning, winding, straw plaiting, nursing, needlework and being a monitress or portress. In the Parramatta Factory there was also household work of factory cooking, cleaning, baking, and laundry, and in Third Class stone breaking and oakum picking. Port Macquarie, Newcastle and Cascades female factories all had spinning.

It is easy for us to say, life was better when they did come here, it's not just a *victim story* and this is the case, but I wonder how many of us would respond with any level of gutsiness to these same experiences. If you were the hardened criminal, what brought you to it? How would you feel not having fed the family for days or simply just surviving for years while others make profit from your difficult situation? How did you feel as a tenant farmer with generations of stories of oppression in your head? Or what if you had come from Ireland to England looking for work? Treated as the untrustworthy migrant worker and then moved to the big city with only your skills and what you stood in? What if you were punished with the treadmill or gagging or had been breaking rocks or doing other day in day out work with no choice of your own as to where you live, what you do. What if you were unable to keep your four year old and six year old with you, having already left two behind at home and the father dead? Imagine being on assignment to a difficult master or one who used you as a prostitute to make money? Or as in Mary Hindle's case, you just couldn't face life without family and freedom?

Mary Hindle seemed to feel she had no choice. Many like Susannah and Emma, made the most of what was presented to them here. Considering these experiences why is it that we view these women quite differently, not as victims at all? Some of the answer can be found in the choices the women made. We see within ourselves some of these women's strength.

SPINNING A GOOD YARN

FACTORY WOMEN, IDENTITY AND SIGNIFICANCE NOW

The significance of convict female factory women today is somewhere in the spaces between myth and reality. At some time in all our lives, we experience journeys not chosen? We should therefore be able to identify with characters who faced the *journey not chosen*, as so many of these women did.

The mythic attributes of convict women's lives in contemporary times has little to do with the misconceptions concerning them by the middle class of the early 1800s, however, some aspects of misconceptions still exist today concerning contemporary convict women. The early concept of a crime class that inherited traits has similar possibilities of prejudice as current theories that assign traits to genetics.

Are the convict women's responses to experiences so different to ours? Was their life within the family so different to today? Blended families with a number of different husbands; parts of families left in the country of origin (as refugees in Australia experience); women alone, making their way in life; a number of children with different fathers; and nuclear families are all experiences that resonate today. The easy connections, attachments and cohabitation brought about by love or the desire for a comfortable life or of the wish for freedom to choose relationships, are not only a sign of these women's lives, but also of contemporary life.

Perhaps what is different between now and the early 1800s is the fear that these women could contaminate the fundamentalist religious approaches and lives of the comfortable classes. Concerning these convicted women, this has died with the people who held them. There was also a significant attachment of sexuality as a negative quality of these women. The concept of *damned whores* cannot be sustained when considering the majority of stories uncovered. The question is why we don't see the convict female factory women in the same way as their middle class contemporaries did.

What of our convict female factory women's heritage? In Australian culture, how much have these women's way of being filtered into current perceptions of Australian women? Is the sense of the *victim's victim* as described in *The Real Matilda*⁵³ carried through? Has the sense of strong spirit and *we can survive anything, do anything* come from these women? What of the mateship, nose-thumbing and ability to *take the mickey* out of things? These are a part of the Australian character. Many of us can identify with all these aspects, but few would source the nature of the Australian character in any degree to these women.

Why are we so interested in the stories of these women? Is it a sense of impotence of our effect, our power to act in the world in a meaningful way? Is it the numbing corporatisation of our lives, with corporatised beliefs becoming the new religion? Are these women's stories a life affirmation to counteract the existential abyss that can sometimes fill our horizons in our times? These women's stories provide the paper on which we can mythologize and construct stories of ourselves and our lives. We can rewrite our desires to act with strength against adversity and *survive* with a sense of empowerment.

Women can be seen as victims. At some time we all experience a moment of being victims. However these women also acted. Some conformed, some escaped, some absconded, others rioted and many went on to have fulfilling lives.



FEMALE PENITENTIARY OR FACTORY, PARRAMATA
[PARRAMATTA], N.S.WALES, 1826,
AUGUSTUS EARLE, WATERCOLOUR,
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA

Compared to middle Australia it was the daily experience, the *stuff* of the factory women's lives that was different. Their journeys included the daily pain of hunger, having no safe home, and living from hand to mouth, along with a sense of hopelessness and dislocation.

What happens when a significant proportion of a society shares similar experiences? War experiences can change a whole generation of people, and also change social frameworks significantly, as witnessed by the movements in the 1920s after World War I and the 1960s after World War II. Surely colonial transportation on such a massive scale and the convict women's experiences changed two whole generations of perception and action, and thereby changed the social structure in Australia's formative period.

The women made a life with the opportunities they had, and *disappeared* into the fabric that is Australian society. The gutsy and the feisty could well have come from our current perceptions of how we might deal with our life experiences ingrained into us from our mother's mothers and Australian communities in town and bush. This unnoticed filtering into generations of thought may explain why we don't attribute aspects of Australian character to these women.

Given the impact of these women one would think that material culture and stories concerning these women would be easily accessed. This is not the case. The fact is that many of these stories are not well known or not known at all. Apart from the written documentation of the Colonial Government it is challenging to find material evidence of their lives. Even harder is finding their perspectives on their own lives. Some court records can give insights when the women's words are taken down but apart from this there is very little.

In part, the legacy of prejudice and class has buried these stories. These women's lives were not seen as important in their culture but rather as problematic and largely expendable. These women were not only the subject of colonial desire but also colonial fear – heavenly bodies or devil's work by the views of those in power.

Certainly they did not have many belongings and many would not want to be seen as associated with the factory. There would have been a stigma attached to being a factory girl, one openly expressed by many. However given the numbers of women there should be some material available. Apart from colonial records and some archaeology at Ross and Cascades in Tasmania there are less than a dozen objects identified as made or used by factory women at the time they were in the factory. There has been no archaeological dig at the first and largest Greenway factory, and it is hard to locate the sites of the other factories. Who would think the Brisbane GPO has any connection with a female factory? So where is all the material now? Why have they not been identified in our national and state museum collecting policies? We can only hope that perhaps some objects are buried under statements of significance that tell a different story of particular women, or that they are still with the families waiting to be recognised as belonging to these factory women.

As we do of any unknown, we construct myths to help us understand life. We construct them with what we desire to be or what we most fear. There are pantheons of gods to illustrate this. If we don't know or understand something it becomes a palette for our imagination to paint from as we desire.

Retelling these stories, these forgotten histories, doesn't reduce our mythologizing, but it does return a certain power to the community. This can be found in some of the oral history responses concerning the women. Dorothy Mc Hardy notes:

I think many of them were products of their tough times who had very little, if any, advantages. Given a chance in a new country many became good citizens who were prepared to work hard to raise a families and give them better lives and I think the Australian way of getting on with life owes a lot to our ancestors as does our habit of lacking a great deal of respect for authority⁵⁴

Beth Mathews comments:

Catherine was a very courageous woman educated and intelligent. I hope we have learned much since the dark days of transportation. The Factory women's contribution – we are courageous straight talking, home loving⁵⁵

Isabel Dale Tooley says:

Courageous. She left two sons behind in Ireland. I am proud of her stamina to go through the emotions she must have experienced. I hold her in great awe. What hardships! Not all were criminals and the courage to start anew, live in a strange country. It helps me understand the new migrants. Her relevance to the Australian character is strength of purpose enduring pain and loss and all character building. Don't be ashamed of convict ancestry, be proud.⁵⁶

Shirley Moore describes:

She is a part of who I am and I am proud to say I am of convict stock ... her death notice read 'respected by all who knew her'. These women made in conjunction with others, this country what it is today despite their overwhelming hardships.⁵⁷

Responses to these women are a mix of desire and admiration – a melding of the myth and reality. Given an estimated one in five Australians are related to these women it is easy to mythologize about them, identify with them and connect with the thought that any one of us could be a descendent or know someone who is a descendent of one of these women. This gives an almost tangible connection by each of us with the myth, with these women. These women are you and I on the deepest level.

Crimes committed in England and Australia reflect the women and why they did what they did. Their stories do reflect the full spectrum of human motivations, behaviour and responses to commonly experienced moments.

Through our desires we imbue these women from the past with qualities we wish them to have. They are described as misunderstood, misinterpreted, stories hidden, mad, bad and dangerous, heroines, pioneers and of sterner stuff than ourselves. The fact is that as individuals they are not very different to the way we are now. There are the quiet, the feisty, the honest, the recalcitrant, the devious, the funny, the depressed, the nurturing, and the irresponsible. Reading their journeys we are taken on a mystery tour much as we encounter when reading myths and following the hero stories. We see the hope, misery, and joy, their heartlines, and many other things. We sense that they and we are connected in a mythic way. Reading their lives can put our lives in perspective. As Kate Grenville says in *Joan makes History*:

They planned great things, and better worlds, and went on sowing, full of hope. Centuries passed, generations of babies grew old and died, and now it is my turn ...

I thought my story was one the world had never heard before. I loved and was bored, I betrayed and was forgiven, I ran away and returned, and all these things appeared to be personal and highly significant history. Oh Joan, what bogus grandeur! There was not a single joy I could feel that countless Joans had not already felt, not a single mistake I could make that had not been made by some Joan before me... and although you may not think so to look at me, I am the entire history of the globe walking down the street ... and like them all I, Joan, have made history.⁵⁸



*'... the Factory acted merely as a temporary restraint from indiscriminate intercourse or unchecked dissipation.'*⁹²

CONVICT WOMEN IN THE FEMALE FACTORIES OF NEW SOUTH WALES

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VIEWS ABOUT CONVICT WOMEN

Much has been written about convict women. It is a salacious topic – sex and bondage make better copy than poverty, desperation, motherhood and housework.

Convict women were condemned in the 1837 *Report of the British House of Commons Select Committee on Transportation* as *excessively ferocious, profligate* when assigned and *with scarcely an exception drunken and abandoned prostitutes*.⁵⁹ It is a tag that has dominated historical accounts ever since.

Convict women were sent to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and most writings about convict women combine accounts of both settlements. Whilst this makes for compact storytelling it is important to recognise the significant differences in the convict experience for both men and women. These were sequential rather than parallel experiences, so the lives of a convict generation in New South Wales are not the same experiences as those of a later generation of women in Van Diemen's Land. The communities in which they committed their crimes, the official approaches to crime and punishment and the rules and regulations in the convict settlements varied significantly over the decades from the arrival of the First Fleet in Sydney in 1788 to 1853 when the last convict ship sailed to Hobart.

Convict women have been analysed in many historical studies.⁶⁰ One of the earliest was Annette Salt's book, *These Outcast Women: The Parramatta Female Factory 1821–1848*. Some of the most detailed research on convict women has been undertaken by their descendents.⁶¹ The greater availability of indexes and increased access to original records has allowed these women to emerge from the historical shadows so that their lives can be seen in the fuller context not only of their crime and transportation but of their lives in the colony. The current project seeks to add to these understandings of convict women by looking at the place that was common to most of their experiences – the Female Factory. The exhibition provides a tangible space for descendents to share their stories of these women within and beyond the Factory walls. With these new stories, another account of the female convict experience will emerge.

The lives of convict women in New South Wales were recorded as they passed through various official phases towards their freedom. The central records of the Superintendent of Convicts and records of the Female Factory at Parramatta, the main administrative repository for the women, have not survived. Their lives, however, intersect with a maze of official correspondence scattered throughout the colonial records. From this we can retrieve a glimpse of their experiences.

WINDOW GRILLE
FROM THE PARRAMATTA FEMALE FACTORY
(BUILT 1818–1821),
PHOTOGRAPH (DETAIL),
PARRAMATTA HERITAGE CENTRE COLLECTION



SESOTRIS AND MORELY PILOTED THROUGH THE TORRES STRAITS BY THE LITTLE BRITOMART, CAPTN [CAPTAIN] STANLEY, c.1841, ARTIST UNKNOWN, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA

DAMNED WHORES?

Prostitution was not a crime that was punished by transportation, yet convict women have for generations been seen as women of loose morals. Yet these same women were the *mothers of the nation*, part of a generation that transformed a prison settlement into a democratic colony.

Given the concern of the British government while planning the First Fleet that women from the Pacific Islands should be brought to the settlement as sexual companions for the male convicts, it is inconceivable that the British government did not consider that the convict women transported on the First Fleet would be predominantly regarded as sexual companions rather than laundry women or maids. When the First Fleet arrived, Governor Phillip had separate huts built for the women convicts but practical isolation was physically impossible in the small settlement.⁶² Phillip soon asked for more female convicts to be sent, as it was impractical to bring native women from the Islands.⁶³

Convicts were transported to New South Wales from 1788 to 1840 and to Van Diemen's Land from 1803 to 1853. During those years 24,960 convict women arrived, representing 15% of the total number of convicts. Approximately half of the convict women landed in New South Wales (12,460), most after 1825.⁶⁴

Convict ships sailing between 1788 and 1817 carried both male and female convicts. Under-Secretary Evan Nepean had wanted to send the women in the First Fleet on one ship but the number of women had been increased so transport arrangements followed the practice of the slave ships to the West Indies where ships carried both sexes accommodated in separate rooms.⁶⁵ From 1815 a Surgeon-Superintendent travelled on each voyage to supervise and manage the convicts.

At sea for months it was impossible to stop connections between the male and female convicts – or between the male crew and the female convicts. Convict transports also carried detachments of soldiers and their families. On the *Janus* in 1820 the free wife of a corporal in the 48th Regiment slept in the same large room as the female convicts and observed the voyage. The women played cards, and were occasionally tipsy and noisy, but their behaviour was clearly not intimidating for this woman. The *Janus* had already had female convicts from England on board while it waited in port in Cork for three weeks before sailing to the colony. At least two of the convict women became pregnant during the voyage. The father of Lydia Esden's child was the ship's mate. She testified that she wasn't forced into this relationship and he had promised to see her family and give them news of her.⁶⁶

As the system for transportation became standardised, the process of equipping and embarking the women followed a regular pattern. The women were provided with clothing for the voyage. Each of the 199 women convicts who sailed on the *Asia* from Ireland in 1830 were supplied with two bed gowns (one grey baize or brown serge and the other stripped cotton), two petticoats (one grey baize and the other of drugget); two linen shifts; two linen caps; one check apron; two pairs of black stockings, two handkerchiefs, one pair of shoes and one straw hat or bonnet.⁶⁷ The women could bring some clothing with them. Those on the *Asia* brought dresses, caps, silk and muslin handkerchiefs, ribbons, collars, bodices and patchwork but very little money.⁶⁸ The Irish convict women aboard the *Elizabeth* in 1828 were provided with school primers and quills for a school on board and yarn to knit stockings during the voyage.⁶⁹

From the beginning the convict women brought children with them. Many in the early years were babies, but as the pace of transportation quickened more women brought out children, and the children were often older. The *Elizabeth* in 1828 carried 18 children, the eldest a girl of 14, as well as 134 Irish women convicts. In Sydney, children under three stayed with their mothers; children over three went to the orphan schools while older children, aged ten or more, were put almost immediately into apprenticeships usually arranged by the orphan schools.⁷⁰

On arrival in Sydney, the women were inspected aboard ship. In the early years potential employers, such as senior public servants or wealthier citizens may have come on board to select assigned servants. By the 1820s the system was more structured to prevent illicit contact with the women.

Martin Wilson who was employed at the gaol in Sydney was reprimanded in 1827 for approaching a female convict ship moored in the harbour. He had been aboard a few days earlier mustering the female convicts when:

*an aged woman came to me in tears saying she had a daughter on board free and stated she did not know what would become of her when she was sent to the Factory and begged of me ... to enquire after a service for her with some family.*⁷¹

Wilson found a family to employ the daughter and returned to the ship to inform the woman, thus earning a reprimand.

Some women were distributed from the ship to assignment in Sydney or sent in groups to benches of magistrates who had requested assigned convicts for their districts. From 1823 most were transferred to the Female Factory at Parramatta until assignments could be arranged. On the day of disembarkation they were dressed in their Navy Board clothing, the petticoats of which were so short as to oblige them for decency to wear their own clothes underneath.⁷²

BEFORE THE FACTORIES

WHAT HAPPENED WHEN THEY GOT TO NEW SOUTH WALES

1788–1800

For the first few years the number of convict women arriving in Sydney was relatively small. Their numbers could be absorbed into the colonial population by providing servants, wives and housekeepers to the male population.

At Parramatta by 1790 the unmarried convict women lived in nine huts along Quaker's Row (now Church Street).⁷³ By May 1792 the women's work was organised.

*The women have a more comfortable life than the men. Those who are not fortunate enough to be selected for wives (which every officer, settler, and soldier is entitled to, and few are without) are made hutkeepers; those who are not dignified with this office are set to make shirts, frocks, trousers etc for the men, at a certain number per day; occasionally to pick grass in the field and for a very slight offence are kept constantly at work the same as the men.*⁷⁴

Women were also at Toongabbie agricultural settlement where they worked as hutkeepers, allocated a hut with up to 18 men. It was their duty to keep it clean and provide food for the men. Each hut had one small iron pot to cook the meat and rice in, though rations were almost at starvation level in these years.⁷⁵

By 1796 Governor Hunter did not want more women convicts, complaining that it was hard to find employment for them; that they were *worse characters than the men* and those *of a certain age* were constantly occupied in nursing infants. Women who had served their time were anxious to support themselves and from 1797 were provided with *Certificates of Expiry*.⁷⁶

By 1798 Governor Hunter was sufficiently concerned by the number of complaints about the *refractory and disobedient conduct of the convict women* to issue a Government and General Order to make them *more clearly understand the nature of their situation in this country and the duties [sic] which they are liable to be called to perform*. He called for closer supervision of convict women in private assignment, requiring their names to be reported to the Judge-Advocate's Office, but did not wish to limit the number of women servants available for domestic employment.⁷⁷ The following year Hunter repeated his belief that women were *at the bottom of every infamous transaction committed in this colony* and urged magistrates to punish those guilty of disobedience or neglect of duty – including the use of corporal punishment. A return of the population in September 1800 indicated that there were 328 convict women under sentence, with 189 at Sydney and 139 at Parramatta. There were 241 free women, some of whom would have arrived as convicts.⁷⁸

PARRAMATTA FEMALE FACTORY ESTABLISHED 1800–1820

THE FIRST FACTORY ABOVE PARRAMATTA GAOL

Parramatta's first gaol was built of timber in 1796 but it was burnt down in 1799. Its replacement, built of stone, was located on the northern bank of the river. Construction was supervised by the Reverend Samuel Marsden who was superintendent of public works at Parramatta, as well as assistant chaplain and magistrate. Both Governor King and Marsden were concerned about the convict women and the new gaol provided an opportunity for a solution.

By August 1804 the new gaol was complete with an upper floor unconnected to the lower part of the gaol. The extra storey for the first time provided a refuge and workplace for unassigned convict women and was probably intended as accommodation for newly arrived convict women to prevent them turning to prostitution in order to find shelter. It allowed a *comfortable asylum* for the female convicts who came by the *Experiment*. A wall was constructed around it and within the yard were buildings for textile manufacturing. King anticipated it could work as both a place of confinement for delinquents and a house of industry.⁷⁹

Governor King in August 1806 re-iterated his concern that the women were *thoroughly depraved and abandoned*, particularly those from London and most of those from Ireland. The women from the English counties represented the best behaved and were usually selected by the industrious settlers to marry or cohabit with them.⁸⁰ Of the 196 convict women maintained by the government, 72 incorrigible women were employed at the woollen and linen manufactories and the rest were employed in public services such as nurses in the hospital or attendants to the soldiers.⁸¹

King commented that he did not approve of locking up all the females who were not married. It was impossible to confine a thousand women. Marriage would simply become a convenience to get out, apart from which it was not practicable to keep the men from the women.

Females on arrival were put into the manufactory under the direction of the resident magistrate (the Reverend Samuel Marsden), from where the well-behaved women were selected by settlers and others to become their housekeepers or servants. The incorrigible were confined in the Factory, or sent to the coal works at Newcastle.⁸²

MANAGING THE WOMEN IN THE OLD FACTORY

In August 1803, Governor King appointed Scottish convict George Mealmaker to superintend a weaving establishment.⁸³ As this appointment pre-dated completion of the new Parramatta gaol, it seems likely that the additional floor to accommodate the women was a consequence of the decision to establish the textile manufactory.

There were nine looms at work in the factory by mid-1804 – two making fine linen, two producing duck, two making woollen fabric, one for sacking, and two for sailcloth.⁸⁴ The people employed were the women (presumably the unassigned from the *Experiment*), some invalids and some children (probably with their mothers). Settlers had received 2,116 yards of linen in payment for wheat supplied to the government. Experiments were also undertaken with hemp. King predicted that there would shortly be 20 looms at work, half with sailcloth.⁸⁵

Given the prominence of the spinning and weaving in the operation of the Female Factory, it is likely that Mealmaker was its supervisor. The Factory was partly destroyed by fire in December 1807 and as the colony descended into rebellion, Mealmaker died, destitute and drunk, three months later.⁸⁶

Benjamin Barrow was appointed by Colonel Patterson as Superintendent of the Female Factory in 1808 on a salary of £50 per year. He was attached to the Commissariat. Barrow supervised the Factory for about five years.⁸⁷

Macquarie was instructed in May 1809 to correct abuses in the treatment of the convict women. The female convicts were to be kept separate on arrival until they could be properly distributed according to industry and character. Domestic work required the women live in the homes of their masters. The British government wanted the women to be properly apprenticed and to live permanently with one family during their apprenticeship, rather than indiscriminately move from one household to another, and proposed that they should not be allowed to dissolve their apprenticeships except by marriage.⁸⁸

In 1813 an inquiry was held into Dr Luttrell who was surgeon at Parramatta Hospital and attended the women at the Female Factory. Those who gave evidence included the men who supervised the Female Factory – John Cary, principal overseer at the Factory; John Watson, overseer; George Ellis, gate keeper since 1804 and John Brown, errand man. These men complained that Dr Luttrell did not attend the women promptly when sent for and that the women suffered from his lack of attention. Convict women in the Factory gave evidence. Elizabeth Duggan described the suffering of Ellen Holland who became ill after delivering her baby in the Factory. Johanna Goff complained that when she felt unwell and asked for medicine, Luttrell refused saying that she was drunk. She therefore paid for a private apothecary to help. Ann Fagan's story was similar: she asked Dr Luttrell for help which he refused accusing her of being a drunken vagabond.⁸⁹



SYDNEY COVE, PORT JACKSON, c.1825,
S.G. HUGHES AFTER C. RODIUS,
AQUATINT,
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA

Governor Macquarie appointed Francis Oakes, Chief Constable of Parramatta and a former missionary, as Superintendent of the Female Factory in 1814. His salary of £50 per year was the same as Barrow's. One of Oakes' daughters, Mary, subsequently became matron of the Female Factory in Van Diemen's Land.⁹⁰

In 1817 the transport *Canada* brought 89 Irish convict women. On board they were arranged into 16 messes of six plus children. Water was scarce and they agreed to forego their meat ration for three months in return for more water and cash when the meat was sold in Sydney. Twenty five women with 11 children went to the Factory at Parramatta where they complained they were in a weakened state from the lack of food on the voyage. As the surplus beef had been put into the government stores in Sydney, the women requested that it be issued to them. Marsden and Hannibal Macarthur supported their petition, indicating they believed the women were entitled to the meat.⁹¹

Commissioner J.T. Bigge described the system in 1819–1820. To his horror, women bringing money with them or the means to establish themselves, such as husbands already in the colony, and those with children who were able to support themselves were given *tickets of leave* on arrival, thus avoiding expense to the government. The other women were sent to Parramatta where they could stay in a wooden building near the Factory and leave their bedding from the ship and their belongings.

The alternative was the upper floor of the Factory, which housed the women confined for punishment and those who were pregnant. This building had no facilities for cooking – nor any security. The women were required to work in the Factory picking, spinning and carding wool each morning until 1pm. Not surprisingly, many of the women chose to find lodgings in the town, presumably paid for by work they did in the afternoon and evenings. In Bigge's opinion, the *Factory acted merely as a temporary restraint from indiscriminate intercourse or unchecked dissipation.*⁹² Magistrate William Cox suggested that the women preferred working in the Factory and sleeping in the town to assigned service.⁹³

THE NEW FEMALE FACTORY AT PARRAMATTA, 1821–1840

The increased number of convicts following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 created difficulties for Governor Macquarie as the free and freed component of the population could not absorb them as labour.

The most persistent advocate for improvements in the conditions endured by the female convicts was the Reverend Samuel Marsden. Historians have condemned him for his frequent and scathing denunciations of the women. His 1806 list described most of the women as concubines and their children illegitimate. He was unscrupulous in lobbying to bring formal attention to their situation, writing letters to the British clergy, moral campaigners, politicians and the English press. These accounts all described the women as immoral and destitute – descriptions that have survived to characterise the female convicts. He argued that as long as the Governor did nothing to improve their circumstances, he was condoning their prostitution.

Macquarie requested authority to build a new barracks to house the women but received no response.⁹⁴ In 1817 one of Marsden's letters to England finally jolted the British government to question Macquarie. Macquarie then asked Marsden for his plans for accommodation for the women. Marsden produced a plan of a woollen manufactory in Yorkshire and Francis Greenway adapted this design. By March 1819 public works in progress included a new factory and barrack for the female convicts at Parramatta.⁹⁵

By 1822 a large and handsome stone barrack and factory, three storeys high with wings of one storey, had been completed. Notionally accommodating 300 female convicts, there was dormitory space for 172, suggesting that women would continue to seek lodgings outside and work in the Factory. There were carding, weaving and loom rooms, workshops, stores for wool and flax; quarters for the superintendent; a large kitchen garden for the use of the female convicts and ground for bleaching the cloth. The single storey wings are still standing. The grounds, consisting of about four acres, were enclosed with a high stone wall and wet ditch.⁹⁶



THE ORIGINAL PARRAMATTA FEMALE FACTORY BUILDING WHICH BECAME THE PARRAMATTA LUNATIC ASYLUM, c.1872, PHOTOGRAPH, COURTESY OF SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIAN GENEALOGISTS

Separation of the women within the Factory had not been considered in the design. In 1823 Governor Brisbane added a new building, also surviving, capable of holding 60 females to separate the women sentenced to punishment by the courts from the other female convicts.⁹⁷

MANAGING THE NEW FACTORY

William Tuckwell (1795–1855) was clerk to the Factory in the later years of Macquarie's government, rising to Superintendent of the Factory from 1822 until 1824, and then remaining as storekeeper until 1835 – an association with the Parramatta Female Factory for almost 20 years.

Tuckwell was colonial born of free parents. His father was in the New South Wales Corps whilst his mother was a free woman, the widow of a convict. By 1814 William Tuckwell was a servant in the household of the Reverend Samuel Marsden. Marsden, as magistrate and clergyman in Parramatta, probably became his patron as the longevity of Tuckwell's association with the Factory suggests a man who met Marsden's strict moral code in dealing with the women. William Tuckwell married Elizabeth Thorn, the daughter of a local police constable, in 1816. With his marriage he moved from Marsden's employment to the government position of clerk at the Female Factory. (Tuckwell's first born child was Elizabeth Rebecca – possibly named after Rebecca Oakes, the wife of the Superintendent of the Female Factory from 1814–1822). Tuckwell lived in the Factory.⁹⁸

Elizabeth Fulloon was appointed matron of the Female Factory in England and sailed with her family for the colony in late 1823.⁹⁹ She was matron for three and a half years and received a salary of £100 per year. Widowed on the voyage, she remarried in the colony and then as the newly widowed Mrs Elizabeth Raine established with her daughters a day and boarding school for young ladies in Sydney. In 1830 she requested eight year old Mary Ann Long as an apprentice from the Female Orphan School. The child's mother, transported on the *Janus* in 1820, had died in the Female Factory. As matron she had taken care of the child from nine months of age until she was four, when she was ordered to put all children over three years of age into the orphan school.¹⁰⁰

In 1824 the different classes of Factory women were allocated identifiable clothing. Women in the First Class were to be provided with a Sunday outfit of red jacket, blue skirt, a white apron and straw bonnet and an everyday set of drab working clothes. The Second Class was dressed in blue jacket and skirt, made of lesser quality fabric whilst the Penitentiary women wore a rough woven striped jacket and skirt and a leather apron. The women were to be provided with a pair of shoes.¹⁰¹

In August 1825 the Grand Jurors of Parramatta Quarter Sessions reported on conditions in the Factory. They found 253 women and many young children. There was no convenient supply of water, the bread was of inferior quality and they were concerned that the children lacked food and comforts, such as a nursery where the mother might have a fire to keep them warm and dry. There were still no iron bedsteads in the dormitories, and though a profitable establishment, the inmates did not have sufficient clothing, especially shoes.¹⁰²

THE FEMALE FACTORY BOARD OF MANAGEMENT AND MATRON GORDON

In 1826 an inquiry into the management of the Female Factory resulted in Governor Darling establishing a Board of Management. It consisted of eight men – three government officials (McLeay, Lithgow and Dumaresq) who did not live in Parramatta; the governor's private secretary (de la Condamine) who also did not live close to the factory; the police magistrate for Parramatta (Edward Lockyer); a local magistrate (G.T. Palmer); local magistrate and clergyman Samuel Marsden; and local doctor Mathew Anderson.¹⁰³ Most of the routine supervision of the Factory fell to the police magistrate, the doctor and the clergyman.

Matron Ann Gordon was the longest serving matron of the Female Factory, managing the institution for nine years. She was the wife of a soldier who arrived in New South Wales with the 48th Regiment in 1817. The family remained in the colony when the regiment was transferred to India and Robert Gordon took a job as a commissariat storekeeper, later becoming storekeeper at the Factory. Ann Gordon was appointed matron of the Female Factory at Parramatta in October 1827 on a salary of £150.¹⁰⁴ She left office in 1836, following a series of scandals involving her daughters and husband. *A valuable public servant herself in the eyes of Governor Bourke, she had the misfortune to be surrounded by an ill conducted family.*¹⁰⁵

In late 1827 there were 366 women in the Factory at Parramatta. Their composition reflected the challenges of handling the variety of circumstances in which convict women found themselves. During the preceding six months 803 women had passed through its doors. With 290 women in the Factory on 30 June 1827, another 513 arrived in the second half of the year. Of these, a small number were newly arrived women from the ships *Princess Charlotte* (21), *Harmony* (13) and *Louisa* (29) who had not yet been assigned. Another very small group, only 29 women, had been sent from private assignment to the Second Class as pregnant, ill or unable to work. The two largest groups were 167 women who had been returned from private service into the First Class for re-assignment and 254 women who had been sent from private service into the punishment Third Class (presumably via magisterial or other legal processes).

The turn over of the women during these six months was substantial. More than half of the women (437) had been found alternative positions, with 378 put into private service; 36 returned to their husbands; 13 married while three became free by servitude, three escaped and four died. The number of children doubled – 15 at the start, increased to 35 over the six months by births or new arrivals with their mothers.

A significant unrecognised group of women at the Factory were the free women who were convicted of offences in the colony and sentenced to the Factory in its role as a gaol and penitentiary. During the six months, 61 free women were committed to time in the Factory, with a steady presence of about 30 free women incarcerated.¹⁰⁶

The difficulty for Factory management was that the women came from two uncontrolled sources – the erratic but increasing arrival of female transport ships from England and Ireland and the local courts where the only punishment available for women guilty of misdemeanours was confinement in the Factory. As the Board of Management commented, the numbers could not be reduced *except by improvement in the morals of the People generally.*¹⁰⁷

By mid-1828 Darling could report that the Female Factory was in proper order. Structural alterations to the building had made management easier by separating the classes more effectively. Each class had its own kitchens, workshops and accommodation, whilst the addition of rooms at the outer gate meant that it was not necessary for the store keeper, porter and other male outsiders to enter into the inner area, which was controlled by a female portress. There had been no water supply to the Factory and this had provided an opportunity for the women to mix as they went outside. A pump and internal water system was provided in 1828. The height of the surrounding wall was increased from 11 to 16 feet. Within the Third Class Penitentiary, improvements were made by constructing separate workshops and a dining hall so that the women did not have to spin wool, eat and sleep in the same rooms as had previously been the case.¹⁰⁸

The building housed 490 women – the *refuse of the English and Irish Jails*. The arrival of the *Elizabeth* from Ireland had created particular difficulties. It had brought 192 women, double the usual number per vessel, creating practical difficulties in absorbing so many female servants at one time. The challenge of assigning these women was made more difficult by the reputation they brought as uncontrollable. They had rioted and fought amongst themselves in Cork prison before embarking and remained fractious in the colony.¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, despite record numbers of nearly 500 women in the Factory, they were kept under control by a staff of only five women, assisted by two men, an economical arrangement of some pride to the governor, but an even greater tribute to the skills of those five women – the matron Mrs Gordon, three monitresses (one per class) and a portress, assisted by a clerk and a storekeeper.¹¹⁰

Over a thousand new female convicts arrived in the three years 1826–1827–1828. During 1827 and 1828 almost a thousand convict women per year were distributed and redistributed into private assignment from the Female Factory at Parramatta.¹¹¹ It was not surprising that more than 500 remained in the Factory by early 1829 as numbers were *much beyond the demand of the settlers*. Darling urged the Colonial Office not to send women for a year, and in particular not to send Irish women at all, *the inhabitants appearing to have a strong objection to receiving them*.¹¹² Keeping the women occupied and maintaining an economical management were challenges for the colonial administration. In 1829 Darling proposed closing the male weaving establishment (which employed 30 male convicts) and transferring its operations to the Female Factory, where presumably the women would be taught to weave as well as spin.¹¹³

Staffing at the Female Factory at Parramatta at the end of 1829 had expanded from five. Ann Gordon was matron on a salary of £150 per year with living quarters in the Factory. She was assisted by two full time assistant matrons, each paid £50 per year and two additional assistant matrons on a daily rate of 1s 6d (one shilling and sixpence) per day, all provided with quarters within the factory. Other residential staff included two portresses on 1s 6d a day and three overseers on 6d per day. The two male staff – storekeeper William Tuckwell (paid £100.7.6 per year) and clerk Joseph Turner (paid £91.5.0) – were not provided with quarters in the Factory and lived elsewhere.¹¹⁴

GOVERNOR BOURKE AND THE CHANGES IN THE 1830S

In November 1832 Governor Bourke wrote of his concern about new legislation enacted in Britain that significantly limited the power of the Governor to grant *tickets of leave*. Existing practice, recommended by the Factory Committee in 1828,¹¹⁵ allowed female convicts with a seven year sentence to receive a *ticket of leave* after two years' service in a family or at the Factory or good conduct within marriage. For women with 14 year sentences, the time was three years and for those with life, the period was four years. The colonial rules meant that old and infirm women not suited to assignment could be discharged from the factory after two or three years with a *ticket of leave*.¹¹⁶ *A remission from forced labour has almost always* been allowed on their marriage. The new British legislation required four years servitude as the shortest period before a *ticket of leave*. Bourke believed this would be a serious impediment to marriage.¹¹⁷

Bourke had hoped that transportation of women would be discontinued. By 1836 this had not happened. He therefore re-organised the Factory to reflect the reality that it was a more permanent place for convict women than had been intended. As the only place for female convicts not in private assignment, married or with a *ticket of leave*, the numbers had increased steadily for a decade. By September 1836 the weekly numbers were 590 women and 134 children.

Management of the Factory had been in the hands of a matron *aided by the occasional inspection of a committee of gentlemen* including the chaplain and surgeon. The Ladies Committee established by Darling had ceased to exist before Darling left in 1831. Bourke intended to open a school in what he now openly called a prison to educate *these outcast women*.¹¹⁸ He hoped to re-establish the Ladies Committee, believing that the influence of Mrs Fry's writings would stimulate interest. He wrote to Bishop Broughton hoping that Mrs Broughton would lead a committee of ladies to oversee a charitable interest in the convict women.¹¹⁹

Complaints against the family of the Matron Gordon had finally forced Bourke to act by appointing as her successors a married couple designated keeper and matron, with male and female turnkeys – an establishment more in keeping with a prison than a place of intermittent confinement.¹²⁰ Sarah Bell was appointed matron and her husband Thomas was made keeper in 1836. Thomas Bell had brought recommendations from the Irish Government and had been Keeper of the Debtors Prison and House of Correction at the Carters Barracks in Sydney.¹²¹ The Bells were replaced when new staff appointed by the British Government arrived without notice. Another government position was found for Bell as Superintendent of Emigrants from 10 February to 24 August 1838.¹²² The Bells were reinstated when the British appointments proved unsatisfactory.

For women sent to the Third Class, work included heavy labour breaking stones sent from the Pennant Hills quarry to the Female Factory to metal the roads of Parramatta. This had always been one of the punishments, but its use increased.¹²³

THE SOLITARY CELLS IN THE ORIGINAL PARRAMATTA FEMALE FACTORY BUILDINGS WHICH BECAME THE PARRAMATTA LUNATIC ASYLUM, c.1870, UNDATED, PHOTOGRAPH, COURTESY OF SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIAN GENEALOGISTS



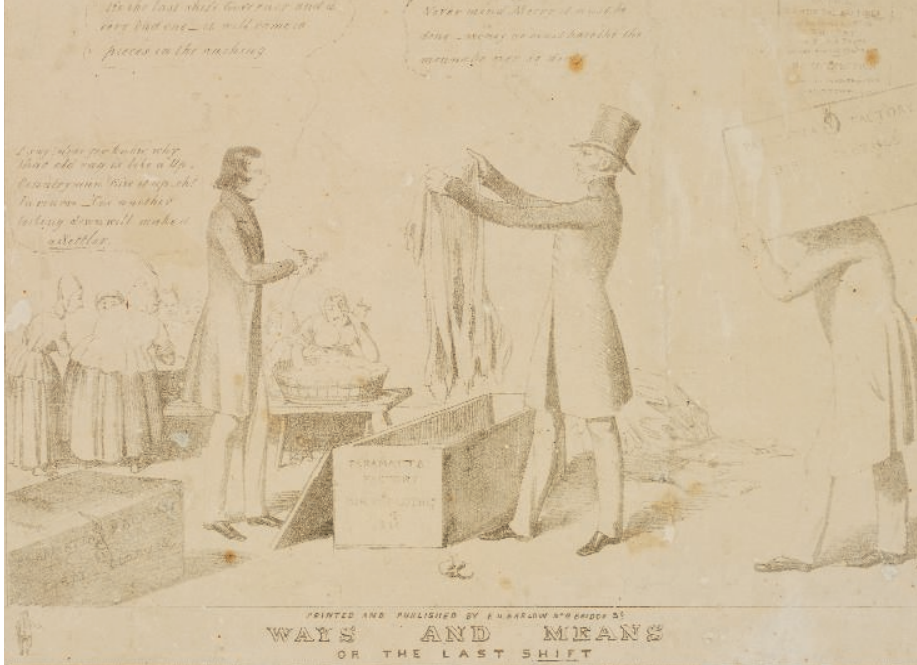
MRS FRY'S EXPERIMENT

Mrs Elizabeth Fry had lobbied the British Government for decades to improve the conditions of convict women in Australia. Her influence was finally directly applied to New South Wales in 1837 when the British government asked her to recommend staff to be sent to superintend the Parramatta Female Factory. On her advice, the governor of the Middlesex House of Correction recommended John and Agnes Clapham as Superintendents for the Factory.¹²⁴ Matron Julia Leach was also appointed in England and both sailed to Sydney to replace the colonial staff.

During their voyage out mutual animosity developed and this was quickly evident in the Factory management. Clapham replaced Sarah and Thomas Bell at the Parramatta Factory in February 1838, with his wife becoming the schoolmistress and Julia Leach became matron. Within six months the Claphams and Julia Leach had been dismissed. Newly arrived in a strange country, she requested three months pay as she had no home, no livelihood and no money.¹²⁵

Matron Sarah Bell and Thomas Bell were reinstated in August 1838 but subsequently suspended in September 1843 for corruption, together with Mrs Mary Corcoran and Mrs Edgeley, who was in charge of the laundry. In late 1843 David Lennox, Superintendent of Bridges, applied for the position as storekeeper at the Female Factory but withdrew when he was made surveyor for the District of Parramatta.¹²⁶

William Edward Rogers, who worked in the office of the Principal Superintendent of Convicts, was instructed to take over following the dismissal of the Bells. Mrs Rheinart was appointed as sub-matron. Rogers was subsequently Storekeeper with his wife as Matron until replacements were appointed. George and Lucy Knight Smyth were matron and storekeeper from 1844 to 1846. During this period the staff included an overseer of lunatics, suggesting that the Female Factory was already evolving into a place for women broken by their transportation experience.¹²⁷ Elizabeth and Edwyn Statham were the final staff at the Female Factory. They were appointed in 1847, and their positions were abolished in January 1848.



WAYS AND MEANS OR THE LAST SHIFT, FROM 8 POLITICAL CARTOONS, c.1844, EDWARD WINSTANLEY, LITHOGRAPH, DIXSON LIBRARY, STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

LIFE IN THE FACTORY

WHY A 'FACTORY' – THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MANUFACTURING TEXTILES

One of the reasons that historians have put forward for the choice of New South Wales as the site of a penal colony was the attraction of the New Zealand flax plant as a possible source of naval supplies of rope and sail.¹²⁸ The importance of textiles is frequently noted in the pre-Botany Bay discussions, but historians make little mention of it following settlement.

The prospect of growing flax recurs throughout the convict period in discussions of the work at the Female Factory. Weavers were at work by the late 1790s. Weaving was usually a task undertaken by male convicts, whilst women spun the yarn used in weaving. In 1799 at Parramatta three men – a weaver and two assistants – were employed in weaving cloth and teaching the women to spin.¹²⁹ With construction of the manufactory level of the Parramatta gaol, by 1804 there were seven looms at work for linen and woollen manufacture.¹³⁰ The variety of textiles included duck, sacking, sail cloth, rough wool and linen blends. Rope and twine was also made there by 1805.¹³¹

Marsden and Macarthur both benefited from the presence of spinning and weaving skills at the Factory as they were able to provide wool to be spun into yarn and woven into cloth to test the improvement in their sheep flocks.¹³²

Clothing the convicts was a major expense. Consignments of clothing or textiles from Britain were irregular and the work of the women at the Factory was a significant component in the supply chain. In some years the convict women were paid to increase production to cover the shortfall.¹³³

As late as 1824 the British government was still encouraging experimentation with flax to replace imports from the Baltic, Netherlands and Ireland. Bathurst shipped 369 barrels of Riga linseed for experiments in manufacturing canvas, and proposed that young convicts and female convicts be employed to dress and prepare it. The flax plant when pulled required labour-intensive work in soaking the fibres before separating for spinning.¹³⁴ This flax seed had spoiled, but other attempts were made to source flax for the women to spin.

MISBEHAVIOUR AND PUNISHMENT IN THE FACTORY

Incidents of riot and major disturbance have been frequently cited as continuing proof of the uncontrollable nature of the women and of the poor treatment that they received. Punishment records within the Factory for a number of years survive. Stealing food, quarrelling in the workroom or the dormitories, breaking spinning wheels and bad language were the most common offences, and were punished by transferring women from First Class to Third Class or to a period in the cells.

Judge Roger Therry wrote that the women frequently destroyed the furniture in their cells, broke plates and dishes and threw anything they had over the prison walls. He blamed the behaviour on over-crowding. Their behaviour intimidated the soldiers sent to quell their disturbances, as they knew that the soldiers were not allowed to fire on them, and the authorities were not allowed to manacle them.¹⁴⁶

In October 1827 the women of the Female Factory rioted, broke out from the Factory, and stormed Parramatta. Filling their aprons with food, they returned to the Factory escorted by the military a few hours later. This disturbance has been interpreted as a traditional food riot, common in Britain.¹⁴⁷ The incident occurred during the change from one matron to another, and was a reaction to the reduction in rations of luxury items of tea and sugar. It may also have been a statement of independence by the women for the benefit of the new matron.

Further unrest occurred in the early 1830s. A riot in March 1833 was caused by the women resisting the routine practice of cutting their hair. The local constables, supported by 40 soldiers, followed the elderly Reverend Samuel Marsden and Dr Anderson into the Third Class yard to face a shower of stones thrown by the women. The women were subdued, their hair was cut and they were sent to gaol or to the cells or to bed on bread and water.¹⁴⁸ Mary Ann Jarvis, per *Competitor*, who was in the Third Class at the Factory for two months for improper conduct, cut the hair of the *refractory* females when the paid monitresses refused. Her sentence was remitted in recognition that her actions had been at *considerable personal risk*.¹⁴⁹

The Female Factory initially had eight cells for punishment by solitary confinement. They were intended as additional punishment for women who misbehaved while in the Factory but by 1830 were also being used by the Sydney Police magistrates as a specified punishment for female convicts brought before the courts. Authorities, frustrated by the indifference of women sentenced to the Third Class of the Factory, sought a more effective punishment in solitary confinement for periods of a week or a month, at the end of which the woman was usually returned to her mistress. In October 1830 there were 12 women sentenced to solitary confinement at the Factory by different benches of magistrates, resulting in the Factory staff sending their own misbehaving women from the Factory to the gaol. As Dr Anderson commented *when more than one is put in a cell the object and end of solitary confinement is defeated*.¹⁵⁰

The Sydney Bench gave sentences for periods from 14 days to six months in the Factory for offences such as insolence, drunkenness or absence without leave. These short sentences required a regular transfer of women between the Sydney Gaol and the Parramatta Factory.¹⁵¹

A three storey building, with dark cells on the ground floor and solitary cells with window in the floors above was built in 1838. It breached British penitentiary rules by keeping the women in solitary in the dark, and Governor Gipps was ordered to add windows.¹⁵²

Nevertheless, throughout 1840 and much of 1841, there were 72 women regularly in the cells. In January 1841 there were more than 600 women at the Factory under punishment.¹⁵³

Increased free immigration, an economic depression and the end of transportation and assignment meant that convict women had fewer employment options in the early 1840s. Numbers in the Factory increased, reaching an unimaginable 1203 women and 263 children in the winter of 1842. In October 1842 the women, with *an air of determination*, petitioned the Governor, arguing that they had been sentenced to transportation not imprisonment. An inquiry supported the women, urging better food, more indulgences and measures to reduce the overcrowding. However, in February 1843 women from the Third Class broke out of their quarters. Yelling and throwing stones, about a hundred women broke into the outer yard where the military and police restrained them and returned them to their rooms.¹⁵⁴

GETTING OUT OF THE FACTORY

ASSIGNMENT

Following the Bigge Report, the superintendent at the Factory was responsible for matching masters with women available for assignment. Darling's Board of Management became responsible for assignments from 1826, often sitting out of doors in the Factory yard to allocate servants.¹⁵⁵ When the Police Office at Bathurst reported in mid-1833 that there were no women available in Bathurst to fill 14 applications for servants, the Parramatta Female Factory Committee was requested to recommend *a good batch from the assignable classes* and forward them by van to Bathurst.¹⁵⁶

The authorities were concerned that masters properly supervised their assigned servants. Mary Garvey arrived on the *Elizabeth* and in early 1831 was assigned to Catherine MacElowen (McIllhone) who ran a small business in Sydney. Mary turned up at the Factory gate at the end of 1831, unaccompanied but with a note from the barely literate Catherine indicating that she had no fault with Mary but was returning her as she was not capable of doing the work.¹⁵⁷

Lieutenant Clements of Minto was the father of a large number of children and relied on female convicts to maintain his household. He protested against a decision that he should no longer have female servants because he had sent one unaccompanied to the hospital at Parramatta. He had no other servant he could send with her and had personally taken her to the doctor at Liverpool, who recommended she be sent to hospital at Parramatta. The woman, who had complained of a sore knee, walked 12 miles to Parramatta where she was found to be in good health.¹⁵⁸

In 1836 the police magistrate at Bong Bong sent a woman to the Factory *to be identified* because he believed she was illegally at large. Margaret Johnstone had arrived on the *Mariner* with a seven year sentence in 1825. A year or two later she had married in the colony and had received her certificate of freedom in 1831. But she lost her certificate and also lost the sight in her right eye after she became free. Margaret had reported the change in her appearance to the office of the Superintendent of Convicts, but still found herself detained in the Factory until her identity as a free woman could be confirmed.¹⁵⁹

With the end of transportation in 1840, assignment of women in Sydney ceased in April 1841 and throughout the colony by the end of the year. Those in assignment feared return to the Factory as there were few prospects of release until eligible for a *ticket of leave*. Under the superintendence of Gordon Elliott, Police Magistrate at Parramatta, a hiring scheme was introduced in 1843 where the women would be paid for their work. Between February and March 1843 he placed 94 of the best behaved women as cooks, laundresses, needlewomen housemaids and general servants to households in the County of Cumberland and beyond. The government paid their travel costs to rural areas to take up work on *tickets of leave*.¹⁶⁰

MARRIAGE AND THE FACTORY

Convict women and marriage has been the subject of a number of studies.¹⁶¹ Governor Darling found that *The disposal of the women in an eligible manner, though most desirable is extremely perplexing and embarrassing*.¹⁶² Strategies were adopted to encourage marriage.

*I have ... held out encouragement to the Mechanics in the employ of Government and others to marry by granting the married people greater indulgences than the single men. ... The mechanics of good character are generally allowed to sleep out of Barracks as they can afford to hire lodgings; and those who are married are permitted to work on their own account on Fridays and Saturdays. ... The unmarried mechanics are allowed only one day in the week to themselves, and this has always encouraged marriages.*¹⁶³

A formal announcement in the *New South Wales Government Gazette* in 1832 indicated that applications could be made to marry women in the Factory. Marsden, Dr Anderson and Police Magistrate Wright encouraged applications in favour of marriage from *persons in circumstances to maintain them honestly*.¹⁶⁴

Judge Therry described how *ticket of leave* men were given passes to go to the Female Factory to choose a wife. There was little formal courtship beyond *bare inspection* and the whole process took little more than three days – one day to travel to the Factory to make the choice, a second for courtship and the ceremony and a third to return home with their bride.¹⁶⁵ In practice, these three days were unlikely to be sequential, as bride and groom had to apply for permission to marry and this was likely to take some weeks.

In a list of marriage banns approved at St John's Church, Parramatta in October 1831, the couples included five women in the Factory, all of whom had obtained the permission of the committee for this marriage. This included Margaret Hogan per *Elizabeth* – a widow with four children.¹⁶⁶ The marriage register of St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church at Parramatta for 1843 – after the end of transportation – recorded that Henry Boggs of Wollongong married Catherine Nowlan of the Female Factory on 13 March 1843. Her witnesses were Sarah Bell, Mary Corcoran and Alick McKenna – all staff of the Female Factory.



COLONIAL CHILDREN'S TOYS,
EARLY- MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY,
PARRAMATTA HERITAGE CENTRE COLLECTION

CHILDREN IN THE FACTORY

The presence of increasing numbers of children in the Female Factory created problems practical, moral and political. The baptism of children from the factory became a political issue when the Reverend Samuel Marsden wrote to the Bishop of London in June 1823 complaining that Dr Douglass, magistrate of Parramatta would not allow women in the Factory to bring their children to the church to be baptised. Governor Brisbane was unwilling to interfere with Douglass' rule. The Colonial Office could see no reason why these women should not take their infants to church, reminding the governor that baptism was a public ceremony, and instructed that this should happen.¹⁶⁷ Brisbane considered that all the children at the Factory were illegitimate and it was best to baptise them in the quickest possible manner not to offend public decency. The new archdeacon indicated that the *presence of the mothers* could be dispensed with at the church baptism.¹⁶⁸

Mary Adlam, an assigned servant, was convicted of a colonial crime and sentenced to a term in the Third Class at the Parramatta Factory in 1842. She brought her seven year old daughter with her, as her husband was also an assigned convict. When Mary's sentence in the Factory was completed, she was reassigned to the Manning River and her daughter was transferred to the Female Orphan School. Three years later, following Mary's death, Robert Adlam had a *ticket of leave* and was able to retrieve his daughter.¹⁶⁹

OTHER NEW SOUTH WALES FACTORIES

FACTORY ALTERNATIVES – THE WOMEN OF EMU PLAINS 1822

In May 1822, 32 female convicts from the ships *John Bull* and *Providence* were sent to the Government Agricultural Establishment at Emu Plains as an alternative to government employment at the Factory. The women's huts were located one mile away from the men's huts. The women hoed the tobacco and maize crops, weeded flax, pulled and husked the maize and did other light farm work undertaken by women in England.

Of these women, 24 married constables, overseers and others associated with the establishment. Eight returned to the factory, of whom five were too old or unfit for field labour (one subsequently died aged 70). Two of the three sent back to the Factory for being pregnant later married the men with whom they had formed an intimacy at Emu Plains. When their pregnancies were reported, the practice of sending the women to Emu Plains was discontinued. Allegations were made that the women had promiscuous intercourse at Emu Plains and infected the men with venereal disease. Rumours circulated that the overseers had been punished for prostituting the women to strangers and that convict men at Emu Plains had been punished for enticing the women to sleep with them.¹⁷⁰

The allegations were not supported by evidence from the doctors nor in the official records of Penrith Bench. The scandal, however, ended the only experiment to find an alternative to keeping the convict women in the Female Factory at Parramatta.

NEWCASTLE¹⁷¹

The gaol at Newcastle was built in 1818. Located on the headland, near the hospital and the fort, the gaol was part of a penal settlement that was a place of secondary punishment for convicts who committed crimes within the colony. It was closed as a penal settlement in 1823 and the harbour declined as free settlement expanded inland. The gaol was then used as a depot for convict labour, holding male and female convicts being transferred from Sydney to assignment with settlers in the Hunter Valley, or holding convicts due to be returned to Sydney for punishment or re-assignment.

In 1830, the colonial authorities looked at Newcastle as a place to send incorrigible women for short periods, but would not approve the expense of their transfer.¹⁷² Darling re-iterated that Newcastle was closed as a convict establishment in 1831.¹⁷³

Following a riot at the Parramatta Female Factory in 1831, 37 women were sentenced to three years at a penal settlement and forwarded to Newcastle Gaol. This was managed as part of the gaol and judicial branch of the colony rather than by the Superintendent of Convicts, as were the other Female Factories. Nevertheless, the institution was known as the Newcastle Gaol and Female Factory and operated from 1831 until 1846.¹⁷⁴ The male gaol staff, if unmarried, lived in the gaol. A matron assisted by a male turnkey supervised the female prisoners. There were nine sleeping wards and five airing yards, of which three were for the women, but there were no workrooms.¹⁷⁵

From 1832 as well as groups of women from the Parramatta Factory, consignments of newly arrived convicts in groups of about 15 were sent regularly to Newcastle for assignment among the settlers of the Hunter Valley. Women from the *Mary*, the *Pyramus*, the *Henry Wellesley* and the *Sir Charles Forbes* were all sent within ten days of arrival in Sydney.¹⁷⁶



NEWCASTLE FROM THE BALLAST WHARF, 1845-1846, M. CROASDILL ATTRIB., WATERCOLOUR, MITCHELL LIBRARY, STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

NEWCASTLE, NEW SOUTH WALES, 1824, JOSEPH LYCETT, AQUATINT, DIXSON LIBRARY, STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

BATHURST¹⁷⁷

Resident magistrate, Thomas Evernden, noted that the increased demand for female servants in the Bathurst district due to the expansion of settlement meant that women who were assigned to Bathurst spent 10 to 12 days on the road in a dray, mixing with the men each night. When assigned female servants were returned as unsuitable or pregnant, the masters had to pay to return them to Parramatta. When convict women were found guilty of crimes at Bathurst there was nowhere to imprison them appropriately. The magistrates did not want to return them to Parramatta as it would deprive the district of female labour.¹⁷⁸

In 1832 the old military barracks at Bathurst was converted into a Female Factory to hold 15 women. Located on the corner of William and Vale (now Charlotte) Streets, it was a two storey building, with a separate kitchen wing and newly erected wash-house enclosed with a wall. The ground floor had a small room for the matron and a workroom for the women, with a sleeping dormitory upstairs. A separate infirmary wing was added in 1835.¹⁷⁹



BATHURST PLAINS AND SETTLEMENT,
NEW SOUTH WALES, 1825–1828,
AUGUSTUS EARLE, WATERCOLOUR,
DIXSON LIBRARY,
STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

A resident matron, Mary Black, managed the Bathurst Female Factory. Mary Black nee Dillon was a free immigrant, as was her husband who was employed as overseer by a prominent Bathurst pastoralist. She was appointed in late 1832 and remained in charge until she resigned in mid-1838. Her successors were Mary Jaggars, wife of the clerk of Trinity Church (1838); Sarah Keenan, wife of the gaoler (1838–1840) and lastly Emma Cory, wife of a local constable (1840–1844). In 1844 the Bathurst Female Factory closed and the women were moved into the female wing of the new gaol.¹⁸⁰

Practices within the Bathurst Female Factory replicated those at Parramatta. Women could be confined there on the order of the local bench of magistrates for misdemeanours such as being drunk, disobedient or absconding from assignment. Their punishment, in addition to confinement, might include solitary confinement, cutting off their hair, or reduced food rations. The matron in 1838 was assisted by a monitress and portress.¹⁸¹

Every few months, groups of convict women available for assignment to private service were forwarded to the Bathurst Female Factory. For the first few years a bullock-drawn caravan conveyed 15 women at a time, taking two weeks to travel between Sydney and Bathurst. Bathurst residents preferred newly arrived women who had not been exposed to the other convict women at Parramatta.¹⁸² The Bathurst Factory did not have regular work for the women held there, possibly because space was limited

Fifteen women were sent from the Parramatta Female Factory in August 1833 – probably those involved in the riot – but their conduct on the 16 day journey was so violent and disorderly that the residents of Bathurst feared to have them in their homes! The length of their journey – and its riotous incidents – palled compared to the six weeks it took to convey 18 women who had arrived on the *Mary* in 1836.¹⁸³ Whilst numbers resident at any one time at Bathurst ranged from 40 to more than 60, almost 500 women passed through its gates in 1837.



BATHURST, 1847-1857,
JOSEPH BACKLER ATTRIB., OIL ON CANVAS,
DIXSON LIBRARY,
STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

PORT MACQUARIE¹⁸⁴

The Female Factory at Port Macquarie was located near the corner of William and Munster Streets, now the site of the Presbyterian Church.

Port Macquarie was established as a secondary penal settlement in 1821 and within a year a group of female convicts had been sent there, sentenced by courts in Sydney to internal transportation for crimes or misdemeanours. They were employed as cooks and hut keepers but their presence was considered a destabilising influence on the settlement. Nevertheless, by 1825 there was a log and plaster building capable of holding 50 women and the courts were instructed to send women there where it was hoped secure and useful employment could be found for them.¹⁸⁵ Government vessels conveyed them up the coast and brought back those who had served their time.

The Factory building was not suitable and most of the women lived in the township as servants or shared huts with other women. In 1828 the single convict women at

PORT MACQUARRY [MACQUARIE], c.1842–1850,
 GEORGINA LOWE, WATERCOLOUR DRAWING,
 DIXSON LIBRARY,
 STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES



Port Macquarie complained that the married convict women were permitted to live with their husbands while they had recently been put into a room in the gaol.

Convict women strongly objected to being confined in one place, and these women argued that as they had not committed any additional crime they should not be kept within the gaol, and that they were being kept there only because they were younger than the other women. Of course, from the point of view of the authorities, it was the freedom of movement of the unattached women around the settlement that was the cause of concern about their *depraved conduct*.¹⁸⁶

There was insufficient employment in the settlement for the women. Various commandants experimented with the women picking cotton in the fields, weeding the grounds of the public buildings, picking oakum (separating the strands of old tarred rope used on ships) and sewing clothing.¹⁸⁷ The military officers in charge of Port Macquarie tried various stratagems to reward well behaved women, such as allowing them the freedom of the town for one day a week. The authorities in Sydney stopped this.¹⁸⁸

Port Macquarie ceased to be a penal settlement in 1830 and the district was opened for free settlement, creating a demand for labour. Modifications were made to the Female Factory in 1833 to separate it from the watch house where the male prisoners were kept. The government then directed that the Female Factory and gaol be converted to the exclusive use of female prisoners sentenced to the Third Class. As the district opened up for settlement, contingents of female convicts were sent from Sydney to be distributed to the settlers as assigned convicts. In 1833 15 women were sent there for assignment, followed some weeks later by 12 refractory Parramatta women sent there as punishment.¹⁸⁹ At the end of 1834 there were 19 women at the Factory, but 13 of those could not be assigned because of infirmity or nursing infant children.¹⁹⁰

The matrons at the Female Factory, Port Macquarie were: Sophia Henshaw 1830–1832; Catherine Clarke, *ticket of leave*, 1832. From 1833 the matrons were the wives of the watch house keeper and there was an annual succession of appointments – Bridget Woolford 1832–1833; Elizabeth Burn 1833–1834; Winifred Blewitt 1834; Mary Stent 1834–1835; Eliza Edwards 1835; Ann Brewer 1835–1842.



PORT MACQUARIE, NSW, 1832,
 JOSEPH BACKLER, OIL ON CANVAS,
 MITCHELL LIBRARY,
 STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

In 1842, transportation to New South Wales having ended, the colonial authorities closed the Female Factory at Port Macquarie and directed that any women remaining there were to be returned to the Female Factory at Parramatta.¹⁹¹

MORETON BAY

The need for remote places of punishment encouraged the decision to place a secondary punishment settlement at Moreton Bay (modern Brisbane). A settlement was established at Redcliffe in 1824, and this was moved from the bay into the Brisbane River to the present site of Brisbane in 1825.

Between 1829 and 1837, 135 women were sentenced to Moreton Bay, though there is evidence of small numbers of women there in earlier years. A seven room building was erected in Queen Street as a Female Factory. Initially fenced but subsequently walled to prevent men getting in, the women worked at washing and needlework and picking oakum. In 1837, when there were about 70 women there, they were moved to Eagle Farm where they lived in a slab timber building of four rooms surrounded by a 13 foot high fence. There was a cookhouse, needle room, punishment cells, a store, school, hospital and wash-house. The women worked on the farm.¹⁹²

Some of the women sent to the Moreton Bay Female Factory had already completed their original sentence of transportation but were subsequently charged with other crimes and received additional sentences. Catherine Buckley had been transported from Cork for seven years in 1809 but as a freed woman was convicted of perjury and sentenced to three years at Moreton Bay in 1826. Margaret Sullivan had arrived on the *Broxbornebury* in 1814, transported for seven years, but stealing in a dwelling house at Windsor in 1830 led to a colonial death sentence, commuted to 14 years at Moreton Bay. The women were returned to Sydney when their sentences expired, with the exception of Hannah Rigby who was transported three times to Moreton Bay and was the only one to remain when it opened to free settlement.¹⁹³

BRISBANE, VIEW OF MORETON BAY, 1831,
ARTIST UNKNOWN, PENCIL SKETCH
DIXSON LIBRARY,
STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES



A black and white photograph of a wooden plank wall. The planks are arranged horizontally and show signs of wear, including scratches and small holes. Two circular holes are visible, one on the left and one on the right, positioned in the middle of the frame. Above the left hole and below the right hole, there are metal bolts or fasteners. The text is centered on the wall, between the two holes.

*Convicts were transported to Van Diemen's
Land (Tasmania) from the time of the
initial establishment of the colony in 1803
until 1853.*

FEMALE FACTORIES OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

Dr Trudy Cowley
Female Factory Research Group

From 1803–1853 five female factories were established in Van Diemen's Land – at Hobart Town, George Town, Cascades (South Hobart), Launceston and Ross. These factories housed only female convicts and were designed as places of labour and hire as well as places of punishment. They also provided a place for the pregnant and the ill. These establishments were referred to variously as factories, houses of correction and, rarely, penitentiaries.

For the first 19 years of the colony, from 1803 to 1821, there were no female factories established in Van Diemen's Land. This was partly because the number of female convicts in the colony was small, partly because Governor Macquarie refused to allow the erection of a female factory in Van Diemen's Land, and partly because the female convicts were in great demand as servants, partners and wives. During this period, female convicts were punished in other ways for minor crimes and offences – they were fined, ordered to find sureties for good behaviour, put on a diet of bread and water, confined in solitary confinement in the gaol, put to work at hard labour in the gaol or the hospital, ordered to wear iron collars, put in the stocks, ordered to have their head shaved and, although this was rare, flogged.

At the prospect of an increasing number of female convicts being sent to the colony, in 1817, Lieutenant-Governor Sorell suggested to Governor Macquarie that a female factory be erected at Pittwater (near Hobart). Macquarie replied that it was not intended to send more female convicts from Sydney than was required for the use of settlers and that a factory for female convicts was to be built in New South Wales at Parramatta. Sorell was informed that he was *left at liberty to send to that Seminary such refractory or disorderly ill behaved Female Convicts from the Settlement in Van Diemen's Land as you may deem expedient*.¹⁹⁴ The Van Diemen's Land settlements at this time were very much the outposts of Sydney and were under Macquarie's tight governance.

When the *Morley* arrived at Hobart in August 1820 direct from England with 50 female convicts of *respectfull becoming and grateful demeanour*, Sorell felt justified in sending six women, recently arrived from Sydney on the *Janus*, back to Sydney for misconduct, as he had been previously authorised. Macquarie, however, was *sorry* that they had been sent and responded that the women could have been kept in Sorell's own gaol for a few weeks on bread and water, *then given out to settlers wanting Female servants*, as the Parramatta Factory was not yet completed.¹⁹⁵

Female convicts tried for serious offences in Hobart Town were sometimes sent to Sydney, Newcastle or Macquarie Harbour (Sarah Island) for punishment. Several convicts were sentenced to be transported to Newcastle between 1816 and 1821, but only a minority seem to have been sent. Similarly, several female convicts, tried in Hobart Town, were ordered to be sent to Parramatta Female Factory for punishment, but as it was not yet built, not all of them were sent. Several other female convicts were sent to Macquarie Harbour for punishment between about 1821 and 1825.

A small number of female convicts were sent to Sydney for trial during this early period. For example, Mary Evers (per *Alexander II* to New South Wales and then *Kangaroo* to Van Diemen's Land) made the journey to New South Wales to stand trial at Sydney for aiding and assisting the murder of an infant, the illegitimate child

CASCADES FEMALE FACTORY,
SINGLE CELL DOOR, UNDATED,
PHOTOGRAPH (DETAIL),
QUEEN VICTORIA MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY
COLLECTION



HOBART TOWN FROM THE NEW TOWN ROAD, 1844,
JOHN SKINNER PROUT,
HAND TINTED LITHOGRAPH,
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA

of her mistress. She sailed on the *Elizabeth Henrietta* in September 1817 and returned to Hobart in January 1818 on board the *Governor Macquarie*, presumably having been acquitted.¹⁹⁶

There were a number of reasons why officials thought a female factory a necessary institution. The factory was planned as a place where female convicts could be put to labour and thereby make some contribution to the colony, working for the Government. As well, unemployed, pregnant and infirm female convicts needed to be housed. The institution could also double as an initial reception and, later, hiring depot. It also was seen as a way of keeping the immoral and depraved separate from the better behaved female convicts. A key premise of the establishments was that female convicts would be classified based on their behaviour and separated from each other based on that classification, to avoid new arrivals being *contaminated* by the more hardened criminals. The classification system operated across the entire penal establishment – Crime or Third Class prisoners were judged the worst and sent to hard labour, Assignable or First Class prisoners were the best and awaited assignment, and Second Class prisoners were those working their way up from third to First Class, or whose crimes were of a minor nature, or who were pregnant.

In 1823, as Lieutenant-Governor designate, Colonel George Arthur received from Elizabeth Fry, the great Quaker advocate for prison reform, a number of suggestions relating to female convicts in Van Diemen's Land, including the erection of a new building for female convicts at Hobart Town, with plans provided.

The factories were designed for the reception of convicts and as such were funded by the Imperial Government. However, free women, mostly women free-by-servitude, but also some who came free, were also sent to the factories, though they only accounted for a very small proportion of the prisoners.

HOBART TOWN FEMALE FACTORY

There was a room set aside for the punishment of women at the Hobart Town Gaol, which was *completed* in 1818 and situated on the corner of Murray and Macquarie Streets. This Women's Room was four metres by three metres and situated upstairs. The women prisoners wore slop clothing and were kept to hard labour whilst there. Hard labour consisted of washing the male prisoners' clothes and cleaning parts of the gaol, after the men were first removed to the yard.¹⁹⁷ This room was too small and too close to the men, so Sorell still sought permission from Macquarie to build a female factory. His request was supported by John Bigge as part of his 1819 enquiry. Sorell was refused by Macquarie in March 1820, but he persisted and, in December that year, requested that *A plain building of size to admit 50 or 60 Women being kept to labor might be erected by Contract*. On 30 June 1821, Macquarie wrote to Sorell ordering that a female factory be constructed at Hobart.

Six months later, Macquarie included among a list of the accomplishments of his administration: *The site of a brick-built barrack, two storeys high, with necessary, offices for the residence and accommodation of 100 Female Convicts **marked out** and now in progress, it being intended to erect a high Brick Wall round the said Building*. Sorell later indicated that he had *placed the Small Factory adjoining the present prison, with a view that the two might, after a new Gaol was prepared, be united as one Factory or House of Correction for Females. The ample means of division and Classification, Yards, etc., which the present Gaol and Factory offered, with such alterations as they are susceptible of, would, I conceive, render them well adapted and fully adequate to the purpose, and the expence [sic] of a new Factory would be saved*¹⁹⁸

Thus, the first female factory in Van Diemen's Land was built adjoining the Hobart Town Gaol, separated from it by a brick wall.

Joshua A. Drabble was appointed Superintendent of the Hobart Town Female Factory when it opened and he lived in rooms in the factory with his family. Relations between the Superintendent and his wife, and the prisoners, were not always harmonious. On 2 June 1826 and the following few days, rioting occurred at the factory involving 22 prisoners. When charges were laid against the prisoners on 10 June, Sarah Thompson, per *Brothers*, was charged with *threatening to put a knife in Mrs Drabble*.¹⁹⁹

Even though they were partly planned as places of labour, the female factories, including Hobart Town Female Factory, did not always work as intended, sometimes because of the lack of *hard labour* for prisoners to do or the lack of equipment (eg. spinning wheels) or space to do it. It was commented in the *Hobart Town Gazette* in 1827 that:

*The punishment of Mary Pendle for stealing in a dwelling house, was necessarily different from that of the other guilty of a like offence, owing to the difficulty at present existing in the Colony of finding punishments suited to female offenders. She was sentenced to six months imprisonment and hard labour, and his Honor added, that he really hoped the labour she would undergo would be hard.*²⁰⁰

Even when there was hard labour to be done, the prisoners shirked their work. On 2 October 1823, 20 prisoners were charged with *wetting the yarn spun by her with intent to defraud by increasing its weight and thus make her work less*.

Whatever the work set the women, whether it be spinning, carding, washing or picking, they were expected to complete a set amount each day. However, in later years, the Hobart Town Female Factory was so overcrowded that there was very little room available in which prisoners could work. To overcome this, some of the women were sent to work at the Colonial Hospital during the day, most probably doing laundry work, but were kept locked up in the Hobart Town Female Factory at night.

In 1826, Lieutenant-Governor Arthur ordered an investigation into the conditions at the factory. It found that 55 prisoners were crowded into two cramped and unventilated sleeping rooms. In addition, the only yard available to the female prisoners overlooked the area where felons were hanged.²⁰¹

Overcrowding was a problem which dogged all of the female factories. As the number of female convicts sent to the colony continued to rise until the early 1850s, no sooner would a new factory be built than it was no longer large enough to accommodate the number of prisoners sent there. Not only did overcrowding result in illness, it also meant that the more corrupt prisoners could not be separated from the less corrupt, thus making a mockery of the classification system.

The 1826 enquiry also found that communication between female convicts in the factory and inmates in the Hobart Town Gaol next door, and people passing in the street outside, was too easy. On 11 November 1825, Johanna Leahy, per *Janus*, was sentenced to three days in a cell on bread and water for *improper conduct in being on the roof of the Female Factory yesterday afternoon with intent to get at something thrown over the wall*.²⁰² Six months later, Jane Buckingham, per *Mary Anne I*, was charged with *making a hole in the wall of the upper bed room for the purpose of communicating with persons in the street on the twentieth of last month*.²⁰³



CONVICTOS EN LA NUEVA OLANDA
[CONVICTS IN NEW HOLLAND], 1789–1794,
JUAN RAVENET, WASH DRAWING,
MITCHELL LIBRARY,
STATE LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

THE FEMALE FACTORY FROM PROCTOR'S QUARRY,
1844,
JOHN SKINNER PROUT, TINTED LITHOGRAPH,
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA



Escape from the factory was also relatively easy. On 10 December 1825, the *Hobart Town Gazette* reported the following escape:

*Late on Monday evening as Dr Westbrook was passing the Female Factory, he observed two women creeping through a hole which had been made in the wall, and the constable standing unconcernedly looking on. He immediately disarmed this man, the ladies as suddenly drawing back; and at the same time Mr. Drabble discovered that seven prisoners had escaped from the upper bedroom. Six of the number have already been apprehended and sentenced to have their hair cut close off to the head, to be confined in a cell, fed on bread and water, and to wear an iron collar for a week. We have not yet heard what punishment has been inflicted on the constable who so gallantly contributed to the freedom of the fair sex.*²⁰⁴

From October 1824 to August 1828, there were at least 18 occasions on which one or more female convicts escaped from the Hobart Town Female Factory, usually either by climbing through the above mentioned hole in the wall, made by the prisoners, or by climbing on to the roof of the building and jumping down to the street outside. There were another nine occasions when convicts attempted to escape. In two of these instances, the women were captured as they broke a leg jumping from the roof – Ann Livingstone per *Henry* in January 1827 and Ann Maloney per *Midas* in April 1827. As mentioned previously, there was a riot at the factory in June 1826: *Last week, no less than 22 of the women confined in the Female Factory were sentenced to various punishments of solitary confinement, and being fed on bread and water, some of whom had been guilty of disorderly conduct, uttering insolent and abominable expressions, escaping from the cells, over and through the outer wall, and of other conduct highly unbecoming the female character. They were fortunately prevented from escaping through a large hole which they made in the wall, and some of the punishments were inflicted for the ill treatment the workmen received in mending it up.*²⁰⁵

Other, smaller, incidences of rebellion also occurred. For example, in September 1827, several prisoners were charged with singing obscene songs in the evening. As punishment, they were locked in the ward for three days.

Subsequent to the 1826 inquiry, Arthur commenced building a new factory at Cascades near the foothills of Mount Wellington, on the site of a rum distillery. When this opened in December 1828, the inmates of Hobart Town Female Factory were removed there and the building next to the Hobart Town Gaol was converted to a bond store in February 1827 for the reception of rum and other spirits.

GEORGE TOWN FEMALE FACTORY (c.1822–1834)

George Town (sometimes referred to as Port Dalrymple) was settled in 1804 at the mouth of the Tamar River in the north of Van Diemen's Land. George Town Female Factory began operating around the same time as the Hobart Town Female Factory, Hobart having been settled around the same time. At first, the factory was simply a shed set up in the lumber yard as a place of hard labour. By March 1822, female prisoners here were making woollen cloth and leather shoes. The women worked in the shed, but slept off site, finding lodging with whoever would provide them with a bed. This often resulted in cohabitation with prisoners, ex-prisoners or soldiers. Female convicts worked in this shed until 1825, when the factory was moved to the former residence of Reverend John Youl.

The Youl family lived in the house from 1821 to 1825 when they moved back to Launceston. The house was then converted to the female factory and female convicts slept on site. However, by 1829, the building was in disrepair, it was cold and damp, with broken windows and doors hanging off their hinges.

Assistant Superintendent of Convicts, Ronald C. Gunn, described the building in December 1830:

The building ... is two stories high and contains seven rooms – 2 occupied by the Supt., one as an hospital for the Females and the other four as the Factory. The whole building is in a very dilapidated state, there are no windows, or at least the apertures for window are without glass, or Venetians, and are now boarded up, and a number of augured holes made through the boards to admit the light. The fencing around the Yard is very insecure, and any of the women could easily get over. ... its general ruinous state is beyond what I can describe ...

The internal Regulations are equally bad, there is no labour whatever performed except washing the few articles soiled in the hospital, and no punishment inflicted, as there is no classification and consequently that greatest punishment of cutting the hair is never done, not even in cases when the women are sentenced to the crime class.

The women being only sent down by monthly conveyance, a considerable portion of their sentence expires before they can be confined in the Factory, and as there is no labour performed when they are there, they generally look to punishment – (that is being sentenced to the Factory) without any dread, and more a time of rest.²⁰⁶

George Town Female Factory suffered the same problems as Hobart Town Female Factory – overcrowding, poor security and lack of *hard labour*. There were also shortages of materials, machines (for spinning and weaving) and food. The machines were removed to Cascades Female Factory when it opened in 1828. From this time until the closure of the factory, there was very little work for prisoners to do, apart from some sewing and washing. The rules established for the running of Cascades Female Factory were applied at George Town Female Factory from 1829.

Security at the factory was unreliable. After the riot and escapes at Hobart Town Female Factory in June 1826, several of the prisoners were removed to George Town Female Factory. Soon after arrival, in November 1826, three of them escaped from George Town Female Factory – Elizabeth Slater per *Brothers*, Ann Riley per *Mary III*, and Sarah Wilson per *Mary III*. Eighteen months later, Sarah Wilson, along with two other inmates – Mary Sample per *Midas* and Catherine Taylor per *Mary Anne I* – escaped again from the factory, this time breaking two spinning wheels in the process. Catherine Taylor had escaped two months earlier. Other escapes occurred in 1829 and later years.



JANE CASTINGS (AND HER DAUGHTER
MARIA JANE CASTINGS) PER SEA QUEEN
UNDATED, PHOTOGRAPH,
COURTESY OF ANN RAU

In the final year of its operation, a security breach occurred involving sailors from the Van Diemen's Land Company schooner *Edward*. The sailors crossed Regent Square and endeavoured to gain access to the women in the factory. They did not achieve their goal, but did succeed in providing liquor to the prisoners by getting the women to lower down a cord, which was then used to haul up the spirits. Not surprisingly, the women got drunk and were duly punished.²⁰⁷

In the final two years of its operation, a minimum of 25 women and four children and a maximum of 69 women and 11 children (an average of 41 women and six children) were confined in the four rooms of the factory. In November 1834, a new female factory opened in Launceston and so *this sink of iniquity* was closed.

In the early years of Van Diemen's Land, a factory located at George Town was appropriate as this town was the main settlement in the north. However, as the population drifted towards Launceston, and the courts sat there, sending female convicts from Launceston to George Town for imprisonment was becoming problematic. To get to the factory, prisoners would travel by horse drawn vehicle or foot by road along the East Tamar, or by boat up the Tamar River; each method of transportation had its own problems:

*The disgraceful scenes which have been carried on by the parties conducting the females to and from George Town ... numbers of females sent for punishment to the factory at that place who have been weeks and weeks on the way, stopping at almost every hut and cabin of the government sawyers, and remaining till satisfied with debauchery ...*²⁰⁸

DRUNKENNESS

*An awful occurrence took place a few days since, in consequence of the horrible effects of "the dose". As a boat laden with a full cargo of women going down the river, to the factory, at George Town, was proceeding on its way, two women, who had been previously indulging farther than was consistent with propriety, fell over the side of the boat, and came to an untimely end. An open boat we consider a very improper means of conveyance for women at any time, more especially for so great a distance as from hence to George Town.*²⁰⁹

Newspaper articles expressed a desire for a factory to be built in Launceston and for prisoners to be given hard labour to do, so that being sent to the factory would not be seen as desirable. It was argued that female convicts had it easier in George Town Female Factory than they did in assigned service and so it was difficult for masters and mistresses to maintain sufficient female servants, because they committed misdemeanours in order to be sent to the factory where life was easier.

*A case in point – Some time ago, a resident in the country a few miles from town, found it necessary to the peace and comfort of his family that one of his female assigned servants should be brought up to town, before the Police bench. The sitting magistrate sentenced her to six months' confinement in the factory. Upon her return from thence, when she was reproved for some misconduct, she replied: "Oh send me to the factory! I had much rather be there than here! Plenty there to eat, and very little to do." According to the representation of some of our correspondents, the women are partly employed in washing, mending, and making clothes for the George Town gentlefolks, J.P.'s, &c.*²¹⁰

When the George Town Female Factory was located in the lumber yard, Mark Wilson, the Chief District Constable, acted as Overseer. When the factory moved to Reverend Youl's former residence, Mr Robert Graves was appointed Superintendent. His young wife, Sophia,²¹¹ and their young child lived at the factory with him. Sophia was expected to assist in running the factory as Matron. Graves wrote several complaints to the Civil Commandant at George Town, Lieutenant Edward

Abbott, about his poor pay and lack of supplies. He expected that his pay would rise as the number of prisoners at the factory increased but this did not happen. Sophia gave birth to twins in 1827 and another child in 1829. By then, possibly due to illness, Graves had taken to drink and was thus dismissed from his position in September 1829. He left George Town with his family on the *Speculator* for Hobart, but died on board, aged 31 years.

Graves was replaced as Superintendent by Samuel Sherlock; his wife Mary Ann was appointed Matron. They were appointed on 9 October 1829, resigned their positions on 15 January 1831, but stayed on until the factory closed in 1834. The remaining prisoners were removed to the newly built Launceston Female Factory.

CASCADES FEMALE FACTORY (1828–1856)

As a result of the inquiry into the Hobart Town Female Factory in 1826, Lieutenant-Governor George Arthur looked around for a place to build a new female factory. He chose the site of a failed rum distillery at Cascades near South Hobart, owned by Thomas Y. Lowes. The site was in an east-west running valley about six kilometres from Sullivan's Cove, nestled under Mount Wellington. It was bitterly cold in winter and hot in summer. The Hobart Rivulet ran through the valley next to the site. It was purchased in 1827; John Lee Archer was employed as architect.

The first prisoners moved there from the Hobart Town Female Factory in December 1828. The first group of convicts to be marched there directly from their transport ship were those who arrived on the *Harmony* in January 1829. Prior to the opening of the Cascades Female Factory, when a ship arrived, prisoners were assigned directly from the ship into service, unless they were ill, in which case they were sent to the Colonial Hospital, or they had behaved badly on the voyage, in which case they were sent to the Hobart Town Female Factory.

On 1 January 1829, the Colonial Secretary, John Burnett, published *Rules and Regulations for the Management of the House of Correction for Females*. These were the same rules and regulations which were applied at George Town in 1829. They stated that the person generally responsible for the factory was the Principal Superintendent of Convicts. As a magistrate, he could pass sentence on prisoners for offences committed within the factory; he was to enforce cleanliness, quietness, regularity, submission and industry.

To run the establishment, the following officers were appointed: Superintendent, Matron, Crime Class Overseer, Crime Class Task Mistress, Porter, Clerk and two Constables. Their duties were described within the rules and regulations, as were the procedures for dealing with female convicts, both upon arrival and whilst within the establishment, including their clothing, classification, hours of labour, diet and punishment.

Reverend James Norman was responsible for the religious instruction of the establishment and the Medical Attendant had responsibility for the Hospital and the Nursery within the factory. He was required to attend the factory every morning *whether there are, or are not, any sick women*.

In 1829, Mrs Forcett was appointed Matron of Cascades Female Factory and her husband was appointed Gatekeeper. The Overseer was Jesse Pullen and the Super-

intendent was Esh Lovell. They held those positions until 1 January 1832, when John Hutchinson was appointed Superintendent and his wife, Mary Hutchinson,²¹² was appointed Matron. Assisting them were William Cato as Overseer and his wife Elizabeth Cato as Assistant Matron – they were appointed on 18 April 1831 and dismissed ten years later. John Hutchinson was replaced by John May as Superintendent, and Mary Hutchinson held her position as Matron until June 1851 when she was transferred to Launceston Female Factory. Charlotte McCullagh was appointed Matron in her place and remained there until the establishment became a gaol in March 1856.

As the number of female convicts being sent to Van Diemen's Land grew, Cascades Female Factory was extended several times, from the initial building of one yard to five yards in 1853.²¹³

Yard 1 opened in 1828. It consisted of six sub-yards – nursery, kitchen, Crime Class (Third), hospital, Assignable Class (First), Probation Class (Second) – and a chapel. This is the open yard with the archway, where the gatehouse was, which is a public space today.

Yard 2 opened in 1832. It was a punishment yard, consisting of solitary cells, light cells (or solitary working cells) and the washing yard. Solitary cells did not let in any light, but light cells did and so prisoners confined in them could still work. A church now stands on this yard.

Yard 3 opened in 1845. This was another punishment yard. It contained two double-tiered cell blocks of separate apartments. Each cell measured 3.5 metres by 1.3 metres and had an arched ceiling with maximum height of 2.75m. The doors of adjoining rooms opened on opposite sides of the building to make it more difficult for prisoners to communicate with each other. Silence was the rule in these separate apartments. This is the yard where the Female Factory Historic Site shop now stands.

Yard 4, the Nursery Yard, opened in 1850. It contained a two storey nursery building, a yard and the Matron's Cottage. The Matron's Cottage is in use currently as a gallery and research and meeting area as part of the Female Factory Historic Site. The remainder of the Nursery Yard has recently been purchased.

Yard 5 opened in 1853. It was modern! It had flushing toilets and piped water. There was a large yard and a double storey building containing a mess room and kitchen downstairs and dormitories upstairs. It seems to have been used for First Class prisoners. Residential houses now cover the area of this yard.

Cascades Female Factory operated as a factory for 28 years and during that time there were two distinct phases of operation – the first during the assignment system and the second during the probation system. The biggest change came when the probation system was more fully extended to female convicts as a result of the *Inquiry into Female Convict Discipline* established in 1841.

As well as looking into incidences of rioting, *unnatural behaviour* (lesbianism), trafficking and other forms of ill-discipline amongst the female prisoners at both the Cascades and Launceston Female Factories, the inquiry also investigated the nurseries (particularly the high infant mortality rate) and the on-site hospitals.

The Rules and Regulations promulgated in 1829 provided strict guidelines on the running of the factories. However, before the 1841–1843 inquiry, overcrowding, understaffing, corrupt officers and poor nourishment made it difficult to keep the

classes separate, and trafficking, bullying and rowdiness flourished, along with the *Flash Mob*. Testimony at the inquiry suggests that the *Flash Mob* consisted of a group of unruly women who trafficked in goods, bullied other prisoners, had lesbian relationships with each other and preferred to be in the factory than assigned to service. Several of these women were moved between the Cascades and Launceston factories due to rioting and other offences, and even removed to other gaols, such as Longford Gaol and the men's prison at Launceston, as they could not be controlled within the confines of either factory.

After the 1841–1843 inquiry and the introduction of the probation system, life in the factories changed. Under the probation system, newly arrived convicts underwent six months probation prior to being hired out to service. For many of the female convicts who arrived during this period, probation was completed on board the *Anson*, a hulk moored in Prince of Wales Bay on the Derwent River. The classification system for probation pass holders – that is, those convicts who had completed their probation and so were available for hire – was opposite to the classification system in the factories: Third Class Probation Pass Holders had the most freedom and First Class Probation Pass Holders the least. To obtain a *ticket of leave*, a convict had to have first been a Third Class Probation Pass Holder.

At the factories, a strict regimen of silence and task work was introduced. With the opening of Yard 3 at Cascades Female Factory in 1845, punishment by separate treatment and solitary confinement could be enforced. No doubt bullying and trafficking still occurred, but with the expansion of the factory and the relief of overcrowding, order and control could better be enforced.

The first riot to occur at Cascades Female Factory was on 8 February 1829, just two months after it opened. Prisoners were protesting against the imprisonment of two inmates in solitary confinement, prisoners who had been attempting to receive contraband provisions (probably to augment the poor rations provided). At least nine of the main offenders, including the two placed in solitary confinement, were charged with offences.

Jesse Pullen, the overseer of the establishment, gave evidence at the inquiry into the riot. In the morning, after Pullen had seen men on the hill behind the factory shouting to some of the women in the Crime Class Yard, a bundle containing cheese and butter was thrown over the wall of the factory. Several of the men were soldiers from the 40th Regiment. Pullen, along with several inmates, went to retrieve the bundle. Shortly afterwards a loaf of bread was thrown over and a prisoner, Sarah Beckley, per *Sir Charles Forbes*, picked it up and took it to the dining room. She refused to give it to Overseer Pullen, so he left to report the incident to the Superintendent, Esh Lovell. As he did so, 30 to 40 of the prisoners followed him, clapping their hands and hooting him out of the yard. Pullen returned with Lovell to the yard and attempted to restore order. The two women seen shouting over the wall to the soldiers on the hillside, Sarah Beckley and Elizabeth Davis, per *Borneo*, were eventually sent to the cells having made *violent resistance*. Pullen continued:

When the two women who were put in the Cell were resisting us in the Crime Class Yard the Women in the sleeping Rooms who were locked up commenced shouting, swearing, and making use of the most abominable Language to me and my Wife that I ever heard.

They continued making a violent noise and knocking at the Doors to get out for upwards of an Hour when in the upper Room thro' the Vent Hole over the Door which admits air to the Room they threw a large Piece of Cloth in a Blaze of Fire which fell up on the steps which



MARY HUTCHINSON, UNDATED,
ARTIST UNKNOWN, OIL ON CANVAS,
PRIVATE COLLECTION

*certainly would have been set on Fire had it not been immediately extinguished, and thro' the Air Holes on the opposite side a Quantity of Fire was thrown out which fell at the Bottom of the Steps leading to the Chappel which was extinguished by Mr Lovell with the Water he got in the Second Class Yard. When we first discovered the Fire the Yells and Screams were indescribable, from all Parts of the Building except the Nursery & Hospital those in the 2nd Class and Assignable Class not knowing what it originated in, thought the Building was on fire and several in the Second Class fainted with the Fear occasioned by the Blaze. There were three or four Parcels of fire thrown out upon the Steps leading to the Sleeping Rooms which being made of Pine had the Fire not been immediately extinguished would certainly have set the whole Buildings on fire.*²¹⁴ Pullen was then sent by Lovell to town to fetch the Principal Superintendent of Convicts, James Gordon, and two constables to help restore order. In response to the riot, it was ordered that a fence be erected around the establishment to *prevent the approach of those who are in the Habit of giving such annoyance every Sunday.*²¹⁵ The palisade fence, however, does not seem to have stopped the acquisition of contraband by the inmates. In March 1829, Margaret Gordon, per Henry, was charged with *smoking in the nursery this morning contrary to the regulations of the establishment, and refusing to give up her pipe to Mrs Rillen when demanded.*²¹⁶ Three years later, Elizabeth Davis, per Borneo, again imprisoned at Cascades Female Factory, was charged with being drunk and disorderly and sentenced to seven days in solitary confinement on bread and water. Prisoners were not allowed to have alcohol nor tobacco, among other things, such as food which was not part of their rations.

The riots which occurred in the 1840s at both Cascades Female Factory and Launceston Female Factory were the result of overcrowding, poor rations, *unnatural connexions*, boredom and aversion to solitary confinement. The riots are well documented in the *Inquiry into Female Convict Discipline* of 1841–1843 and on the conduct records of the rioters, but the newspapers of the day were oddly silent about them. Major riots occurred at Cascades Female Factory in 1839, 1842 and 1843.

On 4 May 1839, Ellen Scott, per *Eliza III*, a notorious prisoner considered to be part of the *Flash Mob*, violently assaulted Superintendent Hutchinson with intent to kill him or do bodily harm. Scott was assisted by other convicts, including five from the *Atwick*. Scott was initially removed to Hobart Town Gaol, then to Launceston Female Factory to serve two years hard labour.

Over three years later, on 23 August 1842, 17 prisoners were charged with being involved in a riot at Cascades Female Factory. It occurred in the Crime Class Yard where upwards of 150 women were housed. These women had no access to the yard at this time as there were some workmen employed in the interior of the building and the authorities wished to prevent communication between them and the prisoners. At about 3pm the women in the upper shop of the Crime Class Yard started dancing and singing, refusing to desist when ordered to do so by the turnkey, who reported the incident to Superintendent Hutchinson. The women continued their riotous behaviour for some hours before Hutchinson sent for police constables. The constables were effective in separating the riotous prisoners from the others and so quelled the riot.²¹⁷

Six months later, on 27 March 1843, there were riots at both Cascades Female Factory and Launceston Female Factory. At this stage, no evidence has been found to suggest that they were coordinated but it seems a remarkable coincidence that they both occurred on the same day.

INFANT NURSERIES

Initially, the nursery for the infants of prisoners was set up in Yard 1 at Cascades Female Factory. Prior to this, the infants and children stayed with their mother, whether on assignment or in the care of the Government. The nursery operated there for ten years until, due to the high infant mortality rate, it was moved off-site to a house in Liverpool Street, Hobart, near the Colonial Hospital. The nursery usually housed those children of convicts less than two or three years of age – those who had not yet been fully weaned. The death rate amongst the infants was abnormally high. Findings from inquiries, inquests and newspaper reports state that the high death rate was the result of poor nourishment, overcrowding, poor ventilation and damp, and, in some cases, minimal care. The most common cause of death amongst the infants was diarrhoea.

After four or so years at Liverpool Street, the nursery, still under the superintendence of Matron Slee, was moved to Dynnyrne House, South Hobart in 1842. This building no longer exists, but photographs of it, looking towards Mount Wellington, show Cascades Female Factory in the background, about half a mile away on the other side of the Hobart Town Rivulet. Nursing mothers were sent here directly from the ship, with their infants, when they arrived. Older children were sent to the Queen's Orphan Schools at New Town.

Eight years later, the nursery was moved from Dynnyrne House to the new Nursery Yard (Yard 4) which had opened at Cascades Female Factory. However, the infant mortality rate was still high and so the nursery was again moved, this time to Brickfields at New Town (which was by this time no longer operating as a hiring depot). Brickfields was located where Rydges Hotel and North Hobart Football Oval now stand. After two years there, the nursery again returned to Cascades Female Factory in 1854. However, a year later, in 1855, it moved again, to the infirmary in Liverpool Street, Hobart.

During all this time, the infant mortality rate remained higher than that in the normal population. Prisoners were not responsible for the care of their children. Nurses and warders were appointed from amongst the First Class prisoners and they each had care of many of the infants. In 1838, an inquest into the death of Thomas Vowles, aged 14 months, provided information on the access mothers were given to their children in the nursery. Mary Vowles (who had arrived as a free immigrant on the *Princess Royal* but was colonially convicted) received permission from the Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Josiah Spode, to take her child to the factory when she was sentenced; Vowles was under the impression that she would be able to nurse it whilst there. However, Superintendent Hutchinson removed the child from her to the nursery. Vowles and the other mothers of children in the nursery were able to see their infants once a month, courtesy of Superintendent Hutchinson. Vowles saw Thomas once before he was taken home by her husband, to die of diarrhoea just a few weeks after they entered the factory.



CHRISTENING GOWN, 1828,
COTTON, MAKER UNKNOWN,
THE TASMANIAN MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY
COLLECTION

BRANCH FACTORIES

Branch factories were set up in Hobart at several locations during the operation of Cascades Female Factory. These operated in connection with Cascades Female Factory and under its regulations. At Brickfields, New Town, a hiring depot for female convicts operated from 1842 to 1852. In 1843, the house in Liverpool Street, Hobart also operated as a hiring depot. From 1844 to 1849, the *Anson* hulk operated as a probation station, and in 1844 and 1850 New Town Farm operated temporarily as a probation station. In 1852, prisoners with children were moved from Cascades Female Factory to New Town Farm.

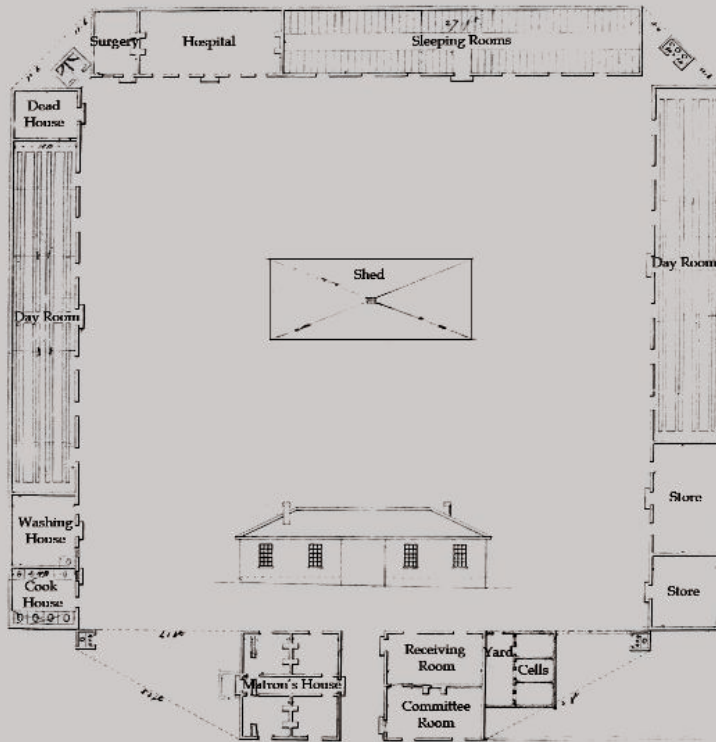
In 1856, Cascades Female Factory changed from being under the control of the British Government, to being under the control of the local authorities. From this time it operated as a gaol, not a female factory. More of the prisoners from this time were native born or women who had arrived free in the colony or those who had already received a *Certificate of Freedom*. It closed as a gaol in 1877 when all remaining female prisoners were moved to the gaol in Campbell Street, Hobart.

LAUNCESTON FEMALE FACTORY (1834–1855)

The construction of Launceston Female Factory, started in 1831, was completed in July 1834, though it still required furnishing in September of that year. It was built next to the Gaol on the corner of Bathurst and Margaret Streets, with the entrance facing Paterson Street, where Launceston College now stands. There are only a few remnants of the outer wall standing.

John Lee Archer, who designed Cascades Female Factory, was the architect, but this factory was built on a more *modern* design. The buildings formed a cross and with walls around the outside to enclose two yards between each pair of two arms of the cross, the overall design was an octagonal shape. The Launceston Female Factory plan of 1840 shows the design of the ground floor of the original building plus plans for the addition of solitary cells and separate apartments at the rear of the complex. It is not certain whether or not these were ever built. The nursery was above the surgery and office at the entrance, and the hospital was above the gatekeeper's residence. Above the superintendent's quarters in the centre of the building, from where he could see the entire complex, was the chapel. Each arm of the cross, apart from the entrance, terminated in solitary cells and privies. The upper floor of each arm was a dormitory, one for each of the three classes. There was also a yard for each of the three classes of prisoners. The first escapes from Launceston Female Factory occurred on 16 November 1834 when Rosina Gavilin, per *Frances Charlotte*, and Sarah Smith, per *Eliza III*, made a hole in the wall of one of the privies and absconded. Other escapes occurred in later years.

The factory initially held 68 women and 11 children, but only a few years after it opened it was overcrowded. From 1840 onwards, all convicts were sent to Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales no longer accepting them. As a result, the female factories operating became overcrowded as they were designed for a much smaller female convict population. As mentioned previously, this meant that prison authorities were unable to enforce the classification system of convicts. As at Cascades Female Factory, rioting and other forms of insubordination were sometimes a result, with most occurring at Launceston Female Factory between 1840 and 1844, before the implementation of the recommendations from the 1841–1843 *Inquiry into Female Convict Discipline*.

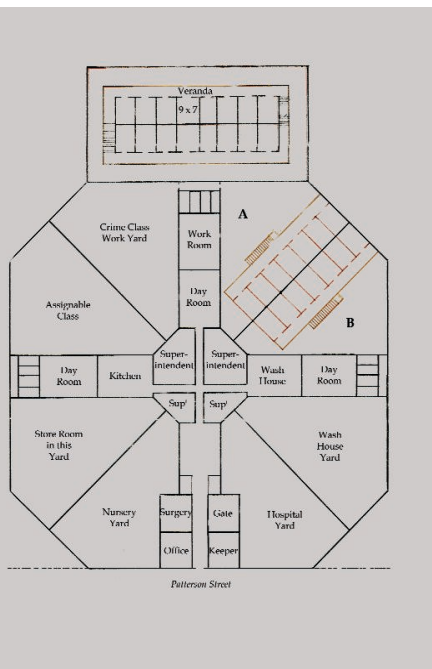


BRICKFIELDS BRANCH FACTORY ²¹⁸
 PROPOSED PLANS FOR THE BRICKFIELDS HIRING
 DEPOT, HOBART, 15 MAY 1843
 TO HOLD 196 FEMALE CONVICTS.
 (ADAPTED FROM PLANS HELD AT
 THE ARCHIVES OFFICE OF TASMANIA)
 COURTESY OF TRUDY COWLEY

On 18 October 1842, prisoners in the crime class barricaded themselves into the building and withheld the constables for over 24 hours. Only after about 30 prisoners from the men's gaol next door were fetched to assist the constables, was the siege broken. Seven of the ring leaders were subsequently ironed and placed in the gaol before being sent to Cascades Female Factory aboard the *Lady Franklin*.

In the following days the prisoners remained restless. When Mary Sheriff, per *Atwick*, who had previously been involved in incidents, was sentenced to solitary confinement by Captain Arthur Gardiner, she pleaded with Dr Maddox, the sub-Assistant Colonial Surgeon, to have Gardiner overturn the sentence saying she was ill. When Dr Maddox refused, Sheriff and two accomplices, Elizabeth Elemore, per *Gilbert Henderson*, and Eliza Owen, per *Hindustan*, rushed Dr Maddox and stabbed him with a sharp implement. The injuries were minor and so, even though a sentence of death was passed against the prisoners, their lives were spared and the sentences commuted to transportation for life. This of course meant that they stayed in Van Diemen's Land, but they were removed from Launceston Female Factory to Cascades Female Factory.

At this time, in vain attempts to try and control their behaviour, the most recalcitrant prisoners were moved between the two factories. Many of these women were part of the *Flash Mob*. Thus, the *Flash Mob* operated not only at Cascades Female Factory, but also at Launceston Female Factory. Information provided at the 1841–1843 inquiry told how prisoners at Launceston Female Factory had formed relationships with one another, to the extent that if one completed her sentence and so was assigned, she would immediately commit some offence in order to be sent back to the factory.



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LAUNCESTON FEMALE FACTORY
PROPOSED PLANS FOR THE ADDITION OF
SOLITARY CELLS AND SEPARATE APARTMENTS
AT LAUNCESTON FEMALE FACTORY, 1 JUNE 1840.
(ADAPTED FROM PLANS HELD AT
THE ARCHIVES OFFICE OF TASMANIA)
COURTESY OF TRUDY COWLEY

Superintendent Pearson stated at the inquiry:

*I do not consider that being in the factory here at present is any punishment at all and I do not think that the women consider it a punishment. I have known repeated instances of women going out and committing crime on purpose to get back in a day or two with supplies of tobacco, tea and sugar etc. for the others.*²²⁰

One of the prisoners who gave evidence at the inquiry, Eliza Churchill, per *Navarino*, concurred with the Superintendent and stated, *They would sooner be there than assigned to a settler as they could get more to eat,*²²¹ even though the rations convicts were supposed to receive from their masters were superior to those they received in prison.

It was these women who were the ring leaders of the riots and other forms of insubordination and who controlled the trafficking of goods such as tobacco and rum in the factory – *If they had money, however, the women could usually get what supplies they wanted.*²²² Evidence presented at the 1841–1843 inquiry showed how employees at the factory were involved in the trafficking of goods, and this resulted in some changes in staff.

Robert Pearson was appointed Superintendent on 3 January 1840 and his wife Elizabeth was appointed Matron. James Fraser was appointed Superintendent in July 1842 and Christina Fraser was Matron from April 1847. Samuel Johnston was appointed Overseer and his wife Catherine was appointed Sub-Matron in January 1845. Mary Hutchinson took over as Matron (Superintendent) in June 1851, when she was transferred from Cascades Female Factory.

The overcrowding problem at the Factory was partially resolved in 1844 when a hiring depot for female convicts was opened in Launceston, St John's Square, separate to the factory. The factory then became solely a place for punishment of female convicts and a nursery, until 1848 when the hiring depot closed.

The nursery at Launceston Female Factory became just as overcrowded as the rest of the factory, and as overcrowded as the nursery at Cascades Female Factory. As such, it too had a high infant mortality rate. Between 1841 and 1850 there were 229 births at Launceston Female Factory, and in the same period there were 57 infant deaths and eight stillbirths.

The daily diet for prisoners and children when the factory opened in 1834 was meagre:

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DIET FOR PRISONERS AND CHILDREN
AT LAUNCESTON FEMALE FACTORY, 1834

ASSIGNABLE CLASS	CRIME CLASS	CHILDREN
½ lb meat	½ lb meat	4 oz meat
1 lb bread	1 lb bread	8 oz bread
1 oz sugar	–	1 oz sugar
1 oz roasted wheat (<i>coffee</i>)	–	–
½ oz salt	½ oz salt	½ oz salt
½ lb vegetables	–	½ lb vegetables
–	–	1 pint milk
–	–	¼ pint oatmeal

It has been suggested that the poor nutritional value of the diet, particularly for the crime class prisoners, caused irritability and contributed to their bad behaviour.

When Ross Female Factory opened in 1848, the majority of the infants, pregnant women and nursing mothers were removed there. Launceston Female Factory operated as a factory for another seven years when its operation was taken over by local authorities, through the Sheriff's Office. From 1856, as with Cascades Female Factory, the establishment operated as a gaol. The building was eventually demolished at the beginning of the twentieth century to make way for the building of Launceston High School (now Launceston College).

ROSS FEMALE FACTORY (1848–1855)

As the 'interior' became more settled and the towns along the main road from Hobart to Launceston grew in size, the number of convicts assigned and hired to masters in these areas increased markedly. It was often the more recalcitrant prisoners who were assigned to service in the 'interior', those who were continually found drunk and disorderly in Hobart and Launceston or those who were continually absent without leave or absconded. It was believed that there were less distractions for these convicts in the country areas and so they were less likely to misbehave. However, misbehave they did and the authorities recognised the need for a place of punishment and hiring for female convicts in the interior. The chain gang station at Ross was chosen as the site for the last female factory to be built in Van Diemen's Land. Being on the road from Hobart Town to Launceston, the factory could also act as a stopover place for prisoners being moved between the two largest towns.

The establishment was designed to be multi-purpose – it would act not only as a female factory, but also as a probation station, hiring depot, lying-in hospital, nursery and overnight station. It opened in March 1848. Ross Female Factory had some advantages over the other factories. It was built in the dry climate of the midlands and, being in the country, the air was fresher. Thus, there was not the problem of dampness causing illness as occurred at Cascades Female Factory in particular. Also, because the factory was built when the female convict population was at its peak, it did not experience the problems of overcrowding that the other four factories did. This also meant that the nursery was not overcrowded. Another benefit to the prisoners was that the Superintendent was also a medical doctor – Dr William John Irvine.

As a result of these advantages, the infant mortality rate at Ross Female Factory was low, especially compared to the rates at the Cascades and Launceston factories. However, the rations were still meagre and hunger drove some prisoners to dishonourable acts. In January 1852, Caroline Rankin, per *Australasia*, who had given birth to an illegitimate daughter at the factory nine months previously, was charged with *appropriating the children's food*. In August 1850, Ellenor Onions, per *Australasia*, had been charged with *having meal bread and potatoes improperly in her possession*.²²⁴

When the prisoners arrived at Ross Female Factory, usually by foot with a guard or by coach without a guard, they were made to take a bath and issued with prison clothing. The clothing consisted of: a jacket, a pair of stockings, a pair of shoes, a cap, a shift, a handkerchief, a petticoat and an apron. These items were made from wool, calico or flannel. The women were then assigned to the appropriate ward – crime class, probation pass holders or nursery.

The problems cited in the 1841–1843 *Inquiry into Female Convict Discipline* were not overcome with the new regime under the probation system. Evidence exists of trafficking, escapes and *unnatural connexions* at Ross Female Factory even though it started operation long after the recommendations of the inquiry had been put in place. For example, on 19 April 1851, Caroline Rankin, per *Australasia*, received two months hard labour for bringing a quantity of tobacco into the factory; and on 21 December 1850, Mary Hassett, per *Australasia*, was charged with *lying on the floor with Ellen Hartley in an indecent manner*, she received 14 days in solitary confinement as punishment.

At the end of 1848, Assistant Superintendent Dr John Imrie reported on the *shameful practices* carried on by some of the inmates of the Crime Class ward.

A quarrel arose from some of the women deserting the beds of those to whom they acted in the capacity of men, and betaking themselves elsewhere ...

The women were removed to undergo strict separate treatment at Cascades Female Factory, under a careful watch, and orders were given to erect separate apartments at Ross Female Factory as soon as other works in progress would allow. Some three months later, one of the women, Margaret Kelly, per *Royal Admiral*, was still the subject of careful observation after being removed to Brickfields Hiring Depot.²²⁵ In March 1850, Dr Imrie reported to Robert Pringle Stuart, Visiting Magistrate to Ross Female Factory, on the *unnatural practices suspected to be occasionally carried on here and elsewhere ...* Mary Elliott, per *Sea Queen*, was believed *to be one of the pseudo-male individuals* whose presence was particularly sought. Mary Elliott was supposedly large and masculine in appearance and, on the evidence of a fellow female convict, when in Hobart Town, she was in the habit of never going out on service, but rather *inveighing the very young and inexperienced and the purse keeper of her successive admirers, who confided their purses to her care*. Imrie also referred to Mary Sheriff, per *Atwick*, passing through Ross Female Factory on her way from Launceston Female Factory to Cascades Female Factory for separate treatment, as being *one of the women belonging to the species*.²²⁶

The evidence given by other prisoners at Ross Female Factory suggests that these women preyed on the young girls new to the factory, sometimes resulting in assault. On 21 December 1850, Mary Hassett, per *Australasia*, who was on the same day charged with lesbian activities was also charged with *concocting a plan and conspiracy to assault her fellow prisoners*.²²⁷

The factory closed in January 1855 and the Police Department took over the site, though the Roman Catholic Church used the Chapel for services. Some mounds in a sheep paddock and the Superintendent's cottage are all that is left of the factory today, though recent archaeological digs at the site have been unearthing the plan of the site. The most recent dig revealed the foundations of the nursery ward.

List of 15 Female Prisoners returned to the 1st Class in the Factory between the 1st November & 10th December 1827

No	Name	Ship	From whose service returned & for what Cause	When returned
1	Mary Flynn		"Mr. Hutchinson"	12 Nov 1827
2	Catherine Hyams		"Complaint of Mr Smith"	14 " "
3	Hannah West		"useless in her service" <small>(light does not state in whose)</small>	19 " "
4	Norah Leary		Useless in her service, being <small>pregnant</small>	20 " "
5	Hannah Brian		useless in her service being <small>in a bad state of health</small>	22 ^o " "
6	Ellen Maddox		do do do	23 ^o " "
7	Mary Carroll		useless in her service	29 " "
8	Mary Birnie		do	29 " "
9	Mary Kuffe		Useless in the service <small>of Mrs Howle</small>	29 " "
10	Mary Boulton		Useless in her service	5 Dec ^r
11	Mary Poulkes		Complaint of her Master	7 th " "
12	Ann Gorman	Mariner	No further occasion for <small>her service</small>	4 th " "
13	Mary Cornwell	Lord Melville	being at large from her <small>husband</small>	6 " "
14	Eleanor Smiler		Suspicion of robbing her <small>master</small>	10 " "
15	Hannah Matthews		No further Occasion for <small>her service</small>	" "

FEMALE FACTORY WOMEN IN THE COLONIES
OF NEW SOUTH WALES AND VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

Colonial Secretary's Office }
11 December 1827. }

New South Wales

Female Factory Records are incomplete for the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. These lists are being updated regularly. To date the combined lists have 9,145 names of female factory women.

Colony of New South Wales list developed by Anne Mathews and Beth Mathews.

Colony of Van Diemen's list developed by Trudy Cowley and the Female Factory Research Group.

For updates on the Colony of New South Wales contact Parramatta Heritage Centre.

For updates on Van Diemen's Land contact Trudy Cowley,
<http://www.femalefactory.com.au/FFRG>

This publication acknowledges the previous research work done by Joan Reese with State Records Female Factory Records lists and family historians whose research has also uncovered the names of many of these women.

DUPLICATE NAMES IN THE LIST INDICATE THAT THERE WAS MORE THAN ONE CONVICT WOMAN WITH THE SAME NAME OR THAT IT WAS UNSUBSTANTIATED AS THE SAME PERSON AT THE TIME OF PUBLISHING.

Aarons, Rachael	Ballard, Mary	Benjamin, Phebe	Bosworth, Mary	Brothers, Martha	Burke, Margaret	Call, Ann
Abrahams, Ellen	Ballistry, Mary	Benjamin, Phoebe	Bottomley, Helen	Brown, Martha	Burke, Mary	Callac, Sarah
Absolem, Mary	Bamford, Margaret	Bennet, Ann	Boucher, Elizabeth	Brown, Sarah	Burke, Penelope	Callaghan, Johanna
Adams, Ann	Banks, Maria	Bennet, Jane	Boulton, Mary	Brown, Agnes	Burn, Mary	Callaghan, Atty
Adams, Isabella	Banks, Mary	Bennett, Ann	Bourke, Bridget	Brown, Ann	Burne, Mary	Callaghan, Elizabeth
Adams, Sarah	Barber, Ann	Bennett, Euphemia	Bourke, Catherine	Brown, Bridget	Burne, Ann	Callaghan, Elizabeth
Addison, Anne	Barber, Hannah	Bennett, Hannah	Bourke, Elizabeth	Brown, Caroline	Burne, Elizabeth	Callaghan, Jane
Addison, Eliza	Barber, Mary	Bennett, Jane	Bourke, Margaret	Brown, Catherine	Burne, Mary	Callaghan, Margaret
Addison, Maria	Barclay, Margaret	Benson, Elizabeth	Bourke, Mary	Brown, Eleanor	Burnett, Isabella Phillis	Callaghan, Mary
Addy, Joanna	Barden, Mary	Benson, Mary	Bourker, Betty	Brown, Eliza	Burnett, Mary	Callaghan, Sarah
Agar, Mary	Barker, Bridget	Bent, Diana	Bowden, Catherine	Brown, Elizabeth	Burney, Mary	Callagher, Margaret
Agnew, Susan	Barker, Mary	Bentley, Jemima	Bowen, Eliza	Brown, Ellen	Burnie, Catherine	Callan, Nora
Ahern, Catherine	Barlow, Eliza	Bergale, Hannah	Bower, Margaret	Brown, Francis	Burnie, Sarah	Callanan, Mary
Allan, Agnes	Barnes, Jane	Bergan, Ellen	Bowker, Elizabeth	Brown, Hannah	Burns, Elizabeth	Callar, Mary
Allan, Sarah	Barnes, Susan	Bergan, Mary	Bowles, Catherine	Brown, Harriett	Burns, Ann	Callighan, Anastatia
Allcroft, Mary	Barnett, Agnes	Bergin, Martha	Bowring, Sarah	Brown, Honora	Burns, Anne	Calnan, Catherine
Allenn, Maria	Barnett, Ann	Bergin, Mary	Boyer, Sarah	Brown, Jane	Burns, Eliza	Calvett, Charlotte
Allen, Margaret	Barnett, Ephemia	Berrall, Anne	Box, Sarah	Brown, Jemima	Burns, Elizabeth	Camberbeach, Hannah
Allen, Sarah	Barnett, Georgina	Berrell, Ann	Boxall, Mary	Brown, Joanna	Burns, Ellen	Cambourne, Margaret
Allison, Isabella	Barnett, Jane	Berridge, Ann	Boyce, Margaret	Brown, Mary	Burns, Esther	Cameron, Jane
Allison, Maria	Barnett, Mary	Berry, Elizabeth	Boyd, Jane	Brown, Mary Ann	Burns, Jane	Campbell, Ann
Allison, Sarah	Barnett, Susan	Berry, Mary	Boyd, Margaret	Brown, Sarah	Burns, Margaret	Campbell, Anne
Allman, Elizabeth	Barnsley, Mary	Bernwiz, Ann	Boylan, Margaret	Brown, Selina	Burns, Mary Ann	Campbell, Catherine
Ambrose, Margaret	Barr, Catherine	Best, Ann	Boylan, Susan	Browne, Mary	Burr, Ellen	Campbell, Charlotte
Amett, Sarah Anne	Barrell, Sarah	Best, Jane	Boyle, Margaret	Browne, Catherine	Burrell, Anne	Campbell, Christina
Amges, Jane	Barrett, Catherine	Bett, Ann	Boyle, Catherine	Browne, Eliza	Burridge, Ann	Campbell, Eliza
Anderson, Isabella	Barrett, Elizabeth	Bevett, Esther	Boyle, Elizabeth	Browne, Frances	Burrows, Ann	Campbell, Ellen
Anderson, Margaret	Barrett, Mary	Bevin, Sarah	Boyle, Judith	Browne, Mary	Burt, Mary	Campbell, Margaret
Anderson, Martha	Barrington, Ellen	Bigg, Catherine	Boyle, Margaret	Browne, Matilda	Butcher, Caroline	Camping, Eliza
Andrews, Ann	Barrow, Margaret	Biggs, Catherine	Brabbin, Ann	Browne, Sarah	Butcher, Elizabeth	Canavan, Mary
Andrews, Elizabeth	Barrow, Peggy	Biggs, Charlotte	Bradford, Isabella	Brozall, Bridget	Bruce, Anne	Canavan, Sarah
Andrews, Hannah	Barry, Elizabeth	Billett, Elizabeth	Bradford, Sarah	Bruce, Jessie	Butler, Ann	Cane, Julia
Angel, Mary	Barry, Honora	Billingham, Elizabeth	Bradney, Mary Ann	Bruce, Mary	Butler, Catherine	Cane, Margaret
Angus, Janet	Barry, Margaret	Bilo, Sarah	Bradshaw, Mary	Bruce, Rose	Butler, Margaret	Canfield, Mary
Anthony, Elizabeth	Barry, Mary	Binney, Mary	Brady, Ann	Bruslin, Ann	Butter, Ann	Canfield, Mary
Antonias, Ann	Barry, Mary Ann	Binnis, Alice	Brady, Catherine	Bruton, Mary Anne	Butterworth, Ann	Cannell, Margaret
Appleyard, Rose	Barter, Catherine	Birch, Catherine	Brady, Margaret	Bryan, Ann	Buxton, Mary	Cannon, Mary
Archer, Sophia	Bartlett, Elizabeth	Bircham, Mary	Brady, Mary	Bryan, Cathrine	Buzzle, Margaret	Canovan, Mary
Armstrong, Catherine	Bartrap, Susan	Bird, Alice	Brain, Mary	Bryan, Hannah	Byrne, Ann	Cantwell, Catherine
Armstrong, Eliza	Bartrass, Susan	Bird, Catherine	Brandon, Margaret	Bryan, Julia	Byrne, Anne	Capper, Mary
Armstrong, Margaret	Bason, Elizabeth	Bird, Mary Ann	Breaker, Ellen	Bryan, Margaret	Byrne, Betty	Cappers, Mary Ann
Armstrong, Mary	Bass, Mary	Bird, Sarah	Breeze, Mary	Bryant, Sarah	Byrne, Bridget	Capples, Georgina
Armstrong, Sarah	Bassett, Emma	Birmingham, Ann	Breeze, Mary Ann	Brydan, Elizabeth	Byrne, Catherine	Capps, Elizabeth
Armsworth, Ann	Basworth, Mary	Birmingham, Anne	Bremmer, Jane	Buck, Mary Ann	Byrne, Eliza	Caps, Elizabeth
Arnes, Mary	Bateman, Elizabeth	Birmingham, Biddy	Brennan, Anne	Buckley, Alice	Byrne, Margaret	Carberry, Jane
Ash, Mary	Bates, Maria	Birmingham, Bridget	Brennan, Eliza	Buckley, Catherine	Byrne, Mary	Carey, Anne
Atkinson, Eleanor	Bates, Mary	Birmingham, Maria	Brennan, Elizabeth	Buckley, Elizabeth	Byrne, Mary Ann	Carey, Catherine
Atkinson, Sarah	Bates, Mary Ann	Birney, Mary	Brennan, Isabella	Buckley, Ellen	Byrne, Sarah	Carey, Mary
Aughton, Sarah	Baxter, Georgina	Birnie, Mary	Brennan, Margaret	Buckley, Honora	Byrnes, Ellen	Carley, Ann Norah
Austin, Elizabeth	Bayley, Ann	Bishop, Jane	Brennan, Mary	Buckley, Jane	Byrom, Ellen	Carlisle, Selina
Aylward, Bridget	Bayley, Sophia	Bishop, Maria	Brennan, Sarah	Buckley, Mary Ann	Byron, Ellen	Carney, Bridget
Aynsley, Jane	Bazzel, Margaret	Bishop, Mary	Brett, Elizabeth	Budds, Mary	Byron, Margaret	Carney, Isabella
Ayres, Mary	Beard, Margaret	Bishop, Sarah	Brett, Jane	Buffrey, Mary	Cable, Mary	Carney, Sarah
Ayton, Mary	Beard, Mary	Blackmore, Mary	Brian, Hannah	Buffry, Elizabeth	Cachlen, Mary	Carr, Ellen
Badger, Charlotte	Beasley, Catherine	Blackwood, Eliza	Brian, Mary	Bull, Mary	Cadman, Ann	Carr, Catherine
Bagnell, Elizabeth	Beck, Mary	Blake, Ann	Bridget, Mary	Bullock, Maria	Cadwallader, Susan	Carr, Jane
Bailey, Elizabeth	Becke, Catherine	Blake, Anne	Brien, Betty	Bulpin, Sarah	Cadwallady, Susan	Carr, Margaret
Bailey, Rebecca	Beckett, Barbara	Blake, Eleanor	Brien, Catherine	Bunning, Jane	Caffen, Mary	Carrey, Mary
Bainbridge, Catherine	Beckwith, Louisa	Blake, Maria	Brien, Julia	Burcher, Mary	Caffin, Hannah	Carrol, Jane
Baird, Margaret	Beckwith, Louisa	Blaney, Ann	Brien, Margaret	Burgan, Anne	Caffrey, Sarah	Carroll, Catherine
Baker, Charlotte	Bedam, Hannah	Blaney, Margaret	Brien, Mary	Burgan, Elizabeth	Cahill, Ann	Carroll, Alice
Baker, Amelia	Bedford, Ann	Blossam, Rebecca	Bright, Hannah	Burke, Ann	Cahill, Ann	Carroll, Ann
Baker, Ann	Bedford, Anne	Bloxham, Rebecca	Brilley, Ruth	Burke, Catherine	Cain, Mary	Carroll, Anne
Baker, Anne	Bedford, Margaret	Blunt, Bridget	Brimmer, Jane	Burke, Celia	Cain, Julia	Carroll, Bridget
Baker, Elizabeth	Beetle, Judith	Boile, Margaret	Brisin, Elizabeth	Burke, Ellen	Cain, Margaret	Carroll, Catherine
Baker, Jane	Beetle, Julia	Bolady, Mary	Britley, Jane	Burke, Esther	Cain, Martha	Carroll, Elizabeth
Baker, Margaret	Begley, Hannah	Bolton, Mary	Britt, Elizabeth	Burke, Hannah	Cain, Mary	Carroll, Ellen
Baker, Mary	Bell, Hannah	Bolton, Mary	Britton, Jane	Burke, Judith	Cains, Mary	Carroll, Jane
Baker, Sarah	Bell, Fanny	Bolton, Mary	Brock, Hannah	Burke, Julia	Cairns, Bridget	Carroll, Julia
Baker, Sarah	Bell, Frances	Bond, Eliza	Broderick, Bridget			
Bakes, Charlotte	Bell, Janet	Bonner, Agnes	Brodie, Isabella			
Baldwin, Bridget	Bell, Mary	Booker, Elizabeth	Bromley, Sarah			
Baldwin, Catherine	Bell, Sarah	Booth, Martha	Brooks, Elisabeth			
Baldwin, Elizabeth	Bellamy, Sarah	Boswerth, Mary	Brooks, Martha			
Bale, Rachael	Bellingham, Elizabeth		Brophy, Margaret			

Carroll, Margaret	Clare, Martha	Coleman, Sophia	Cooke, Hannah	Crawford, Mary	Dalton, Ann	Dignum, Mary
Carroll, Mary	Clare, Mary	Coley, Ann	Cook, Ann	Creevy, Margaret	Dannett, Jane	Dillon, Ann
Carroll, Rachael	Clark, Alice	Coll, Mary	Cook, Louisa	Cregan, Mary	Danny, Mary	Dillon, Mary
Carroll, Theresa	Clark, Ann	Collier, Judith	Cooke, Louisa	Crevy, Mary	Darbey, Ann	Dillon, Susan
Carruthers, Ann	Clark, Catherine	Collier, Julia	Cooksey, Sarah	Croak, Honorah	Darby, Ann	Dinan, Ellen
Carry, Mary	Clark, Ellen	Colligan, Ann	Cooksley, Mary Ann	Croak, Margaret	Darby, Margaret	Dingwall, Mary
Carter, Martha	Clark, Margaret	Colligan, Eliza	Cooley, Ann	Croft, Emma	Darcey, Margaret	Dixon, Ann
Carter, Caroline	Clark, Maria	Collins, Ann	Coomey, Ann	Croft, Jane	Davidson, Mary	Dixon, Bridget
Carter, Harriet	Clark, Mary	Collins, Anne	Cooney, Bridget	Croft, Mary Ann	Davies, Bridget	Dixon, Catherine
Carter, Jane	Clark, Mary Ann	Collins, Eliza	Cooney, Elizabeth	Crogan, Mary	Davies, Charlotte	Dixon, Elizabeth
Carthy, Hannah	Clark, Sarah	Collins, Ellen	Cooney, Sarah	Crompton, Ann	Davies, Eliza	Dixon, Mary
Carthy, Margaret	Clarke, Ann	Collins, Harriett	Cooper, Ann	Crook, Honora	Davies, Margaret	Dobson, Esther
Carthy, Mary	Clarke, Catherine	Collins, Jane	Cooper, Catherine	Crook, Margaret	Davies, Mary	Dogherty, Catherine
Cartledge, Theresa	Clarke, Eleanor	Collins, Julie	Cooper, Ellen	Crosbie, Mary	Davis, Ann	Dogherty, Eliza
Carty, Ann	Clarke, Elizabeth	Collins, Margaret	Cooper, Emily	Crosby, Sarah Jane	Davis, Ann Lydia	Dogherty, Ellen
Carty, Dorothy	Clarke, Ellen	Collins, Maria	Cooper, Margaret	Cross, Bridget	Davis, Anne	Dogherty, Mary
Carty, Elizabeth	Clarke, Louisa	Collins, Mary	Cooper, Mary	Cross, Sarah	Davis, Barbara	Dogherty, Mary Anne
Carty, Mary	Clarke, Margaret	Collins, Mary Ann	Cooper, Mary Ann	Croston, Margaret	Davis,	Dogherty, Margaret
Casey, Alice	Clarke, Maria	Collins, Rose	Cooper, Susan	Crouch, Sophia	Charlotte Emma	Dogherty, Susan
Casey, Catherine	Clarke, Martha	Collins, Susan Ann	Coopert, Mary	Crow, Elizabeth	Davis, Eliza	Doharty, Susan
Casey, Julia	Clarke, Mary	Coltar, Ann	Copeland, Ann	Crowe, Jane	Davis, Elizabeth	Doherty, Margaret
Casey, Mary	Clarke, Mary Ann	Colthman, Elizabeth	Corbett, Ann	Crowley, Judith	Davis, Ellen	Dollway, Elizabeth
Casey, Sally	Clarke, Susan	Colthuran, Elizabeth	Corbett, Anne	Crozier, Anne	Davis, Emma	Donahoe, Ann
Cashman, Elisabeth	Clarkson, Lydia	Coltman, Elizabeth	Corbett, Margaret	Crummy, Sarah	Davis, Jane	Donahoe, Catherine
Cashmore, Sarah	Clay, Mary	Colville, Mary Anne	Corbett, Mary	Crumor, Mary Jane	Davis, Louisa	Donahoe, Margaret
Cassidy, Judith	Clayton, Elizabeth	Comaskie, Ellen	Corcoran, Johanna	Crumpton, Ann	Davis, Mary	Donaldson, Eliza
Cassidy, Sophia	Clayton, Mary Ann	Commons, Mary	Corcoran, Mary	Cruthers, Ann	Davis, Rosannah	Donavan, Mary
Catsworth, Mary	Clayton, Sarah	Conabey, Bridget	Cornwall, Mary	Cuddy, Mary	Davis, Sarah	Donegan, Catherine
Caulfield, Louisa	Cleary, Ellen	Conaughten, Mary	Corr, Marianne	Cudwaller, Susan	Davis, Sophia	Donnelly, Ann
Caulfield, Mary	Cleave, Mary	Condon, Anne	Corr, Mary Ann	Culbin, Ann	Dawson, Charlotte	Donnelly, Bridget
Cavanagh, Alice	Clendinning, Ellen	Condon, Esther	Corrigan, Ann	Cull, Ann	Day, Eleanor	Donnelly, Margaret
Cavanagh, Ann	Clerk, Ann	Condron, Hester	Corrigan, Bridget	Cullen, Ann	Day, Ellen	Donnelly, Margaret
Cavanagh, Catherine	Clifford, Mary	Condron, Mary	Corrigan, Mary	Cullen, Harriott	Day, Mary Ann	Donnelly, Ann
Cavanagh, Eliza	Clifton, Alice	Condron, Mary Ann	Cosby, Sophia	Cullen, Mary	Day, Sarah	Donnelly, Anne
Cavanagh, Mary	Clifton, Mary	Conelly, Bridget	Cosgrove, Elizabeth	Cullinan, Catherine	Day, Susan	Donnelly, Catherine
Cavanah, Alicia	Clifton, Susan	Conelly, Rose	Costello, Ellen	Cullins, Jane	Deacon, Grace	Donnelly, Margaret
Cavenagh, Alice	Cloaky, Elisabeth	Coniff, Mary	Cothor, Ann	Cummings, Ann	Dean, Ann	Donnelly, Mary
Cavenagh, Alisia	Clothier, Hannah	Conlan, Elizabeth	Cothop, Mary	Cummings, Eliza	Dean, Bridget	Donnelly, Margaret
Cavenagh, Mary	Clough, Ann	Connell, Ann	Cottar, Ann	Cummings, Elizabeth	Deane, Anne	Donnelly, Mary
Cavin, Sarah	Clowny, Esther	Connell, Eliza	Cotter, Ann	Cummings, Mary	Deane, Eliza	Donohoe, Catherine
Cawfield, Catherine	Clunis, Catherine	Connell, Ellen	Cotter, Anne	Cummins, Mary	DeBank, Anne	Donohoe, Elizabeth
Cawfield, Sarah	Coates, Jane	Connell, Julia	Cotter, Ellen	Cunningham, Ellen	Deegans, Grace	Donohoe, Margaret
Cawthorne, Elizabeth	Cobb, Ellen	Connell, Mary	Cotterell, Elizabeth	Cunningham, Margaret	Delahunt, Anne	Donohoe, Mary
Chadworth, Elizabeth	Cochlan, Mary	Connolly, Bridget	Cottom, Mary	Curetin, Harriet	Delahunt, Jane	Donohue, Catherine
Chalmers, Jane	Cockburn, Sophia	Connolly, Catherine	Cotton, Hannah	Curetton, Ann	Delahunt, Mary Ann	Donohue, Mary
Chamber, Elizabeth	Cockhead, Mary	Connolly, Hannah	Cotton, Mary	Cureton, Harriet	Delahunt, Mary Anne	Donovan, Ann
Chamberlain, Sarah	Cocking Ann	Connolly, Mary	Coughlin, Mary	Curley, Ann	Delaney, Ann	Donovan, Catharine
Chambers, Eliza	Cocklin, Hannah	Conner, Mary	Coulter, Margaret	Curley, Elizabeth	Delaney, Margaret	Donovan, Margaret
Chambers, Elizabeth	Cocklin, Mary	Connors, Mary	Counter, Agnes	Curren, Ann	Delaney, Mary	Donovan, Mary
Chambers, Ellen	Cockraine, Catherine	Connolly, Bridget	Courtenay, Ann	Currin, Jenny	Delany, Mary	Dooling, Mary
Chambers, Jane	Cocksedge, Ann	Connolly, Charlotte	Courtenay, Susan	Curry, Mary	Delohunt, Mary Ann	Dooling, Rose
Chambers, Mary	Cody, Alice	Connolly, Mary	Courteney, Mary	Curry, Eliza	Dempsey, Ellen	Doonican, Catherine
Chambers, Sarah	Coffee, Ellen	Connor, Agnes	Courtney, Joanna	Curry, Elizabeth	Denham, Elizabeth	Doran, Ann
Champion, Margaret	Coffee, Hannah	Connor, Bridget	Courtney, Sarah	Curry, Jane	Denner, Mary	Dougan, Grace
Chander, Sarah	Coffee, Mary	Connor, Catherine	Courtoff, Mary	Curry, Mary	Dennet, Jane	Dougherty, Catherine
Chandler, Elizabeth	Coffer, Mary	Connor, Eleanor	Couter, Judith	Curslake, Anne	Desmond, Mary	Dougherty, Mary
Chandler, Phoebe	Coffey, Eleanor	Connor, Ellen	Coverley, Maria	Curtis, Ann	Desmond, Abby	Douglas, Eliza
Chandler, Sarah	Coffey, Ellen	Connor, Honor	Cowdell, Jane	Curtis, Mary	Desmond, Catherine	Douglas, Mary Ann
Chapman, Ann	Coffin, Margaret	Connor, Mary	Cowell, Jane	Dab, Catherine	Desmond, Margaret	Douglass, Eliza
Chapman, Mary	Coghlan, Elizabeth	Connors, Bridget	Cowling, Mary	Dacey, Catherine	Devine, Alice	Douglass, Elizabeth
Chappell, Hannah	Coghlan, Honor	Connors, Bridget	Cowling, Mary Ann	Dacey, Margaret	Devine, Margaret	Douglass, Mary
Charles, Mary Ann	Coghlan, Julia	Connors, Catherine	Cox, Celia	Dagnall, Rachel	Devine, Mary	Dove, Mary
Charlton, Elizabeth	Coghlan, Mary	Connors, Ellen	Cox, Johannah	Dahany, Mary	Devlin, Elizabeth	Dowd, Julia
Cheeseman, Ann	Coghland, Honora	Connors, Margaret	Cox, Mary	Daid, Mary Ann	Devlin, Mary	Dowling, Mary
Cherry, Anne	Coghlin, Bridget	Connors, Mary	Cox, Mary Ann	Dailey, Mary	Deylesby, Judith	Dowling, Bridget
Chester, Mary Ann	Coglan, Elizabeth	Conolly, Mary	Coyle, Margaret	Dale, Mary	Diamond, Mary Ann	Dowling, Mary
Chidlow, Elizabeth	Coglan, Honor	Conroy, Ann	Craigs, Isabella	Daley, Ellen	Dias, Rebecca	Downer, Augusta
Chubb, Martha	Coglin, Mary	Conroy, Anne	Craig, Elizabeth	Daley, Helen	Dickenson, Lucy	Downey, Margaret
Clancy, Ellen	Cogtgin, Ellen	Considine, Bridget	Craig, Ellen	Daley, Harriett	Dickinson, Lucy	Downey, Mary
Clancy, Honor	Cole, Ann	Contac, Judith	Craig, Helen	Daley, Honora	Dickson, Anne	Downey, Mary Ann
Clancy, Mary Ann	Cole, Honora	Contar, Judith	Craig, Isabella	Daley, Mararet	Didsban, Lucy	Downing, Mary
Clancy, Rosanna	Coleby, Elizabeth	Conway, Bridget	Craig, Jane	Daley, Mary	Didsbury, Lucy	Downs, Ann
Clapham, Agnes	Coleman, Ann	Conway, Hannah	Crampton, Ann	Daley, Rose	Diggins, Grace	Doyle, Ann
Clapham, Ruth	Coleman, Anne	Conway, Mary	Crank, Elizabeth	Daley, Theresa	Dignum, Catherine	Doyle, Catherine
Clare, Margaret	Coleman, Rose	Conway, Sarah	Craston, Sarah		Dignum, Maria	Doyle, Eliza

Doyle, Elizabeth	Eggleton, Julia	Finn, Catherine	Foster, Mary Ann	Garrigan, Bridget	Gorman, Mary	Hains, Mary
Doyle, Esther	Elliott, Catherine	Finn, Eliza	Foster, Phebe	Garrigan, Mary	Gorman, Ann	Hainsbury, Bridget
Doyle, Margaret	Elliott, Mary Ann	Finn, Johana	Foster, Phoebe	Garside, Elizabeth	Gough, Johanna	Haley, Bridget
Doyle, Maria	Ellis, Isabella	Finnegan, Bridget	Foulk, Mary	Garvey, Mary	Gough, Johannah	Haley, Catherine
Doyle, Mary	Ellis, Maria	Finney, Bridget	Foulkes, Mary	Garvin, Elizabeth	Gowan, Catherine	Halfpenny, Mary
Doyle, Mary Ann	Ellis, Mary	Finnigan, Bridget	Fowkes, Mary	Gaskin, Mary	Grady, Elizabeth	Hall, Ann
Draper, Mary	Ellis, Sarah	Finnigan, Mary	Fowle, Isabella Phillis	Gates, Ann	Gates, Ann	Hall, Jane
Drew, Ellen	Ellison, Charlotte	Finnlity, Mary	Fowler, Mary Ann	Gates, Elizabeth	Grady, Mary Ann	Hall, Sarah
Driscoll, Mary	Elphinstone, Ellen	Fisher, Ann	Fowlls, Isabella	Gates, Helen	Graham, Catherine	Hallam, Charlotte
Driscoll, Catherine	Emanuel, Julia	Fisher, Cathrine	Fox, Eliza	Gatton, Elizabeth	Graham, Eliza	Halpine, Ellen
Driscoll, Elizabeth	Emmanuel, Elizabeth	Fisher, Charlotte	Fox, Hannah	Geaton, Elizabeth	Graham, Margaret	Hamilton, Ann
Driscoll, Julia	Emmerson, Mary	Fisher, Elizabeth	Fox, Sarah	Geig, Susan	Graham, Mary	Hamilton, Anne
Driscoll, Mary	Emmerson, Susan	Fisher, Sarah	Fox, Louisa	Gernon, Mary	Grainer, Mary	Hamilton, Catherine
Duce, Mary Ann	Emmerton, Mary	Fitzgerald, Mary	Fox, Margaret	Gibbons, Bridget	Grainey, Mary	Hamilton, Elizabeth
Duce, Mary	Engalnd, Mary	Fitzgerald, Catherine	Fox, Mary	Gibbons, Mary	Grainger, Catherine	Hamilton, Jane
Duck, Catherine	English, Mary	Fitzgerald, Elizabeth	Foxall, Elizabeth	Gibbs, Elizabeth	Gramey, Mary	Hamilton, Mary Ann
Duckworth, Sarah	Enticot, Elizabeth	Fitzgerald, Ellen	Foy, Jane	Gibney, Ann	Graney, Mary	Hammond, Susan
Duffy, Bridget	Entwhistle, Ann	Fitzgerald, Mary	Frame, Ann	Gibson, Catherine	Grant, Catherine	Hampton, Eliza
Duffy, Catherine	Etock, Ellen	Fitzgibbon, Mary	Francis, Eliza	Gibson, Maria	Grant, Jane	Hanbury, Bridget
Duffy, Mary	Ettock, Ellen	Fitzpatrick, Bridget	Fraser, Ellen	Gilbey, Anne	Gratty, Jane	Hanbury, Margaret
Duggan, Catherine	Eustace, Catherine	Fitzpatrick, Catherine	Fraser, Maria	Gilbert, Charlotte	Gray, Diana	Hancock, Jane
Duggan, Cathrine	Evans, Mary Ann	Fitzpatrick, Ellen	Frazer, Ellen	Gilbert, Mary	Gray, Frances	Hancock, Sarah
Duggan, Sarah	Evans, Ann	Fitzpatrick, Honora	Frazer, Sophia	Gilbert, Mary Ann	Gray, Mary	Handbury, Margaret
Duggens, Honorah	Evans, Catherine	Fitzpatrick, Margaret	Frazier, Eleanor	Gilberthorpe,	Grayson, Mary	Handcock, Ann
Dugglesby, Judith	Evans, Elisabeth	Fitzpatrick, Sarah	Frazier, Ellen	Elizabeth	Grayson, Mary Ann	Handley, Ann
Dumfy, Judith	Evans, Margaret	Fitzsimmons, Ann	Freanklin, Anne	Gilberthorpe, Jane	Greedy, Elizabeth	Handley, Catherine
Dumon, Sarah	Evans, Mary	Fitzsymons, Mary	Freel, Marge	Gill, Mary	Green, Alice	Handley, Harriett
Dunbury, Margaret	Evans, Mary Ann	Flaherty, Letitia	Freeman, Ann	Gill, Mary Ann	Green, Ann	Hanhill, Elizabeth
Duncan, Mary	Evans, Sarah	Flaherty, Winifred	Freeman, Bridget	Gilliam, Mary Ann	Green, Catherinbe	Hanley, Teresa
Duncan, Sarah	Fagan, Mary	Flanagan, Julia	Freeman, Sarah	Gilligan, Elizabeth	Green, Eliza	Hanlon, Amelia
Duncomb, Sarah	Fahey, Bridget	Flanagan, Mary	Freer, Catherine	Gilmore, Mary	Green, Elizabeth	Hanly, Bridget
Dundas, Mary	Fahey, Margaret	Flannaghan,	French, Amelia	Gilmour, Mary	Green, Ellen	Hannah, Isabella
Dunleavy, Margaret	Fairbrother, Maria	Catherine	French, Ann	Gittiman, Alice	Green, Mary	Hannon, Alice
Dunlop, Jane	Falkland, Jane	Flannery, Elizabeth	French, Eliza	Gittings, Mary	Green, Mary Ann	Hannon, Mary
Dunn, Ann	Fallen, Catherine	Flannery, Mary Ann	French, Elizabeth	Gleeson, Sarah	Green, Susan	Hansen, Sarah
Dunn, Bridget	Fanning, Eleanor	Fleming, Ann	French, Mary Ann	Glory, Sarah	Green, Susan	Hanshaw, Sophie
Dunn, Ellen	Fanning, Eliza	Fleming, Mary	Frior, Sarah	Glover, Ann	Greenlee, Janet	Hanson, Charlotte
Dunn, Hannah	Faris, Margaret	Fletcher, Mary	Frost, Elizabeth	Glyde, Sarah	Greenlies, Janet	Hanson, Maria
Dunn, Johana	Farish, Alice	Flinn, Ann	Fryer, Sarah	Godfrey, Mary	Greenrod, Mary	Harding, Ann
Dunn, Martha	Farish, Charlotte	Flinn, Bridget	Fuller, Elizabeth	Goff, Johanna	Greenwood,	Harding, Mary
Dunn, Mary Ann	Farley, Jane	Flinn, Catherine	Fuller, Mary	Goggin, Ellen	Mary Ann	Harding, Susan
Dunne, Anne	Farnes, Mary Ann	Flint, Ellen	Fulloon, Elizabeth	Golding, Margaret	Gregory, Eleanor	Hardley, Ann
Dunne, Catherine	Farrar, Amelia	Flintoff, Sarah	Furney, Mary	Goldspring, Eliza	Gregory, Martha	Hardy, Mary
Dunstan, Ann	Farrel, Mary	Flood, Bridget	Fury, Bridget	Gologher, Sarah	Greville, Eliza	Hargrave, Ellen
Dunstane, Ann	Farrell, Ann	Flood, Catherine	Fyans, Catherine	Good, Mary	Grey, Catherine	Hargrave, Mary
Durant, Ann	Farrell, Anne	Flood, Ellen	Gaddis, Mary	Goodfellow,	Grey, Jane	Hargraves, Elizabeth
Durden, Sarah	Farrell, Bridget	Flood, Jane	Gaffery, Mary	Catherine	Gribben, Jane	Hargraves, Ellen
Durnon, Sarah	Farrell, Margaret	Flood, Mary	Gaffey, Mary	Goodfellow,	Griffen, Honora	Hargreaves,
Dwyer, Ann	Farrell, Mary	Flood, Rosana	Gaffney, Susan	Margaret	Griffen, Mary	Elizabeth
Dwyer, Bridget	Faucet, Margaret	Florence, Ann	Gaffy, Mary	Goodman, Ann	Griffin, Ann	Hargreaves, Ellen
Dwyer, Ellen	Faulkner, Mary	Florey, Janet	Gahegan, Bridget	Goodman, Anna	Griffin, Honoria	Harley, Mary
Dwyer, Mary	Fawkner, Mary	Flowers, Eliza	Gainer, Sarah	Goodsin, Elizabeth	Griffin, Mary	Harlow, Mary
Dwyer, Winifred	Fay, Margaret	Flyn, Mary	Gainham, Sarah	Goodwin, Ann	Griffiths, Anne	Harman, Ellen
Dykes, Georgiana	Fay, Mary	Flynn, Ann	Galagher, Ann	Goodwin,	Griffiths, Caroline	Harpur, Ann
Dynum, Mary	Fearby, Sarah	Flynn, Bridget	Gale, Ann	Charlotte	Griffiths, Elizabeth	Harrington, Honora
Eagan, Catherine	Fearns, Catherine	Flynn, Catherine	Gale, Anne	Goodwin,	Griffiths, Johanna	Harrington, Margaret
Eagan, Ellen	Featherstone,	Flynn, Honora	Gale, Christina	Elizabeth	Griffiths, Mary	Harrington, Mary
Eagan, Mary	Bridget	Flynn, Margaret	Gallagher, Grace	Goodwin, Lydia	Griffiths, Mary Ann	Harrinton, Catherine
Eagen, Ellen	Fellows, Elizabeth	Flynn, Mary	Gallagher, Jane	Goodwin, Mary	Grimes, Catherine	Harris, Margaret
Eagling, Charlotte	Fenessy, Margaret	Fogarty, Sarah	Gallagher, Mary A	Gordon, Ann	Grimes, Ellen	Harris, Mary
Earley, Ann	Ferguson, Agnes	Foley, Ann	Gallagher, Mary Ann	Gordon, Eliza	Grubbing, Jane	Harris, Sarah
Early, Ann	Ferguson, Jane	Foley, Catherine	Gallon, Mary	Gordon, Elizabeth	Guthery, Jane	Harrison, Charlotte
Easterbrook, Maria	Ferney, Ann	Folkard, Jane	Galvin, Maria	Gordon, Ellen	Haan, Rose	Harrison, Esther
Eastslip, Agnes	Ferrier, Catherine	Folkes, Mary	Galvin, Mary	Gordon, Margaret	Hacket, Alice	Harrison, Hesther
Eaton, Charlotte	Ferrier, Isabell	Foot, Mary	Gamble, Elizabeth	Gordon, Maria	Hackett, Alice	Harrison, Sarah
Ebden, Frances	Field, Catherine	Foote, Mary	Gamble, Jane	Gordon, Mary	Haddock, Mary	Harrison, Jane
Eddison, Mary	Field, Elizabeth	Foran, Alicia	Gannon, Mary	Gordon, Mary Ann	Hadfield, Amelia	Harrix, Hesther
Edge, Jane	Field, Margaret	Ford, Catherine	Garcia, Sarah	Gordon, Sarah	Haffy, Mary	Harrocks, Esther
Edgely, Anne	Field, Martha	Ford, Elizabeth	Gardiner, Christine	Gore, Ann	Hagan, Eleanor	Harrop, Mary Ann
Edmonds, Anna	Field, Mary	Ford, Hannah	Gardiner, Eliza	Gore, Sophia	Hagan, Margaret	Hart, Catherine
Edwards, Ann	Findley, Elizabeth	Foreman, Letitia	Gardiner, Sarah	Gorey, Bridget	Hagarty, Bridget	Hart, Mary
Edwards, Bridget	Finegan, Judith	Forester, Helen	Gardner, Maria	Gorman, Ann	Haghe, Ellen	Hartigan, Margaret
Edwards, Jane	Finestral, Elizabeth	Forrester, Mary	Garner, Maria	Gorman, Eliza	Hague, Elizabeth	Hartigan, Mary
Edwards, Mary	Finlay, Ann	Forster, Anne	Garraghan, Mary	Gorman, Ellen	Hague, Phoebe	Hartigan, Mary
Egan, Eleanor	Finlay, Margaret	Foster, Ellen	Garraway, Ann	Gorman, Johanna		Hartnell, Elizabeth

Hartnett, Eleanor	Heron, Mary	Hudle, Dorothy	Jenkins, Margaret	Keen, Eliza	Kirk, Ann	Leonard, Alice
Hartnett, Ellen	Herring, Solomon	Hudson, Ellen	Jenkins, Mary Ann	Keenan, Grace	Kirk, Isabel	Leonard, Eleanor
Hartnett, Mary	Hewitt, Esther	Hudson, Eve	Jennings, Ann	Keenan, Mary	Kirk, Isabella	Leonard, Ellen
Harty, Ann	Hewson, Jane	Hufsey, Harriett	Jennings, Elizabeth	Keenor, Elizabeth	Kirtan, Mary	Leonard, Mary
Harty, Margaret	Hewston, Margaret	Hughes, Martha	Jennings, Mary	Keevan, Mary	Kirwin, Mary Ann	Leopard, Charlotte
Harvey, Eliza	Heyburn, Elizabeth	Hughes, Mary	Jennings, Mary Ann	Keevey, Mary	Knight, Ann	Lepard, Charlotte
Hassack, Catherine	Heylock, Ellen	Hughes, Mary Ann	Jerratt, Mary	Keevy, Mary	Knight, Hannah	Lester, Charlotte
Hatfield, Emelia	Heywood, Ann	Hughes, Rose	Jiggins, Maria	Kehone, Judith	Kritain, Mary	LeSurfe, Elizabeth
Hatham, Elizabeth	Hibbert, Ann	Hughes, Sarah	Jinks, Ann	Keley, Margaret	Lacky, Anne	Leverton, Mary
Hatton, Ellen	Hickey, Ann	Huldie, Dorothy	Johnson, Ann	Kelley, Catherine	Lahiff, Elizabeth	Levey, Ann
Hawkey, Margaret	Hickey, Sarah	Humphreys,	Johnson, Anne	Kelley, Eliza	Lamb, Catherine	Levi, Ann
Hawkins, Eliza	Hickman, Mary	Catherine	Johnson, Bridget	Kelley, Julia	Lamb, Hannah	Levingstone,
Hawkins, Elizabeth	Hickman, Sarah	Humphries,	Johnson, Charlotte	Kelley, Rose	Lamb, Margaret	Elizabeth
Hay, Hannah	Hickson, Eliza	Margaret	Johnson, Eliza	Kells, Matilda	Lamber, Ann	Levy, Ann
Hay, Kate	Higgins, Honor	Hunt, Mary	Johnson, Elizabeth	Kelly, Rosanne	Lambert, Ann	Lewis, Catherine
Hay, Mary	Higgins, Honora	Hunt, Susan	Johnson, Honora	Kelly, Abigail	Lambert, Anne	Lewis, Ellen
Hayburn, Margaret	Higgins, Mary	Hurlestone, Mary	Johnson, Jane	Kelly, Agnes	Lambourne, Ann	Lewis, Honora
Haycock, Mary	Hill, Elizabeth	Hurley, Catherine	Johnson, Margaret	Kelly, Ann	Lamont, Mary	Lewis, Mary
Hayde, Eliza	Hill, Harriett	Hurley, Elizabeth	Johnson, Maria	Kelly, Bridget	Landrigan, Bridget	Liddell, Ellen
Hayden, Mary	Hill, Margaret	Hurley, Farrell	Johnson, Mary	Kelly, Catherine	Lane, Ann	Lilley, Elizabeth
Hayden, Rose	Hill, Rose	Hurley, Hannah	Johnson, Mary Ann	Kelly, Eliza	Lane, Mary	Lindback, Jane
Hayden, Rosina	Hindle, Mary	Hurley, Margaret	Johnson, Rosetta	Kelly, Elizabeth	Lang, Ann	Lindon, Catherine
Hayes, Ann	Hinds, Mary	Hurley, Mary	Johnson, Sarah	Kelly, Ellen	Lang, Mary	Lindsay, Elizabeth
Hayes, Catherine	Hinds, Sarah	Hurley, Sarah	Johnston, Ann	Kelly, Johanna	Langham, Margaret	Lineham, Mary
Hayes, Eliza	Hinsley, Mary	Hurst, Jane	Johnston, Bridget	Kelly, Judy	Langridge, Mary	Lineley, Ellen
Hayes, Hannah	Hipburn, Maria	Hussey, Harriet	Johnston, Elizabeth	Kelly, Julia	Lapping, Bridget	Linnehan, Mary
Hayes, Margaret	Hislop, Maria	Hutchell, Jane	Johnston, Francis	Kelly, Margaret	Larkin, Margaret	Linsay, Elizabeth
Hayes, Mary	Hitchman, Sarah	Hutchins, Mary	Johnston, Margaret	Kelly, Mary	Larkin, Bridget	Lister, Sarah
Hayes, Mary Ann	Hoare, Catherine	Hutchinson, Bertha	Johnston, Sarah	Kelly, Mary Ann	Larkin, Margaret	Little, Caroline
Hayne, Elizabeth	Hobley, Elizabeth	Hutchinson, Eliza	Johnstone, Bridget	Kelly, Rose	Larkins, Margaret	Little, Catherine
Hays, Mary	Hobson, Alice	Hutchinson, Jane	Johnstone, Jane	Kelly, Winfred	Larter, Hariet	Little, Elizabeth
Haywood, Ann	Hobson, Hannah	Hutton, Ann	Johnstone, Margaret	Kelsey, Isabella	Latham, Ann	Little, Sarah
Haywood, Martha	Hodges, Charlotte	Hutton, Hannah	Jolson, Catherine	Kelsh, Bridget	Latham, Martha	Livingstone,
Hazle, Sarah	Hodges, Hannah	Huxtable, Anne	Jones, Anne	Kelso, Isabella	Latham, Sarah	Elizabeth
Heale, Ann	Hodges, Mary	Hyams, Catherine	Jones, Bridget	Kely, Winifred	Lather, Harriett	Llewellen, Mary
Healey, Ann	Hodges, Rebecca	Hyde, Elizabeth	Jones, Elizabeth	Kempthorne,	Lattimore, Catherine	Lloyd, Elizabeth
Healey, Catherine	Hoe, Harriet	Hyde, Jane	Jones, Jane	Thonasin	Lavery, Ann	Lloyd, Isabel
Healey, Jane	Hoey, Ann	Hyland, Catherine	Jones, Margaret	Kenedy, Mary	Lavery, Mary Ann	Lloyd, Isabella
Healey, Margaret	Hogan, Anastasia	Hyland, Mary	Jones, Maria	Kennedy, Ann	Laville, Mary Ann	Lodge, Mary
Healey, Mary	Hogan, Bridget	Hynes, Mary	Jones, Mary	Kennedy, Bridget	Lawler, Mary	Logan, Bella
Healy, Ann	Hogan, Elizabeth	laacs, Margaret	Jones, Mary Ann	Kennedy, Hugh	Lawless, Elizabeth	Lohan, Edward
Healy, Elizabeth	Hogan, Ellen	Ingles, Jane	Jones, Mary A	Kennedy, Mary	Lawrence, Eliza	Long, Catherine
Healy, Margaret	Hogan, Margaret	Ireland, Mary	Jones, Mary Ann	Kennedy, Rose	Lawrence, Mary	Long, Ellen
Hearty, Margaret	Hoggety, Mary	Irons, Eliza	Jones, Pricilla	Kennelly, Mary	Lawson, Johanna	Long, Mary
Heath, Emma	Hogue, Mary	Irvine, Sarah	Jones, Sarah	Kenny, Abigail	Lawson, Sarah	Long, Moses
Hector, Elizabeth	Holding, Sarah	Irving, Sarah	Jonson, Mary	Kenny, Catherine	Lawton, Mary	Longhurst, Sarah
Heffernon, Mary	Holligan, Ann	Irwin, Jane	Jowett, Martha	Kent, Ann	Layard, Catherine	Lord, Ann
Hegarty, Catherine	Holloway, Ann	Irwin, Sarah	Joyce, Bridget	Keogh, Eliza	Leach, Eleanor	Loughlan, Bridget
Helps, Mary Ann	Holloway, Elizabeth	Ivory, Catherine	Joyce, Catherine	Keogh, Margaret	Leach, Julia	Loughlin, Ellen
Hely, Maria	Holly, Edward	Jackman, Maria	Judge, Elizabeth Ann	Keogh, Margaret	Leahey, Judith	Louton, Deborah
Hely, Mary	Hollywood, Catherine	Jackman, Martha	Kalmorris, Catherine	Keppes, Mary	Leahy, Catherine	Lovatt, Sarah
Henderson, Ann	Holmes, Margaret	Jackman, Mary	Kane, Margaret	Kernan, Mary	Leary, Ann	Lovell, Sapy
Henderson, Catherine	Holroyd, Mary Ann	Jackson, Ann	Kavanagh, Mary	Kerr, Isabella	Leary, Catherine	Lovell, Sophia
Henderson,	Holton, Ann	Jackson, Bridget	Kay, Mary	Kerrin, Ann	Leary, Honora	Lovell, Sophy
Margaret	Hoolahan, Esther	Jackson, Catherine	Kean, Ellen	Kerton, Ann	Leary, Maria	Lovett, Sarah
Henderson,	Hopkins, Charlotte	Jackson, Letitia	Kean, Martha	Khuane, Catherine	Leary, Nancy	Lowe, Honora
Mary Ann	Hopkins, Sarah	Jackson, Margaret	Kearney, Bridget	Kearney, Bridget	Leary, Norah	Lowe, Margaret
Henderson,	Horrigan, Catherine	Jackson, Mary	Kearnon, Catherine	Killooly, Ann	Leaver, Bridget	Lowry, Mary
Susannah	Horrigan, Mary	Jackson, Susannah	Kearns, Bridget	Kimberley, Margaret	LeCert, Elizabeth	Lucas, Mary
Hendley, Harriet	Horton, Eliza	Jacobs, Mary	Kearns, Mary	King, Ann	Ledard, Hannah	Lucas, Susan
Henesy, Elizabeth	Hosking, Eliza	James, Caroline	Keating, Grace	King, Eliza	Ledger, Ellen	Lucey, Ann
Henev, Susan	Hough, Mary A	James, Eliza	Keating, Julia	King, Martha	Ledsham, Mary	Luddam, Ann
Hennessy, Catherine	Hough, Mary Ann	James, Elizabeth	Keating, Margaret	King, Mary	Lee, Anne	Lunn, Mary Ann
Hennessy, Margaret	Howard, Ann	James, Mary	Keating, Mary	King, Susan	Lee, Catherine	Luther, Hariet
Hennessy, Mary	Howard, Anne	James, Sophia	Keating, Mary Ann	King, Susannah	Lee, Julia	Lycett, Mary
Henrie, Jane	Howard, Margaret	Jarvis, Elizabeth	Keaton, Margaret	Kingaby, Isabella	Lee, Marian	Lynch, Bridget
Henrie, Maria	Howard, Mary	Jarvis, Mary	Keaton, Margaret	Kingsbury, Jane	Lee, Mary	Lynch, Catherine
Henry, Ann	Howe, Sarah	Jarvis, Mary Ann	Keave, Nore	Kinsay, Elizabeth	Lees, Eleanor	Lynch, Eliza
Henry, Frances	Howell, Bridget	Jefferies, Hannah	Keech, Bridget	Kinsey, Jane	Leeson, Catherine	Lynch, Elizabeth
Henry, Rose	Hoy, Catherine	Jeffrey, Sarah	Keefe, Ann	Kinsman, Ann	Leigh, Mary	Lynch, Grace
Henry, Susan	Hoyhan, Elizabeth	Jeffreys, Anne	Keefe, Anne	Kirby, Ann	Leitch, Janet	Lynch, Margaret
Henshaw, Sophia	Hoyle, Emma	Jeffries, Ann	Keefe, Catherine	Kirby, Catherine	Lemon, Ann	Lynch, Mary
Henson, Margaret	Hubbert, Martha	Jeffries, Hannah	Keefe, Honora	Kirby, Honora	Lendon, Catherine	Lynch, Susan
Herbert, Susan	Hubert, Ann	Jenkins, Anne	Keefe, Margaret	Kirby, Johanna	Lenenham, Maria	Lynch, Teresa
Heron, Isabella	Hudgy, Catherine	Jenkins, Lucy	Keefe, Mary	Kirby, Maria	Lennan, Ann	Lynch, Theresa

Lynons, Bridget	Manuel, Julia	McAvoy, Clara	McDonald, Sarah	McKinnon, Catherine	Mears, Ellen	Moore, Frances
Lyons, Bridget	Maquigan, Sarah	McAvoy, Mary	McDowal, Alexander	McKinnon, Marion	Meath, Eleanor	Moore, Jane
Lyons, Catherine	Mara, Margaret	McBeth, Anne	McDowall, Ellen	McKinnon, Mary	Medley, Mary	Moore, Margaret
Lyons, Elizabeth	Mara, Catherine	McBride, Alice	McDowall, Margaret	McKnight, Mary Ann	Meehan, Mary	Moore, Mary
Lyons, Ellen	Mara, Margaret	McBride, Elizabeth	McDual, Elizabeth	McLaren, Mary	Meekin, Mary	Moran, Mary
Lyons, Margaret	Marcus, Jane	McBurney, Marianne	McDugal, Margaret	McLaughlan, Margaret	Meekins, Elizabeth	Moran, Eliza
Lyons, Mary	Margin, Catherine	McCabe, Mary	McDwall, Elizabeth	McLaughlan, Ann	Meikle, Ann	Moran, Mary
Lyons, Mary Ann	Marjoram, Mary	McCallister, Rose	McElligal, Judith	McLaughland, Ann	Meley, Emily	More, Ann
Lyons, Mary Jane	Markey, Ann	McCallum, Mary	McEvery, Margaret	McLaughlin, Bridget	Mellish, Ann	More, Mary
Lyons, Phoebe	Markey, Mary Anne	McCann, Cecily	McEvoy, Jane	McLaughlin, Bridgit	Mells, Elizabeth	Morgan, Ann
MacDermott, Mary	Markham, Rebecca	McCann, Mary	McEvoy, Ellen	McLaughlin, Ellen	Melville, Rosanna	Morgan, Margaret
MacDonald, Jemima	Marks, Harriett	McCann, Mary Ann	McEvoy, Margaret	McLean, Ann	Mercer, Elizabeth	Morgan, Mary
MacDonald, Susan	Marky, Ann	McCarma, Ann	McEwan, Catherine	McLean, Mary	Meredith, Jane	Morgan, Rose
Mack, Mary	Marmon, Catherine	McCarroll, Bridget	McFadden, Bridget	McLeod, Isabella	Mernin, Mary	Moriarty, Margaret
Mackarel, Margaret	Marmon, Margaret	McCarroll, Margaret	McFadden, Margaret	McLeod, Judith	Merryman, Elizabeth	Morison, Jane
Mackay, Elizabeth	Marney, Abigail	McCart, Rose	McFarlane, Catherine	McLoughlin, Elizabeth	Michell, Jane	Morrice, Sarah
Mackrell, Margaret	Marney, Abigail	McCarthy, Catherine	McFarlane, Jane	McLogin, Catherine	Michell, Mary	Morris, Jane
MacPherson, Margaret	Marrah, Margaret	McCarthy, Dorothy	McFarlane, Margaret	McLoughlan, Catherine	Michell, Mary	Morris, Mary
Madden, Eliza	Marrin, Margaret	McCarthy, Eleanor	McFay, Catherine	McLoughlan, Eleanor	Middleon, Martha	Morris, Sarah
Madden, Bridget	Marsh, Harriett	McCarthy, Francis	McGarry, Catherine	McLoughlan, Mary	Millard, Judith	Morrison, Ann
Madden, Ellen	Marsh, Phoebe	McCarthy, Hannah	McGarry, Rose	McLoughlan, Mary	Miley, Ann	Morrison, Jane
Madden, Martha	Marshall, Mary Ann	McCarthy, Isabella	McGetrick, Bridget	McLoughlin, Catherine	Miller, Catherine	Morrison, Janet
Madden, Mary	Marshall, Jane	McCarthy, Margaret	McGhee, Ann	McLoughlin, Elizabeth	Miller, Elizabeth	Morrison, Mary
Maddin, Bridget	Marshall, Mary	McCarthy, Mary	McGilp, Susan	McLoughlin, Ellen	Miller, Margaret	Morrissey, Mary
Maddon, Martha	Martin, Mary Ann	McCarthy, Mary Ann	McGinnes, Esther	McLoughlin, Mary	Millington, Marta	Morrissey, Mary
Maddon, Mary	Martin, Bridget	McCarthy, Polly	McGinnis, Margaret	McLoughlin, Mary	Mills, Eliza	Morrisy, Mary
Maddox, Ellen	Martin, Elizabeth	McCarthy, Rose	McGinty, Mary	McLoughlin, Mary	Mills, Jane	Morrow, Catherine
Madoles, Peggy	Martin, Grace	McCartney, Margaret	McGivern, Mary	McMahon, Bridget	Mills, Mary	Morrow, Mary Ann
Magarakan, Margaret	Martin, Hannah	McCartney, Mary	McGlade, Sarah	McMahon, Catherine	Mills, Sarah	Mortimer, Charlotte
Magarry, Catherine	Martinarakan, Margaret	McCarty, Ann	McGonegal, Bridget	McMahon, Elizabeth	Millward, Martha	Mosgora, Mary
Magee, Elizabeth	Martin, Sarah	McCarty, Margaret	McGonegall, Bridget	McMahon, Margaret	Milton, Ellen	Moss, Jane
Magennis, Elizabeth	Martin, Susan	McCarty, Mary	McGough, Ellen	McMahon, Mary	Milton, Moses	Mountain, Sarah
Maginnes, Mary	Marvel, Mary Jane	McCarty, Rose	McGouran, Abigail	McManus, Catherine	Minnough, Ally	Mountford, Hannah
Maguire, Mary	Mason, Caroline	McCash, Mary Ann	McGowan, Abigail	McManus, Mary	Minsley, Margaret	Mouseley, Margaret
Mahar, Ellen	Mason, Margaret	McChoil, Isabella	McGowran, Abigail	McMeehan, Margaret	Mitchal, Mary	Moyse, Mary Ann
Mahar, Mary	Mason, Mary	McClean, Mary	McGrady, Catharine	McMeehan, Mary Ann	Mitchell Bridget	Mulaly, Mary
Maher, Elizabeth	Massagonia, Mary	McCloud, Margaret	McGrady, Frances	McMillins, Eliza	Mitchell, Biddy	Mulcahy, Mary
Maher, Mary	Massey, Mary	McCloyd, Margaret	McGraham, Bridget	McMullen, Ann	Mitchell, Catherine	Mulhall, Ann
Maher, Ellen	Masters, Mary Ann	McColl, Ann	McGranachan, Mary	McMullen, Eliza	Mitchell, Honor	Mulhally, Mary
Maher, Margaret	Masterson, Judith	McCollaghan, Eliza	McGrath, Ellen	McNamara, Anne	Mitchell, Margaret	Mulhern, Eleanor
Maher, Mary	Masterson, Margaret	McCollister, Rose	McGrath, Honora	McNamara, Bridget	Mitchell, Martha	Mulhern, Ellen
Mahoney, Margaret	Mathewson, Dorothy	McConnel, Elizabeth	McGrath, Margaret	McNamara, Frances	Mitchell, Mary	Mulhern, Ellen
Mahoney, Mary	Matthews, Elizabeth	McConnell, Ann	McGregor, Margaret	McNamara, Margaret	Mitchell, Rose	Mulligan, Catherine
Mahony, Anne	Matthews, Hannah	McCormack, Catherine	McGregor, Sarah	McNamara, Mary	Mitchell, Sarah	Mullally, Ellen
Mahony, Catherine	Matthews, Lydia	McCormack, Eliza	McGrimes, Esther	McNeal, Ellen	Moen, Mary	Mullen, Ann
Mahony, Eleanor	Matthews, Maria	McCormick, Catherine	McGuinness, Jane	McNeil, Ellen	Mohaffy, Jane	Mullen, Bridget
Mahony, Ellen	Matthews, Susanna	McCormick, Mary	McGuior, Mary	McNichol, Isabella	Mohan, Mary	Mullen, Mary
Mahony, Margaret	Maw, Ann	McCormick, Ann	McGuire, Mary	McNichol, Letitia	Molloy, Bridget	Mullens, Ann
Mahony, Mary	Maxwell, Ann	McCoy, Ann	McGuire, Ann	McNicholl, Isabella	Molloy, Eliza	Mullhall, Mary
Main, Anne	May, Charlotte	McCoy, Mary	McGuire, Catherine	McNickol, Isabella	Molloy, Margaret	Mulligan, Catherine
Majer, Amelia	May, Eliza	McCrae, Jane	McGuire, Jane	McPhail, Euphemia	Molyneux, Eliza	Mullin, Mary
Major, Amelia	May, Sarah	McCrae, Jane	McGuire, Jane	McPhee, Kitty	Monaghan, Mary	Mullins, Ann
Makesay, Catherine	Mayley, Mary	McCreevy, Esther	McGuire, Mary	McPherson, Jane	Monaghan, Mary Ann	Mullins, Bridget
Mallally, Ellen	Mayn, Margaret	McCue, Anne	McGulling, Rose	McPherson, Mary	Mone, Mary	Mullins, Honora
Malley, Bridget	Mayne, Mary	McCue, Honora	McHenry, Margaret	McQueen, Margaret	Monks, Elizabeth	Mullins, Mary
Malloy, Bridget	Mayner, Emma	McCue, Mary	McHugh, Ann	McRedman, Margaret	Monks, Julia	Mulvey, Amary
Malone, Bridget	Mays, Mary	McCulloch, Bridget	McIntosh, Christina	McTague, Bridget	Monaghan, Mary Ann	Munro, Ruth
Malone, Elizabeth	Mazagora, Mary	McCulloch, Mary	McIntosh, Christopher	McTigue, Bridget	Montgomery, Isabella	Munroe, Ruth
Maloney, Catherine	Mazzogora, Mary	McDaniel, Catherine	McIntyre, Isabella	McVey, Agnes	Montgomery, Mary	Murdock, Mary
Maloney, Margaret	McAdams, Margaret	McDeed, Mary	McIntyre, Margaret	McWalters, Ann	Moody, Ann	Murphy, Anastacia
Maloney, Mary	McAdam, Julia	McDermott, Elizabeth	McIntyre, Maria	McWilliams, Mary	Moon, Mary	Murphy, Ann
Malony, Ann	McAdam, Margaret	McDermott, Jane	McKay, Elizabeth	Meade, Ann	Mooney, Mary	Murphy, Anne
Malony, Catherine	McAdams, Julia	McDonald, Anne	McKay, Esther	Meade, Ellen	Moore, Ann	Murphy, Bridget
Malony, Honor	McAlister, Eliza	McDonald, Christina	McKay, Violet	Meade, Ellen	Moore, Eleanor	Murphy, Catherine
Malowney, Mary	McAlister, Elizabeth	McDonald, Effy	McKee, Margaret	Meadows, Ellen	Moore, Ellen	Murphy, Eliza
Malowny, Mary	McAlister, Rose	McDonald, Eliza	McKenna, Margaret	Meaher, Margaret	Moore, Mary	Murphy, Ellen
Mangin, Catherine	McAnally, Alice	McDonald, Euphemia	McKenna, Mary	Mealey, Emily	Moore, Ann	Murphy, Hannah
Manley, Catherine	McArthy, Margaret	McDonald, Frances	McKenna, Mary Ann	Mealey, Mary	Moore, Catherine	Murphy, Honora
Manly, Jane	McArthy, Mary Ann	McDonald, Haslam	McKenzie, Elizabeth	Mealy, Honor	Moore, Edwin	Murphy, Ivanna
Mann, Margaret	McAspent, Ann	McDonald, Jane	McKenzie, Hannah	Meaner, Alice	Moore, Eleanor	Murphy, Jane
Manon, Mary	McAtee, Elizabeth	McDonald, Joanna	McKenzie, Mary	Meaney, Bridget	Moore, Eliza	Murphy, Judith
Mansfield, Catherine	McAtee, Mary Ann	McDonald, Mary	McKeon, Mary Ann	Meaney, Mary	Moore, Elizabeth	Murphy, Margaret
Mansfield, Phoebe	McAuliffe, Mary	McDonald, Rose	McKinnen, Sarah	Mearns, Bridget	Moore, Ellen	Murphy, Mary
Manson, Catherine	McAuty, Mary					

Murphy, Nance	Norton, Catherine	Patchett, Ann	Porter, Elizabeth	Reeves, Alice	Robinson, Margaret	Savage, Amelia
Murphy, Sarah	Nowlan, Catherine	Patrick, Lucy	Porter, Sarah	Regan, Catherine	Robinson, Mary	Savage, Catherine
Murray, Ann	Nowlan, Mary	Patten, Jane	Potter, Ann	Regan, Honora	Robinson, Mary Ann	Savage, Ellen
Murray, Bridget	Nowlan, Mary Ann	Patterson, Agnes	Potter, Charlotte	Regan, Mary	Robinson, Sarah	Savage, Emily
Murray, Catherine	Nowland, Ann	Patterson, Elizabeth	Potter, Elizabeth Ann	Reid, Catherine	Robson, Alice	Savage, Mary
Murray, Elizabeth	Nowland, Mary	Patterson, Jane	Potter, Hannah	Reid, Elizabeth	Robson, Jane	Sawyer, Winifred
Murray, Ellen	Nugent, Ann	Patterson, Johanna	Power, Ellen	Reid, Margaret	Roche, Catherine	Scahill, Margaret
Murray, Margaret	Nugent, Catherine	Patterson, Johannah	Power, Margaret	Reid, Mary	Roche, Mary	Scahill, Mary
Murray, Mary	Nugent, Elizabeth	Pattison, Agnes	Price, Bridget	Reilly, Anne	Rock, Mary	Scales, Bridget
Murray, Phoebe	Nuttal, Mary	Paul, Ann	Price, Elizabeth	Reilly, Bridget	Rodgers, Jane	Scales, Mary Ann
Murrell, Thomas	O'Brien, Mary	Paulding, Sarah	Price, Margaret	Reilly, Emma	Rodgers, Sophiah	Scane, Judy
Murtugh, Rose	O'hara, Mary	Payne, Margaret	Price, Mary	Reilly, Margaret	Roe, Ann	Scarborough, Susan
Mushens, Ann	O'Brien, Alice	Payne, Lucy	Priestly, Mary Ann	Reilly, Mary	Roerty, Rebecca	Scott, Charlotte
Mushens, Sarah	O'Brien, Ellen	Payne, Ann	Prim, Bridget	Reinhart, Elizabeth	Rogan, Ann	Scott,
Mushin, Sarah	O'Brien, Letitia	Payne, Eleanor	Prior, Elizabeth	Relehan, Mary	Rogers, Susan	Charlotte Anne
Muston, Mary	O'Brien, Margaret	Payne, Ellen	Pritchard, Sarah	Remfrey, Rosanna	Roland, Mary	Scott, Eliza
Muston, Sophia	O'Brien, Martha	Payne, Lucy	Proctor, Ellen	Renohan, Catherine	Rolland, Betty	Scott, Elizabeth
Mutch, Judith	O'Brien, Mary	Payne, Margaret	Proctor, Margaret	Renowden, Jane	Rolph, Ann	Scott, Margaret
Mutch, Mary	O'Bryan, Mary	Payne, Maria	Prout, Margaret	Reynolds, Eliza	Ronan, Mary	Scott, Mary
Myers, Judith	O'Bryant, Ann	Payne, Mary	Prym, Bridget	Reynolds, Elizabeth	Rooney, Maria	Scott, Peggy
Myles, Eliza	O'Burn, Anne	Peacock, Amelia	Purcell, Catherine	Reynolds, Isabella	Rose, Margaret	Scott, Sarah
Nance, Ann	O'Connor, Mary	Pearce, Charlotte	Purcell, Jane	Reynolds, Margaret	Rose, Sophia	Sculley, Catherine
Naters, Jane	O'Donald, Bridget	Pearce, Elizabeth	Purdon, Charlotte	Reynolds, Martha	Ross, Ann	Scully, Mary
Naughton, Sisley	O'Donnell, Mary	Pearce, Maria	Purse, Mary	Rhoads, Francis	Ross, Elizabeth	Seals, Mary
Navin, Thomas	O'Flaharty, Letitia	Pearce, Mary	Purse, Mary Ann	Rice, Ann	Ross, Ellen	Sears, Mary
Naylor, Sophia	Ogle, Christabel	Pearce, Sarah Jane	Pyke, Susan	Rice, Catherine	Ross, Sarah	Seaton, Tamar
Neal, Bridget	Ogle, Christobella	Pearson, Elizabeth	Quan, Ellen	Rice, Eleanor	Rossie, Mary	Sedgewick, Elizabeth
Neal, Eliza	Ogleshaw, Mary	Peck, Ann	Quayle, Elizabeth	Rice, Elizabeth	Rourke, Mary	Seffridge, Mary
Neal, Elizabeth	O'Hara, Ellen	Peckers, Letitia	Quigley, Bridget	Rice, Margaret	Rourke, Bridget	Selkirk, Mary
Neal, Honora	O'Hara, Isabella	Peechy,	Quigley, Hannah	Rice, Mary	Rourke, Catherine	Sellers, Margaret
Neale, Bridget	O'Hara, Mary	Isabella Phillis	Quigley, Jane	Richardson, Emily	Rourke, Elizabeth	Seward, Ann Jemina
Neale, Bridget	O'Hara, Rose	Pegler, Sarah	Quin, Catherine	Richardson, Fanny	Rourke, Ellen	Seward, Mary
Neale, Catherine	O'Hare, Isabel	Pegley, Rachael	Quin, Jane	Richardson, Mary	Rourke, Mary	Shanahan, Mary
Neale, Eleanor	O'Leary, Elizabeth	Peisley, Mary	Quin, Margaret	Richardson, Sarah	Rourke, Mary Ann	Shannon, Emma
Neale, Eliza	Olive, Jane	Pendergast, Hannah	Quin, Susan	Ricketts, Ann	Rowe, Eliza	Sharman, Ann
Neale, Mary Ann	O'Neal, Catherine	Pendergrass,	Quinland, Charlotte	Ricketts, Anne	Rowe, Elizabeth	Sharpe, Lydia
Neale, Rose	O'Neal, Margaret	Catharine	Quinn, Ann	Ridley, Jane	Rowe, Pebe	Sharrod, Sarah
Nealey, Catherine	O'Neil, Ann	Pendergrass, Hannah	Quinn, Elizabeth	Rielly, Bridget	Rowley, Ann	Shaver, Sally
Neathercoat, Jane	O'Neil, Ellen	Pennington, Mary	Quinn, Mary	Rigby, Hannah	Rowley, Eliza	Shaw, Martha
Neavett, Elizabeth	O'Neill, Catherine	Penturny, Mary Anne	Quinn, Susan	Rigley, Alice	Rowly, Bridget	Shaw, Ann
Needs, Elizabeth	O'Neill, Margaret	Percival, Julia	Quittenton, Sarah	Riley, Ann	Roy, Johannah	Shaw, Catherine
Neil, Elizabeth	Only, Mary	Perkins, Matilda	Radcliff, Bridget	Riley, Bridget	Roy, Maria	Shaw, Elizabeth
Neil, Honora	Orange, Mary	Perkins, Sarah	Radcliffe, Bridget	Riley, Catherine	Rudge, Prudence	Shaw, Jane
Neil, Mary	O'Riley, Ann	Perks , Elizabeth	Rafferty, Mary	Riley, Margaret	Rumble, Sarah	Shaw, Martha
Neill, Bridget	Orton, Sarah	Perks, Mary	Rafter, Catherine	Riley, Mary	Rumsby, Anne	Shaw, Mary
Neill, Honor	Owen, Ann	Perry, Ann	Ragan, Mary	Riley, Sarah	Rumsey, Ann	Shaw, Mary Ann
Neill, Rose	Owen, Elizabeth	Perry, Mary	Ramsey, Ellen	Rilley, Margaret	Rushton, Mary Ann	Shea, Margaret
Nesbitt, Susan	Owens, Ann	Peters, Sarah	Raney, Mary	Rilly, Bridget	Russel, Janet	Shea, Catherine
Neville, Mary	Owens, Catherine	Petherall, Elizabeth	Rance, Jane	Riseby, Mary Ann	Russell, Ann	Shea, Johanna
New, Jane	Owens, Maria	Petit, Catherine	Rankin, Caroline	Risely, Maria	Russell, Ellen	Shea, Mary
New, Maria	Owens, Mary	Phallis, Peggy	Ray, Elizabeth	Rivers, Matilda	Russell, Helen	Sheady, Bridget
Newcombe, Maria	Oxley, Sarah	Phillip, Mary	Ray, Isabella	Roach, Catherine	Russell, Jane	Shearman, Ann
Newman, Ann	Padget, Ann	Phillips, Isabella	Ray, Joana	Roach, Johanna	Russell, Margaret	Sheedey, Bridget
Newman, Bridget	Page, Eliza	Phillips, Ann	Ray, Johanna	Roach, Johannah	Ruttleton, Elizabeth	Sheehan, Ellen
Newman, Eliza	Palmer, Anna	Phillips, Elizabeth	Rayen, Honora	Roach, Rose Ann	Ryan, Ann	Sheehan, Johanna
Newman, Elizabeth	Palmer, Eliza	Phillips, Isabella	Rea, Johanna	Roberts, Elizabeth	Ryan, Anne	Sheehan, Mary
Newman, Mary	Palmer, Elizabeth	Phillips, Mary	Rea, Johannah	Roberts, Jane	Ryan, Bridget	Sheehy, Sarah
Newman, Venus	Palmer, Maria	Phillips, Mary Ann	Read, Mary	Roberts, Lillah	Ryan, Catherine	Shelley, Honora
Newton, Ann	Palmer, Mary	Phillis, Peggy	Read, Mary Ann	Roberts, Maria	Ryan, Eliza	Shelley, Margaret
Nicholls, Ann	Palmer, Rebecca	Phipps, Elizabeth	Ready, Deborah	Roberts, Mary	Ryan, Johana	Shelling, Eliza
Nicholls, Ellen	Palmer, Sarah	Phipps, Susana	Reardon, Margaret	Roberts, Sarah	Ryan, Margaret	Shelton, Bridget
Nicholson, Bridget	Parcridge, Susan	Pierce, Alice	Reddington,	Robertson, Ellen	Ryan, Mary	Shepherd, Harriet
Nicholson, Bridget	Park, Rose	Pigeon, Catherine	Catherine	Robertson,	Ryland, Ann	Sherlock, Ellen
Nicholson, Elizabeth	Parker, Elizabeth	Piggett, Maria	Reddy, Mary	Mary Anne	Rymer, Ann	Sherlock, Mary
Nickson, Margaret	Parker, Mary Ann	Pillings, Catherine	Redgate, Ann	Robins, Maria	Sadler, Esther	Shields, Mary
Niel, Bridget	Parkins, Lucy	Pimento, Catherine	Redgraves, Elizabeth	Robinson, Ann	Sadler, Mary	Shilly, Mary
Nix, Ellen	Parrin, Eliza	Piper, Sarah	Redman, Ellen	Robinson, Anne	Sage, Frances	Shirston, Jane
Noakes, Matilda	Parrot, Mary	Piper, Sarah	Redmond, Rebecca	Robinson, Catherine	Salisbury, Alice	Shutler, Eliza
Nockton, Ellen	Parrott, Mary	Pitches, Sarah	Reece, Ellen	Robinson, Eliza	Salt, Hannah	Shuttleworth, Martha
Noonan, Joanna	Parry, Margaret	Pitt, Catherine	Reed, Ellen	Robinson, Elizabeth	Sampson, Mary Ann	Shuttleworth,
Noonan, Johanna	Parsley, Mary	Plough, Kezia	Reed, Margaret	Robinson, Ellen	Samson, Johanna	Mary Ann
Noonan, Mary	Parsons, Ann	Pointen, Mary	Reed, Mary	Robinson, Fanny	Saunders, Ann	Siddins, Julia
Norcliffe, John	Parsons, Anne	Pollard, Ellen	Reedy, Ellen	Robinson, Frances	Saunders, Catherine	Silk, Ellen
Norman, Eliza	Parsons, Martha	Polson, Isabella	Reely, Catherine	Robinson, Jane	Saunders, Hannah	Silk, Catherine
Norris, Ann	Parsons, Sarah	Pope, Charlotte	Rees, Margaret	Robinson, Lucy	Saunders, Mary	Silk, Ellen

Simpkins, Ann	Stalker, Harriet	Sullivan, Mary	Todd, Grace	Walsh, Ellen	Welsh, Mary	Willoughby, Hannah
Simpkins, Anne	Stamford, Ann	Sullivan, Mary Ann	Todd, Hannah	Walsh, Jane	Welsh, Mary Ann	Wills, Ann
Simpson, Ann	Stanford, Diana	Sullivan, Susan	Tomkins, Eliza	Walsh, Margaret	Welsh, Rosanna	Wills, Sarah
Simpson, Elizabeth	Stanley, Elizabeth	Sullivan, Susannah	Tomkinson, Elizabeth	Walsh, Mary	Welsh, Rosannah	Wilmott, Elizabeth
Simpson, Isabella	Stannon, Alice	Supple, Margaret	Tomlinson, Eleanor	Walsh, Mary Ann	Wenner, Mary Ann	Wilshire, Ann
Simpson, Sarah	Stanton, Mary	Sutor, Matilda	Tompson, Isabella	Walton, Caroline	Wenner, Mary Anne	Wilshire, Louisa
Singleton, Margaret	Starkon, Esther	Sutton, Amelia	Toofe, Mary	Walter, Ann	West, Ann	Wilson, Jane
Singleton, Sarah	Starkie, Esther	Sutton, Ann	Tookey, Cicily	Walton, Ann	West, Eliza	Wilson, Ann
Skelton, Sarah	Starr, Ellen	Swanick, Margaret	Toomy, Catherine	Walton, Caroline	West, Hannah	Wilson, Bridget
Slattery, Ellen	Startin, Sarah	Swatman, Esther	Trainer, Catherine	Walton, Mary	Westfold, Mary Anne	Wilson, Catherine
Slattery, Mary	Staunton, Margaret	Swatman, Sarah	Tray, Isabella	Walworth, Hannah	Weston, Catherine	Wilson, Elizabeth
Slaydon, Rachel	Steel, Ann	Sweeney, Ann	Traynor, Catherine	Waphshot, Catherine	Weston, Mary	Wilson, Ellen
Sloan, Mary	Steel, Catherine	Sweeney, Bridget	Treanor, Catherine	Ward, Ann	Westwater, Ann	Wilson, Frances
Sloane, Mary	Stevenson, Ann	Sweeney, Catherine	Trout, Sarah	Ward, Anne	Westwood, Mary	Wilson, Hannah
Small, Nancy	Stevens, Johana	Sweeney, Joanna	Troy, Bridget	Ward, Bridget	Wetherington, Mary	Wilson, Jane
Smart, John	Steward, Mary	Sweeney, Judith	Truman, Sarah	Ward, Catherine	Whalan, Ann	Wilson, Mary
Smart, Sarah	Stewart, Bridget	Sweeney, Mary Ann	Tubman, Elizabeth	Ward, Cecelia	Whalan, Bridget	Wilson, Mary Ann
Smiler, Eleanor	Stewart, Catherine	Sweeny, Mary Ann	Tuckey, Ann	Ward, Celia	Whalan, Ellen	Wilson, Rosanna
Smiley, Eleanor	Stewart, Elizabeth	Swift, Celia	Tulley, Mary	Ward, Harriett	Whale, Ann	Wilson, Rose
Smith, Anastatia	Stewart, Fanny	Swift, Ellen	Tunson, Ellen	Ward, Judith	Wheat, Mary	Wilsonhall, Sarah
Smith, Ann	Stewart, Frances	Swift, Mary	Tuohy, Honora	Ward, Margaret	Wheeler, Jane	Wingate, Jane
Smith, Anne	Stewart, Hannah	Sydney, Elizabeth	Turley, Elizabeth	Ward, Mary	Whelan, Mary	Wingfield, Catherine
Smith, Bridget	Stewart, Janet	Taafe, Cecelia	Turner, Ann	Ward, Mary Ann	Wheland, Bridget	Winter, Ann
Smith, Catherine	Stewart, Mary	Taafe, Jane	Turner, Ellen	Ward, Rebecca	Whiffen, Mary	Winter, Mary
Smith, Charlotte	Stewart, Mary Ann	Taafe, Mary	Turner, Harriet	Wardle, Ann	White, Ann	Winterbottom, Sarah
Smith, Eliza	Stewart, Rose	Tafe, Jane	Turner, Isabella	Wardle, Letitia	White, Catherine	Winters, Mary
Smith, Elizabeth	Stewart, Sarah	Tafe, Mary	Turner, Mary	Wardle, Sarah	White, Elizabeth	Winters, Mary Ann
Smith, Ellen	Stewart, Winifred	Tandy, Mary	Turnwell, Mary	Warhurst, Elizabeth	White, Jane	Wise, Eleanor
Smith, Emily	Stiles, Sarah	Tarrant, Rosanna	Twesh, Alice	Warman, Rhoda	White, Julia	Wise, Martha
Smith, Frances	Stinson, Margaret	Taylor, Alice	Tyrrell, Bridget	Warren, Ann	White, Margaret	Wise, Sarah
Smith, Hannah	Stinton, Elizabeth	Taylor, Alley	Tyrrell, Eleanor	Warren, Bridget	White, Mary	Witherington, Mary
Smith, Isabella	Stoakes, Sarah	Taylor, Ann	Tyrrett, Ann	Warren, Johanna	White, Mary Ann	Wood, Eliza
Smith, Jane	Stocker, Elizabeth	Taylor, Caroline	Tyson, Anne	Warren, Lydia	Whitelock, Hannah	Wood, Ellen
Smith, Kezia	Stokes, Ann	Taylor, Esther	Union, Sarah	Warren, Mary	Whiting, Sarah	Wood, Frances
Smith, Lucy	Stokes, Elizabeth	Taylor, Isabella	Unwin, Ann	Waters, Harriet	Whitmore, Mary Ann	Wood, Jane
Smith, Lydia	Stokes, Ester	Taylor, Margaret	Uroin, Sarah	Waters, Jane	Whittacker, Mary	Woodcock, Mary
Smith, Margaret	Stokes, Sarah	Taylor, Maria	Urquhart, Ann	Waters, Mary Ann	Wholligan, Anne	Woodford, Rebecca
Smith, Maria	Stolder, Elizabeth	Taylor, Mary	Usher, Mary	Waterson, Ann	Wickham, Mary	Woods, Eliza
Smith, Martha	Stonar, Eliza	Taylor, Sarah	Vain, Ann	Waterworth, Sarah	Wiggleton, Ellen	Woods, Elizabeth
Smith, Mary	Stone, Margaret	Taylor, Susan	Valence, Catherine	Watling, Ann	Wigham, Mary	Woods, Mary
Smith, Mary Ann	Stoner, Eliza	Taylorson, William	Varlow, Margaret	Watson, Bridget	Wilby, Emily	Woodward, Ann
Smith, Rachael	Storey, Sarah	Telley, Susan	Venor, Bridget	Watson, Catherine	Wilcock, Letitia	Woodward,
Smith, Rose	Storret, Ann	Teverley, Alice	Vicars, Ellen	Watson, Elizabeth	Wilde, Elizabeth	Mary Ann
Smith, Sarah	Stott, Ann	Theobald, Jane	Vicars, Sarah	Watson, Mary	Wilkes, Maria	Wooler, Elizabeth
Smith, Susan	Strane, Sarah	Thew, Ann	Vickers, Ellen	Watson, Mary Ann	Wilkin, Margaret	Woolley, Elizabeth
Smyth, Lucy	Stranger, Mary	Thomas, Caroline	Vickers, Sarah	Watson, Susan	Wilkinson, Eliza	Woolley, Harriett
Smyth, Mary	Strangeway, Eliza	Thomas, Elizabeth	Vilkirks, Ann	Watson, Susana	Wilkinson, Elizabeth	Wools, Amelia
Smyth, Rachael	Stratham, Elizabeth	Thomas, Margaret	Vincent, Ann	Watson, Susanna	Wilkinson,	Wooton, Mary
Smyth, Sarah	Stratton, Elizabeth	Thomas, Mary	Vincent, Mary	Watson, Susannah	Hephzibah	Worrall, Elizabeth
Snape, Elizabeth	Strayney, Sarah	Thomas, Mary Ann	Voss, Jane	Watt, Mary	Wilkinson, Jane	Worthington, Harriett
Snape, Maria	Street, Helen	Thomp, Elizabeth	Wade, Betsey	Watten, Mary	Wilkinson, Maria	Wren, Harriet
Snell, Mary	Streett, Mary	Thompson, Abigail	Wade, Maria	Watts, Mary Ann	Wilkinson, Matilda	Wright, Ann
Snook, Mary	Stretton, Ann	Thompson, Ann	Wade, Mary	Weavers, Mary	Wilks, Maria	Wright, Anne
Snooks, Mary	Stroud, Charlotte	Thompson,	Wainwright,	Webb, Elizabeth	Willey, Harriett	Wright, Bridget
Solomons, Hannah	Stuart, Mary	Catherine	Elizabeth	Webb, Sarah	Williams, Ann	Wright, Elizabeth
Somers, Elizabeth	Stubbs, Catherine	Thompson, Eliza	Wainwright, Sarah	Webber, Mary	Williams, Anne	Wright, Esther
Sourk, Mary	Stubbs, Charlotte	Thompson, George	Walch, Ann	Webson, Mary Ann	Williams, Bidy	Wright, Hannah
Southern, Margaret	Styles, Ann	Thompson, Hannah	Waling, Mary	Weir, Eliza	Williams, Caroline	Wright, Harriett
Spears, Ellen	Styles, Barbara	Thompson, Isabella	Walker, Bridget	Welch, Ann	Williams, Eleanor	Wright, Johanna
Speed, Jane	Styles, Hannah	Thompson, Louisa	Walker, Jane	Welch, Catherine	Williams, Eliza	Wright, Martha
Spellane, Johanna	Styles, Sarah	Thompson, Maria	Walker, Margaret	Welch, Mary	Williams, Elizabeth	Wright, Mary
Spelling, Johanna	Sullivan, Abigail	Thompson, Mary	Walker, Martha	Welding, Elizabeth	Williams, Hariet	Wright,
Spencer, Bridget	Sullivan, Bridget	Thompson, Sara	Walker, Mary	Weldon, Elizabeth	Williams, Jane	Mary Elizabeth
Spencer, Mary	Sullivan, Catherine	Thompson, Sarah	Walker, Mary Ann	Weldon, Jane	Williams, Margaret	Wright, Naomi
Spencer, Mary Ann	Sullivan, Eleanor	Thornton, Rose	Wall, Mary	Weldon, Mary	Williams, Maria	Wrigley, Alice
Spencer, Sarah	Sullivan, Ellen	Thorpe, Eleanor	Wallace, Hannah	Wells, Sarah	Williams, Mary	Wynn, Catherine
Spiers, Sarah	Sullivan, Fanny	Thorpe, Ellen	Wallace, Margaret	Welsh, Ann	Williams, Mary Ann	Yair, Jean
Spinks, Ann	Sullivan, Hannah	Thrusfield, Louisa	Wallace, Maria	Welsh, Bridget	Williams, Matilda	Yates, Anne
Spittal, Henry	Sullivan, Honora	Thrush, Mary	Wallace, Mary	Welsh, Catherine	Williams, Sarah	Yates, Ann
Splain, Margaret	Sullivan, Honora	Tierney, Ann	Waller, Catherine	Welsh, Elizabeth	Williamson, Eliza	Yates, Ellen
Squires, Mary	Sullivan, Judith	Tiffin, Mary	Wallis, Hannah	Welsh, Jane	Williamson, Jane	Yeates, Ellen
Squires, Sarah	Sullivan, Julia	Tilly, Mary	Walsh, Alice	Welsh, Judith	Williamson, Mary	Yellop, Ann
St. John, Mary	Sullivan, Letitia	Tippin, Jane	Walsh, Ann	Welsh, Julia	Williamson, Sarah	York, Mary
Stafford, Mary	Sullivan, Margaret	Tipping, Alice	Walsh, Bridget	Welsh, Margaret	Willas, Mary	Young, Margaret
Stafford, Sarah	Sullivan, Maria	Tither, Mary	Walsh, Elizabeth	Welsh, Maria	Willie, Harriett	Young, Mary Ann

Bourke, Margaret	Brindle, Elizabeth	Brown, Maria	Burke, Mary	Cale, Elizabeth	Carr, Agnes	Chapman, Ann
Bourne, Margaret	Brinkley, Eliza	Brown, Mary	Burke, Mary	Cale, Jane	Carr, Agnes	Chapman, Charlotte
Bowen, Ann	Brinton, Eliza	Brown, Mary	Burke, Sarah	Callaghan, Ann	Carr, Jane	Chapman, Elizabeth
Bowen, Mary	Brisbane, Jean	Brown, Mary	Burke, Sarah Ann	Callaghan, Bridget	Carr, Jane	Chapman, Isabella
Bowes, Elizabeth	Briscoe, Mary	Brown, Mary	Burn, Ann	Callaghan, Bridget	Carr, Margaret	Chapman, Jane
Bowes, Elizabeth	Britcliffe, Mary	Brown, Mary	Burn, Matilda	Callaghan, Bridget	Carrol, Ann	Chapman, Rosannah
Bowes, Isabella	Britcliffe, Mary	Brown, Mary	Burnand, Ellen	Callaghan, Margaret	Carroll, Ann	Chorlton, Ann
Bowie, Jean	Britcliffe, Mary	Brown, Mary	Burne, Ann	Callaghan, Margaret	Carroll, Ellen	Chatterley, Lydia
Bowley, Lydia	Brittle, Sarah	Brown, Mary	Burnet, Mary	Callaghan, Mary	Carroll, Jane	Cheap, Janet
Bowman, Eleanor	Broadhead, Sarah	Brown, Mary	Burnett, Caroline	Callahan, Ann	Carroll, Margaret	Cheatham, Elizabeth
Bowman, Mary	Brodie, Ann	Brown, Mary	Burnett, Janet	Callahan, Ann	Carroll, Mary	Chedle, Rebecca
Bowrne, Phoebe	Brodie, Elizabeth	Brown, Mary	Burns, Ann	Callahan, Ann	Carroll, Mary	Chedle, Rebecca
Bows, Mary	Brodie, Janet	Brown, Mary	Burns, Catharine	Callanan, Ann	Carroll, Mary	Chell, Catherine
Bows, Mary	Brodie, Margaret	Brown, Mary	Burns, Catherine	Calligan, Mary	Carroll, Mary	Chickley, Susan
Bows, Mary	Brodie, Mary	Brown, Mary	Burns, Catherine	Callow, Elizabeth	Carroll, Mary	Chilnick,
Boyce, Charlotte	Brogan, Catherine	Brown, Mary	Burns, Catherine	Calnan, Mary	Carruthers, Isabella	Bridget Priscilla
Boyd, Ellen	Brogan, Catherine	Brown, Mary Ann	Burns, Catherine	Calvert, Mary Ann	Carsel, Mary Ann	Chinery, Elizabeth
Boyd, Jean	Bromby, Mary	Brown, Mary Ann	Burns, Flora	Cameron, Ann	Carson, Bridget	Chisholm, Catherine
Boyd, Mary	Brome, Mary	Brown, Mary	Burns, Margaret	Cameron, Christian	Carson, Mary Ann	Chisholm, Catherine
Boyd, Margaret	Bromley, Mary Ann	Brown, Mary	Burns, Margaret	Cameron, Christian	Carter, Ann	Chorlton, Ann
Boyd, Mary	Bromley, Sarah	Brown, Mary	Burns, Mary	Cameron, Margaret	Carter, Ellen	Christie, Ewing
Boyes, Ann	Bromwich, Mary Ann	Brown, Sarah	Burns, Mary	Cameron, Margaret	Carter, Maria	Christie, Margaret
Boyle, Elizabeth	Bromwich, Mary Ann	Brown, Sarah	Burns, Mary	Camm, Ann	Carter, Maria	Christie, Margaret
Boyle, Ellen	Brongal, Elizabeth	Brown, Sarah	Burns, Mary	Campbell, Agnes	Carter, Maria	Christison, Mary
Boyle, Helen	Brook, Ann	Brown, Sarah	Burns, Rose Ann	Campbell, Alexandrina	Carter, Mary	Church, Elizabeth
Boyle, Jane	Brookes, Martha	Brown, Sarah	Burns, Sarah	Campbell, Bridget	Carter, Mary	Clancey, Ann
Boyle, Mary	Brookes, Martha	Brown, Sarah	Burnside, Mary	Campbell, Catherine	Carter, Mary	Clancey, Ann
Boylen, Ann	Brooks, Ann	Brown, Sarah	Burroughs, Caroline	Campbell, Catherine	Carter, Mary Ann	Clapperton, Isabella
Boyne, Agnes	Brooks, Ann	Browne, Ellen	Burrows, Mary	Campbell, Catherine	Carter, Sarah	Clare, Margaret
Boys, Ann	Brooks, Elizabeth	Browne, Mary	Burt, Caroline	Campbell, Elisa	Carthy, Margaret	Clark, Ann
Brace, Hannah	Brooks, Jane	Browne, Mary	Burt, Jane	Campbell, Elizabeth	Carthy, Margaret	Clark, Ann
Bracher, Mary	Brooks, Jane	Browne, Mary	Burton, Ann	Campbell, Flora	Carthy, Margaret	Clark, Ann
Braddock, Jane	Brooks, Sarah	Browning, Mary Ann	Burton, Hannah	Campbell, Jean	Carthy, Margaret	Clark, Ann
Bradford, Ann	Broom, Elizabeth	Bruce, Janet	Burton, Mary	Campbell, Jean	Cartledge, Ann	Clark, Elizabeth
Bradley, Anne	Broughton, Ann	Bruce, Mary Ann	Burton, Mary	Campbell, Louisa	Cartmell, Mary	Clark, Esther
Bradley, Elizabeth	Broughton, Dorothy	Bryan, Ann	Burton, Mary	Campbell, Margaret	Casemere, Lydia	Clark, Frances
Bradley, Jane	Broughton, Hannah	Bryan, Bridget	Burton, Mary	Campbell, Margaret	Casey, Catherine	Clark, Margaret
Bradon, Sarah	Brown, Alice	Bryan, Eliza	Bush, Caroline	Campbell, Margaret	Casey, Catherine	Clark, Margaret
Bradshaw, Esther	Brown, Ann	Bryan, Eliza	Bush, Hanna	Campbell, Maria	Casey, Johanna	Clark, Margaret
Bradshaw, Rebecca	Brown, Ann	Bryan, Hannah	Bush, Sarah	Campbell, Maria	Casey, Johanna	Clark, Mary
Bradshaw, Rebecca	Brown, Ann	Bryan, Mary	Bush, Sarah	Campbell, Marion	Casey, Margaret	Clark, Mary
Bradshaw, Sarah	Brown, Ann	Bryan, Mary	Butchart, Ann	Campbell, Mary	Cashell, Sarah	Clark, Mary
Brady, Ann	Brown, Ann	Bryant, Eleanor	Butcher, Charlotte	Campbell, Mary	Cashen, Margaret	Clark, Mary
Brady, Ann	Brown, Ann	Bryant, Eliza	Butcher, Elizabeth	Campbell, Mary	Cashin, Catherine	Clark, Mary Ann
Brady, Catherine	Brown, Ann Frances	Brymer, Margaretta Sarah	Butcher, Mary	Campbell, Mary	Cassidy, Bridget	Clark, Mary Potter
Brady, Judith	Brown, Eleanor	Buchanan, Margaret	Butler, Catherine	Campbell, Mary	Cassidy, Bridget	Clark, Sally
Brady, Mary	Brown, Eliza	Buchanan, Ann	Butler, Ellen	Campbell, Mary	Cassidy, Mary Anne	Clark, Sally
Brady, Mary Ann	Brown, Eliza	Buchannan, Ann	Butler, Ellen	Campbell, Mary	Castings, Jane	Clark, Sally
Braick, Jean	Brown, Eliza	Buchannan, Catherine	Butler, Margaret	Campbell, Sarah	Catherus, Mary	Clark, Sarah
Braid, Mary	Brown, Eliza	Buchannan, Mary	Buxton, Caroline	Canavan, Sarah	Canavan, Sarah	Clark, Sarah
Braidie, Margaret	Brown, Eliza	Buckingham, Jane	Buxton, Margaret	Cane, Mary Ann	Caton, Mary	Clark, Sarah
Braithwaite, Martha	Brown, Eliza	Buckley, Margaret	Byers, Mary Ann	Cann, Jane	Caulfield, Winifred	Clark, Sarah
Braithwaite, Mary Ann	Brown, Elizabeth	Buckley, Mary	Byrne, Ann	Canning, Fanny	Cavanagh, Mary	Clarke, Ann
Brame, Sarah	Brown, Elizabeth	Buckley, Susan Edwards	Byrne, Ann	Cannon, Elizabeth	Cavannah, Mary	Clarke, Catherine
Brammer, Ann	Brown, Elizabeth	Budgell, Mary	Byrne, Anne	Cannon, Elizabeth	Cavannah, Mary	Clarke, Catherine
Brannon, Ann	Brown, Elizabeth	Bull, Elizabeth	Byrne, Catharine	Capel, Elizabeth	Cawson, Mary	Clarke, Catherine
Brannon, Mary	Brown, Elizabeth	Bullinger, Catherine	Byrne, Catherine	Capel, Jane	Cawson, Mary	Clarke, Eliza
Bray, Jane	Brown, Elizabeth	Bumpstead, Elizabeth	Byrne, Catherine	Capel, Jane	Cayle, Anne	Clarke, Eliza
Bree, Sarah	Brown, Elizabeth	Burgess, Fanny	Byrne, Margaret	Capenhurst, Mary Ann	Cefender, Jane	Clarke, Eliza
Breen, Mary	Brown, Ellen	Burgess, Fanny	Byrne, Margaret	Carbery, Mary Ann	Chaddock, Sarah	Clarke, Elizabeth
Brennan, Ann	Brown, Euphemia	Burgess, Hannah	Byrne, Mary	Carbery, Mary Ann	Challis, Mary	Clarke, Margaret
Brennan, Bridget	Brown, Fanny	Burgess, Hannah	Byrne, Mary	Card, Rebecca	Chalmers, Mary	Clarke, Maria
Brian, Caroline	Brown, Hannah	Burgess, Martha	Byrne, Mary	Cardin, Mary Ann	Chamberlain, Hannah	Clarke, Mary Ann
Brian, Honor	Brown, Hannah	Burgess, Susanah	Byrnes, Catherine	Cardin, Mary Ann	Chamberlain, Hannah	Clarke, Mary Ann
Briant, Maria	Brown, Harriett	Hackworthy	Bywater, Sarah Alice	Carlisle, Elizabeth	Chamberlain, Mary Ann	Clarke, Mary Ann
Briant, Mary	Brown, Jane	Burk, Sarah	Bywater, Sophia	Carlton, Grace	Chamberlain, Selina	Clarke, Sarah
Brickell, Sarah	Brown, Jane	Burke, Bridget	Cahill, Anne	Carmichael, Janet	Chamberlain, Rachel	Clarkson, Ann
Brien, Ellen	Brown, Janet	Burke, Dorah	Cain, Ann	Carmody, Mary	Chamberlain, Rachel	Clay, Mary
Brien, Johanna	Brown, Jean	Burke, Margaret	Cairns, Mary Ann	Carmody, Mary	Carmody, Elizabeth	Clayton, Ann
Brien, Mary	Brown, Margaret	Burke, Margaret	Cairns, Nancy	Carmody, Mary	Carmody, Mary	Clayton, Dorothy
Brien, Mary	Brown, Margaret	Burke, Mary	Cairny, Agnes	Carmody, Mary	Carney, Bridget	Clayton, Eliza
Brierly, Mary	Brown, Margaret	Burke, Mary	Caldwell, Anne	Carney, Bridget	Carpenter, Betsey	Clayton, Elizabeth
Brim, Ann	Brown, Margaret	Burke, Mary	Cale, Elizabeth	Carpenter, Mary Ann	Chapman, Amelia	Clayton, Mary
Brimley, Elizabeth	Brown, Margaret	Burke, Mary			Chapman, Amelia	Clayton, Susanna

Clayworth, Jane	Connell, Bridget	Cooper, Ann	Crawshaw, Sarah	Daley, Bridget	Davis, Mary	Dewsnap, Elizabeth
Cleaveland, Elizabeth	Connell, Johanna	Cooper, Jean	Crawshaw, Sarah	Daley, Elizabeth	Davis, Mary	Diamond, Elizabeth
Clement, Harriett	Connell, Louisa	Cooper, Margaret	Crawshaw, Sarah	Daley, Elizabeth	Davis, Mary	Dibble, Mary
Clements, Eliza	Connell, Margaret	Cooper, Mary	Cray, Caroline	Daley, Elizabeth	Davis, Mary	Dichfield, Mary
Clements, Eliza	Connell, Margaret	Cooper, Mary	Creamer, Ann	Daley, Honora	Davis, Mary	Dick, Margaret
Clements, Lucy	Connell, Mary	Cooper, Mary	Crebbin, Catherine	Daley, Winefred	Davis, Mary	Dicker, Mary
Clements, Mary Ann	Connell, Mary	Cooper, Sarah	Creed, Mary	Dalley, Ann	Davis, Mary	Dickins, Ann
Clements, Mary Ann	Connellan, Ellen	Cooper, Sarah	Cress, Maria	Dalton, Ally	Davis, Mary	Dickins, Ann
Clements, Sarah	Connolly, Elizabeth	Cooper, Sarah	Crew, Frances	Dalton, Ally	Davis, Mary	Dickinson, Ann
Clements, Sarah	Connolly, Mary	Coote, Catherine	Crisp, Emma	Daly, Elizabeth	Davis, Mary	Dickinson, Ann
Clements, Sarah	Connolly, Mary	Coote, Catherine	Croft, Ann	Daly, Elizabeth	Davis, Mary	Dickson, Jean
Clerk, Mary Ann	Connolly, Mary	Coote, Maria	Crofton, Ann	Daly, Julia	Davis, Mary Ann	Dickson, Margaret
Clewlow, Hannah	Connen, Sarah	Coote, Maria	Crofts, Ann	Daly, Maria	Davis, Mary Ann	Diggie, Mary
Cliffe, Mary	Connett, Sarah	Coote, Maria	Crompton, Mary	Danger, Sarah	Davis, Mary Ann	Dillon, Mary Ann
Clifford, Eliza	Connolly, Ann	Copden, Jane	Cronin, Margaret	Daniel, Mary	Davis, Mary Ann	Dimond, Mary Ann
Clifford, Ellen	Connolly, Catherine	Cope, Sarah	Crooks, Mary Ann	Darby, Maria	Davis, Rosina	Disney, Elizabeth
Clifford, Ellen	Connolly, Maria	Copeland, Dianah	Crosbie, Agnes	Darcy, Bridgett	Davis, Sarah	Ditchfield, Jane
Clifford, Ellen	Connor, Bridget	Copley, Mary	Cross, Hannah	Darke, Mary Ann	Davis, Sarah	Diturn, Ann
Clifford, Mary	Connor, Bridget	Copley, Sarah	Cross, Sarah	Darter, Ann	Davis, Sarah	Divine, Rachel
Clifford, Mary	Connor, Catharine	Copping, Mary	Crosscomb, Martha	Darter, Ann	Davis, Sarah	Dix, Elizabeth
Clifford, Mary	Connor, Catharine	Corbet, Margaret	Crosscomb, Sarah	Davenport, Ann	Davis, Sarah	Dixon, Ann
Clifford, Mary	Connor, Catherine	Corbet, Margaret	Crouch, Elizabeth	Davenport, Ann	Davis, Sarah	Dixon, Elizabeth
Clive, Susan	Connor, Eliza	Corbett, Margaret	Crowdy, Mary	Davenport, Sarah	Davison, Elizabeth	Dixon, Ellen
Clough, Mary	Connor, Eliza	Corbett, Mary	Crowe, Elizabeth	Davey, Dinah	Dawes, Elizabeth	Dixon, Ellen
Cochran, Margaret	Connor, Ellen	Corbyn, Mary	Crowley, Margaret	Davey, Harriet	Dawson, Catherine	Dixon, Isabella
Cochrane, Margaret	Connor, Ellen	Corcoran, Anne	Cruickshanks,	Davidson, Agnes	Day, Ann	Dixon, Mary
Cockburn, Margaret	Connor, Esther	Corcoran, Honora	Isabell	Davidson, Agnes	Day, Ann	Dixon, Mary Ann
Cockburn, Sarah	Connor, Margaret	Cordwell, Ann	Cruise, Margaret	Davidson, Eliza	Day, Elizabeth	Dixon, Sarah Ann
Cockrane, Mary Ann	Connor, Margaret	Corfield, Susanna	CuDmore, Charlotte	Davidson, Rachael	Day, Margaret	Dobie, Mary
Coddington,	Connor, Margaret	Corfield, Susanna	Cuff, Jane	Davidson, Rachael	Day, Mary	Dobson, Jane
Catherine	Connor, Mary	Cornelius, Mary	Cull, Rebecca	Davies, Ann	Daynes, Rebecca	Docherty, Mary
Coffee, Catherine	Connor, Mary	Corr, Susan	Cullen, Mary	Davies, Ann	De la Constantine,	Docherty, Sarah
Coffee, Mary	Connor, Mary	Cosgrove,	Cullinane, Catherine	Davies, Ann	Lucilia	Dockerty, Mary
Coghlan, Elizabeth	Connor, Mary	Catherine	Cullinane, Catherine	Davies, Charlotte	De la Constantine,	Dockerty, Sarah
Cokeley, Hannah	Connor, Mary	Cosgrove,	Cullingford, Mary	Davies, Charlotte	Lucilia	Dodd, Ann
Cole, Mary Ann	Connor, Mary Ann	Catherine	Cully, Mary	Davies, Eliza	De la Constantine,	Dodd, Emma
Cole, Susan	Connors, Ellen	Costar, Ann	Cully, Mary	Davies, Elizabeth	Lucilia	Dodd, Martha
Coleman, Elizabeth	Connors, Ellen	Costello, Johanna	Cumming, Jean	Davies, Grace	Dea, Mary	Dodd, Mary
Coleman, Frances	Connors, Honora	Costello, Margarett	Cumming,	Davies, Margaret	Deacon, Caroline	Dodd, Mary
Coleman, Margaret	Connors, Margaret	Costello, Mary	Mary Ann	Davies, Mary	Dealey, Margaret	Dodds, Margaret
Collett, Mary	Connors, Mary	Costelloe, Mary	Cummings, Mary	Davies, Mary	Dean, Ann	Dods, Catherine
Collingwood, Ann	Connors, Mary	Costelloe, Mary	Cummins, Elizabeth	Davies, Mary	Dean, Ann	Dogherty, Agnes
Collins, Ann	Conoway, Mary	Costelloe, Mary	Cummins, Mary	Davies, Mary Ann	Dean, Ellen	Dogherty, Margaret
Collins, Ann	Conroy, Isabella	Cottar, Mary	Cunningham, Ann	Davies, Mary Ann	Dean, Ellen	Dogherty, Mary
Collins, Catherine	Conroy, Mary Ann	Cottar, Mary	Cunningham,	Davies, Sarah	Dean, Mary Ann	Dogherty, Rose
Collins, Catherine	Conry, Jane	Cottar, Mary	Caroline	Davin, Bridget	Deans, Eliza	Dogherty, Sarah
Collins, Charlotte	Conry, Jane	Cottee, Hannah	Cunningham,	Davin, Bridget	Deans, Eliza	Dolan, Bridget
Collins, Eliza	Conway, Catharine	Cottee, Hannah	Catherine	Davis, Ann	Deffy, Jane	Dolbear, Mary
Collins, Elizabeth	Conway, Ellen	Cotter, Ellen	Cunningham,	Davis, Ann	Delaney, Bridget	Dollans, Margaret
Collins, Ellen	Conway, Fanny	Cotter, Ellen	Hannah	Davis, Ann	Delaney, Ellen	Dollan, Sarah
Collins, Ellen	Conway, Johanna	Cotter, Ellen	Cunningham, Mary	Davis, Ann	Delany, Mary	Dollison, Mary
Collins, Jane	Conway, Mary	Cotter, Hanna	Cunningham, Mary	Davis, Ann	Dempsey, Ellen	Dollison, Mary
Collins, Judy	Conyngnam, Mary	Coughlan, Mary	Curd, Ann	Davis, Ann	Dempsey, Ellen	Donagher, Honora
Collins, Katherine	Coogan, Mary	Coupland, Hannah	Curle, Helen	Davis, Ann	Dempsey, Mary Ann	Donald, Agnes
Collins, Margaret	Cook, Ann	Cousins, Emma	Curran, Catherine	Davis, Ann	Dempsey, Rose	Donald, Mary
Collins, Mary	Cook, Ann	Cousins, Harriet	Curran, Catherine	Davis, Anne	Denham, Hannah	Donally, Mary
Collins, Mary	Cook, Catherine	Coventry, Ann	Curran, Peggy	Davis, Caroline	Dennerly, Sarah	Donally, Mary
Collins, Sarah	Cook, Jane	Coventry, Elizabeth	Currie, Ann	Davis, Eliza	Denny, Elizabeth	Donavan, Anne
Collins, Sarah	Cook, Mary	Cowie, Barbara	Curry, Catharine	Davis, Eliza	Denny, Mary	Donechie, Sally
Collins, Sarah	Cook, Mary	Crabtree, Elizabeth	Curry, Catharine	Davis, Eliza	Denny, Norah	Donnelly, Ann
Collis, Ann	Cook, Mary	Cragg, Mary	Curtis, Anna	Davis, Eliza	Develin, Margaret	Donnelly, Ann
Collis, Hannah	Cook, Mary Ann	Craig, Jane	Curtis, Eleanor	Davis, Elizabeth	Develing, Ann	Donnelly, Ann
Collister, Maria	Cook, Phillis	Craig, Jean	Curtis, Eleanor	Davis, Elizabeth	Devereux, Jane	Donnelly, Eleanor
Collyer, Susan	Cook, Susannah	Cramp, Julia Maria	Curtis, Mary	Davis, Elizabeth	Devereux, Mary	Donnelly, Eleanor
Colman, Margaret	Cook, Susannah	Crawford, Ann	Curtis, Susan	Davis, Elizabeth	Devereux, Mary	Donnolly, Mary
Colvin, Catherine	Cooke, Elizabeth	Crawford, Ann	Cusack, Margaret	Davis, Elizabeth	Devereux, Mary	Donnolly, Mary
Compstick,	Cooke, Jane	Crawford, Ann	Cuthbert, Margaret	Davis, Frances	Devey, Mary Anne	Donnovan, Margaret
Margaret	Cooke, Sarah	Crawford, Elizabeth	Cutt, Elizabeth	Davis, Harriet	Devine, Mary	Donochue, Mary
Compstick,	Cooley, Ann	Crawford, Jane	Daking, Hannah	Davis, Harriet	Devine, Mary	Donoghue,
Margaret	Cooley, Mary	Crawford, Jane	Daking, Hannah	Davis, Jane	Devine, Mary	Elizabeth
Conn, Bridget	Coombe, Mary Ann	Crawford, Letitia	Dale, Elizabeth	Davis, Jane	Devine, Sarah	Donohoe, Margaret
Connarty, Mary	Coombs, Mary	Crawford, Mary	Dale, Louisa	Davis, Louisa	Dewar, Isabella	Donohue, Witty
Conneely, Catherine	Coombs, Sarah	Crawley, Ann	Dale, Margaret	Davis, Louisa	Dewar, Isabella	Donovan, Ellen
Connell, Agnes	Coombs,	Crawley, Ann	Dawley, Ann	Davis, Mary	Dewhirst, Fanny	Donovan, Isabella
Connell, Ann	Thomasine	Crawley, Julia	Daley, Ann	Davis, Mary	Dewsbury, Ann	Donovan, Margaret

Donovan, Margaret	Duncan, Ann	Edwards, Susan	Fairley, Ellen	Finn, Bridget	Forrest, Janet	Gardiner, Harriet
Donovan, Mary	Duncan, Ann	Edwick, Mary Ann	Fairs, Mary	Finnegan, Mary	Forrest, Mary Ann	Gardner, Ann
Donovan, Mary	Duncan, Ann	Edyvean, Millicent	Falconer, Janet	Fisher, Ann	Forrest, Robina	Gardner, Janet
Donovan, Mary	Duncan, Ann	Effingham, Ann	Falls, Margaret	Fisher, Ann	Forster, Elizabeth	Gardner, Janet
Donovan, Mary Ann	Duncan, Helen	Egan, Elizabeth	Family Name,	Fisher, Eliza	Forster, Elizabeth	Gardner, Janet
Doogan, Catherine	Dundas, Charlotte	Egan, Mary	Given Name	Fisher, Elizabeth	Forster, Jane	Garevan, Mary
Doogan, Margaret	Dungworth,	Elam, Sarah	Family Name,	Fisher, Margaret	Forster, Jane	Garner, Mary
Dooley, Mary	Deborah	Eldred, Rebecca	Given Name	Fisher, Mary	Forsyth, Ann	Garratt, Ellen
Dooley, Mary	Dunlop, Ann	Elemore, Elizabeth	Family Name,	Fisher, Mary	Forsyth, Catherine	Garratt, Ellen
Dooling, Bridget	Dunlop, Ann	Elemore, Elizabeth	Given Name	Fisher, Susannah	Forward, Hannah	Garratt, Ellen
Dore, Eliza	Dunlop, Elisa	Ellard, Jane	Family Name,	Fitton, Catherine	Foster, Charlotte	Garrett, Ann
Dougherty, Margaret	Dunmore, Rebecca	Ellerbeck, Elizabeth	Given Name	Fitzgerald, Ann	Foster, Mary	Garrett, Sarah
Douglas, Ann	Dunn, Martha	Ellerbeck, Elizabeth	Fanning, Mary	Fitzgerald, Caroline	Foster, Mary Ann	Garrett, Sarah
Douglas, Ann	Dunn, Mary	Elliker, Ann	Farley, Mary	Fitzgerald,	Foster, Rebecca	Garrett, Sarah
Douglas, Ann	Dunn, Mary	Elliott, Catherine	Farley, Mary	Catherine	Foster, Susan	Garrick, Margaret
Douglas, Charlotte	Dunn, Mary Ann	Elliott, Ellen	Farley, Mary Ann	Fitzgerald,	Foster, Susan	Garside, Jane
Douglas, Jane	Dunne, Elisa	Elliott, Mary	Farmer, Mary	Catherine	Foster, Susanna	Gates, Catherine
Douglas, Mary Ann	Dunne, Elisa	Elliott, Mary	Farn, Letitia	Fitzgerald, Eliza	Foundling,	Gates, Mary Ann
Douglas, Sarah	Dunne, Elisa	Ellis, Ann	Farquar, Isabella	Fitzgerald, Ellen	Susannah Friday	Gatley, Mary Ann
Doveton, Mary	Dunne, Mary	Ellis, Elizabeth	Farquhardson,	Fitzgerald, Ellen	Fowler, Jane	Gauld, Elizabeth
Dow, Agnes	Dunnidge, Sarah	Ellis, Elizabeth	Elizabeth	Fitzgerald, Margaret	Fox, Mary	Gavilin, Rosina
Dowding, Mary	Dunsmure, Mary	Ellis, Elizabeth	Farrall, Mary	Fitzgerald, Margaret	Fox, Sarah	Gavilin, Rosina
Dowell, Mary Ann	Durgess, Ann	Ellis, Margaret	Farrell, Ann	Fitzgerald, Mary	Fox, Sarah	Gavilin, Rosina
Dowell, Mary Ann	Dury, Ann	Elphinstone,	Farrell, Ann	Fitzgerald, Susan	Foxley, Lydia	Geddes, Jean
Dowland, Alice	Dutton, Jane	Elizabeth	Farrell, Ann	Fitzjohn, Maria	Fraine, Ann	Gee, Eliza
Dowling, Eliza	Dwyer, Charlotte	Elsom, Frances	Farrell, Ann	Fitzjohn, Maria	Francis, Sarah	Gell, Jane
Dowling, Eliza	Dwyer, Ellen	Elton, Mary	Farrell, Ann	Fitzmaurice,	Franklin, Mary Ann	Gentles, Rebecca
Dowling, Eliza	Dwyer, Ellen	Emans, Charlotte	Farrell, Ann	Caroline	Franklin, Mary Ann	Gentles, Rebecca
Dowling, Maria	Dwyer, Julia	Emery, Hester	Farrell, Ellen	Fitzpatrick,	Franklyn, Elizabeth	George, Arpaha
Dowling, Mary	Dwyer, Margaret	Emery, Margaret	Farrell, Judith	Margaret	Franks, Sarah	George, Janet
Dowling, Mary	Dwyer, Margaret	Emery, Sarah	Farrell, Judith	Fitzpatrick, Mary	Fraser, Ann	George, Julia
Dowling, Mary	Dwyer, Margaret	Emilton, Catherine	Farrington,	Fitzpatrick, Sophia	Fraser, Barbara	George, Julia
Downing, Elizabeth	Dwyer, Margaret	Emmerson,	Catherine	Fitzpatrick, Sophia	Fraser, Ellen	Geoy, Caroline
Downs, Mary	Dwyer, Margaret	Elizabeth	Farroll, Mary Ann	Fitzsimmons, Sarah	Fraser, Helen	Gerrard, Elizabeth
Downs, Rebecca	Dyason, Mary Ann	Ennis, Catherine	Farrow, Emma	Flaherty, Eliza	Fraser, Janet	Gibb, Elizabeth
Doyle, Ann	Dyer, Ann	Ennis, Mary	Faulds, Catherine	Flannagan,	Fraser, Mary	Gibb, Elizabeth
Doyle, Bridget	Dyer, Ann	Ennis, Mary	Fay, Ellen	Catherine	Frears, Mary Ann	Gibb, Elizabeth
Doyle, Elizabeth	Dyer, Elizabeth	Enright, Mary	Feakins, Frances	Flannagan,	Freeman, Mary	Gibb, Elizabeth
Doyle, Elizabeth	Dyer, Elizabeth	Enright, Mary	Fear, Ann	Elizabeth	Freeman, Mary Ann	Gibb, Elizabeth
Doyle, Ellen	Dyer, Hannah	Enright, Mary	Fearn, Mary	Fleming, Catherine	Freeman, Sarah	Gibb, Hannah
Doyle, Jane	Dykes, Mary	Envine, Elizabeth	Featherstone,	Fleming, Ellen	Freeman, Sarah	Gibbons, Ann
Doyle, Jane	Earle, Caroline	Erskine, Mary	Susan	Fletcher, Amelia	Freeth, Louisa	Gibbons, Margaret
Doyle, Julia	Earley, Sarah	Eskitt, Jane	Feely, Ann	Fletcher, Ann	French, Lidia	Gibbons, Margaret
Drake, Ann	Easdon, Sarah	Eskitt, Jane	Feely, Margaret	Fletcher, Catherine	French, Sarah	Gibney, Ellen
Drane, Mary Ann	East, Ann	Esteny, Ann	Fell, Frances	Fletcher, Hannah	French, Sarah	Gibson, Ann
DRAPER, Mary Ann	Eastburn, Mary	Eustes, Anastatia	Felton, Ann	Fletcher, Maria	Fretwell, Frances	Gibson, Hannah
Draymin, Elizabeth	Eastwood, Mary	Evans, Amelia	Fenby, Hannah	Fletcher, Phillis	Frew, Ann	Gibson, Honorah
Draymin, Elizabeth	Eaton, Jane	Evans, Ann	Fennelly, Mary	Flinn,	Friend, Charlotte	Gibson, Jane
Driscoll, Honora	Eaton, Mary	Evans, Anne	Fensum, Mary	Catherine Martin	Frost, Eleanor	Gibson, Margaret
Driscoll, Margaret	Eccles, Ann	Evans, Elizabeth	Fenton, Mary	Flint, Elizabeth	Frowd, Mary Ann	Gibson, Mary
Driscoll, Margaret	Eccles, Ann	Evans, Elizabeth	Fenton, Sarah	Flintoff, Ann	Fry, Ann	Gilbiston,
Driscoll, Mary	Eccleston, Ann	Evans, Hannah	Fenton, Sarah	Fobester, Mary Ann	Fry, Ann	Mary Ann
Driscoll, Sarah	Eddison, Jane	Evans, Jane	Fenwick, Catherine	Fobester, Mary Ann	Fuller, Ann	Gilby, Ann
Drover, Elizabeth	Eddison, Jane	Evans, Jane	Ferguson, Christian	Fobester, Mary Ann	Fuller, Jemima	Gilby, Elizabeth
Druce, Elizabeth	Edds, Elizabeth	Evans, Mary	Ferguson, Elizabeth	Foenerty, Bridget	Fulton, Janet	Gilgrass, Ann
Drury, Ann	Edgecombe,	Evans, Mary	Ferguson, Elspeth	Fogarty, Mary	Gabert, Lydia	Gill, Jane
Drury, Louisa	Martha	Evans, Mary	Ferguson, Janet	Fogerty, Johannah	Gaffney, Mary Ann	Gill, Martha
Duckett, Ellen	Edgehill, Ann	Evans, Mary	Ferguson, Margaret	Fogg, Mary	Gahaghan, Anne	Gill, Mary
Duckworth, Mary	Edmonds, Sarah	Evans, Sarah	Ferguson, Mary	Foley, Ann	Gale, Ann	Gill, Mary
Duff, Isabella	Edwards, Ann	Evans, Sarah	Ferguson, Mary	Foley, Margaret	Gale, Catherine	Gill, Mary Ann
Duff, Jane	Edwards, Ann	Evans, Susanna	Ferguson, Sarah	Foley, Mary	Gale, Charlotte	Gillard, Eliza
Duff, Mary	Edwards, Ann	Ewer, Matilda	Ferns, Ann	Forbes, Elizabeth	Gale, Mary	Gillard, Mary
Duffell, Hannah	Edwards, Bridget	Ewington, Mary Ann	Ferreman, Charlotte	Forbes, Jean	Galey, Marianne	Gillard, Mary
Duffey, Catherine	Edwards, Fanny	Ewington, Mary Ann	Ferris, Louisa	Ford, Ann	Gallagher, Ann	Gillespie, Margaret
Duffey, Catherine	Edwards, Hannah	Exley, Lydia	Fiddler, Mary	Ford, Margaret	Galloway, Elizabeth	Gillespie, Mary
Duffie, Margaret	Edwards, Hannah	Eyles, Lydia	Field, Sarah	Ford, Mary	Galvin, Ellen	Gillett, Ann
Duffy, Mary	Edwards, Hannah	Eyles, Hester	Fieldgate, Ann	Ford, Mary	Galway, Martha	Gillingham, Ann
Duffy, Mary	Edwards, Isabella	Eyles, Hester	Fieldgate, Ann	Ford, Mary	Gamble, Ellen	Gillon, Allison
Duffy, Mary	Edwards, Jane	Eyles, Jane Eleanor	Fielding, Elizabeth	Ford, Mary Ann	Gambriil, Susan	Gillon, Margaret
Duggan, Catherine	Edwards, Jane	Fagan, Margaret	Fielding, Ellen	Ford, Sarah	Gannicott, Ann	Gilmour, Agnes
Duggan, Sarah	Edwards, Jane	Fagerty, Jane	Fielding, Mary	Forde, Catherine	Gannon, Peggy	Gilmour, Christiana
Duggan, Sarah	Edwards, Jane	Fahey, Margaret	Fielding, Mary	Forde, Maria	Gardener, Belinda	Gilmour, Elizabeth
Duguid, Mary	Edwards, Margaret	Fairfield, Eliza	Filkin, Elizabeth	Forde, Helen	Gardener, Jane	Girdwood, Mary
Duhig, Margaret	Edwards, Mary Ann	Fairham, Elizabeth	Findon, Mary	Foreman, Rachael	Gardener, Jane	Girling, Charlotte
Dummett, Sarah	Edwards, Mary Ann	Fairhurst, Mary	Finlay, Joan	Forest, Ann	Gardener, Mary	Gittings, Ann

Glasgow, Catherine	Grant, Ann	Grindall, Eleanor	Hammond, Dorothy	Hartwell, Mary	Hendrie, Mary	Hitchin, Maria
Glasgow, Eliza	Grant, Ann	Groaner, Mary Ann	Hammond, Sarah	Harvey, Ann	Henly, Jane	Hoare, Mary
Gleeson, Alice	Grant, Ann	Grover, Mary	Hampson, Ann	Harvey, Ann	Hennessey, Mary	Hobbs, Mary
Gleeson, Bridget	Grant, Catherine	Groves, Charlotte	Hampson, Mary	Harvey, Catherine	Hennessey, Mary	Hodge, Lucy
Gleeson, Bridget	Grant, Catherine	Groves, Mary	Hams, Elizabeth	Harvey, Elizabeth	Hennessey, Johannah	Hodge, Sarah
Gleeson, Bridget	Grant, Grace	Groves, Matilda	Hanby, Mary	Harvey, Isabella	Hennessy, Mary	Hodges, Phoebe
Gleeson, Mary Ann	Grant, Grace	Grundy, Mary	Hancock, Joan	Harvey, Johanna	Henning, Barbara	Hodgin, Sophia
Gleeson, Winifred	Grant, Isabella	Guest, Ruth	Handley, Maria	Harvey, Mary	Henry, Bridget	Hodgson, Margaret
Glenn, Catherine	Grant, Isabella	Guilfoyle, Eliza	Handley, Martha	Harvey, Mary	Henry, Jane	Hogan, Ann
Glenn, Catherine	Grant, Isabella	Gullen, Sarah	Handlon, Mary	Harwood,	Henry, Jane	Hogan, Margaret
Glennard, Catherine	Grant, Margaret	Gunn, Eliza	Haneghan, Mary	Ann Elizabeth	Henrys, Catherine	Holden, Ellen
Glisson, Kitty	Grant, Mary	Gunter, Sarah	Hanley, Mary Ann	Harwood,	Henrys, Catherine	Holden, Martha
Glover, Ann	Grantham, Sophia	Gunyon, Sophia	Hanlon, Ann	Ann Elizabeth	Henrys, Catherine	Holden, Mary
Glover, Frances	Grantham, Sophia	Gurley, Ann	Hanlon, Ann	Harwood, Elizabeth	Henshall, Harriet	Holder, Eliza
Glover, Mary	Gratland, Mary Ann	Gurney, Ellen	Hannath, Mary	Harwood, Elizabeth	Herbert, Hannah	Holder, Margaret
Glover, Mary	Gray, Agnes	Guthrie, Ann	Hanneen, Mary	Harwood, Mary Ann	Heritage, Mary	Holgate, Mary
Goddard, Ann	Gray, Ann	Guthrie, Jane	Hanton, Margaret	Haskins, Sarah	Herly, Charlotte	Holland, Charlotte
Gold, Jane	Gray, Fanny	Guy, Mary	Harbour, Mary Ann	Hassall, Sarah	Heron, Mary	Holland, Charlotte
Gold, Jane	Gray, Margaret	Guy, Mary Ann	Harden, Elizabeth	Hassett , Mary	Herring, Mary	Holland, Eleanor
Goldie, Elizabeth	Gray , Mary	Hackett, Mary	Harding, Ann	Hassett, Mary	Herring, Mary	Holland, Eleanor
Goldsmith, Frances	Gray, Sarah	Hackwood,	Harding, Ann	Haste, Mary Ann	Herwick, Ann	Holland, Ellen
Goldsmith, Frances	Grayson, Mary Ann	Charlotte	Harding, Jane	Hatch, Mary	Herwood, Mary	Holland, Jane
Goldspring,	Gready, Bridget	Hackwood,	Harding, Mary	Hatfield, Hannah	Hesketh, Ellen	Holland, Mary
Elizabeth	Gready, Johanna	Charlotte	Hardman, Hannah	Hatton, Mary	Hesketh, Ellen	Holland, Susannah
Gollop, Ann Broad	Greaves, Mary Ann	Haddy, Catherine	Harewood, Eliza	Hatton, Mary Ann	Hester, Hannah	Hollands, Elizabeth
Goode, Ann	Green, Ann	Hadfield, Ann	Harley, Margaret	Hawkhead,	Hester, Matilda	Hollands, Elizabeth
Goodhall, Helen	Green, Ann	Hadnell, Catherine	Harman, Charlotte	Christiana	Hestian, Margaret	Holley, Sarah
Goodhall, Prudence	Green, Ann	Hagan, Mary	Harman, Charlotte	Hawkins, Elizabeth	Hewitt, Ann	Holley, Sarah
Goodier, Ann	Green, Ann	Haggerty, Mary	Harmer, Elizabeth	Hawkins, Elizabeth	Hewitt, Mary	Holliday, Frances
Gooding, Phoebe	Green, Ann	Hague, Harriet	Harnett, Mary	Hawkins, Elizabeth	Heymer, Sarah	Hollings, Mary
Goodwin, Jane	Green, Catherine	Haid, Eliza	Harney, Clarissa	Hawkins, Hannah	Hibbert, Harriet	Hollins, Eliza
Goodwin, Mary Ann	Green, Catherine	Haid, Eliza	Harper, Georgiana	Hawkins, Mary Ann	Hibbs, Ann	Hollyer, Elizabeth
Gordon, Anne	Green, Elizabeth	Haig, Agnes	Harper, Georgiana	Hawthorn, Mary	Hicks, Ann	Holmes, Ann
Gordon, Barbara	Green, Elizabeth	Haigh, Mary	Harper, Mary	Hay, Hannah	Hicks, Jane	Holmes, Elizabeth
Gordon, Ellen	Green, Elizabeth	Hailes, Catherine	Harper, Phoebe Ann	Hayball, Amelia	Hicks, Mary	Holmes, Esther
Gordon, Jane	Green, Frances	Haines, Bridget	Harrigan, Elizabeth	Hayes, Catherine	Hide, Isabella	Holmes, Esther
Gordon, Jane	Green, Jane	Haines, Margaret	Harrington, Mary	Hayes, Elizabeth	Hider, Elizabeth	Holmes, Rachel
Gordon, Margaret	Green, Jane	Haines, Margaret	Harris, Ann	Hayes, Margaret	Higgins, Bridget	Holmes, Rachel
Gordon, Margaret	Green, Margaret	Haines, Margaret	Harris, Anne	Hayes, Mary	Higgins, Bridget	Holmes, Rachel
Gordon, Mary	Green, Maria	Haines, Mary	Harris, Bridget	Hayes, Mary	Higgins, Catherine	Honour, Elizabeth
Gordon, Sarah	Green, Mary	Haines, Mary	Harris, Caroline	Hayes, Matilda	Higgins, Mary	Hood, Mary
Gore, Elizabeth	Green, Mary	Hainsworth, Sarah	Harris, Christina	Haynes, Ann	Hiho, Hannah	Hoone, Mary Ann
Gorman, Ellen	Green, Mary	Haldane, Mary Ann	Harris, Elizabeth	Haynes, Elizabeth	Hill, Ann	Hopewell, Ann
Gorman, Hannah	Green, Mary Ann	Hale, Ann	Harris, Jane	Hays, Honora	Hill, Ann	Hopkins, Elizabeth
Gorman, Louisa	Green, Mary Ann	Hale, Sarah	Harris, Jane	Haywood, Mary	Hill, Bridget	Hopkins, Frances
Goslin, Louisa	Green, Mary Ann	Hale, Sarah	Harris, Louisa	Hazel, Mary Ann	Hill, Hannah	Hopper, Elizabeth
Gough, Ann	Green, Sarah	Haley, Mary Ann	Harris, Mary	Hazlehurst, Grace	Hill, Harriet	Hopper, Elizabeth
Gough, Ann	Green, Susan	Hall, Agnes	Harris, Mary	Headspeth, Ann	Hill, Margaret	Horan, Ann
Gould, Elizabeth	Greenalgh, Ellen	Hall, Ann Tabitha	Harris, Mary Ann	Headspeth, Ann	Hill, Margaret	Hore, Elizabeth
Gould, Elizabeth	Greensmith, Mary	Hall, Elizabeth	Harris, Mary Ann	Heald, Betsey	Hill, Margaret	Horgan, Ellen
Gould, Mary	Greensmith, Sarah	Hall, Elizabeth	Harris, Norah	Heales, Martha	Hill, Martha	Horn, Catherine
Gould, Mary	Greer, Ann	Hall, Henrietta Maria	Harris, Ruth	Healey, Catherine	Hill, Martha	Horn, Mary
Gould, Mary	Greer, Ann	Hall, Mary	Harris, Susan	Heally, Sarah	Hill, Mary	Horne, Ann
Goulding, Elizabeth	Gregory, Grace	Hall, Mary	Harrison, Elizabeth	Heap, Margaret	Hill, Mary	Horne, Ann
Goulding, Mary	Greig, Isobel	Hall, Mary Ann	Harrison, Elizabeth	Heath, Ann	Hill, Rosannah	Horne, Sarah
Goulding, Mary Ann	Gribben, Mary	Hall, Rebecca	Harrison, Elizabeth	Heath, Hannah	Hill, Sarah	Hornet, Mary
Goulding, Mary Ann	Griffin, Catherine	Hall, Rebecca	Harrison, Elizabeth	Heath, Priscilla	Heath, Eliza	Hornet, Mary
Goves, Ellen	Griffin, Mary	Hall, Rebecca	Harrison, Elizabeth	Heaton, Ann	Hillary, Eliza	Hornet, Mary
Gowans, Jemima	Griffin, Mary	Hall, Sarah	Harrison, Mary Ann	Hebbron, Margaret	Hilligan, Mary	Hornsey, Sarah
Gower, Ann	Griffith, Alice	Hall, Sarah	Harrison, Mary Ann	Hedsman, Amelia	Hills, Ann Elizabeth	Horrocks, Ann
Grady, Catherine	Griffith, Jane	Halloran, Bridget	Harrison, Mary Ann	Heffernan, Ellen	Hills, Caroline	Horsnick, Caroline
Grady, Honora	Griffith, Jane	Halloran, Bridget	Harrison, Sarah	Hegans, Mary	Hills, Isabella	Horton, Rachael
Grady, Mary	Griffith, Jane	Halsam, Elizabeth	Harrop, Catherine	Heinbury, Grace	Hilton, Elizabeth	Hotchkins, Sinphia
Graham, Ann	Griffith, Lowry	Halsam, Elizabeth	Harrop, Catherine	Heley, Emma	Hinchcliffe, Mary	Houghton, Jane
Graham, Elizabeth	Griffiths, Ann	Halstead, Margaret	Hart, Ann	Heling, Margaret	Hinchey, Ellen	Houstan, Janet
Graham, Elizabeth	Griffiths, Anne	Halton, Jane	Hart, Dinah	Helps, Mary	Hinchey, Margaret	Houston, Elizabeth
Graham, Ellen	Griffiths, Bridget	Hambleton, Mary	Hart, Ellen	Hems, Mary	Hines, Lydia	Houston, Elizabeth
Graham, Grace	Griffiths, Elizabeth	Hamel, Susan	Hart, Lydia	Henderson,	Hines, Lydia	Howard, Bridget
Graham, Jane	Griffiths, Elizabeth	Hamilton, Ann	Hart, Margaret	Christian	Hines, Lydia	Howard, Elizabeth
Graham, Louisa	Griffiths, Ellen	Hamilton, Ann	Hart, Margaret	Henderson, Helen	Hines, Mary	Howard, Elizabeth
Graham, Margaret	Griffiths, Jane	Hamilton, Ann	Hart, Mary	Henderson, Isabella	Hiscock,	Howard, Elizabeth
Graham, Margaret	Griffiths, Martha	Hamilton, Elizabeth	Hart, Mary	Henderson, Jane	Mary Hester	Howard, Ellen
Graham, Mary	Griffiths, Martha	Hamilton, Margaret	Hart, Mary	Henderson, Mary	Hiscox, Rebecca	Howard, Hannah
Grant, Ann	Griffiths, Mary	Hamilton, Mary	Hartigan, Johanna	Henderson, Mary	Hitchcock, Maria	Howard, Jane
Grant, Ann	Griffiths, Sarah	Hamilton, Sarah	Hartnett, Mary	Hendon, Jane	Hitchens, Elizabeth	Howard, Margaret

Lewis, Caroline	Lowden, Elizabeth	Madden, Mary	Marshall, Maria	McCart, Janet	McGilligan,	McLacklan,
Lewis, Eleanor	Lowes, Jane	Madigan, Mary	Marshall, Mary	McCarthy, Ellen	Mary Ann	Rosanna
Lewis, Eleanor	Lowndes, Sarah	Magee, Margaret	Marshall, Priscilla	McCarthy, Martha	McGilligan,	McLain, Elizabeth
Lewis, Elizabeth	Lowrie, Agnes	Magee, Margaret	Marshall, Sophia	McCarthy, Mary	Mary Ann	McLane, Jane
Lewis, Elizabeth	Lowry, Catherine	Magee, Mary Ann	Martin, Ann	McCarthy, Mary	McGonigle,	McLaren, Jane
Lewis, Jane	Lowry, Catherine	Magenniss,	Martin, Ann	McCartney,	Catherine	McLaren, Margaret
Lewis, Mary	Lownton, Jane	Margaret	Martin, Ann	Margaret	McGovern, Rose	McLaren, Martha
Lewis, Mary	Loy, Mary	Maggs, Sarah	Martin, Catharine	McCarty, Ellen	McGovern, Rose	McLaren, Mary Ann
Lewis, Mary	Loyd, Mary	Maginnis, Catherine	Martin, Catherine	McCarty, Mary Ann	McGowan, Ann	McLauchlan, Jane
Lewis, Mary Ann	Lucas, Ann	Maguire, Bell	Martin, Eliza	McCauley, Margaret	McGrath, Hannah	McLauChlan, Mary
Lewis, Rachel	Lucas, Carolina Ann	Maguire, Bell	Martin, Elizabeth	McClewer, Elizabeth	McGregor, Agnes	McLauChlin, Mary
Leyne, Mary	Lucas, Martha	Maguire, Bell	Martin, Maria	McClure, Elspeth	McGregor, Betty	McLaughlin, Sarah
Liddell, Elizabeth	Lucas, Sarah	Maguire, Catherine	Martin, Maria	McConchie,	McGregor, Betty	McLawrin, Mary
Lightharness, Amelia	Lucy, Caroline	Maguire, Sarah Ann	Martin, Mary	Elizabeth	McGregor, Jean	McLead, Janet
Lilley, Catherine	Lugg, Ann	Maguire, Sarah Ann	Martin, Mary	McConnell,	McGregor, Margaret	McLeand, Isabella
Limming, Ann	Lugg, Ann	Maher, Anne	Martin, Sarah	Margaret	McGregor, Mary	McLean, Jane
Linam, Margaret	Lugg, Maria	Mahoney, Anne	Martin, Sarah	McCormack, Helen	McGrigor, Mary	McLean, Janet
Lindsay, Margaret	Lund, Elizabeth	Mahoney, Anne	Marton, Frances	McCormick, Mary	McGuire, Margaret	McLean, Jean
Lindsay, Mary	Lunt, Alice	Mahoney, Julia	Marvin, Sarah	McCoy, Judith	McGuire, Mary Ann	McLean, Jean
Lines, Ann	Lunt, Alice	Mahoney, Mary	Mason, Caroline	McCrea, Janet	McGunnigall, Grace	McLean, Margaret
Linford, Phillis	Lush, Prudence	Mahony, Mary	Mason, Elizabeth	McCrine, Catherine	McGurdie, Jane	McLean, Mary
Linford, Phillis	Lyden, Ellen	Mahony, Mary	Mason, Jane	McCue, Esther	McGurk, Agnes	McLean, Mary
Linforth, Elizabeth	Lyhane, Joanna	Main, Margaret	Mason, Margaret	McDairmid, Letitia	McHenry, Bridget	McLean, Mary
Linforth, Elizabeth	Lynch, Catherine	Maines, Rosanna	Mason,	McDairmid, Letitia	McHenry, Ellen	McLeish, Elizabeth
Linforth, Elizabeth	Lynch, Catherine	Maise, Maria	Mary Stewart	McDermott,	McIlhenny, Margaret	McLeish, Janet
Linn, Kitty Anne	Lynch, Catherine	Maitland, Catherine	Mason, Sarah	Margaret	McInerhenry,	McLeish, Mary Ann
Linn, Kitty Anne	Lynch, Fanny	Maitland, Margaret	Masters, Eliza	McDonald, Agnes	Honora	McLeod, Agnes
Linsay, Mary Ann	Lynch, Johanna	Makin, Elizabeth	Mather, Margaret	McDonald, Ann	McInerhenry,	McLeod, Ann
Linton, Catherine	Lynch, Mary	Makin, Elizabeth	Mathers, Hannah	McDonald, Ann	Honora	McLeod, Christina
Lippett, Mary Ann	Lynch, Mary	Makin, Martha	Matheson, Mary	McDonald, Ann	McInerhenry,	McLeod, Margaret
Liston, Catherine	Lynch, Mary	Malcolm, Jean	Mathies, Susan	McDonald,	Honora	McLeod, Mary
Litchfield, Sarah	Lynes, Esther	Malcolm, Jean	Matthew, Ann	Catherine	McInnes, Elizabeth	McLeod, Mary
Little, Mary	Lynes, Esther	Malhomme,	Matthews, Ann	McDonald,	McInnes, Flora	McLemont, Jean
Little, Mary	Lyon, Eliza	Emme Felicite	Matthews, Ann	Catherine	McIntosh, Agnes	McLoughlen,
Little, Mary Ann	Lyon, Mary	Gabrielle	Matthews, Esther	McDonald,	McIntosh, Charlotte	Catherine
Littlewood, Emma	Lyon, Mary Ann	Chardonnez	Matthews, Harriet	Catherine	McIntosh, Helen	McMahon, Ann
Livingings, Mary	Lyons, Catherine	Malia, Margaret	Matthews, Margaret	McDonald,	McIntosh, Mary Ann	McMahon,
Livingston, Helen	Lyons, Mary	Malin, Ellen	Matthews, Mary	Catherine	McIntyre, Catherine	Catherine
Livingstone, Ann	Lythgowe, Sarah	Mallam, Mary Ann	Maude, Hannah	McDonald,	McIntyre, Esther	McMahon, Mary
Livingstone, Ann	Macallister,	Mallett, Emmerly	Maughan, Elizabeth	Catherine	McIntyre, Euphemia	McMahon, Mary
Livingstone, Ann	Margaret	Malloy, Margaret	Maunder, Mary	McDonald,	McIntyre, Mary	McMaster, Isabella
Lloyd, Ann	Macallister,	Malone, Ellen	Maxwell, Mary	Catherine	McIntyre, Mary	McMillan, Agnes
Lloyd, Charlotte	Margaret	Maloney, Ann	Maxwell, Mary	McDonald,	McInulty, Elizabeth	McMillan, Grizel
Lloyd, Emma	Macalrouth, Mary	Maloney, Ann	Maynard, Ann	Christian	McIvot, Jean	McMillan, Isabella
Lloyd, Hannah	Macavoy, Julia	Maloney, Mary	Maynard, Ann	McDonald, Eliza	McKay, Agnes	McMillan, Jean
Lloyd, Margaret	MacCartney, Jane	Malony, Ellen	Maynard, Sarah	McDonald,	McKay, Catherine	McMillan, Mary
Lloyd, Mary Ann	MacCarty, Ann	Malony, Ellen	Mayne, Elizabeth	Elizabeth	McKay, Catherine	McMillan, Mary
Loague, Jane	Macdermed, Mary	Manclark, Catherine	Mayne, Elizabeth	McDonald, Janet	McKay, Flora	McMullan, Sarah
Loague, Jane	McDonald, Ann	Mann, Harriet	Mayne, Mary	McDonald, Janet	McKay, Helen	McNamara, Bridget
Loague, Jane	McDonald, Jane	Manners, Harriet	McAdam, Mary	McDonald, Jean	McKay, Helen	McNamara, Bridget
Lobb, Mary	Macdonald, Mary	Manners, Susannah	McAleer, Catherine	McDonald, Lydia	McKay, Helen	McNamara,
Lock, Eliza	Maddowell,	Mannion, Ann	Mcallister, Mary Ann	McDonald, Margaret	McKay, Isabella	Margaret
Lock, Elizabeth	Rosannah	Mansfield, Sarah	McAnaspy,	McDonald, Margaret	McKechnie, Janet	McNamara, Mary
Lockyer, Jane	Mace, Rebecca Ann	Maren, Mary	Catherine	McDonald, Mary	McKechnie, Sarah	McNamara, Mary
Lockyer, Phillis	Macgee, Ann	Margetson, Mary	McAndrew, Mary	McDonald, Mary	McKenna, Ann	McNamara, Mary
Loder, Mary Ann	Macgoverin, Mary	Marks, Ellen	McArdle, Susan	McDonald,	McKenna, Ann	McNeil, Mary
Logan, Grace	Macinnes, Mary	Marland, Emma	McArdle, Susan	Mary Ann	McKenna, Isabella	McNeil, Mary
Lomas, Elizabeth	Macintosh, Ann	Marlow, Elizabeth	McArthur, Catherine	McDonald,	McKenna, Jane	McNeilly, Rosetta
London, Ann	Macintyre, Ann	Marney, Ann	Mcarthur, Ellis	Mary Ann	McKenzie, Agnes	McNeilly, Rosetta
Long, Maria	Mack, Ann	Marr, Ellen	Mcarthur, Ellis	McDonald, Sarah	McKenzie, Catherine	McNiven, Margaret
Long, Mary	Mack, Ann	Marr, Ellen	McArthur, Mary	McDonnell, Mary	McKenzie, Helen	McNiven, Margaret
Longley, Harriet	Mack, Catherine	Marr, Mary	McAskill, Jessie	McDonough, Mary	McKenzie, Isabella	McPhail, Mary
Lonie, Jean	Mack, Catherine	Marr, Susannah	McAulay, Mary	McDougall, Agnes	McKenzie, Margaret	McPherson, Ann
Lonsdale, Mary	Mack, Catherine	Marr, Susannah	McAvine, Anne	McDougall,	McKenzie, Margaret	McPherson, Ann
Lord, Mary	Mack, Elizabeth	Marr, Susannah	McBeath, Jean	Christian	McKenzie,	McPherson,
Lorimer, Mary	Mackall, Jane	Marsden, Catherine	McBeath, Jean	McDougall, Jean	Mary Ann	Elizabeth
Loughran, Mary	Mackay, Margaret	Marsden, Nancy	McBrayne, Catherine	McEvoy, Ann	McKenzie, Nanny	McPherson, Jane
Lovatt, Elizabeth	Mackay, Maria	Marsh, Mary Ann	McCabe, Amelia	McEvoy, Eleanor	McKer, Mary	McPherson, Margaret
Lovell, Ann	MacKinder, Frances	Marsh, Mary Ann	McCabe, Amelia	McFarlane,	McKillop,	McPherson, Margaret
Lovell, Dinah	MacKintosh,	Marsh, Sarah	McCabe, Bridget	Catherine	Mary Campbell	McQuade, Catherine
Lovell, Dinah	Margaret	Marshall, Elizabeth	McCabe, Maria	McFarlane, Jean	McKinlay, Elizabeth	McQuaid, Ann
Lovell, Elizabeth	Macklevenna, Sarah	Marshall, Elizabeth	McCaffrey, Margaret	McFee, Euphemia	McKinnon, Elizabeth	McStay, Jean
Lovell, Lucy	Maclean, Margaret	Marshall, Hannah	McCall, Mary	McFie, Margaret	McLachlan, Janet	McTaggart, Mary
Low, Elizabeth	Maclean, Margaret	Marshall, Harriet	McCallum, Margaret	McGeary, Catherine	McLachlane,	Mctear, Margaret
Low, Elizabeth	Macnamara, Bridget	Marshall, Jane	McCann, Mary	McGill, Mary	Mary Ann	Mctear, Margaret

McVicar, Mary	Monaghan, Bridget	Moss, Priscilla	Murrell, Ann	Norman, Louisa	Owen, Eliza	Paxton, Sophia
McWilliams, Dorothy	Monaghan, Catherine	Moss, Sarah	Murson, Margaret	Norman, Louisa	Owen, Eliza	Payne, Emma
McWilliams, Mary	Monaghan, Mary	Mottram, Elizabeth	Musgrove, Maria	Norman, Margaret	Owen, Elizabeth	Payne, Hannah
Meade, Margaret	Monk, Mary	Muars, Mary Ann	Myddleton, Elizabeth	Norman, Margaret	Owen, Elizabeth	Payne, Jane
Meadowcroft, Sarah	Monksfield, Rebecca	Muir, Ann	Myers, Catherine	Norman, Margaret	Owen, Hannah	Payton, Sophia
Meadows, Eliza	Monohan, Mary	Muir, Janet	Myers, Maria	Norman, Mary	Owen, Margaret	Peacock, Elizabeth
Meadows, Eliza	Montgomery, Martha	Muir, Janet	Myers, Sarah	Norman, Sarah	Owen, Mary	Pearce, Mary
Meany, Catherine	Montgomery, Mary A	Mulcahy, Margaret	Myers, Sarah	North, Ann	Owen, Mary	Pearn, Mary
Mears, Mary	Montgomery, Mary A	Mullam, Eliza	Myles, Christian	North, Rebecca	Owens, Catherine	Pearson, Ann
Meggot, Mary	Moody, Cecilia	Mullan, Anne	Mynell, Elizabeth	Nott, Ann	Owens, Catherine	Pearson, Elizabeth
Melen, Mary	Moody, Henrietta	Mullan, Susan	Myson, Lydia	Noy, Charlotte	Owens, Catherine	Pearson, Jane
Mendoza, Sophia	Moon, Mary	Mullen, Martha	Nairne, Catherine	Nugent, Mary Ann	Owens, Eleanor	Pearson, Mary Ann
Mendoza, Sophia	Mooney, Catherine	Mullins, Julia	Nankerville, Alice	Oakes, Catherine	Owens, Eleanor	Pear, Mary Ann
Menzies, Christian	Mooney, Catherine	Mullins, Julia	Nankiville, Mary Ann	Oakford, Catherine	Owens, Jane	Peckitt, Margaret
Merchant, Patience	Mooney, Mary	Mullins, Julia	Nash, Frances Ann	Oakford, Catherine	Owens, Mary	Pedder, Mary
Meredith, Elizabeth	Mooney, Mary	Mullins, Julia	Neald, Joanna	O'Brien, Bridget	Owens, Mary	Pedder, Mary
Merry, Elizabeth	Mooney, Winifred	Mullins, Julia	Neald, Joanna	O'Brien, Isabella	Oxley, Hannah	Peddie, Mary
Messer, Jess	Moore, Ann	Mullins, Julia	Neale, Ann	O'Brien, Bridget	Packett, Mary	Peebles, Margaret
Metcalfe, Pamela	Moore, Elizabeth	Mullins, Julia	Neale, Catherine	O'Brien, Catherine	Paddick, Louisa	Pegram, Eliza
Middleton, Maria	Moore, Ellen	Mullins, Julia	Neale, Elizabeth	O'Brien, Mary	Padwick, Letitia	Pegram, Eliza
Middleton, Mary	Moore, Maria	Mullins, Mary	Neale, Mary	O'Brien, Mary	Page, Isabella	Penberthy,
Middleton, Mary	Moore, Mary Ann	Mullins, Mary Ann	Neale, Mary	O'Brien, Mary Ann	Page, Mary	Thomasine
Miles, Ellen	Moore, Nora	Mulreany, Mary	Neale, Sophia	O'Bryan, Jane	Page, Olive	Pendleton, Elizabeth
Mill, Susanna	Moore, Sarah	Mulrooney, Mary	Nee, Sarah	O'Bryan, Mary	Paid, Mary	Pendleton, Elizabeth
Millan, Mary	Moors, Maria	Mundell, Margaret	Needham, Maria	Ockenden, Elizabeth	Painter, Alice	Pendrell, Mary Ann
Millar, Ann	Morby, Ann	Munro, Ann	Neil, Mary	O'Connor, Mary	Painter, Alice	Pengilly, Elizabeth
Millar, Elizabeth	More, Kirsty	Munro, Eliza	Neiley, Jemima	Oddy, Rachael	Painter, Mary	Penny, Mary
Millar, Margaret	Morgan, Eliza	Munro, Jean	Neiley, Mary	Odeland, Mary	Palmer, Emma	Pennycook, Margaret
Millbourn, Mary	Morgan, Eliza	Munro, Margaret	Neill, Mary Ann	Odell, Margaret	Palmer, Hannah	Perkin, Mary
Miller, Agnes	Morgan, Elizabeth	Munro, Margaret	Neillis, Margaret	O'Donnely, Catherine	Palmer, Sarah	Perkins, Sarah
Miller, Ann	Morgan, Elizabeth	Munro, Susan	Neilson, Grace	O'Donnely, Catherine	Parfit, Mary	Perring, Ann
Miller, Ann	Morgan, Ellen	Murdoch, Margaret	Nelson, Jane	Ody, Mary Ann	Park, Martha	Perry, Elizabeth
Miller, Ann	Morgan, Margaret	Murphy, Alice	Nevin, Ann	O'Gara, Anna	Parke, Margaret	Perry, Elizabeth
Miller, Ellen	Morgan, Margaret	Murphy, Ann	Nevin, Flora	O'Gara, Anna	Parker, Ann	Perry, Hannah
Miller, Jane	Morgan, Mary	Murphy, Anne	Newbold, Ann	Ogden, Jane	Parker, Eliza	Perry, Phillis
Miller, Jane	Morgan, Mary	Murphy, Catherine	Newbrook, Hannah	Ogden, Jane	Parker, Elizabeth	Perry, Sarah
Miller, Jane	Morgan, Mary	Murphy, Catherine	Newitt, Sarah	O'Hara, Mary	Parker, Elizabeth	Peterkin, Mary
Miller, Jane	Morgan, Mary	Murphy, Eleanor	Newlan, Elizabeth	O'Hara, Mary	Parker, Elizabeth	Peterson, Mary Ann
Miller, Margaret	Morgan, Sophia	Murphy, Ellen	Murphy, Elizabeth	Oliver, Ann	Parker, Ellen	Petrie, Mary
Miller, Margaret	Moriarty, Mary	Murphy, Ellen	Newman, Elizabeth	Oliver, Catherine	Parker, Mary	Pettit, Maria
Miller, Mary	Moriarty, Mary	Murphy, Ellen	Newman, Julia St. Clair	Oliver, Catherine	Parker, Mary Ann	Phillips, Ann
Miller, Mary Ann	Morley, Jane	Murphy, Ellen	Newman, Mary	Oliver, Catherine	Parces, Ann	Phillips, Ann
Miller, Mary Ann	Morrell, Martha	Murphy, Ellen	Newman, Mary Ann	Oliver, Jane	Parkin, Elizabeth	Phillips, Ann
Miller, Susan	Morris, Eliza	Murphy, Ellen	Newman, Sarah	O'Mally, Hannah	Parrott, Catherine	Phillips, Charlotte
Millican, Sarah	Morris, Eliza	Murphy, Ellen	Newnam, Mary	O'Neal, Catherine	Parry, Ann	Phillips, Eleanor
Milligan, Mary	Morris, Eliza	Murphy, Margaret	Newsome, Mary Ann	O'Neal, Catherine	Parry, Ann	Phillips, Eliza
Milligan, Rose	Morris, Jane	Murphy, Margaret	Newton, Ann	O'Neale, Bridget	Parry, Ann Jemima	Phillips, Elizabeth
Millons, Ann	Morris, Jane	Murphy, Margaret	Newton, Ann	O'Neale, Bridget	Parry, Eliza	Phillips, Fanny
Mills, Elizabeth	Morris, Jane	Murphy, Mary	Newton, Jane	O'Neale, Mary	Parry, Mary	Phillips, Fanny
Mills, Julia	Morris, Louisa	Murphy, Mary	Newton, Maria	O'Neale, Mary	Parry, Susannah	Phillips, Jane
Mills, Sarah	Morris, Maria	Murphy, Mary	Newton, Maria	O'Neill, Sarah	Parsons, Catherine	Phillips, Margaret
Mills, Sarah	Morris, Maria	Murphy, Mary	Newton, Sally	O'Neill, Sarah	Parsons, Mary	Phillips, Margaret
Millward, Elizabeth	Morris, Mary	Murphy, Mary	Nichols, Sarah	O'Neil, Catherine	Pascoe, Elizabeth	Phillips, Mary Ann
Millward, Elizabeth	Morris, Mary	Murphy, Mary	Nichols, Sarah	O'Neil, Ellen	Pascoe, Elizabeth	Phillips, Sarah
Milne, Isobel	Morris, Mary Ann	Murphy, Mary	Nichols, Sarah	O'Neill, Ellen	Pascoe, Jane	Phillips, Sarah
Milner, Mary	Morris, Mary Ann	Murphy, Mary	Nicholson, Ann	O'Neill, Mary	Pashley, Mary	Philp, Janet
Mines, Elizabeth	Morris, Sarah	Murphy, Mary	Nicholson, Mary	Onions, Ellenor	Pate, Ann	Piccup, Susan
Minnis, Martha	Morris, Sarah	Murphy, Mary Ann	Nicholson, Mary	Onions, Mary	Paterson, Catherine	Pickett, Elizabeth
Mitchell, Bethia	Morrison, Alison	Murphy, Mary Ann	Nicholson, Mary	Onsley, Mary	Paterson, Christian	Picton, Catherine
Mitchell, Catherine	Morrison, Catherine	Murphy, Rosanna	Nicholson, Mary	Ormsisher, Mary Ann	Paterson, Christian	Pierce, Ellen
Mitchell, Elizabeth	Morrison, Eliza	Murphy, Sophia	Nicholson, Sarah	Orrell, Anne	Paterson, Elizabeth	Pierce, Ellen
Mitchell, Elizabeth	Morrison, Helen	Murray, Ann	Nines, Sarah	Orrell, Anne	Paterson, Elizabeth	Pike, Ann
Mitchell, Jean	Morrison, Isabel	Murray, Bridget	Nisbett, Mary	Orrell, Eliza	Paterson, Janet	Pike, Priscilla
Mitchell, Jean	Morrison, Janet	Murray, Bridget	Nish, Christian	Orton, Ann	Paterson, Marion	Pindar, Sarah
Mitchell, Jess	Morrison, Janet	Murray, Catherine	Nobbs, Maria	Orton, Martha	Paterson, Mary	Pinkerton, Elizabeth
Mitchell, Mary	Morrison, Mary	Murray, Colina	Noble, Mary	Osborne, Ann	Paton, Barbara	Piper, Elizabeth
Mitchell, Mary	Morrow, Mary Jane	Murray, Eliza	Noble, Susan	Oseman, Mary Ann	Paton, Catherine	Pirie, Ann
Moffet, Catherine	Morrow, Sarah Jane	Murray, Elizabeth	Nokes, Mary	O'Shea, Margaret	Paton, Elizabeth	Pitt, Ann
Moir, Matilda	Mort, Mary	Murray, Jean	Nolan, Bridget	Osmond, Caroline	Patrick, Charlotte	Pittam, Mary
Molloy, Alice	Mortal, Mary	Murray, Jean	Nolan, Bridget	Oswald, Bridget	Patrick, Mary	Pitts, Mary Ann
Molloy, Ann	Mosely, Sarah	Murray, Margaret	Nolan, Mary	Oswald, Bridget	Patterson, Margaret	Placey, Maria
Molony, Mary	Mosman, Janet	Murray, Mary	Noon, Hannah	Oswald, Bridget	Patterson, Margaret	Platt, Jane
Molony, Mary	Moss, Mary	Murray, Mary	Noonan, Mary	Owerton, Bridget	Paul, Elizabeth	Platt, Mary Ann
			Nooneen, Ellen	Owen, Charlotte	Pawlett, Maria	Plomer, Grace

Plummer, Sarah	Quinn, Mary	Reynolds, Elizabeth	Roberts, Elizabeth	Roper, Elizabeth	Sandy, Mary	Sheen, Ann
Plummer, Sarah	Quinn, Mary	Reynolds, Elizabeth	Roberts, Elizabeth	Rorke, Ann	Sankey, Mary	Sheldon, Sarah
Pollard, Eleanor	Quirk, Eleanor	Reynolds, Mary	Roberts, Elizabeth	Rose, Eliza	Sargood, Ann	Shepherd, Charlotte
Pomroy, Hannah	Rabbits, Lucy	Reynolds, Susan	Roberts, Ellen	Rose, Elizabeth	Satchell, Elizabeth	Shepherd, Frances
Pomroy, Hannah	Rae, Margaret	Rice, Margaret	Roberts, Ellen	Rose, Euphemia	Satchell, Mary	Shepherd, Sarah
Ponsford, Harriet	Rae, Margaret	Rice, Mary	Roberts, Ellen	Rose, Sarah	Saunders, Ann	Sheppard, Mary Ann
Ponsford, Harriet	Raffell, Mary Ann	Rice, Mary Ann	Roberts, Ellen	Rose, Sarah	Saunders, Deborah	Sheppard, Mary Ann
Poole, Catherine	Raffety, Sarah	Rice, Mary Ann	Roberts, Jane	Rosefield, Elizabeth	Saunders, Joanna	Sheppard, Mary Ann
Poole, Catherine	Ragan, Catherine	Rice, Mary Ann	Roberts, Louisa	Rosney, Ellen	Savage, Margaret	Sheriff, Helen
Pope, Ann	Raines, Ann	Rich, Elizabeth	Roberts, Mary	Rosney, Ellen	Savill, Mary	Sheriff, Mary
Poppleton, Jane	Ramage, Ann	Richardson, Agnes	Roberts, Mary	Rosney, Ellen	Savill, Mary	Sheriff, Mary
Porter, Mary	Randall, Elizabeth	Richardson, Amelia Ann	Roberts, Mary	Ross, Eliza	Savill, Mary	Sheriff, Mary
Porter, Mary Anne	Randall, Maria	Richardson, Amelia Ann	Roberts, Mary Ann	Ross, Margaret	Saville, Elizabeth	Sherman, Mary
Potter, Sarah	Randall, Sarah	Richardson, Amelia Ann	Roberts, Sarah	Ross, Mary	Saville, Elizabeth	Sherrington, Mary
Pottinger, Caroline	Randle, Sarah	Richardson, Eliza	Roberts, Sarah	Ross, Nelly	Sawking, Milicent	Sherrington, Mary
Potts, Frances	Rankin, Caroline	Richardson, Margaret	Roberts, Susannah	Rourke, Elizabeth	Sawyer, Jane	Sherwin, Harriet
Potts, Frances	Rankin, Catherine	Richardson, Margaret	Roberts, Susannah	Rourke, Elizabeth	Scace, Mary Ann	Sherwin, Elizabeth
Powell, Alice	Rankin, Catherine	Richardson, Margaret	Robertson, Agnes	Rouse, Elizabeth	Scales, Mary	Sherwin, Elizabeth
Powell, Alice	Ratcliff, Sarah	Richardson, Margaret	Robertson, Agnes	Rowand, Catherine	Scales, Mary	Sherwin, Elizabeth
Powell, Ann	Ratcliffe, Harriett	Richardson, Margaret	Robertson, Ann	Rowe, Catherine	Scandling, Mary	Sherwood, Ann
Powell, Ann	Ratterie, Hannah	Richardson, Margaret	Robertson, Elizabeth	Rowell, Ann	Scanlan, Ann	Shevelin, Bridget
Powell, Ann	Ravenhill, Eliza	Richardson, Margaret	Robertson, Elizabeth	Rowland, Ann	Scanlon, Bridget	Shewan, Christian
Powell, Ann	Ravenscroft, Jane	Richardson, Mary Ann	Robertson, Elizabeth	Rowley, Sarah	Scannell, Mary	Shields, Sally
Powell, Elizabeth	Rawcliffe, Susannah	Riches, Elizabeth	Robertson, Elizabeth	Rowse, Agnes	Schofield, Ann	Shiels, Sarah
Powell, Sarah	Rawlings, Ann	Rickard, Jane	Robertson, Isabella	Roy, Catherine	Scholes, Ann	Shingler, Elizabeth
Powell, Sarah Chance	Rawlings, Mary	Rickards, Jane	Robertson, Jane	Roy, Jane	Scott, Ann	Shiple, Ann
Power, Catherine	Rawlins, Eliza	Ricketts, Elizabeth	Robertson, Jane	Runciman, Ruth	Scott, Elizabeth	Shoesmith, Charlotte
Power, Catherine	Rawlins, Jane	Rickwood, Elizabeth	Robertson, Jane	Rush, Catherine	Scott, Ellen	Shore, Jane
Powers, Ann	Ray, Ann Mary	Rickwood, Elizabeth	Robertson, Margaret	Rushton, Hannah	Scott, Ellen	Shortley, Caroline
Powers, Ann	Ray, Ann Mary	Rickwood, Elizabeth	Robertson, Margaret	Rushton, Mary	Scott, Ellen	Shouls, Elizabeth
Powers, Elizabeth	Ray, Priscilla	Riddell, Jane	Robertson, Mary	Russel, Mary	Scott, Mary	Shreenan, Susan
Pownall, Louisa	Rayden, Jane	Riddell, Isabella	Robertson, Mary Ann	Russell, Ann	Scott, Mary	Shrubb, Emma
Prater, Elizabeth	Rayman, Jane	Riddell, Isabella	Robertson, Nancey	Russell, Ann	Scott, Mary	Shute, Honor
Pratt, Mary	Raymond, Ann	Riddell, Jean	Robins, Alice	Russell, Caroline	Scott, Mary	Shute, Honor
Pratt, Mary	ReAd, Eleanor	Riddlesdale, Sarah	Robins, Ellen	Russell, Caroline	Scource, Mary	Sidnem, Eliza
Preece, Harriett	Read, Ellen	Ridley, Ann	Robins, Mary	Russell, Jane	Screech, Ann	Sidwell, Eliza
Prendgast, Mary	Reading, Hannah	Ridley, Sarah	Robins, Susannah	Russell, Mary	Scrimgeour, Janet	Silvey, Elizabeth
Presser, Anne	Reading, Mary	Ridley, Sarah	Robins, Susannah	Rutherford, Agnes	Scrymgeour, Jean	Simmonds, Mary
Preston, Ann	Reardon, Julia	Rigby, Eliza	Robinson, Ann	Rutkins, Eliza	Seagar, Catherine	Simmons, Ann
Price, Ann	Reay, Eliza	Rigby, Julia	Robinson, Ann	Rutter, Elizabeth	Seal, Mary	Simmons, Elizabeth
Price, Ellen	Reddie, Margaret	Rigby, Julia	Robinson, Ann	Ryan, Anne	Seddon, Eliza	Simms, Ann
Price, Fanny	Reddy, Mary	Riley, Ann	Robinson, Ann	Ryan, Elizabeth	Sefton, Sarah	Simpkins, Alice
Price, Jane	Reddy, Mary	Riley, Ann	Robinson, Ann	Ryan, Elizabeth	Sefton, Sarah	Simpkins, Alice
Price, Maria	Reddy, Mary	Riley, Ann	Robinson, Catherine	Ryan, Ellen	Selsby, Hannah	Simpkins, Maria
Price, Maria	Redfern, Hannah	Riley, Ann	Robinson, Catherine	Ryan, Margaret	Serjeant, Sarah	Simpson, Ann
Price, Maria	Redman, Eliza	Riley, Ann	Robinson, Charlotte	Ryan, Margaret	Serjeantson, Ann	Simpson, Betsey
Price, Mary	Redmond, Mary	Riley, Bridget	Robinson, Elizabeth	Ryan, Margaret	Shadwell, Mary	Simpson, Georgina
Price, Sarah	Reed, Maria	Riley, Catherine	Robinson, Elizabeth	Ryan, Mary	Shandley, Mary Ann	Simpson, Georgina
Pridden, Martha	Reed, Theresa	Riley, Eliza	Robinson, Frances	Ryan, Mary	Shandley, Mary Ann	Simpson, Mary
Prince, Ann	Rees, Sarah	Riley, Elizabeth	Robinson, Margaret	Ryan, Mary	Shanks, Elizabeth	Simpson, Mary Ann
Pringle, Margaret	Reeves, Elizabeth	Riley, Elizabeth	Robinson, Mary	Ryan, Mary Ann	Shannon, Mary	Simpson, Mary Ann
Prior, Jane	Reeves, Elizabeth	Riley, Margaret	Robinson, Mary	Ryan, Mary Ann	Sharkey, Biddy	Simpson, Sarah
Pritchard, Mary Ann	Reeve, Alice	Riley, Mary	Robinson, Mary Ann	Ryan, Mary Ann	Ryder, Martha	Simpson, Sarah
Pritchard, Mary Ann	Regan, Mary	Riley, Mary	Robinson, Mary Ann	Ryder, Martha	Sharpe, Bridget	Sims, Ann
Probert, Ann	Regan, Mary	Ring, Mary	Robinson, Mary Ann	Ryder, Martha	Sharpe, Hannah	Sinclair, Eleanor
Proctor, Mary	Regan, Mary	Ringwood, Catherine	Robinson, Mary Ann	Ryles, Hannah	Sharpe, Mary	Sinclair, Margaret
Prosser, Jane	Reid, Christina	Rion, Catherine	Robinson, Sarah	Ryles, Hannah	Sharpe, Mary	Sinclair, Marion
Protheroe, Eliza	Reid, Elisabeth	Riordan, Eliza	Robinson, Sarah	Sackerby, Catherine	Sharpe, Sarah Ann	Singleton, Charlotte
Pryor, Ann	Reid, Jean	Riordan, Eliza	Robinson, Sarah	Saffron, Martha	Sharpe, Sarah Ann	Singleton, Sarah
Puddefoot, Elizabeth	Reid, Margaret	Riordan, Mary	Robson, Jane	Salmon, Catherine	Shaw, Ann	Singleton, Sarah
Pugh, Mary	Reid, Margaret	Riordan, Mary	Roby, Margery	Salmond, Helen	Shaw, Catherine	Sinnett, Catherine
Pullan, Mary	Reid, Mary	Riorden, Catherine	Roche, Eliza	Sammons, Ann	Shaw, Catherine	Sixsmith, Esther
Pullen, Mary	Reidy, Catherine	Riorden, Mary	Rodda, Elizabeth	Sample, Mary	Shaw, Jessie	Size, Sarah
Purbos, Jane	Reilly, Anne	Ritchie, Helen	Roddenwich, Mary	Sample, Mary	Shaw, Margaret	Skelly, Ann
Purchase, Susan	Reilly, Rose	Ritchie, Jane	Rogers, Ann	Sample, Mary	Shaw, Margaret	Skelly, Margaret
Purvis, Sarah	Relph, Ann	Rivers, Maria	Rogers, Ann	Sampson, Ellen	Shaw, Margaret	Skelton, Sarah
Putt, Grace	Rennicks, Mary	Rix, Elizabeth	Rogers, Mary	Sampson, Ellen	Shaw, Mary	Skinner, Jane
Putt, Grace	Rennie, Elspet	Roach, Ann	Rogers, Mary Ann	Sampson, Emily	Shaw, Mary Ann	Skinner, Jane
Quealy, Margaret	Renshaw, Isabella	Roach, Ann	Rook, Mary	Sampson, Emily	Shaw, Sarah	Skinner, Phillis
Quin, Margaret	Renshaw, Mary	Roach, Winifred	Rooke, Ann	Sandall, Susannah	Shaw, Sarah	Slater, Elizabeth
Quinlan, Bridget	Renshaw, Rosannah	Robb, Mary Ann	Room, Mary Ann	Sanders, Jane	Shaw, Teresa	Slater, Elizabeth
Quinlan, Bridget	Revlet, Mary	Roberts, Ann	Rooney, Mary Ann	Sanders, Ann	Shaw, Teresa	Slater, Elizabeth
Quinn Elizabeth	Revlet, Mary	Roberts, Eliza	Rooney, Mary Ann	Sanders, Lydia	Shaw, Teresa	Slater, Elizabeth
Quinn, Ellen	Reynolds, Ann	Roberts, Elizabeth	Rooney, Mary Ann	Sanderson, Mary Ann	Sheehan, Mary Ann	Slater, Elizabeth
Quinn, Jane			Rooney, Mary Ann	Sandford, Susan	Sheelon, Catherine	Slater, Frances

Slimm, Catherine	Smith, Ellen	Smith, Rebecca	Stevens, Mary	Sullivan, Mary	Temple, Lucy	Todd, Frances
Sloan, Thomasin	Smith, Ellen	Smith, Rosina	Stevens, Sarah	Sullivan, Mary	Templeton, Grace	Todd, Isabella
Sloane, Susannah	Smith, Ellen	Smith, Sarah	Stevenson, Agnes	Sullivan, Mary Ann	Tennent, Elizabeth	Todd, Isabella
Slow, Sarah	Smith, Ellen	Smith, Sarah	Stevenson, Ann	Sullivan, Phoebe	Terrell, Maria	Todd, Sarah
Small, Jemima	Smith, Ellen	Smith, Sarah	Stevenson,	Sullivan, Sarah	Thackray, Mary	Tonge, Jane
Small, Rebecca	Smith, Emma	Smith, Sarah	Christian	Summerwell,	Thatcher, Elizabeth	Toomey, Bridget
Small, Rebecca	Smith, Emma	Smith, Sarah	Stevenson, Maria	Martha	Thomas, Ann	Torens, Janet
Smallman, Ann	Smith, Emma	Smith, Sarah	Stevenson, Mary	Sutherland, Ann	Thomas, Ann	Torr, Jane
Smart, Amelia	Smith, Esther	Smith, Sarah	Stevenson,	Sutherland,	Thomas, Ann	Toser, Jane
Smethurst, Mary	Smith, Esther	Smith, Sarah	Mary Ann	Margaret	Thomas, Ann	Tosh, Jean
Smith, Jean	Smith, Frances	Smith, Sarah	Stevenson, Sarah	Sutherland, Mary	Thomas, Ann	Tough, Margaret
Smith, Mary	Smith, Harriet	Smith, Sarah	Stewart, Ann	Sutton, Ann	Thomas, Eliza	Towie, Madge
Smith, Alison	Smith, Jane	Smith, Sarah	Stewart, Catherine	Suxspeach,	Thomas, Eliza	Town, Ann
Smith, Alison	Smith, Jane	Smith, Sarah	Stewart, Christian	Sidwell	Thomas, Elizabeth	Town, Ann
Smith, Alison	Smith, Jane	Smith, Sarah	Stewart, Elizabeth	Swain, Mary	Thomas, Mary	Townley, Mary
Smith, Ann	Smith, Jane	Smith, Susannah	Stewart, Grace	Swaine, Mary Ann	Thomas, Rosanna	Townley, Mary
Smith, Ann	Smith, Jane	Smith, Susannah	Stewart, Grace	Swan, Mary	Thomas, Winifred	Townley, Mary
Smith, Ann	Smith, Jane	Sniden, Mary	Stewart, Helen	Sweeney, Ann	Thompson, Ann	Towns, Elizabeth
Smith, Ann	Smith, Jane	Somerton, Maria	Stewart, Helen	Sweeney, Catherine	Thompson, Ann	Toysbin, Eliza
Smith, Ann	Smith, Jean	Somerville, Jane	Stewart, Isabella	Sweeney, Margaret	Thompson, Ann	Tozer, Ann
Smith, Ann	Smith, Jean	Sparrow, Sarah	Stewart, Jane	Sweeney, Rosina	Thompson, Ann	Tozer, Hannah
Smith, Ann	Smith, Julia	Speirs, Margaret	Stewart, Janet	Sweenie, Margaret	Thompson, Ann	Tracey, Margaret
Smith, Ann	Smith, Lydia	Speirs, Margaret	Stewart, Janet	Sweet, Margaret	Thompson, Ann	Tracey, Margaret
Smith, Ann	Smith, Margaret	Speirs, Mary Ann	Stewart, Jean	Sweetingham,	Thompson, Ann	Traill, Ann Sarah
Smith, Ann	Smith, Margaret	Spence, Mary	Stewart, Margaret	Elizabeth	Thompson,	Travel, Susannah
Smith, Ann	Smith, Margaret	Spencer, Ann	Stewart, Margaret	Swift, Mary Ann	Catherine	Treasure, Mary Ann
Smith, Ann	Smith, Margaret	Spencer, Ann	Stewart, Mary	Swift, Mary Ann	Thompson, Elizabeth	Tremlett, Maria
Smith, Ann	Smith, Maria	Spilman, Margaret	Stewart, Mary	Swinney, Catherine	Thompson, Jane	Trimby, Elizabeth
Smith, Ann	Smith, Maria	Spooner, Ann	Stewart, Mary	Sykes, Agnes	Thompson, Jesse	Trindle, Elizabeth
Smith, Ann	Smith, Maria	Spouse, Catherine	Stewart, Mary	Symon, Janet	Thompson, Margaret	Troak, Jane
Smith, Ann	Smith, Maria	Spragg, Elizabeth	Stewart, Rebecca	Symonds, Harriet	Thompson, Margaret	Trowell, Ann
Smith, Ann	Smith, Maria	Spreadborough,	Stewart, Sarah	Symonds, Jane	Thompson, Margaret	Trowman, Elizabeth
Smith, Caroline	Smith, Mary	Hester	Stiggels, Margaret	Symonds, Mary	Thompson, Mary	Truddett, Frances
Smith, Caroline	Smith, Mary	Spright, Agnes	Stilman, Eliza	Symons, Mary	Thompson, Mary	Tulford, Margaret
Smith, Charlotte	Smith, Mary	Spruce, Ann	Stimpson, Elizabeth	Tagney, Margaret	Thompson, Mary	Tully, Ann
Smith, Charlotte	Smith, Mary	Spry, Mary	Stinetto, Elizabeth	Talbot, Margaret	Thompson, Mary	Tully, Ann
Smith, Charlotte	Smith, Mary	Spurrier, Hannah	Stockham, Mary	Talbot, Sarah	Thompson, Mary	Tully, Ann
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Squires, Eliza	Stokell, Hannah	Tamplin, Elizabeth	Thompson, Mary	Tully, Mary
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Squires, Eliza	Stone, Elizabeth	Tangney, Mary	Thompson,	Tuohy, Ann
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Squires, Elizabeth	Stoney, Mary	TanVer, Margaret	Mary Ann Louisa	Tuohy, Ann
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	St Paul, Mary Ann	Stopford, Elizabeth	Tarras, Jean	Thompson, Sarah	Turley, Agnes
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	St. Ledger,	Storer, Mary	Tate, Mary Ann	Thompson, Sarah	Turley, Mary
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Catherine	Strange, Sarah	Taylor, Amelia	Thompson, Sarah	Turner, Ann
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stacey, Mary	Streetman, Margaret	Taylor, Ann	Thompson,	Turner, Ann
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stafford, Margaret	Strideford, Mary	Taylor, Ann	Susannah	Turner, Anna Maria
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stafford, Margaret	Stringer, Mary	Taylor, Bridget	Thompson,	Turner, Anna Maria
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stally, Eliza	Stuart, Margaret	Taylor, Bridget	Susannah	Turner, Eliza
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stammers, Hannah	Studham, Elizabeth	Taylor, Caroline	Thomson, Agnes	Turner, Elizabeth
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stammers, Harriet	Sugene, Bridget	Taylor, Catherine	Thomson, Agnes	Turner, Ellen
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stammers,	Suggrue, Honora	Taylor, Catherine	Thomson, Janet	Turner, Emily
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Mary Ann	Sullivan, Mary Ann	Taylor, Eliza	Thomson, Margaret	Turner, Jane
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stanmore, Sarah	Sullivan, Ann	Taylor, Elizabeth	Thomson, Mary	Turner, Jane
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stanton, Eliza	Sullivan, Ann	Taylor, Elizabeth	Thompson,	Turner, Jane
Smith, Eliza	Smith, Mary	Stanton, Eliza	Sullivan, Ann	Taylor, Elizabeth	Mary Ann	Turner, Jane
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary	Starr, Mary Ann	Sullivan, Bridget	Taylor, Elizabeth	Thorn, Janet	Turner, Mary
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Stead, Fanny	Sullivan, Eleanor	Taylor, Elizabeth	Thorne, Margaret	Turner, Mary
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Steel, Elizabeth	Sullivan, Elizabeth	Taylor, Georgiana	Thorney, Harriet	Turner, Mary
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Steel, Maria	Sullivan, Ellen	Taylor, Harriet	Thornton, Hannah	Turner, Mary
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Steel, Sarah	Sullivan, Ellen	Taylor, Harriett	Thorpe, Ann	Turner, Mary
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Steel, Sarah	Sullivan, Ellen	Taylor, Jane	Thorpe, Mary	Turner, Mary
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Steele, Mary	Sullivan, Ellen	Taylor, Jane	Thorpe, Mary Ann	Turner, Selina
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Steele, Munro	Sullivan, Ellen	Taylor, Jane	Thorpe, Mary Ann	Turton, Ann
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Christina	Sullivan, Hanora	Taylor, Margaret	Thurgoland, Eliza	Turton, Sarah
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Steer, Sarah	Sullivan, Johanna	Taylor, Margaret	Thurman, Maria	Tway, Bridget
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Stephens, Ann	Sullivan, Johanna	Taylor, Maria	Tickner, Mary	Twigg, Ellen
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Stephens, Mary	Sullivan, Johanna	Taylor, Mary	Tillotson, Hannah	Twigg, Margaret
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Stephenson,	Sullivan, Julia	Taylor, Mary	Tilsed, Ann	Twist, Mary
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Frances	Sullivan, Mary	Taylor, Mary Ann	Timbs, Mary Ann	Tylee, Ann
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Stevens, Ann	Sullivan, Mary	Taylor, Rachael	Tinner, Jane	Tyler, Mary
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Stevens, Charity	Sullivan, Mary	Taylor, Sarah	Tippen, Eliza	Tysum, Sarah
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Ann	Stevens, Charlotte	Sullivan, Mary	Taylor, Sarah	Tobin, Alice	Underwood,
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Anne	Stevens, Grace	Sullivan, Mary	Taylor, Sarah	Tobin, Johanna	Matilda Jane
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Mary Julia	Stevens, Jane	Sullivan, Mary	Taylor, Sarah	Tobin, Mary	Urquhart, Isabella
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Matilda	Stevens, Jemima	Sullivan, Mary	Taylor, Sarah	Tochill, Catherine	Urwin, Bridget
Smith, Elizabeth	Smith, Matilda	Stevens, Margaret	Sullivan, Mary	Tedder, Ludlow	Tod, Elizabeth	Vallance, Hannah

Vallentine, Jane	Ward, Caroline	Webster, Mary	Whitehead, Mary	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Elizabeth	Wood, Betty
Vanderplank, Eliza	Ward, Mary	Webster, Mary Ann	Whitehead, Mary Ann	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Elizabeth	Wood, Eleanor
Vantileur, Caroline	Ward, Mary	Weeks, Mary	Whitehouse, Sarah	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Elizabeth	Wood, Elizabeth
Vantileur, Caroline	Wardle, Hannah	Weir, Catherine	Whitehouse, Sarah	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Elizabeth	Wood, Elizabeth
Varley, Ellen	Wardle, Rosannah	Weir, Christian	Whiteley, Hannah	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Elizabeth	Wood, Helen
Varley, Ellen	Wardrop, Elizabeth	Weir, Hannah	Whitelock, Susan	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Ellen	Wood, Margaret
Vasper, Agnes	Ware, Elizabeth	Welch, Hannah	Whiteside, Jean	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Esther	Wood, Margaret
Vaughan, Elizabeth	Warman, Sarah	Weller, Sophia	Whitfield, Mary Ann	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Euphemia	Wood, Mary
Vaughan, Harriet	Warman, Sarah	Welles, Anne	Whitford, Agnes	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Fanny	Wood, Mary
Veale, Harriet	Warner, Ann	Wells, Catherine	Whitford, Agnes	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Fanny	Wood, Mary
Venables, Sarah	Warren, Catherine	Wells, Emma	Whiting, Martha	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Hannah	Wood, Mary
Venables, Sarah	Warren, Elizabeth	Wells, Esther	Whitlock,	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Hannah	Wood, Sarah
Vernon, Margaret	Warren, Elizabeth	Wells, Hannah	Mary Ann	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Hannah	Woodcock, Mary
Vernon, Margaret	Warren, Elizabeth	Wells, Harriett	Whitman, Hepzibah	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Jane	Woodhouse,
Vicars, Hannah	Warren, Elizabeth	Wells, Lucy	Whitmore,	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Jane	Sarah Phoebe
Vickers, Ann	Warren, Margaret	Wells, Mary	Mary Ann	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Janet	Woodley, Ann
Vico, Martha	Warren, Mary Ann	Wells, Mary	Whittaker, Ellen	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Janet	Woodman, Eliza
Vico , Martha	Washington, Mary	Wells, Susannah	Whittaker, Laura	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Janet	Woods, Catherine
Vizard, Mary	Waterman, Eliza	Wells, Susannah	Wickens, Elizabeth	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Jean	Woods, Frances
Vowles, Mary	Waters, Agnes	Wells, Susannah	Wicks, Elizabeth	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Julia	Woods, Mary
Vowles, Mary	Waters,	Welsh, Catherine	Wicks, Maria	Williams, Mary Ann	Wilson, Lucy	Woolford, Sarah
Waddell, Elizabeth	Anna Matilda	Welsh, Isabella	Wicks, Sarah	Williams, Mary Ann	Wilson, Lucy	Woolhead, Ann
Wadling, Elizabeth	Waters,	Welsh, Margaret	Wiggins, Ann	Williams, Mary Ann	Wilson, Margaret	Woolley,
Waite, Jane	Anna Matilda	Welsh, Margaret	Wilcock, Catherine	Williams, Mary Ann	Wilson, Margaret	Mary Ann
Wake, Mary	Waters, Bridget	Welsh, Violet	Wilde, Charlotte	Williams, Mary Ann	Wilson, Margaret	Wootons, Ann
Walbey, Mary Ann	Waters, Johanna	Welton, Elizabeth	Wiles, Lydia	Williams, Mary Ann	Wilson, Mary	Worrall, Ann
Walbey, Mary Ann	Waters, Sarah	Welton, Elizabeth	Wiles, Lydia	Williams, Mary Ann	Wilson, Mary	Worrall, Maria
Waldie, Joan	Waters, Sarah	Wenlock, Maria	Wiles, Lydia	Williams, Mary Ann	Wilson, Mary	Worsley, Elizabeth
Wales,	Waters, Sarah	West, Elizabeth	Wilens, Martha	Williams, Sarah	Wilson, Mary	Worth, Margaret
Elizabeth Jane	Waters, Sarah	West, Mary	Wilkes, Martha	Williams, Sarah	Wilson, Mary	Worth, Mary
Walker, Amy	Wathall, Amelia	Westaway, Mary	Wilkins, Ann	Williams, Sarah	Wilson, Mary	Worth, Sarah
Walker, Ann	Watkins, Elizabeth	Westbrook,	Wilkinson, Margaret	Williams, Sarah	Wilson, Mary	Worthington, Mary
Walker, Ann	Watkins, Ellen	Elizabeth	Wilkinson, Mary	Williams, Sarah	Wilson, Mary	Worthy, Mary
Walker, Elizabeth	Watkins, Isabella	Weston, Ann	Wilkinson, Sarah	Williams, Sarah	Wilson, Mary	Wortley,
Walker, Elizabeth	Watling, Rebecca	Weston, Ann	Wilks, Ann	Williams, Sarah	Wilson, Mary	Ann Elizabeth
Walker, Ellen	Watson, Agnes	Weston, Elizabeth	Wilks, Charlotte	Williams, Sarah	Wilson, Mary	Wotherspoon,
Walker, Helen	Watson, Agnes	Weston, Mary Ann	Williams, Ann	Williams, Sydney	Wilson, Mary	Ann
Walker, Jane	Watson, Alice	Weston, Sarah	Williams, Ann	Williamson, Hannah	Wilson, Mary Ann	Wright, Ann
Walker, Jane	Watson, Caroline	Westwood, Ann	Williams, Ann	Williamson, Hannah	Wilson, Mary Ann	Wright, Ann
Walker, Margaret	Watson, Eliza	Wetherall, Sarah	Williams, Ann	Williamson, Hannah	Wilson, Rosannah	Wright, Ann
Walker, Margaret	Watson, Eliza	Wetherall, Sarah	Williams, Ann	Elizabeth	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Ann
Walker, Mary	Watson, Elizabeth	Whare, Eliza	Williams, Ann	Williamson, Margaret	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Ann
Walker, Mary	Watson, Harriett	Wheelan, Bridget	Williams, Ann	Williamson, Margaret	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Ellen
Walker, Mary Ann	Watson, Isabella	WheElan, Mary	Williams, Catharine	Williamson, Margaret	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Isabella
Walker, Phoebe	Watson, Jean	Wheeler, Ann	Williams, Catherine	Williamson, Margaret	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Louisa
Wall, Eliza	Watson, Jean	Wheeler, Mary Ann	Williams, Catherine	Williamson, Mary	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Margaret
Wall, Jane	Watson, Margaret	Wheeler, Rebecca	Williams, Charlotte	Willing, Jane	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Maria
Wall, Mary	Watson, Margaret	Wheeler, Sarah	Williams, Charlotte	Willis, Ann	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Mary
Wallace, Ellen	Watson, Mary	Whelan, Ellen	Williams, Eliza	Willis, Ann	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Mary
Wallace, Fanny	Watson, Mary	Whelan, Margaret	Williams, Eliza	Willis, Ann	Wilson, Sarah	Wright, Mary
Wallace, Fanny	Watson, Mary Ann	Whelan, Peggy	Williams, Eliza	Willis, Hannah	Wilson, Sophia	Wright, Rachael
Wallace, Helen	Watt, Ann	Wheldon, Ann	Williams, Eliza	Willis, Jane	Wilson, Susan	Wright, Rachael
Wallace, Mary Ann	Watt, Ann	Whiley, Mary	Williams, Eliza	Willis, Sarah	Wilson, Susan	Wright, Rachael
Wallace, Sarah	Watt, Isabella	White, Agnes	Williams, Elizabeth	Willis, Sarah	Wimbridge,	Wright, Sarah
Walless, Harriet	Watts, Charlotte	White, Ann	Williams, Elizabeth	Willoughby,	Elizabeth	Wyatt, Mary
Wallis, Louisa	Watts, Fanny	White, Ann	Williams, Elizabeth	Susannah	Windle, Mary Ann	Wynes, Elizabeth
Walsh, Johanna	Watts, Maria	White, Ann	Williams, Elizabeth	Wilson, Agnes	Windsor, Maria	Wynne, Elizabeth
Walsh, Margaret	Watts, Mary	White, Ann	Williams, Elizabeth	Wilson, Agnes	Wines, Louisa	Wynne, Elizabeth
Walsh, Margaret	Watts, Mary	White, Caroline	Williams, Ellen	Wilson, Amy	Winnow, Elizabeth	Wynne, Elizabeth
Walsh, Margaret	Watts, Mary	White, Elizabeth	Williams, Ellen	Wilson, Ann	Winrow, Elizabeth	Yates, Agnes
Walsh, Margaret	Watts, Sarah	White, Elizabeth	Williams, Emma	Wilson, Ann	Winter, Ann	Yates, Elizabeth
Walsh, Margaret	Waylen, Margaret	White, Elizabeth	Williams, Harriet	Wilson, Ann	Winter, Charlotte	Yates, Ellen
Walters, Ann	Waylen, Margaret	White, Foster	Williams, Isabella	Wilson, Ann	Winter, Elizabeth	Yaxley, Charlotte
Walters, Caroline	Wear, Jane	White, Hannah	Williams, Jane	Wilson, Ann	Winter, Jane	Yeats, Ann
Walters, Jane	Wear, Jane	White, Henrietta	Williams, Jane	Wilson, Ann	Winter, Rosanna	Yeoxley, Sarah
Walters, Jane	Weatherley, Ann	White, Henrietta	Williams, Louisa	Wilson, Ann	Winterflood,	Yorke, Bridget
Walters, Phebe	Webb, Ann	White, Jane	Williams, Louisa	Wilson, Ann	Elizabeth	Yorke, Bridget
Walters, Sophia	Webb, Ann	White, Jane	Williams, Lucy	Wilson, Ann	Wilson, Ann	Young, Ann
Walton, Mary	Webb, Ann	White, Jane	Williams, Margaret	Wilson, Ann	Wilson, Ann	Young, Ann
Walton, Sarah	Webb, Elizabeth	White, Jessie	Williams, Margaret	Wilson, Catherine	Wilson, Charlotte	Young, Ann
WanDford, Susan	Webb, Elizabeth	White, Mary	Williams, Maria	Wilson, Charlotte	Wilson, Eleanor	Young, Elizabeth
Warburton, Ellen	Webb, Mary	White, Mary	Williams, Maria	Wilson, Eleanor	Wilson, Eleanor	Young, Margaret
Ward , Ann	Webb, Susannah	White, Mary	Williams, Martha	Wilson, Eleanor	Wilson, Eleanor	Young, Mary
Ward, Ann	Webber, Rebecca	White, Mary	Williams, Martha	Wilson, Eleanor	Wilson, Eleanor	Young, Mary Ann
Ward, Ann	Webbs, Hannah	White, Sophia	Williams, Martha	Wilson, Eliza	Wilson, Eliza	Young, Matilda
Ward, Ann	Webster, Elizabeth	White, Susan	Williams, Martha	Wilson, Elizabeth	Wilson, Elizabeth	Young, Sarah
Ward, Bess	Webster, Martha	Whitear, Mary	Williams, Mary	Wilson, Elizabeth	Wilson, Elizabeth	Yurrell, Ann



OBJECTS IN THE EXHIBITION

objects in the exhibition

- 1 *Elizabeth Fry Reading the Bible in a Women's Prison*, 183–, artist unknown, watercolour, National Library of Australia
- 2 *Letter from Elizabeth Fry to Samuel Marsden*, 1820, Elizabeth Fry, document, Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 3 *Reproduction of part of the Rajah Quilt*, 2008, Diane Zimitat and Christine McKenna, fabric scraps, Reproduction Courtesy of the National Gallery of Australia
- 4 *Chronicles of the sea no 14, March 24 1838*, including the lithograph *Loss of the 'Amphitrite' (female convict ship), Captain Hunter, August 31st, 1833*, Lent by the Australian National Maritime Museum
- 5 *Surgeon W.B. Marshall's 'a word of exhortation to a servant' – delivered to the 91 female convicts and 9 children on board the 275 tonne convict barque 'Fanny'*, 1833, Rebound in quarter leather, Lent by the Australian National Maritime Museum
- 6 *'Emmeline, the Glasgow Lass' and 'The Convict Maid'*, undated, broadsheet, ink on paper, Lent by the Australian National Maritime Museum
- 7 *Sarah Lawson [nee Leadbeater]*, c.1800, artist unknown, watercolour on ivory, Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 8 *A View of Part of Parramatta, Port Jackson, 1796–1809*, unsigned, watercolour, Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 9 *Parramatta Female Factory*, undated, Society of Australian Genealogists collection
- 10 *Parramatta Female Factory*, undated, Ralph Hawkins Collection
- 11 *The Female Factory at Parramatta, a Station 15 Miles from Sydney*, 1823, Charles Henry Roberts, pencil drawing (in sketchbook), National Library of Australia
- 12 *Report and Estimates of the Value of the Improvements which have taken place in the Public Buildings of Sydney, Parramatta, Windsor, Liverpool and Campbelltown, between the 25th of December 1822 & the 24th of December 1823 inclusive, and an Expose of the present state of the Public Buildings in New South Wales*, 1824, Standish Lawrence Harris, manuscripts and drawings, Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 13 *Lunatic Asylum, Parramatta*, 1855, lithograph of ground plan by Colonial Architect, Allan & Wigley, Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 14 *Bathurst Plains and Settlement, New South Wales*, 1825–1828, Augustus Earle, watercolour, Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales

IMAGE OVERLEAF:
THE PASSAGE OF TIME, 2008,
NARELLE MUNRO, PHOTOGRAPH (DETAIL),
ARTIST'S COLLECTION

- 15 *Bathurst*, 1847–1857,
Joseph Backler attrib., oil on canvas,
Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 16 *Port Macquarie, NSW*, 1832,
Joseph Backler, oil on canvas,
Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 17 *Port Macquarry* [Macquarie], c.1842–1850,
Georgiana Lowe, watercolour drawing,
Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 18 *Newcastle, New South Wales*, 1824,
Joseph Lycett, aquatint,
Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 19 *Newcastle from the Ballast Wharf*, 1845–1846,
M. Croasdill attrib., watercolour,
Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 20 *Public Buildings at Moreton Bay*, 1832,
William C. Looker, pencil and wash sketch,
Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 21 *Hobart Town from the New Town Road*, 1844,
John Skinner Prout, tinted lithograph,
National Library of Australia
- 22 *The Female Factory from Proctor's Quarry*, 1844,
John Skinner Prout, tinted lithograph,
National Library of Australia
- 23 *Plate belonging to Mother Mary John Cahill*, undated
silver,
Congregational Archives of the Sisters of Charity
- 24 *The Prisoners of Australia: a Narrative by the Author of "Miriam"*, 1841,
Charlotte Anley, published book,
Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 25 *Minutes of Proceedings of Committee from the Board of Management
of the Female Factory*, 1834, manuscript,
State Records Authority of New South Wales
- 26 *Rev. S. Marsden, Senior Chaplain of New South Wales
and the Founder of New Zealand Mission*, 1835,
Richard Woodman, stipple engraving,
National Library of Australia
- 27 *Portrait of Francis Oakes*, undated,
artist unknown, painting,
Australasian Pioneers' Club Collection, Union, University & Schools Club
- 28 *Mary Hutchinson*, undated,
artist unknown, oil on canvas,
Private Collection
- 29 *Ways and Means or the Last Shift*, c.1844,
Edward Winstanley, lithograph,
Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales

- 30 *Beautifully Linked*, c.1844,
Edward Winstanley, lithograph,
Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 31 *Convictos en la Nueva Olanda* [Convicts in New Holland], 1789–1794,
Juan Ravenet, wash drawing,
Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 32 Colonial Shoe, undated,
leather,
Janice Ruse–Huntington Collection
- 33 *Materials Issued to the Female Factory, Parramatta 11 Jan 1839–10 Nov 1842*,
manuscript,
State Records Authority of New South Wales
- 34 *Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Female Convicts at the New Factory at Parramatta*, 1821,
document,
Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 35 *Rules and Regulations of the Cascades Female Factory*,
Five papers on convict discipline and transportation to Australia, 1843–1850,
gilt, moire cloth, board, ink and paper,
Lent by the Australian National Maritime Museum
- 36 *Letter from Francis Oakes Concerning Head Shaving*, 1822,
Francis Oakes, document,
State Records Authority of New South Wales
- 37 Children’s Toys, early–mid nineteenth century,
clay, bone and ceramics,
Parramatta Heritage Centre Collection
- 38 Archaeological Material from Parramatta Female Factory, undated,
glass, kaolin and ceramics,
Sydney West Area Mental Health Service Collection
- 39 Archaeological Material from Cascades Female Factory, undated,
bone, stone, ceramic, wood and metal,
Female Factory Historic Site Ltd Collection
- 40 Thread Reel, undated,
wood and metal,
Parramatta Heritage Centre
- 41 *Wool from a Ewe (No. 2), from Sheep Bred by Samuel Marsden, New South Wales*,
1804,
wool sample,
Lent by the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney,
Gift of the Colonial Secretary’s Department, 1866
- 42 Spinning Wheel, undated,
wood, metal and yarn,
Hand Weavers & Spinners Guild of NSW
- 43 Wool Cards, undated,
wood and metal,
Hand Weavers & Spinners Guild of NSW

- 44 Rock Breaking Hammer, date unknown,
wood,
Ralph Hawkins Collection
- 45 Sieve, undated,
wood and metal,
Ralph Hawkins Collection
- 46 Christening Gown, 1828,
cotton,
Tasmania Museum and Art Gallery
- 47 *Letter to Alexander McLeay from Samuel Marsden*, 1833,
Samuel Marsden, document,
State Records Authority of New South Wales
- 48 *ticket of leave* case, undated
metal,
Ralph Hawkins Collection
- 49 Archeological Material, undated [1800–1860],
ceramics, metal, bone, glass, clay, slate, coin, terracotta, leather, mother of pearl,
Parramatta Heritage Centre Collection
- 50 Lacemaking Bobbin, c.1840,
bone, glass and metal,
Lent by the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, Purchased 1998
- 51 Lacemaking Bobbins, c.1840s,
wood, glass and metal,
Private Collection
- 52 Lacemaking Sample,
reproduction of bobbin lace, 2008,
Artist's Collection
- 53 Sewing Samples, 18–,
Reading and Stephanoni Co.,
Annette Butterfield collection
- 54 Patchwork Cot Cover, 1842,
cotton,
Tongarra Museum Collection, Shellharbour City Council
- 55 Layette Pillow, 1833,
cotton muslin, linen and brass pins,
Lent by the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, Purchased 1978
- 56 Bonnet, women's, c.1845,
straw, horse hair and silk,
Lent by the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, Gift of Mr Pat Williams, 1987
- 57 Bonnet Veil, Honniton Lace, 1830–1840,
linen and muslin,
Lent by the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney,
Gift of Robert Lloyd in memory of Miss Del Agnew, 2006
- 58 Women's Ankle Boots, 1804,
silk and leather,
Lent by the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, Purchased 1942

- 59 *Anne Dunne*, c.1860,
ambryotype photograph,
Courtesy of Maureen Upfold, Susan Bulbrook and Helen Soars
- 60 *Mary Jones' Conditional Pardon*,
document,
National Museum of Australia
- 61 *Emma* [Emmilla] *Mayner*, c.1855,
photograph,
Courtesy of Shirley Moore
- 62 *Emma* [Emmilla] *Mayner's Children*, c.1855,
photograph,
Courtesy of Shirley Moore
- 63 *Letter from Emma* [Emmilla] *Mayner to her Grandson*,
Emma [Emmilla] Mayner, document,
Courtesy of Shirley Moore
- 64 Bookmarks, c.1860s,
Emma [Emmilla] Mayner, thread, paper and ribbon,
Courtesy of Shirley Moore
- 65 *Letter from Ann Gordon about Jane New*, 1829,
Ann Gordon, document,
State Records Authority of New South Wales
- 66 Susannah Watson's Plait of Hair, c.1865,
hair and ribbon,
Courtesy of Babette Smith
- 67 *Letter from Susannah Watson to her Daughter Mary Ann Birks*, 1857,
Susannah Watson, document,
Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales
- 68 Bonnet, 18–,
black silk,
Cascades Female Factory Historic Site
- 69 Colonial Cloth Samples
from Hyde Park Barracks,
Historic Houses Trust Collection.
- 70 *Shadows of the Stone*, 2008,
Jenni Trezise, mixed media,
Artist's Collection
- 71 *The Passage of Time*, 2008,
Narelle Munro, photographs,
Artist's Collection
- 72 *Christening Gown*, 2005,
Christina Henri, photogram,
Artist's Collection
- 73 *Response to Lace*, 2008,
Deb Walker, mixed media,
Artist's Collection

A circular hole is drilled into a piece of dark, weathered wood. The wood grain is visible, showing vertical lines and some surface cracking. The hole is roughly circular with a dark, shadowed interior. The text "END NOTES & INDEX" is printed in a white, serif font, centered within the hole.

END NOTES & INDEX

In this reference list, the following abbreviations have been used:

HRA Historical Records of Australia
 HRNSW Historical Records of New South Wales
 SRNSW State Records of New South Wales

WOMEN TRANSPORTED – MYTH AND REALITY

Gay Hendriksen

Curator

Parramatta Heritage Centre

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- 8 Roe, Michael George *Mealmaker, the Forgotten Martyr*. Royal Australian Historical Society, v.43, pt 6, 1957, p.293
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- 13 Valier, Claire *Theories of Crime and Punishment* Pearson, Essex, 2002, p.29
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- 18 Sartre, John Paul *Being and Nothingness*. New York: Washington Square Press, 1975, pp.355–356
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- 20 Meredith Mrs C. *Notes and Sketches of New South Wales During a Residence in that Colony from 1839 to 1844*, pp.162–163
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- 24 Fry, Elizabeth *Letter from Elizabeth Fry to Samuel Marsden*, 11th February 1820
- 25 Hayter, Kezia Elizabeth *Diary* Wednesday 9th February 1842, p.31
- 26 Anley, Charlotte *The Prisoners of Australia, A Narrative*. London: J Hatchard and Son, 1841, p.26
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