

Diary
of
George Loveless
1831 to 1837

Copied from the original
copies in the British
Museum, by Mr. Harry Brooks,
in the year 1930.

'The Dorset Martyrs'

George Loveless's Diary.

Chapter I

In drawing up a breif statement concerning those persecutions which have subjected us to all the punishment--afflictions and miseries connected with the present system of transportation (which is worse than death) I shall not attempt to give the subject an unfair colouring, but simply harrate the facts just as they took place; Mentioning somtimes reflections of my own mind at the times when those facts occured.

But it will be necessary for me to mention what led me to become a member of that society, which by the idle and wealthy was branded with infancy, but which then, as now, appeared to me to be established on just and upright principles and to have for its rule the universal law of equity. 'As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them!'

About the years of 1831-1832 when there was a general movement of the working classes for an increase ~~of~~ wages, the labouring men in the parish where I lived (Tolpuddle) gathered together and met their employers to ask them for an increase ~~of~~ wages, and they came to a mutual agreement; The Masters in Tolpuddle promising to give ^{other} the men as much for ~~for~~ their labour as the Masters in district.

The whole of the men then went to work and the time that was spent on the

affair did not exceed two hours. No language of intimidation or threatening was used on the occasion. Shortly after we learnt that in almost every place around us the Masters were giving their men money or money's worth to the amount of 10/ per week. We expected to be entitled to as much.--but--no.

Nine shillings must be our portion. After some few months we were reduced to eight shillings per week. This caused great dissatisfaction and all the labouring in the village, with the exception of two or three invalids made an application to the neighbouring Magistrate, namely, William Morton Pitt, Esq. of Kingston House, and asked his advice. He told us that "if the Labourers would appoint two or three and come to the County Hall the following Saturday, he would apprise the the Chief Magistrate, James Frampton, Esq. (whose name I shall not soon forget) and at the same time our employers should be sent for to settle the subject. I was one appointed nominated to appear, and, when there, we were told we must work for what our masters thought fit to give us, as there was no law to compel Masters to give any fixed sum to their servants.

In vain we demonstrated that an agreement had been made and that minister (Dr. Warren) of the parish was a witness between the Masters and the men; for this hireling parson--who at that time said of his own accord "I am witness between you men and your Master that if you will go quietly about your work, and you shall receive as much for your labour

as any men in this or any other district and if your Masters should attempt to run away from this word, I shall undertake to see you righted! So help me God!

So soon as reference was made to him, he denied having knowledge of any such thing. From this time we were reduced to 7/-per week and shortly after our employers told us that they must lower us to 6/-per week.

The labouring men consulted together as to what had better be done, as they knew it was impossible to live honestly upon such scanty means. I had seen at different times accounts of trade societies. I told them of this, and they willingly consented to form a friendly society among the labourers, having sufficiently learnt that it would be vain to seek redress of employers, Magistrates, or Parsons. I inquired of a 'brother' to get information of how to proceed, and shortly after, two delegates of a trade society paid us a visit; and we formed a friendly society amongst the labourers and gave us directions how to proceed. This was about the latter-part of October 1833. On the 9th of December, in the evening, Edward Legg (a labourer) came and desired to be admitted into the society.

By what means he was introduced there, I cannot say; but well do know that James Hammett, one of the six that he swore to was not there.

Chapter 2

The Arrest

Nothing particular occurred from this time to the 21st of February 1834. when placards were posted up at the most conspicuous places, purporting to be 'cautious' from the Magistrates, to punish with seven years transportation, and any man who should join the union. This was the first time that I heard of any law being in existence to forbid such societies. I met with a copy, read it, and put it in my pocket. February 4 at daybreak I arose to go to my usual labour, and had just left my house when Mr. James Brine, Constable of the parish, met me and said. 'I have a warrant for you from the Magistrates!' 'What are its contents,' I said? 'Take it yourself!' said he, 'You can read as well as I can!' I did so. He asked, 'Are you willing to go to the Magistrates with me?' I answered, 'to any place wherever you wish me!' Accordingly, I and my companions walked in company with the constable to Dorchester, about seven miles distant. Mr. Woolston and his half brother Mr. James Frampton, and Edward Legg, were ready to receive us. After asking us several questions, to which I answered by saying. 'We are not aware that we have violated any law!' If so we must be amenable, I suppose, to that Law!' Legg was called upon to swear to us, and we were instantly sent to prison. As soon as we got within the prison doors our clothes were stripped off, and searched. And in my pocket was found a copy of

the above placard, a note from a friend, and a small key. After our heads had been shaved we were locked together in a room where we remained day and night till the following Saturday, when we were called before the 'bench' of Magistrates in another part of the prison, and Legg again swore to us differing considerably from his first statement. We were then fully committed to take our trial at the next assizes.

Directly after we were put back, a Mr. Young, an attorney employed on our behalf, called me into the conversation room, and among other things inquired if I would promise the Magistrates to have no more to do with the Union, if they would let me go home to my wife and family? I said, 'I do not understand you,' 'Why,' said he, 'give them information concerning the Union, who else belongs to it, and promise that you will have no more to do with it!' 'Do you mean to say that I am to betray my companions, and promise I will have nothing more to do with them?' 'That's just it,' said he. 'No, I would rather under go any punishment!'

The same day we were sent to the high jail, where we continued until the Assizes. I never had been inside of a jail before, but now began to feel it,--disagreeable company, close confinement, bad bread, and what was worse, hard and cold lodgings,---a small straw bed on the flags, or else an iron bedstead--'and this,' I said to my companions, 'is our fare for striving to live honest!' In this situation the chaplain of the prison paid us a visit to

pour a volley of instructions into our ears; but as it was mixed up in the cup of abuse, it did not exactly relish with me. After upbraiding us and taunting us with being discontented and idle, and wishing to ruin our Masters, and that the Government had made use of every possible means of economy and retrenchment to make all comfortable, he enquired if I could point out anything more that might be done to increase the comfort of the labourer. I told him I thought I could, And began to assure him that our object was not to ruin our Masters, but for a long time we had been looking for the head to begin and relieve the various members down to the feet; But finding that thinking was of no avail, we were thinking of making application to our Masters, and for them to make application to their Masters and so on up to the head, and as to their being worse off than ourselves, I could not believe it; While I saw them keep such a number of horses for no other purpose than to chase the hare and the fox. I had been thinking that if a number of those useless animals were got rid of, there would be a twofold advantage: first; The owner would possess more ready money, and secondly; The expense of keeping them would be saved to enable him to give a little more for his labour, and besides, I thought gentlemen who were wearing the clerical ~~attire~~ like himself might do with a little less salary, and so assist the rest. "Is that how you mean to do it?" said he, "That is one way I have been thinking of, Sir!" I hope the court will favor you, but I think they will not; for I believe they

mean to make an example of you!'
And saying this, he left us.

Chapter 3

The Trial.

On the 15th. March we were taken to County Hall to await our trial. As soon as we arrived we ushered down some steps into a miserable dungeon, (opened but twice a year) with only a glimmering light; And to make it more disagreeable some wet and green bushwood was served for firing. The smoke of this place with its natural dampness amounted to nearly suffocation, in this most dreadful situation we passed thru whole days. As to the trial, I need mention little; the cowardice and dastardly conduct throughout are better known to all that were present, than could any description that I can give it.

Sufficient to say, the most unfair and unjust means were resorted to in order to frame an indictment against us. The Grand Jury appeared to ransack Heaven and earth to get some clue against us, but in vain.

Our characters were investigated from our infancy to the present moment, our Masters were inquired of to know if we were idle, or attended Public Houses, or some other fault in us; and much as they were opposed to us, they had common honesty enough to declare we were good labouring servants and that they had never heard any complaint against us. And when knothing could be racked together the unjust Judge, Williams, ordered us to be tried for mutiny and conspiracy under an Act. 3. of Geo. III, Cap. 123, for the suppression of mutiny amongst the Marines and Seamen a number of years ago at the

Bore. None

The greater part of the evidence Against us, on our trial, was put in the mouths of the witnesses by the Judge and when he evidently wished them to say anything particular thing and the witness would say, 'I cannot remember,' he would say, 'now think, I will give you another minute to consider and would repeat over the words and ask, 'cannot you remember?' Sometimes charging them to be careful what they said, by the way of intimidation they would merely answer, 'Yes'! And the Judge would set it down as the witness's words. I shall not soon forget the address of the Judge to the Jury in summing up the evidence. Among other things he told them that if such Societies were allowed to exist it would ruin Masters, cause stagnation in trade, destroy property--- and if they should not find us guilty, he was certain they would forfeit the good opinion of the Grand Jury. I thought to myself, there is no danger but we will be found 'guilty' as we have a special jury for the purpose, selected from amongst those who were most unfriendly toward us.---The Grand Jury, Landowners, The Petty Jury, Land Renters, under such a charge, from such a quarter, Self-interest alone would induce them to say 'guilty'.

The judge then inquired if we had anything to say, I instantly forwarded the following short defence in writing to him;- 'My Lord, if we have violated any law, it was not done intentionally. We have injured no man's reputation, character, person or property. We were uniting together to preserve our selves, our wives

and children from utter degradation and starvation. We challenge any man, or number of men to prove we have acted, or intended to act different to the above statement.

The Judge asked if I wished it read in court? I answered, 'Yes', It was then mumbled over to a part of the Jury in such an inaudible manner, that, although I knew what was there I could not comprehend it.

And here one 'counsel' prevented sentence being passed by declaring that not one charge brought against any of the prisoners at the 'bar' had been proved; And, that, 'if were found guilty' a great number of persons would be dissatisfied and, I shall be one of them, 'He said'.

Chapter 4

The Sentence

Two days after this we were again placed at the 'bar' to receive sentence, when the Judge told us that 'not for anything we had done, or as he could prove, we intended to do, but for an example to others he considered it his duty to pass the sentence of seven years penal transportation across his Majesty's high seas each and every one of us!' Five of us were at the lodge at the time that Legg and Lock swore to our being present; but one, namely, James Hammett, was not there. As soon as the sentence was passed I got a pencil and a piece of paper and wrote the following lines:-

God is our guide! from field, from wave,
From plough, from anvil, and from the loom,
We come our country's right to save
And speak the tyrant faction's doom
We raise the watchword Liberty
We will, we will, we will be free!

God is our Guide! No swords we draw,
We kindle not war's battle fires,
By reason, Union, Justice Law,
We claim the birthright of our Sires,
We raise the watchword, Liberty,
We will, we will, we will be free!

While we were being guarded back to prison our hands were locked together, I tossed the above lines to some people that we passed. The guard however, seizing hold of them, they were instantly carried back to the Judge; and by some, this was considered a crime of no less magnitude than high treason. Almost instantly after this I was taken ill, occasioned by being kept in the dungeon

already spoken of, and two days after, getting worse, I requested to be allowed to see a doctor, and, consequently was taken to the hospital. As soon as I entered I had to cope with a new antagonist, Dr. Arden, Surgeon of the hospital. I told him I was too ill for conversation, and requested him to allow me to go to bed; but he appeared so angry as regard to what I said. At length I threw myself on the bed and answered his questions until he was very mild; and ever after this he manifested the greatest possible kindness attention toward me until I left Dorchester Castle. I told him they could hang me with as much justice as transport me for what I had done.

On Wednesday April 2nd, Mr. Woolston, Magistrate, paid me a visit and enquiring how I did. I thanked him, and told him I was much better. He said, 'I am sorry, Loveless, to see a man like you in such a situation, but it is your own fault; you are now suffering for your own stubbornness and obstinacy. You have such a proud spirit, for you would not pay attention to 'cautions' of the Magistrates, but would harken to idle fellows going about the Country, who have deceived you! I told him that I had not been deceived by any, 'for I knew no such persons as you have been describing! 'Yes, you do, for you have harkened to them rather than pay attention to the Magistrates cautions, for I am certain that you saw them, one of them being found on your person when you went to prison'. 'Is Mr. Woolston in his right mind?' Said I. 'What do you mean?' 'Why you tell me I should listen to the advice and 'cautions' put out by the Magistrates, a copy of those 'cautions' being found in my

pocket when I went jail, does it not prove that I did pay attention to them, or should I have taken so much care to preserve it in my pocket! and besides, which the circumstance concerning which the witness swore against us took place on the 9th. December and the Magistrates Cautions did not appear till February 21 following, so that we have been tried for what took place weeks before the 'cautions' and yet you say I paid knew no attention to the Magistrates, but listened to idle fellows going about the Country; within three days after the 'cautions' appeared I was in the body of the jail.' 'Ah!' said he, 'it is of no use talking to you! 'No, Sir, unless you can talk more reasonably.

Loveless in Irons

I entreated the doctor to allow me to be sent away, as I heard my companions were gone. I did this with the view to overtake them; and on Saturday, April 5, early in the morning I was called to prepare for a journey to Portsmouth; and after getting Irons on my legs and being locked in the coach, we proceeded to Salisbury, and at the entrance to the town a Mr. Glenister, clerk of the prison, who accompanied me offered to take the irons off my legs. I enquired if he meant to put them on again on leaving Salisbury. He said, 'Yes, but as I should have to walk through part of the town I had better have them off, as the rattling of the chains would cause people to be looking after us', I told him that I did not wish for any such thing as I was not ashamed to wear the chain, conscious of my innocence.

We arrived at Portsmouth about nine-o'clock at night, and I was given up to charge of the Officers of the 'York' hulk. When I went on board I was struck with astonishment at the sight of the place, the clanking of the chains and so many men being stripped. When ordered to put on the hulk livery, and called on to attend on the smith to have the fetters rivetted on my legs, for a moment I began to sink down, until the first Mate, Mr. Nickolson, told me I was to go to No. 9 Ward, Middle Deck, one of the quietest wards of the ship, and that I was to go there by the Captain's orders in consequence of the good character he had--

received with me from the prison. And yet, after all the striving and straggling by my adversaries to discover some foul blot against my reputation without effect, so cruel and reckless for revenge was some party as to say that I and my brother were rioters. Now to prove the falacy of such an assertion I would just like to refer to the period already alluded to, when we asked our employers to advance our wages. No threats or intimidation were made use of by the labourers, and at the time when so much incendiarism was prevailing in many parts of the kingdom, a watch was set in our parish for the protection of property in the night, and I and my brother amongst others were chosen to watch such property. Will any reasonable man believe if we had been rioters, that we should have been chosen?

Again I and my brother were reported to have been regular smugglers and poachers. But all this reporting, stabbing and slandering men was in the dark, behind the back out of sight, and well did the party know that there was no foundation for such foul and black assertions, and if there ever was an instance known in the space of thirty years, which was my age when these vile slanders went abroad---I say, if ever, I stand chargable for any misemdevour, or crime, I call upon my accusers to stand out and declare it. Again I challenge them to come forth and do it in a public manner and the world may judge the case, and acquit me if I am

innocent; or not let me escape with impunity if guilty. But the secret is this; I am, from principle a dissenter, and by some in Tolpuddle, it is considered as the sin of witch-craft; Nay, there is no forgiveness of it in this world or that which is to come.

The years of 1824-1825 are not forgotten, and many a curious tale might be told of men that were persecuted, vanished, and not allowed to have employ if they entered the Wesleyan Chapel at Tolpuddle. But enough of this subject, it is still on record.

Chapter 6

The Voyage to Botney Bay.

Monday April 7th.--I was called upon to go to work with the gun wharf party, and in this employment I continued the whole of the time I was at Portsmouth--being just six weeks. On the 17 of May, in the morning I was called upon to prepare for the voyage to Botney Bay.

One-hundred and twenty were drafted from Portsmouth to join the the 120 brought down from Woolwich, and after having stripped off everything and putting a new suit on for the sea, irons as well, we went on board the 'William Metcalfe', lying at Spithead, where we remained till the 25th of May. In the afternoon we weighed anchor, and the next evening we bid farewell to England, having passed Lands End.

I now began to think I had seen and heard very little--(?) evidently words missing. Left out of his notes apparently, as they are not in the 1st. edition in British Museum) N.B.

Two-hundred and forty men, shut-down together and locked in a prison, the greater part of them such monsters as I never expected to see, and whose conduct I am not capable of describing.

A small bed and pillow and a blanket were allowed for each man, which would have greatly contributed to our comfort, had there been sufficient room to have laid on them, but we could not.--A berth about five-feet six inches square was all that was allowed for six men to occupy night and day, with the exception of four hours we were allowed on deck, two

hours in the forenoon, and two hours in the afternoon for air.

For nearly ten-weeks out of fourteen I was not able to lie down at length to take rest. But what then? I was a prisoner and there was none to pity. 'You have no business here, so you must take it as it comes, for better, for worse,' is the consolation you get when you complain.

On the 4th. September (1834) (33) we cast anchor before Hobart Town, Van Dieman's Land, and as we had sailed nearly 30 miles up the river Derwent, between the land, several came to me and asked if I did not think it a delightful country.

I spoke the real sentiments of my mind when I gave the following answer;-- 'I think we are come to the wrong end of the world.'

Tuesday September 9th. the Magistrates came on board, as is usual to take dimensions etc. of the prisoners, and one by one was called into the cabin as their names stood on the alphabetical list, or rather as the towns stood from whence they were convicted.

When I was called in, after a number of questions about my father, mother, brothers, sisters, wife and children, etc. the following conversation took place between a Mr. Thomas Mason and myself:--
--'What is all this about these Unions? You think of doing great things I suppose. Now tell me what you mean?' 'We meant nothing more, Sir, than uniting together to keep up the price of labour and support each other in time of need'.
'There is some secret design of conspiracy at the bottom, is there not?' 'No, Sir,

quite the reverse of that, for every man that is a member of the Union is under an obligation not to violate the laws.'

'Yes surely, I know you mean they are bound not to break the any of their laws'

'I mean that they are under an obligation not to break the laws of their country'. 'I do not beleive anything you say about it, for there is so much secrecy belonging to it. Now what is the secret sign, or signal by which the Unions know where to meet all over-England at the ~~same~~ at-the same time', 'I do not know of what you are talking, Sir'. 'You daring fellow, will you tell me so again?' 'Do not you know that they did meet all over the kingdom at once?' (evidently a referance to the demonstrations held after the conviction of the six) N.B.

'I know of ^{no} knew such thing as their having secret signs, or signals to know where to meet, I never heard of such a thing before'. 'Where were you then when they made such a noise then?'

'Will you be so false then as to tell me that you know nothing about it?'

'Now I am certain that you know all about it!' 'Bevcareful what you say!'

'I understood the Unions had public meetings at different places, but I was on the 'York'hulk at the time,' 'It is no matter where you were; you are one of them, and you know all about it, and if you do not tell me, here and now, all and everything about them, I will report you to the Governor. You shall be taken ashore, and we will give you a second trial, and you shall be severally punished; now, what are those secrets you are so backward in revealing?' 'I have

none to tell, Sir! 'Now, you pretend from a scrupulous conscience you cannot reveal the secret to me; let me tell you that you ought to tell me all that you know about them, and if you have taken an oath not to reveal, YOU ARE SINNING AGAINST GOD AND MAN UNTIL YOU BREAK THAT OATH! and if you still refuse to tell me you shall be severely punished! I am in your hands, and am ready and willing to undergo any suffering you shall think proper to inflict upon me, rather than say I know anything, when in reality I knew do not'. 'That will do, I will report you to the Governor, and you shall be punished.

Chapter 7

Landing in
Van Dieman's Land

Friday September 12th, at daybreak we landed and were conducted to the prisoners barracks. The same day we were marshalled in the yard for inspection by the Governor, who examined every man, and when he came to see me, I was pointed out as being of the Trades Union, and very backward to say anything about them.

He therefore (that is Mason) thought it advisable to give a second examination. What the Governor replied I could not then comprehend; however he began to talk to me on the subject. The following is part of what passed;—'What a fool you must have been to have anything to do with such things, What object had you in view for doing so?' 'The motives by which we were influenced were to prevent our wives and families from being utterly degraded and starved.' 'Poh, poh! No such thing, What? Cannot labouring men live by their labour?' 'Not always now, Sir'. 'I mean good labouring men, surely they can live comfortable?' 'No, Sir, times have been in England when labour was well rewarded, but it is not so now. There is many a good and willing workman who cannot get employment at all, and others get so little for their labour that it is impossible for them to live if they have families.

'But you know you did very wrong, do you not?' 'I had no idea whatever that I was violating any law.' 'But you must know that you have broken the laws, or how came you here?' 'By some means or other I was sent here; But I cannot see how a man can

break a law before he knows such a law is in existence. 'You might as well say I have done very wrong, I acknowledge it, and am very sorry for it!' 'I cannot do this until I see it.'

September 13th., a constable came for me to go to the police office, and when there I was introduced to Mr. Mason in a private room, who calling a young man who acted for him, he asked if I could remember the conversation we had the other day. I answered in the affirmative. He bid me repeat it. I did, the young man looking at the paper he held in his hand to see if I deviated or not. He again urged me to reveal the secret to him, I told him already as far as I know. 'But' said he, 'think now, is there not something you have not told me yet?' 'I have told you, Sir, all I can, it appears that you know more about it than I do.'

'Well I have to tell you that you are ordered for severe punishment; You were to work in irons on the road, but in consequence of the conversation you had with the Governor yesterday his mind is disposed in your favor; he wont allow you to go to where you were assigned to, he intends to take you to work on his farms.'

I now began to feel the effects of transportation, I worked on the roads with the chain gang in the day, and slept in the barracks at night without a bed or covering. Whether any was allowed for me I cannot say: I had none.

On September 27. I was sent to the Governor's Domain Farm, at New Town, and here for a time I found it little better than the barracks. Eight men with only five beds, so of course, the new-comer had to go without, and this was my position

until some of the older hands unfortunately (?) got into trouble and I was entitled to a bed having been at the longer at the farm than others. Our hut was none of the best, in fine weather we could lie in bed and view the stars, in foul weather feel the wind and the rain; and this added more than a little to increase those rheumatic pains which were first brought on by cold irons round my legs, and by hard laying; and which in all probability will be my companions until I reach the tomb.

Chapter 8

The Rations

n The weekly allowance of provisions I will now mention, and this I do to answer some objections to a letter I sent home to my wife in December 1834, wherein I stated 'one weekly allowance is eight pounds flour and eight pounds of meat. Short allowance for men who have to work as convicts are obliged to do.' I said nothing about the quality; it may not seem improper to do so now. We have four pounds of wheat and four pounds of maize or Indian corn (ground together or something worse ground together).

Twelve percent, I believe is allowed to be taken out as 'sharps' by the store keeper. The Beef or Mutton is of an inferior quality also. What would be thought of a sheep being killed if they only weighed sixty pounds, and yet, very few that I saw killed for prisoners exceeded 25 pounds and many not twenty-pounds.

Hold it up to the light and it is no great trouble to see through it. But it has been asked, cannot you offer complaints and seek recompence? Yes, you can complain to the commissioner, and he will enquire of the storekeeper, and in all probability the storekeeper gets an allowance from the contractor and declares the the provisions are storeable (?suitable) and that there is no room for complaining. What then is the recompence you get for complaining? Why to use a Colonial phrase you 'get married to the three sisters' or in other words you are tied up to the triangles and your flesh flogged from your bones for being

discontented. Since I sent home the above statement the scale of provisions have been altered, but not till some of the road parties died through actual want, and others at the barracks were found cooking and eating cats, etc.

Each man had, when I left the country $10\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of flour, $5\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of meat, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of vegetables weekly, and yet, I sat that is short allowance for men that work as convicts, and for those that think differently, I only wish they had twelve months of it, and I am certain after that, they would join the general cry.

At the Government Farm I continued until I was exempted from Government labour. Once during that time I wrote to the Governor hoping to be assigned off to a new Master, but received no answer.

Sometime in the month of November 1835 my character was enquired after by the Governor, and this was repeated several times for two months, as the overseer told me, and the last time his Excellency made the following inquiry. 'Is there no fault to be found whatever with Loveless?' 'Does he never reply when you bid him do a thing?' 'Does he never neglect any part of his work?' etc, etc, etc. Which was answered in the negative. In the beginning of December 1835, I was taken to the police office and charged with neglect of duty. W. Gunn, Esq. was the sitting Magistrate. 'Well, said the Magistrate, what have you brought this man here for?' ('For neglect of duty, Sir' said the overseer. 'In what manner or means has he neglected his duty. 'What is the man?' 'The man is a shepherd and stock-keeper to the Governor

on the Domain Farm, and all the cattle tame and wild are put in his care. He is expected to see them all every day. Nine of the wild were taken to the public pound yesterday and he did not miss them till this morning.' 'I have not heard a clearer charge for neglect of duty for a long time! What have you to say, my man in answer to this charge?' 'It is true,' I said. 'I have charge of all the cattle, and I am expected to see the wild cattle in the bush once every twenty-four hours. I rise every morning at sunrise, or before and take the sheep to the bush to feed. I return to the farm and milk nine cows, and suckle as many calves. I am requested to follow the sheep and not lose sight of them for fear of dogs, which often get among them and worry them. I am ordered to search for the wild cattle to see none are missing. I had been weaning lambs and the ewes being very restless, I was afraid of leaving them, and this, Sir, was the reason the cattle were taken to the pound and I did not miss them.' 'Is all this truth that the man has been telling me,' said the Magistrate, 'Yes, Sir.' 'How long have you known this man?' 'Did you ever know him to neglect his duty before?' 'No, Sir, never', 'Then you do not think that he went away from his duty now, but, that as he says, he was with the sheep in consequence of having weaned the lambs?' 'Yes, Sir, I think what he has told you is true, but he has neglected his duty in losing the cattle.' 'But do you not think that the man has more than he can reform?' I really think it is a great pity you have brought the man here. I shall return you to your duty.

Go to your duty, my man' 'I thank you, Sir, said I, for I went in full expectation of getting fifty lashes.

N.B.-In his larger book Mr. Loveles gives a much more detailed account of his days work, and speaks of some of the ewes lambing and needing his attention.-N.B.

Chapter 9

December 29th.--I went to the police office to answer a note my overseer received from the Magistrate to know if my wife should be sent out to join me in the colony, and when I entered his presence the following conversation took place:--'I have sent for you Loveless', Said Mr. Spode the Magistrate, 'To know if you wish your wife and family to be sent over to join you in the colony, if the Government will grant them this facility?' 'I hope you will allow me to ask a question before I say anything about my wife and children', said I.

'What is that?' 'Am I about to obtain my liberty?' 'Liberty!' 'What do you mean?'

'Is there any possibility of my obtaining free pardon?' 'Not that I know, that depends on the Ministry at home.'

'Then, Sir, I can have nothing at all to say on the subject while I am a prisoner.'

'You audacious rascal, will you come to insult me thus, after I have been at the pains of writing and sending for you and all for your own advantage.' 'I beg your pardon, Sir, I did not mean to insult you.'

'You lie, you rascal, you did, and do you mean to continue that, obstinate fellow.' Here I was silent knowing what the cruel system would have exposed me to, if I had answered 'Yes', I should have been charged with insolence, and punished accordingly. 'But', continued he, 'go to your work'. 'I will go, Sir,' 'Go instantly, or I will give you a d--m good flogging.'

January 7th. 1836--I was again sent for by Mr. Spode, and when I got to the police office, he began, 'Well Loveless, I have

sent for you once more.' 'Yes, Sir', and here I am'. 'I want to know if you have any objection that your wife and family should be sent over to you, and let me tell you, before you answer me, it is intended for your own advantage.'

'Nothing could give me so much satisfaction as to join my wife and family had I my liberty, but I do not want them while I am a prisoner.' 'You want to be above the Government, and tell them what they must do.' 'No, Sir, I do not want to be above the Government, nor tell them what they must do, but I tell you, rather than being the instrument of bringing my wife and children into the distress and misery of this colony, such as I feel it, I will remain as I am as long as I live.'

He then ordered me back.

Chapter 10

January 24th.--1836.--His Excellency, the Governor, came out to the farm where I was living, and, walking up to me in the field, he asked me if I had any objections that the Government should send over my wife and family to me, as they had offered to do free of expence. I told him I had objections.

'I should like to know your objections' said he, 'I should be sorry to send for my wife and children to come into this misery.' 'Misery, ! What do you mean?' 'Why, Sir, I have seen nothing but misery ever since I came to this country.' 'How long have you been in this country?' 'Above seventeen months,' 'And how is it you have seen nothing but misery?' 'Because the food and clothing allowed to Government men only renders them miserable. It as no better than slavery.' 'Oh, no! There are no slaves in the British Dominions; You are only prisoners' you may call it by what name you please, Sir, I call it slavery and that of the worst description! 'But are you willing that your wife should come over?' 'dont you think you could do very well together here?' I do not know that I could.' 'How is it that you dont know, You are a farming man and a good sheperd, are you not?' 'As to that other people are the best judges, I know nothing of what the colony can afford.' 'You say that you have been seventeen months here, and yet you know nothing about it?' 'Why, Sir, I have, as it were been shut up in a cloister; Since I came to this farm I have scarce ever put my feet from it; I know no person and comparatively speaking, no

person known to me.' 'Well I think you could do well with your wife in this country, she would do very well here.'

'Sir, I should be a monster to send for my wife to come over here and see no way of supporting her, what could I do with my wife while I am a prisoner?'

'I have no doubt but you will have your liberty as soon as your wife arrives, I would gladly give you indulgence myself, but that in consequence of an old Act of Parliament passed that no seven years man is to obtain a ticket of leave till he has been four years in the colony.

Government has sent out to know how you have conducted yourself since you have been here, and I have sent home an excellent character of you to them. How would you support your wife and family in England?' 'By my labour, Sir.' 'And cannot you support them with your labour here?' 'I consider, Sir, while they are in England they are surrounded by with friends, if they were here it might be otherwise.' 'Oh, talk about friends, everyone has enough to do to mind themselves now.'

'Well consider of it, and let me know in the course of two or three days.'

'I did so, and I considered what I had often been told, and, what I had authority to believe, that, if a man opposes the authorities, he soon becomes a marked man, and parties are looking out to get a case against him to entangle him.

Van Diemen's Land will long bear witness to the numbers that have thus fallen victims to revenge, to the utter ~~per~~ deprivation of their reputations, property and liberties.

See Hobart town newspapers for 1835 and

January 27th.--I wrote a letter to my wife requesting her to come to Van Dieman's Land; and sent it unsealed to the Governor.

February 5th.--My Superintendent sent for me, saying, 'George Loveless' I am requested by a note from the Magistrate to send you to the police office without delay, you had better, therefore, repair thither as soon as possible.'

I went, and when there, Mr. Spode gave me a ticket; the following is a copy:-

I am directed by His Excellency the Governor, in accordance with the wish of His Majesty's Government, to give George Loveless (848) per 'William Metcalf' a ticket, exempting him from Government labour, to employ himself to his own advantage, until further orders.'

Principal Superintendents
Office.

Josiah Spode.

February, 5. 1836.

I was not allowed to receive the above ticket until I gave them some place I called my home, which was requested in their books, that no inconvenience might arise in finding me if requested.

Chapter II

At Liberty.

I now had my liberty to prove what the colony could afford; and I soon found to my sorrow the full force of my the observations I had made to the Governor a few days before, that I knew no one, and, no one knew me; I was a stranger in the colony, without money, without clothes, without friends and without a home.

In this situation I travelled the country seeking employment and have walked fifty miles without breaking my fast: I returned to Hobart Town more strongly confirmed in my opinion that I had come to the wrong end of the world. After a week or two I got employment; and as soon as possible I advertised for a situation, and found a Master, in whose service I remained until I left the country.

This gentleman gave me the privilege of reading his newspapers in regular succession. Early in the month of September he brought me the 'London Despatch,' dated I believe, April 2nd. It contained a speech of Sir W. Molesworth, in reference to the Orange Lodges, the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Kenyon and the Bishop of Salisbury. It was stated that shortly after the above speech was delivered, Lord J. Russell gave notice, 'that orders were forwarded that the Dorchester Unionists were not only to be set at liberty, but also to be sent back to England free of expence, and with every necessary comfort.' I instantly copied the paragraph.

September 16th.--The Hobart Town 'Tasmanian' mentioned the above statement as from the London newspapers, the Editor remarking at the time (for it was at the time when the whole colony with few exceptions was raising (the) against Governor Arthur's mal-administration, and the Editor of the 'Tasmanian' was one of those exceptions) in vindication of Governor Arthur's humane conduct. 'He had no doubt the gentlemanly spirit and humanity of Colonel Arthur had sent the whole of the men back before that time.' And as a proof that Governor Arthur was a man of that description, he observed, 'that orders were sent from the Home Government to work the Dorchester Unionists in Irons on the road.' but, that order had not been put into execution by the Governor, thereby relieving the Secretary of State the trouble retracting from what he had declared in the House of Commons, that the men had not been subjected to any extraordinary punishment.'

I waited three weeks, and supposing sufficient time had elapsed I resolved to address the Governor, to enquire if he knew anything about it. But fearing that a private letter might be lost, I addressed the following to R.L. Murray, Esq. Editor of the 'Tasmanian.'

SIR:

Of late frequent mention has been made in the 'Tasmanian' of the men known as the 'Dorchester Unionists', and of the Home Government in reference to them. Last week you mentioned the subject again, and observed, 'no doubt that Colonel Arthur had sent the

whole of the men home before this time.'

I do not know whether Governor Arthur has received orders from home; I should like to know. If His Excellency has received intelligence to that effect, I hope he will have the goodness to communicate that knowledge to me before he leaves these shores. I hereby offer you my sincere thanks for the sympathy you manifest toward the fate of some half-dozen humble individuals, who, in 1834, were transported to these colonies for unwillingly and ignorantly giving offence. Few can imagine---experience alone can teach---what what it is to be bereaved of, and torn from, those who are dear to us; and who are still dearer to me than could possibly be all the treasures of the world--Wife and children.

A Dorchester Unionist.

Chapter 12

Free Pardon.

Shortly after the above was published in the 'Tasmanian' my master received a letter from the Governor to inquire if George Loveless was living with him, and, if so, to tell him that the Governor wished to see him at Hobart Town. My Master told me that the Governor wished to know if I was still living with him, but did not tell me that my presence was wanted at Hobart Town. So, I replied assuring the Governor that I was living in the service of Major Dr. Gillern, at Glenaye, W. Richmond.

I received the following answer:--

'October, 16. 1836, Principal
Superintendents Office.

With reference to the letter from me to Major Gillern, a few days since requesting you to call upon me at this office, I have now to inform you that the reason of His Excellency wishing to see you is consequence of the Secretary of State, when he sent the order for your 'free pardon', having authorized His Excellency to give you a free passage to England, and he therefore wishes to be informed whether you are willing to go back, in that case, His excellency will give a passage by the 'Elphinstone'.
Return me an answer by bearer.

Josiah Spode.

I wrote the following answer:--

'I highly appreciate the kind offer

of His Excellency, the Governor, in giving me a free passage to England by the 'Elphinstone'. I would most gladly embark as I have a strong wish to go back, but consider that I have placed myself in a very awkward (position) situation. His Excellency knows that I have ^{been} persuaded to send for my wife, and for aught I know she may now be on the water, it being nine months since the invitation left this colony. It would be a dreadful thing for me to leave before I have heard from my wife to know if she intends coming or not, -- for her to find, when she arrives at Hobart Town, I had gone to London. I hope I may be allowed to remain till I hear from her, and if she is not coming, to claim a free passage to England.'

In answer to the above, I received the following:-

'George Loveless, In answer to yours note wishing to know if you could be allowed a passage to England, I have to inform you that unless you go by the present opportunity, the Government will not be able to give you a free passage.'

Josiah Spode,
The 8th. of October,
1836.

A Hard Case.

About eight or ten days after, I went to Hobart Town, and called at the Colonial Secretaries Office to speak to him on the subject, when the following conversation passed:-

'I have called, Sir, to know if I can be allowed to stop in the colony until I shall have (heard) received a communication from my wife?'

'You have been told what can be done, you were sent for to see the Governor some time ago, but you seem to pay no attention to the Authorities: Nothing more can be done for you.'

'I think, Sir, mine is a hard case, I was urged by the Governor to send for my wife and family, and I know not but they are coming, and yet I must be forced to leave before sufficient time has been allowed me to ascertain whether they will come or not.'

'Well, why did you not obey the Governor when he sent for you? It appears you treat the Authorities with disrespect.'

'I have no wish to disobey those in authority, but the reason I did not proceed to Hobart Town, in compliance with the first request, I was not told that I was wanted. My Master only told me that the Governor wanted to know if I was living in his service, and lately I could not come in consequence of my Master's illness he having been for some time in Hobart Town under the doctor's care.'

'Well, the Governor has an order to send you back on the first ship.' 'I think

Sir, you have had a free pardon for me in your office for some considerate time, long before I knew anything about it than I have delayed in coming since I have known it.' 'Yes, my goodfellow, but, the reason of that was, we did not know where to send for you! 'I beg your pardon, Sir, that could not be the reason as the place I called my home was registered at the police office, by order of the Governor',

'The order is that you are to be sent home immediately.'

'You say, Sir, the King's pardon for me is in your office, and yet I am to be sent home a prisoner. I was sent out a prisoner, contrary to my wishes. I hope Mr. Montague will place himself in my position for a few minutes, I know he is a husband and a father.' 'Well, Loveless, what do you want?' I want a promise from the Governor that I shall be indulged with the privilege of stopping a few months until I receive a letter from my wife, and if she is not coming to Van Dieman's Land, to have something to show that I may claim to a free passage to England?'

I will draw up a memorandum myself, and see what can be done for you, and you shall know the result in a few days.'

The following letter was afterwards sent me:--

Principal Superintendents
Office. 24th. October, 1836

Memorandum with reference to a former notification addressed to you from this office, relative to a free pardon

having been ordered for you from England.

I am now to inform you that His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor is pleased to approve of that indulgence being issued to you immediately; and I am further to acquaint you, in consequence of your having expressed your disinclination to embark to England by the 'Elphinstone', from having written some months ago to your wife to join you with your three children in this colony, and that you are therefore anxious to await the result of that communication, that, in the event of your expectation being fulfilled, as it regards the arrival of your family, and which an interval of three or four months may determine, His Excellency has been pleased to direct that the free passage is to be offered you by the Government that you may return to England.

Josiah Spode.

Embarks for England.

December, 23.--I received a letter from my wife, sent through the Secretary of State's Office, assuring me that she did not intend coming to Van Dieman's Land, and, wishing me to return as soon as possible. I instantly wrote the following to the Colonial Secretary:-

Honourable J. Montague. This will inform you that George Loveless (848) per 'William Metcalf' has received a letter from his wife, through the Home Office, refusing to join him in this colony, and as through your kind interference a promise was made him by the Government of granting him a free passage to England, on receiving information that his wife was not coming, he therefore earnestly entreats and humbly demands from His Majesty's Government in this colony to provide him with a free passage to England.

Replying to your goodness he offers you his warmest gratitude and acknowledgement, and subscribes himself.

You humble and obliged
servant.

George Loveless.

On January, 20. 1837, I resolved to go to Hobart Town, as I had received no, and when I had got to the Police Office that a letter had that morning been sent to me at Major De Gillern's. I give it as follows:--

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'In reference to your request, that a free passage may be provided for you to England, agreeably to the promise made you by the Government, I am to inform you that you can be allowed one by the ship 'Eveline,' Captain Jamieson, in the fore-castle with steerage passengers allowance, provided you are satisfied with the accomodation. As this vessel will sail in the course of the month you had better proceed to Hobart Town immediately and satisfy yourself respecting it, and inform me of your decision.

Josiah Spode.

I instantly went on board and agreed with the Captain, who told me that the ship would sail on Sunday, January 29. I returned and told the Superintendent, Mr. Spode, that I had been to the Captain, and was satisfied with the promised accomodation, and the same night returned to my Master's.

Saturday, the 28th. I proceeded to Hobart Town, and went on board the ship, and on Monday the 30th. at nine-o'clock we drew anchor and embarked for London, where I arrived on June 13. 1837.

George Loveless.