



## Sarah Ann Cox

Date of Trial:	31 January 1817
Where Tried:	Bristol Quarter Session
Crime:	Larceny
Sentence:	7 years
Est YOB:	1798
Stated Age on Arrival:	20
Native Place:	
Occupation:	Needlework
Alias/AKA:	
Marital Status (UK):	
Children on Board:	
Surgeon's Remarks:	A prostitute, mutinous and extremely insolent
Assigned NSW or VDL	VDL

Where and when and to whom Sarah Ann Cox was born has not been established, but she was convicted at the Bristol Quarter Sessions on 13 January 1817 for stealing a gold watch, and sentenced to 7 years transportation.<sup>1</sup> She did not have to wait too long before she was removed from gaol and taken to Deptford to be mustered onto the *Friendship* in readiness for the voyage to Port Jackson. The vessel reached its destination in January 1818. Her age then was stated to be 20 and she was a needlewoman by trade. She had not impressed the ship's Surgeon, Peter Cosgreave, who described her as 'A prostitute mutinous and extremely insolent'.<sup>2</sup> Her journey was not quite completed as Sarah Ann joined the other fifty-two women convicts who were transferred to Hobart on the *Duke of Wellington* and from there she was sent to Port Dalrymple and the settlement of George Town on the north coast.<sup>3</sup>

I have not found a record to indicate how this cohort travelled to the Port Dalrymple district. Perhaps they took the route described by Commissioner Bigge. He noted that convicts arriving at Hobart, but destined for Launceston and George Town, were sent to a landing place on the river Derwent and then, under escort, proceeded by easy marches to Launceston some 120 miles north, and then by boats along the Tamar river to George Town.<sup>4</sup>

It was at Port Dalrymple that Sarah was mustered in 1820 and 1822.<sup>5</sup> When she arrived there to serve out her sentence 'The Factory' consisted only of a shed set up in the lumber yard. The convict women worked there during the day making woollen cloth and leather shoes (for which Sarah's needlecraft skills may have been useful) but, as no sleeping quarters were provided, they had to find their own board and lodgings off-site. Many of them took the opportunity afforded by this modicum of 'freedom' to meet and 'take up with' a partner – usually a prisoner, ex-prisoner or a soldier. (It was not until 1825, and after Sarah's time there, that a more suitable building was found to serve as both Factory and accommodation quarters.<sup>6</sup>) And indeed Sarah Ann had taken up with a person by the name of Richard Beard by whom she bore a son, Charles Cox Beard (later known just as Charles Cox), who was born on 2 December 1820 and baptised on 21 October 1821 at George Town.<sup>7</sup>

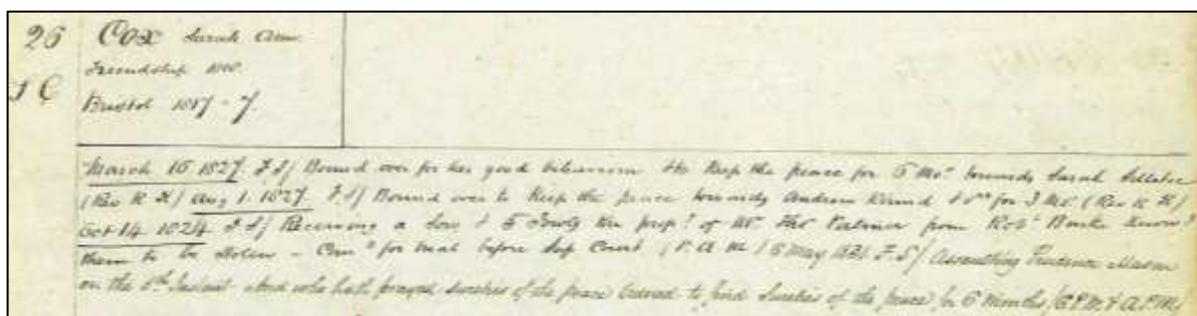
Richard Beards [sic] (together with Henry Allen), charged with 'breaking into and stealing from the dwelling house of John Flecknoe, at Harbury', had been tried at the Warwick Assizes on 1 April 1817, found guilty and sentenced to transportation for life.<sup>8</sup> As one of 182 convicts, Richard Beards left England in August 1817 on board the *Ocean*, which arrived at Port Jackson on 10 January 1818.<sup>9</sup> He was initially detailed off to Liverpool but on 30 January, he boarded the *Duke of Wellington* bound for Van Diemen's Land where his skills as a cabinet maker could be put to use.<sup>10</sup> As noted, also on board as one of the female convicts was Sarah Ann Cox. While Richard and Sarah had some sort of relationship, no marriage record has been found for them. Indeed, two months after the birth of his son by Sarah, Richard Beard married Mary Ushard [sic] at Georgetown on 6 February 1822.<sup>11</sup> The bride's name was in fact Mary Usher (or Murtagh), and she had been convicted in August 1817 at King's Co, Ireland, and arrived at Sydney on 19 November 1818 on the *Elizabeth* to serve out her seven year sentence. She was one of

three assigned servants – a house and laundry maid - to John Smith who accompanied him to Van Diemen's Land on board the brig *Queen Charlotte* in January 1821.<sup>12</sup>

There is nothing in the records to indicate that Sarah had been assigned to any of the local households during her sentence which officially came to an end on 30 January 1824 when, together with another of the *Friendship* girls, Ann Kennicott, she received her certificate of freedom, almost exactly seven years after her conviction, suggesting that she had been reasonably well behaved during this time.<sup>13</sup>

However, having made a big mistake in choosing to associate with Robert Burke, she was apparently in trouble before the year was out. On 14 October she was accused of receiving from Robert Burke one sow pig, valued at £3, and five fowl, valued at 5 shillings, the property of Mr. Thomas Palmer, knowing them to be stolen. The pair was committed for trial at the Launceston Supreme Court on 28 December 1824. This time Sarah was fortunate – she was acquitted, but Burke was found guilty and remanded.<sup>14</sup>

The authorities maintained a conduct sheet for each of the convicts. On average, each convict woman was found guilty of six offences while under sentence. So, while Sarah's record of offences was not as comprehensive as others, her misdemeanours point to a quarrelsome women.



She was back in court on 16 March 1827 when she was bound over for her good behaviour and to keep the peace for 6 months towards one Sarah Sillitoe (previously Sarah Griffin and one of the *Friendship* convicts who was constantly in trouble), and five months later, on 1 August, again bound over to keep the peace towards Andrew Rhind and others for three months. Once again her temper got the better of her when she assaulted one Prudence Mason for which, on 5 May 1831, she 'hath prayed sureties of the peace' and ordered to find Sureties of the peace for 6 months'.<sup>15</sup> In September 1825 Sarah herself had also been a victim, at the hands of Thomas Walch, husband of *Friendship* woman Elizabeth Gunton, and seemingly a man quick to resort to the 'physical', and for which he was bound over to keep the peace for six months.<sup>16</sup>

In researching the female convicts it is often the case that the fortunes of the women were intrinsically defined and shaped by the men with whom they associated. Sarah Ann Cox was a prime example of this.

Robert Burke was an Irish man, born about 1801 in Dublin and a cotton spinner by trade, described as 5ft 5ins, with a fair pale complexion, brown hair and hazel eyes. With no scars or other detracting features recorded, he may well have been a good looking young man.<sup>17</sup> He was tried at Dublin in September 1818 for robbing a paper mill, and sentenced to seven years transportation.<sup>18</sup> Aged about 18, he was one of 150 prisoners who sailed from the Cove of Cork on 24 April 1819 on the *Bencoolen* which arrived in the colony on 25 August 1819. Refreshingly, the ship's surgeon, William Evans, remarked on the good behaviour of the prisoners. No corporal punishment had been meted out, there had been no gambling or impropriety, and the prisoners paid great attention to their prayer books. Indeed Mr Evans believed that:

... their decency and propriety of behaviour and submissiveness to all those placed over them indicated they meant seriously to retrieve their injured characters.<sup>19</sup>

Governor Macquarie noted in his diary for Monday 6 September 1819:

This morning early The Private Merchant Ship *Adml Cockburn* Capt. Briggs, sailed for the Derwent. By this Ship

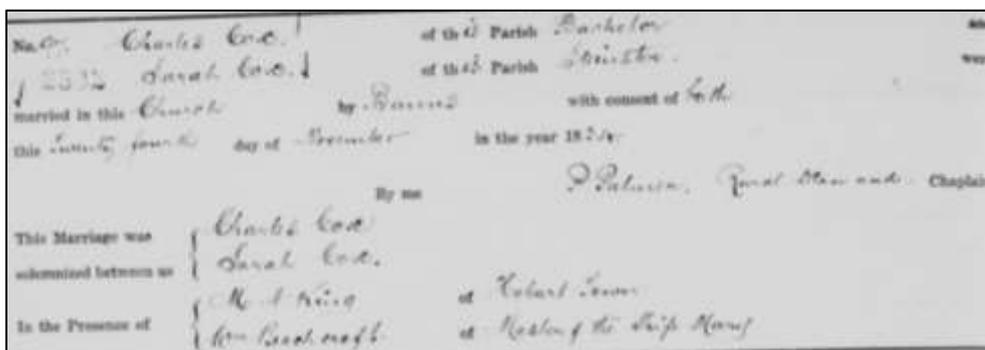


I sent 130 Male Convicts (of those arrived in the Bencoolen) for the use of the Settlements on Van Diemen's Land.<sup>20</sup>

Robert Burke was one of those on board the *Admiral Cockburn*, and for the 1823 muster was shown as being employed on public works.<sup>21</sup> He had, however, come to the attention of the authorities before then. Robert Burke was to prove Surgeon Evans' faith in at least one of his passengers to have been misplaced. Robert's conduct sheet chronicles a series of misdemeanours. On 1 July 1820 he was put to work in irons for three months for losing a quantity of sheep belonging to his master, Mr. Sutherland. Four weeks later, on 29 July, he was sentenced to 25 lashes for refusing to work. A punishment of 25 lashes resulted from him being absent from the Penitentiary all night on 1 January 1822. On 13 December 1822 and again on 23 September 1823 he was ordered to receive 25 and 50 lashes respectively for disobeying orders and insolence. Disobedience again resulted in his being ordered, on 2 October 1823, to spend two months on the Government Gang at George Town. Absenting himself in August 1824 incurred another 14 day punishment. We have already noted the theft in October 1824 of Mr. Palmer's livestock. While awaiting trial at Launceston Gaol his disorderly behaviour earned him confinement on bread and water for a fortnight. On 5 October 1825, working in irons and 100 lashes were his 'reward' for having absconded into the woods, and yet a further 18 lashes were prescribed in September 1826 for Robert's neglect of duty and insolence to his overseer.<sup>22</sup>

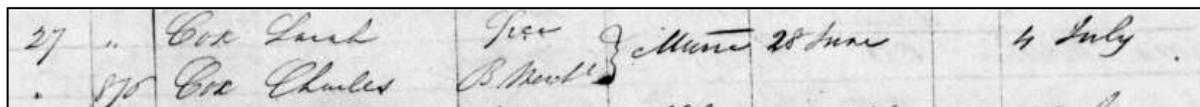
But by far his most serious offence was committed in 1829, by which time this incorrigible man had been sent to the dreaded and infamous Sarah Island in the middle of Macquarie Harbour, 'the place for the most disorderly and irreclaimable convicts'.<sup>23</sup> A mountainous wilderness, surrounded by treacherous seas and 'guarded' by Hells Gate, escape from this convict settlement was considered next to impossible. But, against all the odds, some convicts did try to escape, but very few succeeded. Robert Burke was one such convict who attempted to escape. In partnership with five others (including William Watts, husband of "Bristol Girl" Hester Wright), he commandeered a boat. But the convict crewmen were quickly spotted and chased and so they turned back and ran the boat ashore and escaped into the woods.<sup>24</sup> The would-be sailors were re-captured and Robert's only 'escape' was to Hobart where he was sent for trial and convicted for 'being a felon at large before the expiry of his sentence' and for stealing a boat valued at £20 and various sundry items of government property worth £5.<sup>25</sup> The sentencing hearing was held on 13 June 1829. It would have been little consolation to Robert to hear the judge suggest that his arrest had been a blessing, 'before opportunity had been afforded to commit new crimes'. Robert Burke had committed a capital offence and he was duly sentenced to death.<sup>26</sup> He 'suffered the awful penalty' of his crime on 10 July 1829.<sup>27</sup>

The fate of Sarah Ann Cox raises some questions. When, in 1824, Sarah Ann received the stolen goods from Robert Burke, was this a one-off business transaction or did they have a closer attachment? Had she met and perhaps cohabited with him while doing her time by day at the Factory? If they had discussed marriage, Robert's premature death put an end to any such plans. But did she marry? Was she the Sarah Cox, listed as spinster, who married Charles Cox, listed as bachelor, at Hobart on 24 November 1834?<sup>28</sup>

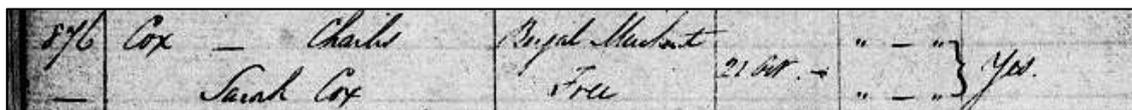


An application for permission to marry was submitted by a couple named Charles Cox and Sarah Cox on 27 June 1831 and forwarded to the Colonial Secretary on 4 July.<sup>29</sup> Sarah Cox was free, but Charles Cox was still under

sentence, having arrived in the Colony per the *Bengal Merchant*. If there was an objection to the application it is not stated as there is nothing written up in Governor's Decision column.

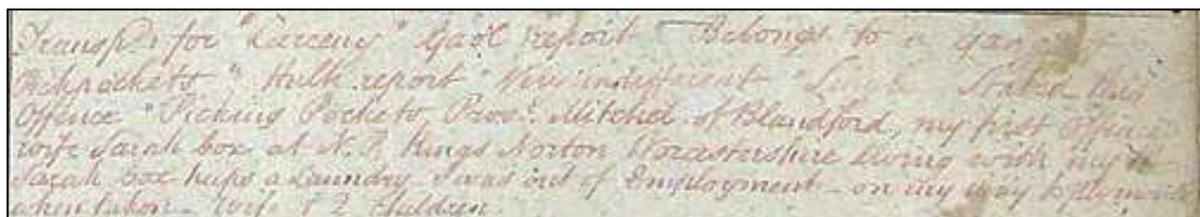


On 21 October 1834 this same couple submitted another application which was duly forwarded for consideration and which was approved.<sup>30</sup>



How had this Charles Cox found his way to Van Diemen's Land? His journey commenced with his trial on 16 October during the Dorset Michaelmas County Sessions held at the Dorchester Guildhall. As reported in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Charles Cox was sentenced to 14 years transportation for 'stealing money from the person of R.G. Mitchell on the race-course at Blandford'.<sup>31</sup> A highlight of the August meeting at Blandford was the running of the 100 sovereign Dorsetshire Gold Cup.<sup>32</sup> Events such as race meetings attracted large crowds and proved to be ideal hunting grounds for thieves, whether professional or opportunistic.

Charles Cox, age 24, spent just over six months on the hulk *Captivity* before being 'disposed of' on 2 March 1828 to the *Bengal Merchant* which, with 170 convicts on board (four of whom died in passage), departed from England in late March and arrived at Van Diemen's Land on 10 August 1828.<sup>33</sup> Charles spent some years assigned to Thomas Horne, a barrister, a farmer and a staunch advocate of popular rights.<sup>34</sup> In 1834 Charles obtained a ticket of leave, and it was as such that he was mustered in 1835.<sup>35</sup> It was at this time that a detailed description of Charles was recorded. He was a labourer, aged 29 and (without shoes) stood at 5' 9½". His complexion was sallow, he had a large round head, and brown hair. He sported large bushy whiskers, and his face was broad, oval, with high cheek bones. His forehead was low and narrow and his bushy, overhanging eyebrows nearly met. His eyes were gray/hazel, his nose short and thick, his mouth small with a full underlip and his chin large. He was pock-picked and had a scar high up on the left side of his forehead. His native place was given as Kings Norton, Worcestershire.<sup>36</sup> The comments in red at the top of Charles' conduct register make for interesting reading.<sup>37</sup>

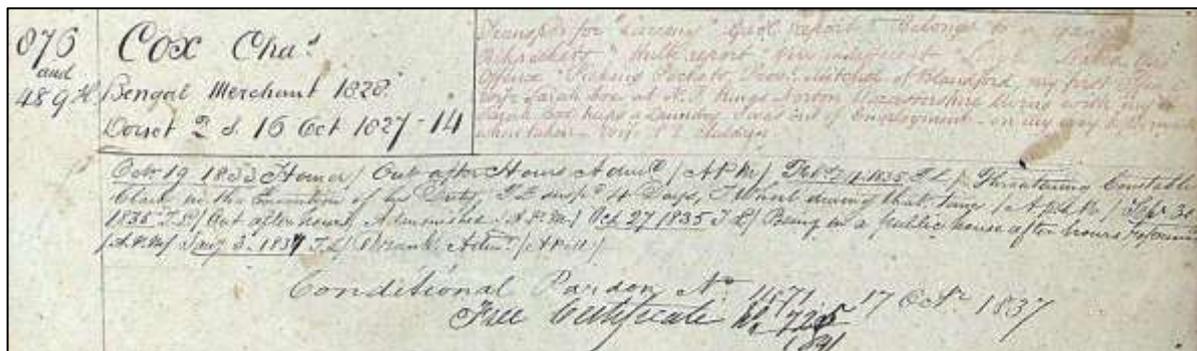


They confirm that Charles had been transported for "Larceny". The Gaol report states that he 'Belongs to a gang of Pickpockets.' His behaviour during the time he spent on the hulk was deemed "Very indifferent" and it was noted that he was "Single". Charles had confirmed that he had picked the pockets of prosecutor Mitchell of Blandford, but claimed that this had been his first offence. Contrary to the hulk report, he was a married man with two children, whose wife Sarah Cox was at his native place, Kings Norton, Worcestershire, living with his family(?). His wife kept a laundry. When he committed his crime he was out of employment and was on his way to Plymouth when arrested.

Referring back to the November 1834 marriage registration. There is nothing to indicate the status of the parties – i.e. convict or free, nor any mention of the ships in which they arrived in the colony. Both parties were able to sign their names, but there is nothing in the convict documentation for Sarah Ann Cox and Charles Cox to confirm or otherwise whether they were literate. The registration does, however, state that Charles was a bachelor and Sarah a spinster. No other colonial marriages have been identified for the couple, but, based on the contradictory

notes in Charles' conduct register, was he or was he not married? If the latter, had his first wife died or, like so many others, once arrived in the colony had he 'reverted' to being an unencumbered single person?

His conduct record reveals that Charles had not been a model convict, having chalked up a few misdemeanours.



On 19 October 1833 his master Thomas Horne reported him for being out after hours, and for which Charles was admonished. More seriously, on 24 February 1835, and as a ticket of leave holder, Charles was accused of threatening Constable Clark in the execution of his duties. This incident made the papers, as reported in the *Colonial Times*.

Charles Cox, holding a ticket-of-leave, was called on to answer the charge of James Gray, the Poulterer who appeared as sour as a "Quince", and stated that Cox had claimed a fowl, that he, in his capacity, had sold to a customer; that such conduct was highly detrimental to his honour and credit. "That good name in man or woman," was the immaculate jewel of their souls. There was no proof adduced of good character and consequently that none had been lost or injured; that the "fowl" charge was a mistake altogether, and the poor ticket-of-leave man was discharged, who regretted that his friend was about fitting up a shop for himself opposite Mr. Gray's which he intended to open "in the fowl way too," as he thought when he opened he would again be subject to another "fowl charge". The same man was afterwards charged by constable Clark, who musters the ticket-of-leave men, (which has now become an important task to prevent the old game of tip) with having removed his residence without giving due notice, and on being told of it, of having been insolent to the said constable; and as constable Clark swore with having threatened him; it appeared that Cox did in a state of excitement, lift up his fist, when replying to Clark, but not with intent to menace this "mock state officer," who being only half English bred, understands very little of the action to the word. The poor fellow was ordered to the tread-wheel for four days, to teach him due subordination to a "brother ticket-of-leave man," and pay proper "respect to persons".<sup>38</sup>

There were two infringements recorded for 1835. On 30 September he was admonished for being out after hours and a month later, on 27 October, reprimanded for being in a public house after hours. The last entry was for 3 January 1837 when Charles was admonished for being drunk. The conduct register also recorded that Charles Cox had been granted a free certificate in 1841.<sup>39</sup>

With a ticket of leave Charles Cox was free to work for himself and, from the report of his spat with Mr. James Gray, it seems that Charles was in the process of establishing himself as a shopkeeper. Indeed the following item from the 13 January 1835 *Colonial Times* might refer to him.

Charles Cox, a retail dealer, charged with having in his possession a false balance, was fined £5 and costs.<sup>40</sup>

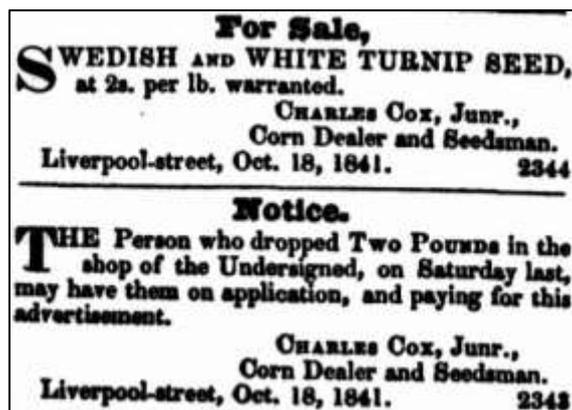
In December 1835 Charles Cox, corn dealer of 56 Liverpool Street, Hobart Town was nominated as a contact for information relating to a missing horse belonging to a Mr. Hugh Gordon, and by February 1838 Charles, a witness in a court case, was referred to as 'a respectable corn dealer, in Liverpool-street'.<sup>41</sup> By 1839 Charles had expanded his business, and was then advertising himself as "Corn Dealer and Seedsman"<sup>42</sup>. He must have done rather well for himself - well enough for him and his wife to perhaps consider an overseas holiday. The 'passport' by which consideration was converted into reality was the issue, in November 1841, of Charles' certificate of freedom, by which he was free to travel anywhere, including to the United Kingdom if he could afford it.

In anticipation of the end of his servitude, Charles Cox placed the following notice appeared in the *Colonial Times*

of 21 September.

THE Undersigned being about to leave the colony, begs to return his sincere thanks to his numerous friends and the public, for the very liberal support he has received for the last seven years, and begs to state that the business will be carried on from the 1st October next, by his son, Charles Cox, jun., for whom he solicits a share of that patronage so liberally bestowed on himself. All persons having claims will present them forthwith, and all those who may stand indebted, will please to pay them at the earliest convenience.<sup>43</sup>

When he married Sarah, Charles seems to have adopted her son Charles, who would have been nearly 15 at the time, and who was subsequently referred to as Charles Cox jun. Minding the shop would have been quite a responsibility for Charles the younger, but he was no doubt up to the task. It was under his name that the following two notices were published on 19 October – the first notifying that it was business as usual, and the second demonstrating his honesty.<sup>44</sup>



Probably during his parents' absence, Charles jun. married 18 year old Sarah White in January 1842. The groom, a corn chandler, was only 21 and his bride 18. The witnesses were Robert Lacey and Jane White and all parties were able to sign their names.<sup>45</sup>



Between 1842 and 1850 five children had been born to this couple, one of whom had died in infancy <sup>46</sup> Sarah would have been glad of assistance with caring for her young family, but she was forced to forgo the services of nursemaid Margaret Farrell, a young Irish woman who had arrived on the convict ship *John Calvin* in May 1818. Having finished work on 1 January, instead of returning to the female depot, Margaret absconded and remained at large for three weeks 'enjoying the fascinating society of Hobart Town' during which time she was seen 'driving through the streets in a cab, escorted by seamen.'<sup>47</sup>

Charles continued to o the family business, advertising in 1842 that he now stocked canary seed of a very superior quality (and selling at one shilling less than any other house in town). The range of goods had been further expanded by 1844 with Pacey's perennial rye grass, red and white clover and lucerne on offer, as well as barley, oats bran, grey peas and maize, and every description of garden seeds, all being sold at exceedingly low prices for cash.<sup>48</sup> Apart from operating the store, Charles was the Assistant Secretary of the Gardeners' and Amateurs' Horticultural Society, and a regular and successful exhibitor at its shows. For instance, in 1845, in the Flower Section, he was awarded first prize for his *Digitalis Lutea* and *Double Yellow Day Lily* (both exhibited for the first time in the colony), and for his *Thunbergia alata alba* and *Gardenia florida*.<sup>49</sup>

It was during his parents' absence that Charles Jun. expanded the family's interests by obtaining the license for the *Salutation Inn*, in Liverpool Street, near the Union Bank, at a time when there was an increasing demand for

public houses, as remarked by the Chairman of the licensing authority.

#### NEW LICENCES

The Chairman, in looking over the list, observed that more licences it seemed were required; the accommodations were not yet completed, but must be extended, in order that poor weary travellers should procure more rest and refreshment; the following licenses were then granted:-

To Charles Cox, jun., for a house to be called the *Salutation Inn*, in Liverpool Street. Mr. Rowlands appeared for the applicant, who was highly complimented by the Bench upon his great respectability and excellent character.<sup>50</sup>



*The Salutation Inn*  
A.T. Fleury drawing<sup>51</sup>

The 1847 Hobart Directory lists him as publican whose immediate neighbours were Thomas Browne, stationer, lithographic printer and daguerreotype artist, and Isaac Solomon, general dealer. It was also recorded that Charles was one of the householders in Hobart Town rated at £18 and over. A later Directory records that Charles Cox, publican of Liverpool Street, paid £10 per annum upwards, and his immediate neighbours were the Registry Office operated by Richard Drury and, on the other side, Thomas Jennings, basket weaver and beyond him, Isaac Solomon now trading as a draper.<sup>52</sup> Judging by the following 1850 advertisement Charles maintained and regularly replenished a comprehensive cellar.<sup>53</sup>

**Whisky! Whisky! Whisky!**

**T**HE undersigned begs to acquaint his friends and the public, that he is enabled to supply them with the best **CAMPBELL TOWN WHISKY** ever imported to the colony, per *Marmion*.

ALSO,  
Ind and Coope's Ale, in hogsheads  
Geneva  
Booth's London Gin  
Taylor's Porter, Rum, Brandy, &c.  
All imported to his order, and selected by a competent agent.

CHARLES COX.  
*Salutation Inn, Liverpool-street.*

It was at the Annual Meeting of the Licensed Victuallers' Society, held in October 1848, that Charles was first appointed as a member of the Managing Committee, a position he held in succeeding years.<sup>54</sup>

When, and by which ship Charles sen. and Sarah Cox left Van Diemen's Land is not known. However it is likely

that they were away for some time, returning in December 1850, travelling cabin class aboard the barque *Rattler*, which had departed from London on 26 August. Their arrival was warmly greeted by the local papers.

The *Rattler* has conveyed to these shores, once more Mr. and Mrs. Cox, the worthy parents of Mr. Charles Cox of the *Salutation Inn*, Liverpool Street, to remain, we hope, permanent residents in the Colony<sup>55</sup>

Such hopes were soon dashed - unfortunately, within three years, both Charles senior and Charles junior had died, the latter predeceasing his step-father. Sarah Ann Cox's only known child died on 19 September 1852, having suffered for some time from inflammation of the lungs.<sup>56</sup> The following notice was placed in the *Hobart Guardian* of Wednesday 22 September. What the notice does not say is that his widow was about seven months pregnant when she lost her husband.

At his residence, the "Salutation Inn," Liverpool-street, on the 19th instant, after a lingering illness, MR. CHARLES COX, jun., in his 32nd year, much regretted by a large circle of friends. He has left an affectionate wife and four children to deplore his loss. His funeral will take place on Thursday next at 2 o'clock, to which friends are invited.<sup>57</sup>

There is a memorial plaque for Charles Cox jun. on the St. David's Park Memorial Wall.<sup>58</sup>



(Photograph, Mike Fretwell, March 2018)

Six months after the death of her son, Sarah Ann Cox was widowed. Charles Cox sen. (named Edward Charles Cox) died of the same disease as his step-son - inflammation of the lungs and a recognised occupational hazard for grain handlers - on 30 March 1853.<sup>59</sup> *The Colonial Times* of the next day carried the following notice.

Yesterday, 30th March, at his residence, Brisbane-street, Mr. EDWARD CHARLES COX, aged 54, late corn-dealer, Liverpool-street. Friends are respectfully informed that his funeral will take place from his late residence, Brisbane-street, on Monday the 4th April, at 3 o'clock p.m.<sup>60</sup>

Charles Cox sen. left a will, which is barely legible, but consists of four pages of tightly written legalistic provisions. It was drawn up on 28 October 1852. Essentially, he leaves everything to his 'dear wife Sarah Ann Cox', but does make provision for the children of the widow of his late step-son. Probate on the estate, valued at not exceeding £800, was granted to Sarah Ann Cox on 21 August 1853.<sup>61</sup>

While no longer living there, Sarah retained her interest in the *Salutation Inn*. She was a witness at the inquiry into the first fire to occur in Liverpool Street on Good Friday 1859, which destroyed the house-cum-shop of a Mr. Whitworth, and caused some damage to the *Salutation Inn*. In giving evidence, Mrs. Sarah Ann Cox deposed:

I live in Argyle-street, and am owner of the *Salutation Inn*, and the house lately occupied by Whitworth. Whitworth's house was let by the year, the rent being paid monthly. He always was very regular with his rent. He never told me he was insured. I claimed the right of inspecting the house twice every year, and did so about six or seven months ago. Upon that occasion I went through the whole of the house for the purpose of seeing where there was a leakage in the roof ... I went into the shop monthly for rent. It appeared to be fully stocked, but not with valuable goods. I should not think of buying anything out of the shop for myself ... He had possession of the shop since 1853.<sup>62</sup>

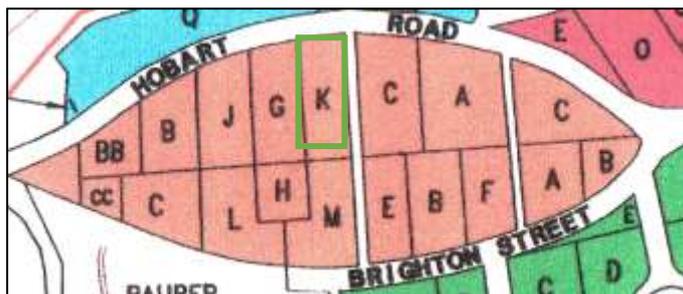
It is somewhat amusing to note that, having 'come up in the world', Sarah was happy to take her tenant's rent but did not deign to purchase any of his wares.

Sarah Ann Cox outlived her late husband by some twenty years. The news of her death on 3 May 1873 was announced in both the Launceston and Hobart newspapers, the following being taken from *The Tasmanian Tribune*.

COX - On the 3rd instant, at Church-street Sarah Ann relict of the late Charles Cox, in the 78th year of her age. The funeral will move from her late residence, No. 1 Church-street on Tuesday morning at 9 o'clock, when friends are invited.<sup>63</sup>



Cross referencing this notice with the register of deaths in Hobart for 1873 reveals that the deceased was born in England, and that she was a widow. The combined cause of death was diabetes and convulsions.<sup>64</sup> She was buried on 6 May at the Cornelian Bay cemetery.<sup>65</sup>



*Independent Section, Cornelian Bay Cemetery*

No doubt Sarah Ann would have been proud of her son's management of the family business and his horticultural achievements, and happy with his acquisition of the liquor license, but she would have been even more delighted with the grandchildren Charles Jun. and his wife Sarah presented to her on her arrival back in Tasmania. Born during her absence were <sup>66</sup>

Charles Edward Cox, 25 Sep 1842

Eliza Catherine Cox, 24 Feb 1844

(died 20 Oct 1846)

Richard John Cox, 18 Jan 1846

Sarah Catherine Cox, 19 May 1848

Jane Eliza Cox, 11 Mar 1850

The youngest grandchild, Thomas Andrew, was born on 27 November 1852, just over two months after the death of his father.<sup>67</sup> Young Thomas died in February 1854, shortly after his first birthday.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> instant, at the residence of his mother, No. 25 Patrick-street, Thomas Andrews, youngest son of the late Mr. Charles Cox, junr., aged 14 months and 18 days.<sup>68</sup>

For the record, and briefly, all the surviving grandchildren of Sarah Ann Cox married.<sup>69</sup>

Charles Edward Cox to Jane Catherine Dunn in 1866; he died in Glebe, Sydney in 1909

Richard John Cox to Susannah Sturgeon in 1873; he died in Waterloo, Sydney, in 1887

Sarah Catherine Cox to Alfred Winter in 1873; she died in Hobart in 1921.

Jane Eliza Cox to Charles William Clark in 1888; she died in Hobart in 1927

Sarah Ann Cox lived just long enough to witness the marriage of her eldest grandson Charles, and also the birth of his first three children. None of these children, nor the offspring of her other grandchildren, would remember their great-grandmother. But hopefully they would have come to know her through family stories and recollections.

### The other Charles Cox

Contemporaneously with the Charles Cox of the foregoing account, there was another man by the name of Charles Edward Cox living in Van Diemen's Land. This second Mr. Cox had been born about 1788 and, at the age of 26, had been tried at the Old Bailey on 25 May 1814 for the theft, in February, of a gold watch (coincidentally the same crime as committed by Sarah Ann Cox) from James Dunkin, a watchmaker of St James Street, valued at £25, found guilty and sentenced to seven years transportation. His legalistically flamboyant defence statement is quite different from the usual run-of-the-mill responses.

Situated as I am, not having time to send to my friends, trusting entirely to a jury of my country, which is the greatest gratification to a prisoner, the trial by jury. Gentlemen, the man who knows his innocence can put his hand to his heart, and has nothing to fear. I declare, most solemnly, gentlemen, that I am as innocent as any of you. I am situated without a counsel, having been committed on Saturday. Gentlemen, I have been at large having undergone three examinations. I was acquitted of the whole charge, but I fell within the domain of Bow-street. I now appear before you. Gentlemen, now the prevarication of the witness I will ask you. The witness now swears positively to me. It is now three months ago; whether from that period to four months, which positively did not exceed a minute and a half, how he can prevaricate before a jury. I should be sorry to say that he is the individual than did the act himself. I can thus much declare, no property has been found. It is something extremely singular, at the office he felt a degree of agitation in swearing to me, now he can swear to me. If I had shrunk from the court I must have been a guilty man, though conscious I am whatever your verdict may me I shall be satisfied. To my God and my country I leave it. I have not been allowed time to call my friends, or else I could have confirmed my innocence.<sup>70</sup>

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that according to the convict indents Charles was a lawyer by calling. Further, he was recorded as a native of Tiverton, about 5ft 2½ tall, with a ruddy complexion, black hair and dark hazel eyes.<sup>71</sup> Having spent a short time incarcerated on the hulk *Retribution*, Charles Edward Cox was discharged on 6 September for embarkation on the convict ship *Indefatigable*.<sup>72</sup> The vessel departed in October 1814 and arrived at Sydney on 18 June 1815. Initially Charles was assigned to Mrs. Mary Reiby – an ex-convict herself and by then one of Sydney’s leading entrepreneurs and an astute businesswoman – before being transferred to Van Diemen’s Land in 1817 on the brig *Governor Macquarie*.<sup>73</sup> Charles clearly had no intention of retaining his convict status for any longer than necessary. When he arrived in Van Diemen’s Land it was with a ticket of leave, as per the following advice from the Colonial Secretary to Lt. Governor Sorrell.

One of the men named Charles E Cox since being destined for VD Land has obtained by His Excellency the Governor’s Command under the present Date [23 July 1817] a Ticket of Leave, to enable him to employ himself for his Benefit during Good Behaviour.<sup>74</sup>

By the end of 1818, and by now referred to as Charles Edward Hipsley Cox, he had secured his pardon.<sup>75</sup> It is also as Charles Edward Hipsley Cox that the Convict Stockade website lists him as one of the convicts on the transport ship *Indefatigable*.<sup>76</sup> And as COX Chas. E.H, he was included in the 1822 muster listing of free men as Hobart Town.<sup>77</sup> In October 1840 he advertised widely in the local press that he was available to serve his ‘Brother Settlers’ as General Agent. Underpinning his credentials was the experience of twenty-five years in the colony.

Mr. CHAS. EDW. HIPPESLY COX, being perfectly aware of the detention and loss of time which long absence from home too frequently occasion, will be most happy to avail himself of the patronage of his Brother Settlers, as a General Agent; confidently hoping 25 years’ standing in the Colony, will plead in his favour. Whatever confidence may be reposed in Mr. C. he is determined to meet it with inflexible integrity.

Office, New Market Place  
Clarence Plains, Oct. 1, 1840.<sup>78</sup>

*The People’s Advocate* reported on the sudden death in May 1855 of Mr. Charles Hipplesley [sic] Cox, of Elizabeth Street. *The Hobart Mercury* reported on the inquest.

The Late Mr. C. Hipplesley Cox – On Monday an Inquest was held before Mr. A.B. Jones, Coroner, at the Roy Roy, Liverpool-street, to enquire into the death of Mr. Charles H. Cox, who died suddenly on Saturday night at supper, at the house of Mr. John Smith. From the evidence adduced, it was shown that the deceased, while eating some steak, was choked. Mrs. Smith attempted to remove the obstruction, but could not succeed, as the teeth of the deceased were firmly clenched. A verdict was returned – “Died by the visitation of God.” The remains of Mr. Cox were interred yesterday; he was an old colonist, and well known to many.<sup>79</sup>

The death registration states that he was 66 years old when he died on 23 May.<sup>80</sup>

Charles Edward Hipsley No. 6088. Cox 2176	Hobart Town	23 <sup>rd</sup> May	66 years.	Coroner Warrant.	H. E. Drew
--	-------------	----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------

The coincidence of the two men by the name of Charles Cox has caused some confusion. A number of Ancestry family trees have ascribed Charles Edward Cox, later styled Charles Edward Hipplesly Cox, and with a suggested year of birth of 1799, as the husband of Sarah Ann Cox of the *Friendship* – clearly a case of mistaken identity.<sup>81</sup>

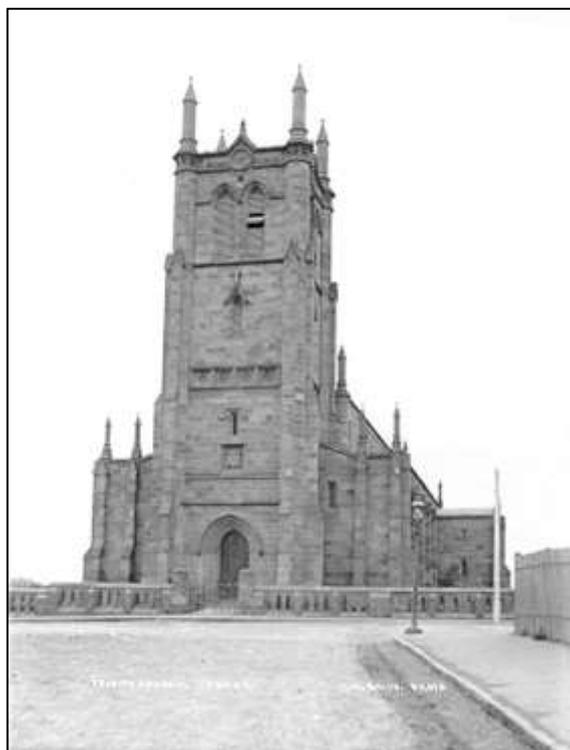
Postscript

When Charles Cox died in 1852 his young widow was left with the responsibility of bringing up four children, ranging in age from two to ten, and the unborn child she was carrying at the time. This last child died on 15 February 1854, two weeks before Sarah married George Herbert Pink by licence on 1 March at the Holy Trinity Church and one week after the groom had been granted his conditional pardon.<sup>82</sup>

Number.	When married, and where.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Rank.	Signature and Description of Parties.	Name of Clergyman, Officiating Minister, or Deputy Registrar.	When registered.	Signature of Deputy Registrar or Officiating Minister.
251	1854 Holy Trinity Church	George Herbert Pink Sarah Cox	34 29	Butcher Widow	Geo. H. Pink S. Cox	J. Wilson	1854	J. Wilson

Married in the *Holy Trinity Church* according to the Rites and Ceremonies of *the United Church of England and* by licence of *the Bishop of Bristol* by *J. Woodfield* (In the Presence of us) *Henry James Hamner* of us *J. Wilson* Minister.

This Marriage was solemnized between us *Geo. H. Pink* *S. Cox.*



Church of the Holy Trinity<sup>83</sup>

Over the next nine years Sarah gave birth to six children which, including the children born to Charles Cox, brought her total output to twelve.

George Pink (he assumed the middle name Herbert later) was found guilty at the March 1847 Winchester Assizes of a particularly vicious burglary committed nine months previously in July 1846. His victims were ninety-year old Miss Covey and her female servant. Masked and armed with a pistol, he broke into their home and demanded money, threatening to shoot them if they raised the slightest alarm. He got away with upwards of two hundred pounds in gold and silver.<sup>84</sup> He received a sentence of transportation for ten years and was first received at Millbank Prison on the bank of the Thames before being removed to the hulk *Stirling Castle*, there to await a berth on a convict ship. The documentation from these two institutions tells us that George was 28 years old and a butcher by trade when he committed his crime. He was generally well behaved and had 'superior' literacy skills.

He advised the authorities that he had been born at Nuthanger Farm, Ecchinswell, Hampshire. However, he may have been the George Pink, baptised on 8 March 1818 in the parish of Colmer (Colemore). For the 1841 census he was included, as a shopman, in the household of John Barton, a butcher, living in London Street, Basingstoke.<sup>85</sup> It was not until 19 August 1850 that George Pink departed England's shores, being one of 315 convicts who were transported on the *Rodney* which arrived in Van Diemen's Land on 28 November. He was assigned to Thomas Stump, butcher of Elizabeth Street, and subsequently worked as a foreman for M. Mansfield, before being taken on in November 1855 as a partner of Charles Eady, trading as Eady & Pink, and then going out on his own in 1859.<sup>86</sup>

Had the authorities bothered to check, or had the facility to do so, they would have found by referring to the Prison Registers and/or the Conduct Register that George was a married man when he was tried and sentenced.<sup>87</sup> Documents show that on 30 June 1846, just a month or so before he committed the burglary, George Pink and Harriette Clift were married at St Thomas, Portsmouth, and that a son, George Herbert Pink, son of George and Harriett [sic] was baptised at St Mary's Church, Middlesex on 21 January 1847 – two months before his trial. What is not shown in the documentation is that the death of the infant George Herbert Pink was registered at Marylebone for the Jan-Mar quarter 1847 – and so perhaps George Pink, father, was unaware of the death of his son?<sup>88</sup> So he committed bigamy when he married widow Sarah Cox, a fact that came to light some ten years later. George and Sarah had been married for nine years when his past caught up with him.

On 30 March 1865, in the Supreme Court of Tasmania, an action was lodged under the Matrimonial Causes Jurisdiction, namely, a 'suit for judicial separation on the ground of Adultery promoted by Harriette Pink of Hobart Town in Tasmania against George Pink of the same place Butcher'.<sup>89</sup> Over the next few months the public was entertained by the newspaper accounts of the protracted case of *Pink v Pink*. A full rehearsal of the case is not given here, but essentially Harriette was seeking a divorce and alimony. George countered by claiming that Harriette, who had arrived in Adelaide as a free immigrant on the *Madagascar* in 1849 and subsequently moved to Melbourne, had herself married and had also, thereby, committed bigamy and adultery. He may have relied in part on the publicity given to the case of *Hunter v Hunter* in which Harriette was cited as 'the other woman'.<sup>90</sup> Harriette vehemently denied having married anyone else.<sup>91</sup> To assist the court in determining an appropriate sum of alimony, Harriette's legal team produced financial statements showing that George Pink was earning a comfortable living. George produced his own set of accounts which considerably differed and, indeed demonstrated that the state of his finances was far from robust. To further confound and delay the proceedings, crucial witnesses for both sides lived outside the jurisdiction of the Tasmanian Supreme Court - in South Australia, New South Wales, Victoria and New Zealand. In the end the case seems to have fizzled out. Harriette returned to Melbourne, where she married George Stone in January 1870.<sup>92</sup>

Meanwhile, and confirming his version of his finances, George Pink was declared a bankrupt, the first meeting of his creditors being held at the Court House, Campbell Street, Hobart, on 27 September 1865.<sup>93</sup> The Assignee had already instructed Brent & Westbrook to sell off the bankrupt's business lease and 'appurtenances of the trade'.

THE LEASE of the well known premises in Liverpool-street now in insolvent's occupation, and which has five years and 8 months to run, also the good will of the business, stock-in-trade, horses, carts, and the usual appurtenances of the trade, among which will be found – 7 horses, 2 carts, 1 meat waggon, 1 chaff cutting machine, corn crusher, 2 sets harnesses & saddles, 11 pigs, 1 milch cow, lot corn, salt, corned beef, implements of trade, office furniture, casks, coppers, &c., &c. The sale to commence at 11 o'clock, on the premises, 89 Liverpool-street.<sup>94</sup>

It was during the first meeting of creditors that much of the time was spent dealing with claims (disputed) submitted for expenses incurred by various parties in supporting and maintaining Harriette Pink during the divorce proceedings. It was claimed that these amounted to about £133. In addition and separate to this amount, it was stated that George Pink had already paid out about £400 for costs incurred in the matrimonial case. The insolvent did not attend this meeting, and it was suggested that he had absconded, and was thus in contempt of court. His representative, Mr. Graves, did not confirm that George had 'done a bunk' but argued:

... that Mr. Pink's absenting himself could hardly be called absconding, as he had been driven away by harsh proceedings and excessive legal costs.<sup>95</sup>

In October 1865 George was a wanted man, a warrant having been issued for the arrest of George Pink, alias George Herbert, charged with bigamy and described as follows.<sup>96</sup>

About 45 years old, 5 feet 8 inches high, fresh complexion, dark hair mixed with grey, greyish whiskers, beard, and moustache, full face, red nose, deep scar on face, stout built, an Englishman, a butcher. Has been carrying on that business in Hobart Town for many years. He left Launceston, per *Black Swan*, on the 19th ultimo, and on arrival in Melbourne took up his abode at the *Glasgow Arms*, Elizabeth-street.

The Report of Crime of 15 June 1866 advised that the absconder had been arrested and it was also in June 1866 that George was given his bankruptcy discharge at the adjourned first meeting of creditors, held on 27 June, and at which George was in attendance.<sup>97</sup> In his absence, and not authorised by him, some payments had been made to creditors – which he was advised he could try and recover. But most importantly, while the Commissioner reminded George that he was guilty of contempt of court, he would not press the charge.

I grant your discharge Mr. Pink, but you must remember that you have been guilty of contempt. It is however, within my knowledge that particular circumstances led you to leave the colony, and as there is no opposition, I do not think it my duty to take any further notice of your not appearing before the court when called upon. Discharged accordingly.

By this time George was in his mid-forties, and his wife Sarah, who had spent most of the tumultuous year of 1865 pregnant with their last child, George Herbert Pink born in November, was in her early forties.<sup>98</sup> It was Alfred Burbury who had acquired the lease of 79 Liverpool Street.<sup>99</sup>

**A L F R E D B U R B U R Y**  
**B U T C H E R ,**  
**79, LIVERPOOL-STREET.**

**Desires to inform his Customers and the Public in general that he continues to sell Meat of the best quality at the lowest possible remunerative prices, and trusts no undue competition with an inferior article will receive their support.**

**A.B. takes this opportunity to inform the residents at New Town that he supplies Customers at that place at TOWN PRICES.**

**November 17th, 1868.**

What the notice does not say is that, on taking over the lease, Alfred Burbury appointed George Pink as his foreman, which, while perhaps humiliating, did guarantee some income. It was in that capacity that George Pink was the chief witness in the case of Thomas Wilding and George Pearce who were charged with having stolen 20lbs of bacon, the property of Alfred Burbury. Both accused men had previously been employed by Mr. Burbury but had recently been dismissed. The purloined bacon was found at the "Stowell Arms" and identified by George as the missing carcass. Pearce was acquitted but Willing was sentenced to three months imprisonment.<sup>100</sup> A similar incident occurred a few months later. This time Jessie Williams, who up to a few days beforehand had been employed by George, was charged with having stolen a carcass of mutton, the property of Alfred Burbury. In giving evidence, George was able to identify the carcass, half of which was found under the shawl of the thief and the other half in her bedroom. Despite her pleading, and offering £1 to George if he would let her go, no mercy was shown, and Jessie was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment.<sup>101</sup>

By March 1869, no doubt much to the relief of the family, George seemingly was back on his feet and ready to start off again with his own business.<sup>102</sup>

**T**HE NEW BUTCHERING  
ESTABLISHMENT,  
NO. 35, MURRAY STREET,  
NEXT THE CLUB HOTEL.

—

GEORGE H. PINK

Begs respectfully to inform his Friends and the Public that he has opened the above Establishment for the sale of

**TASMANIAN FED MEAT,**

And hopes, by strict attention to his business, and supplying first-class articles at very moderate rates of profit, to merit a share of the public patronage.

A first-class sample of Tasmanian Fed Meat from the Estate of Charles Headlam, Esq., Macquarie River, now on view.

The Working Classes are respectfully invited to give a call at the new shop.

35, Murray-street,  
19th March, 1869. 25m

Just six months later Sarah Pink was again a widow, under particularly distressing circumstances, recounted in *The Tasmanian Times* of 27 October 1869.

#### INQUEST ON THE LATE MR. PINK

An Inquest was held at three o'clock yesterday afternoon before A.B. Jones, Esq., Coroner, for the purpose of enquiring into the circumstances attending the death of George Herbert Pink. The jury consisted of seven respectable citizens of whom Mr J.T. Robertson was elected foreman. The Coroner briefly charged the jury and an adjournment then took place at the General Hospital for the purpose of viewing the body. On returning, the first witness was called.

Sarah Pink, who deposed that she was the wife of the deceased and lived in Patrick-street; saw him last lying dead at the General Hospital that day; saw deceased alive last, about seven o'clock on the morning of the 20<sup>th</sup> inst.; the deceased on the night before, a short time before twelve o'clock, came into the house, and witness asked him where he had been all day; he answered her and seemed to be wandering in his mind; he refused to break his fast or to drink any spirits, though he said he had been wandering about all day and had had nothing to eat or drink. After some persuasion the deceased took some tea and insisted upon going out again; it was a long time before witness could induce him to go into the bedroom, and when in, he was very restless and uneasy, saying that he could not sleep and wanted to go out and see some one; he seemed to think there was some one else in the room; there was not. Witness believed that the deceased was sober; on the night in question the deceased was very quiet and reserved in his manner, and appeared to be in low spirits, or in a desponding state; believed that the deceased was in difficulties in regard to money matters; he was carrying on the business of a butcher in Murray-street, and had been doing so for six months previously. No one, to the knowledge of the witness, at the time had been pressing the deceased, but witness believed, from what she had learnt since his demise, that he had been pressed by some of his creditors, and that though a deal of money was owing to him, the same could not be collected. The deceased had not been drinking to excess; never saw the rope produced. (The witness was here so overcome by her feelings, as to render her answers intelligible for some time). The deceased did not tell the witness where he was going on the morning in question; he only had told her son that he was going across the water. Had not seen the clothes at the General Hospital; the hat and handkerchief produced were similar to those worn usually by the deceased, and they appeared to be those which the deceased had carried about with him.

To a juror – Witness did not know that any threatening communication had been received from Melbourne by the deceased.

George Stokell, the resident medical officer of the General Hospital, in the presence of the other witnesses; first saw the body on the 24<sup>th</sup> instant, at the same place, and made a post mortem examination by order of the Coroner, and found several superficial wounds on the face and neck, which probably were caused by fish. The fleshy part of the left hand between the thumb and the forefinger was destroyed from the same cause; on opening the body it was found that the lungs were congested and the small bronchi filled with water; the heart was healthy and filled with venous blood; believed that the deceased was alive when immersed; apparently the body had been in the water some two or three days. From the appearances witness did not think that death could have ensued from any other cause than that of suffocation by drowning.

Thomas Slingsby, a drover living in Campbell-street, deposed that he knew the deceased intimately; saw him alive last about a quarter to eight o'clock when he was going up Campbell-street, past witness' shop; he was dressed in a light tweed suit, and had a walking stick with him, and had a hat, of the same description as the one produced, on his head; he was walking remarkably fast in the direction of the Brickfields; the deceased did not acknowledge witness, never turning his head to him; had noticed nothing about him strange of late.

Richard Maddocks deposed that he knew deceased well, and believed that he was about 54 years of age; witness saw the hat and stick picked up on the beach at Cornelian Bay on Saturday last; witness meant about three hundred yards beyond the rifle butts, at Cornelian Bay; another person was with witness, and picked up the stick produced in his presence; witness afterwards handed the stick and hat to C.D.C. Jones; last saw deceased alive on Monday, when he appeared to be quite right; was in his company about an hour on that day.

By the foreman – The hat when found was not wet; it appeared to have been washed in by the tide to a place about high water mark.

Henry Wright, hay and corn chandler, deposed that he lived in Murray-street next door to the residence of the deceased; had known deceased intimately for about three years; had not noticed anything peculiar in his manner of late. On last Monday night week the deceased asked witness to splice an eye in a rope for him; witness put an eye into the rope produced. Deceased seemed very strange in his demeanour, and after talking about the rope and the use it was to be applied to, walked away; witness asked him what he was going to do with the rope, if he was going to use it to hold calves with; deceased replied in the negative; witness did not make the knot himself, but he showed the defendant how to make a knot to prevent the noose from slipping. On Tuesday morning saw deceased walking along the road about half-past eight o'clock in the direction of the church; had never heard the deceased threaten to make away with himself; did not think he had been drinking because he never saw the slightest indication of the effect of intoxication liquor upon him.

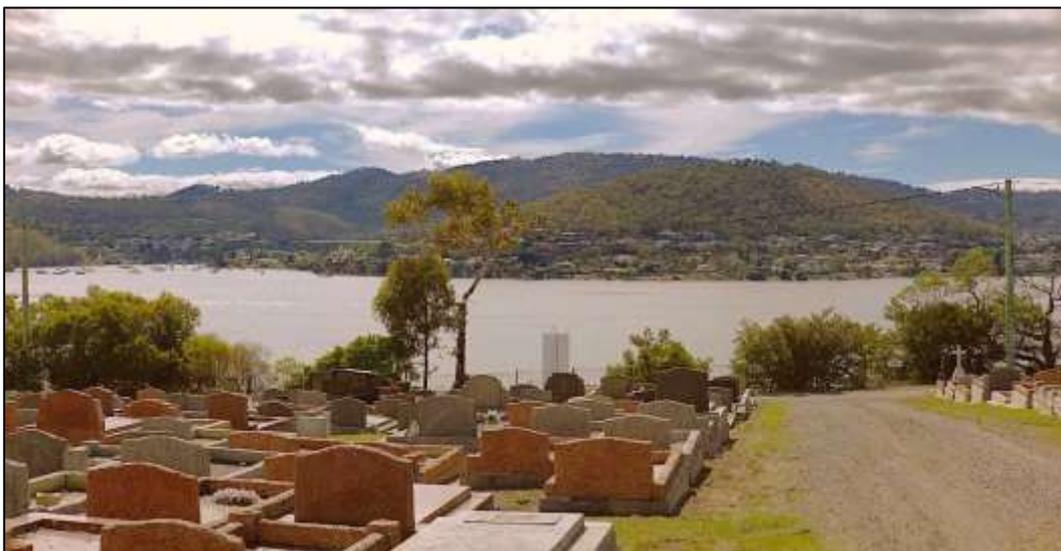
Alfred Jones, Chief District Constable in the Rural Police, deposed to finding the body of the deceased on Sunday last, the 24<sup>th</sup> instant. On Saturday received the articles produced, and was shown the spot where they were found. Knew Mr Pink well. Witness proceeded in company with other constable on Sunday morning, and found the body between forty and fifty yards from the spot where the hat and stick were found at Cornelian Bay, on the New Town side; the water in that location is about 7 feet in depth; at the time of the discovery of the body the tide was at its full; the precise spot where the body was found was about 30 yards from the shore. The body was dressed in the same clothes as those in which it was dressed when lying at the Hospital. The rope produced was fastened around the body in three coils, and a stone was suspended which witness had to cut away; the stone weighed about twenty pounds or more. Witness cut the rope close to the eye and the body was then placed in a boat and brought ashore. The body was somewhat disfigured when found. The blood flowed from a wound in the neck, the wound appearing to be the result of a pistol ball; the flesh over the left eye, was also eaten away. In the attire of the deceased, an account, two three-penny pieces, and a handkerchief and knife, were found.

This was the whole of the evidence, and the Coroner summed up, commenting generally upon the facts elicited from the different witnesses. The jury agreed on a verdict, without retiring, to this effect – that deceased committed suicide by drowning himself on Wednesday afternoon, the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, whilst labouring under a fit of temporary insanity.<sup>103</sup>

A death notice confirmed the finding.

PINK – Found drowned, at Cornelian Bay, on the 24<sup>th</sup> instant, - George Herbert Pink, aged 49. His remains will

leave his late residence, Patrick-street, at half-past eleven This Day, when friends are respectfully invited to attend.<sup>104</sup>



*Cornelian Bay, Hobart*  
(Photograph, Mike Fretwell, March 2018)

Left to mourn the loss of her second husband, Sarah also needed to find the means of supporting herself and the children still in her care. After the death of her first husband Sarah Cox had applied for and was granted permission to sell liquor at the *Salutation Inn* under the licence held by her late husband. However, the decision was questioned and drawn to the public's attention in the press, under the heading 'Caution to Publicans' Widows'.

At the court for transfer of licenses, held on Monday, a question arose, as to the power of any but the Police Magistrate, to grant permission to the widow of a publican to carry on the business, until the permission is more formally granted by a bench of Justices. The question was mooted in the case of Mrs. Cox, of the "Salutation Inn", Liverpool-street, who, it was stated, had applied to two magistrates, by the advice of some professional adviser, who had granted the required permission. The learned Chairman decided, that such a course was illegal, but the bench generally, disavowed any intention to take advantage of the law, to the prejudice of Mrs. Cox, who acted through ignorance, and who had done nothing to deserve a deprivation of her license; the Police Magistrate also expressed an opinion, to the same effect, but deemed it best to have the matter made known, to avoid similar errors in the future.<sup>105</sup>

In May 1853 the license was transferred from Sarah Cox to Ann Blakely. It was the *Salutation Inn* which was to provide the wherewithal to support Sarah and her family after the death of her second husband. At the December 1870 annual meeting for granting public houses licences Sarah successfully reapplied for the license and held it until 1882, when it was transferred to Robert Geary.<sup>106</sup> "Time Gentlemen Please" was last heard at *The Salutation Inn* on 30 September 1919 when it, and eighteen other public houses were delicensed.<sup>107</sup>

Sarah Pink died at home, 38 Patrick Street, Hobart, on 11 August 1911, aged 87.<sup>108</sup> She was buried at the Cornelian Bay Cemetery, next to her son Robert.<sup>109</sup>

She had drawn up her will on 10 July 1907, to which a codicil was attached, dated 27 April 1908.<sup>110</sup> Probate on her estate was granted to The Perpetual Trustees, for which the 'lands goods chattels rights credits and effects' did not exceed in value the sum of £2380. Sarah Pink was survived by two married daughters from her first marriage – Sarah Catherine Winter and Jane Eliza Clark – and two daughters and a son from her second marriage – Frances Julia Pink (spinster), Henrietta Olive Hooper, and George Herbert Pink. Robert Stuart Pink, born in 1856, died at Hobart on 4 May 1907. The principal beneficiary was her unmarried daughter, Frances Julia Pink. Henrietta Hooper and George Herbert Pink and the widow of son Robert Pink were provided for in equal shares. Her eldest son Charles Edward Cox and her daughter-in-law and widow of Richard Cox were to receive £50 pounds each (although Charles, having died in 1909, predeceased his mother. There was no reference in the will

---

to Sarah Catherine Winter or to Jane Eliza Clark.



*Sarah Pink's Gravestone, Cornelian Bay*



*Robert Stuart Pink's Gravestone, Cornelian Bay*

(Photographs, Mike Fretwell, March 2018)

Today there are many descendants of Sarah Cox and George Pink living in Tasmania. At least two of note were Olive Muriel Pink (1884-1975) and Kerry George Pink (1931-2003). Olive was born in Hobart, daughter of Robert Stuart Pink and granddaughter of George and Sarah Pink. She was renowned as an artist, Aboriginal rights activist, anthropologist and gardener, and also for her Edwardian style of dressing, something she shared with Daisy Bates with whom she was well acquainted.<sup>111</sup> Kerry Pink (1931-2003) was the son of George Evan Pink, grandson of George Hubert Pink, and great-grandson of George and Sarah Cox. He was born at Burnie, and was a journalist with the Burnie Advocate for forty years. He is best known as the author of many history books of the Western Tasmania and the north coast of Tasmania.<sup>112</sup>

---

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Bristol Mirror*, 18 Jan 1817, p.3; Ancestry, England & Wales, Criminal Registers, 1791-1892.

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry, New South Wales, Australia, Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788-1856.

<sup>3</sup> *The Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter*, 21 Feb 1818, p.2S.

<sup>4</sup> John Thomas Bigge, Report on State of the Colony of New South Wales, June 1822, reproduced by Project Gutenberg Australia, January 2013, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks13/1300181h.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Ancestry, New South Wales, Census and Population Books, 1811-1825, Port Dalrymple Population Muster 1820. Female Convicts Research Centre (FCRC) Female Convicts in Van Diemen's Land database, Convict ID: 3585. Philip Tardiff, "Notorious Strumpets and Dangerous Girls", CD electronic format, Gould Genealogy and History, Ridgehaven, South Australia, 2008.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Trudy Crowley, "Life in Van Diemen's Land Factories", Convict Female Factories Research Association, <https://sites.google.com/site/convictfemalefactories/life-in-the-factories/life-in-van-diemen-s-land-factories>.

<sup>7</sup> Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office (TAHO), Launceston baptisms 1821, RGD32/1/1 no 1176.

<sup>8</sup> *Northampton Mercury*, 19 Apr 1817, p.3.

<sup>9</sup> Claim a Convict, <http://www.hawkesbury.net.au/claimaconvict/convictDetails.php?convictId=60310>.

<sup>10</sup> Ancestry, New South Wales, Australia, Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788-1856.

<sup>11</sup> TAHO, Launceston marriages 1822, RGD36/1/1 no 588.

<sup>12</sup> Biographical Database of Australia (BDA), Biographical reports for Richard Beard and Mary Usher. TAHO, Assignment List, CON13-1-2, image 101. Both Mr. and Mrs Beard were regular attendees at the police courts, mainly for drunkenness. But in October 1831, she for



stealing and he for receiving, Mary was sentenced to three years, and Richard to seven years, transportation – *The Independent*, 29 Oct 1831, p.3.

<sup>13</sup> *The Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser* (Hobart Town Gazette), 30 Jan 1824, p.1.

<sup>14</sup> Philip Tardiff, "Notorious Strumpets", *Tasmanian and Port Dalrymple Advertiser*, 5 Jan 1825, p.2.

<sup>15</sup> TAHO, Conduct Record, CON40-1-1 p.13. Founders & Survivors: Mugsheets, Sarah Ann Cox, [http://www.founders-storylines.com/mugsheets/convicts/profile/sarah\\_ann\\_cox](http://www.founders-storylines.com/mugsheets/convicts/profile/sarah_ann_cox); Philip Tardiff, "Notorious Strumpets".

<sup>16</sup> TAHO, Conduct Record, CON31-1-45 p.21.

<sup>17</sup> BDA, Biographical report for Robert Burke.

<sup>18</sup> The National Archives (UK), Folios 60-63, Convicts received on board the Bencoolen at Cove of Cork in Ireland, 13th and 14th April 1819, with their respective ages, date when tried, crimes and periods of transportation, ADM 101/7/107, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C10367811>.

<sup>19</sup> Free Settler or Felon? Convict Ship Bencoolen 1819, [http://www.jenwilletts.com/convict\\_ship\\_bencoolen\\_1819.htm](http://www.jenwilletts.com/convict_ship_bencoolen_1819.htm).

<sup>20</sup> Lachlan and Elizabeth Macquarie Archive (LEMA), <http://www.mq.edu.au/macquarie-archive/lema/1819/1819sept.html#sept6>.

<sup>21</sup> Ancestry, New South Wales and Tasmania, Australia Convict Musters, 1806-1849.

<sup>22</sup> TAHO, Conduct Record, CON31-1-1 p.50.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, Pan Books, London, 1998, p.372. See also pp.371-381 for a descriptive account of this convict settlement.

<sup>24</sup> *The Hobart Town Courier*, 17 Jan 1829, p.2S.

<sup>25</sup> TAHO, Conduct Record, CON31-1-1 p.50.

<sup>26</sup> *Colonial Times*, 26 Jun 1829, p.4.

<sup>27</sup> *The Hobart Town Courier*, 11 Jul 1829, p.2.

<sup>28</sup> Ancestry, Australia, Marriage Index, 1788-1950; TAHO, Hobart marriages 1834, RGD36/1/2 no 2532.

<sup>29</sup> TAHO, Marriage Permissions 1831, CON45/1/1 p.33.

<sup>30</sup> TAHO, Marriage Permissions 1834, CON52/1/1 p.23.

<sup>31</sup> *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 25 Oct 1827, p.2.

<sup>32</sup> Wikipedia, List of British racecourses, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_British\\_racecourses](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_British_racecourses).

<sup>33</sup> Findmypast (FMP), Prison Ship Registers Transcription. Convict Records, Charles Cox, <https://convictrecords.com.au/convicts/cox/charles/113625>. Ancestry, Australian Convict Transportation Registers – Other Fleets & Ships, 1791-1868. *The Tasmanian*, 15 Aug 1828, p.2.

<sup>34</sup> Ancestry, New South Wales and Tasmania, Australia Convict Musters, 1806-1849, Tasmania, List of convicts (incomplete), 1832 and 1833. Mary Nicholls, 'Home, Thomas (1800–1870)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/home-thomas-3798/text6013>, published first in hardcopy 1972, accessed online 27 November 2018. *The Tasmanian Times*, 24 Sep 1870, p.2, Obituary.

<sup>35</sup> *Launceston Advertiser*, 2 Oct 1834. Ancestry, New South Wales and Tasmania, Australia Convict Musters, 1806-1849, Tasmania, List of convicts (incomplete) 1835.

<sup>36</sup> TAHO, Description, CON18/1/1 image 10.

<sup>37</sup> TAHO, Conduct Register, CON31/1/6, image 297.

<sup>38</sup> *Colonial Times*, 20 Mar 1835, p.8.

<sup>39</sup> Ancestry, Tasmania, Australia, Convict Court and Selected Records, 1800-1899, Pardons, Leave, Discharge, Register of certificates of freedom granted, 1841-1844.

<sup>40</sup> *Colonial Times*, 13 Jan 1835, p.7.

<sup>41</sup> *Colonial Times*, 8 Dec 1835, p.8. *Colonial Times*, 27 Feb 1838, p.7.

<sup>42</sup> *Colonial Times*, 1 Oct 1839, p.3.

<sup>43</sup> *Colonial Times*, 21 Sep 1841, p.2.

<sup>44</sup> *Colonial Times*, 19 Oct 1841, p.1.

<sup>45</sup> TAHO, Hobart marriages 1842, RGD37/1/2 no. 1497.

<sup>46</sup> Ancestry, Australia, Birth Index, 1788-1922. Ancestry, Australia Death Index 1787-1975.

<sup>47</sup> FCRC, Female Convicts in Van Diemen's Land database, Convict ID: 6835. *The Britannia and Trades' Advocate*, 31 Jan 1850, p.2. Margaret Farrell was sentenced to 7 months imprisonment with hard labour.

<sup>48</sup> *The Austral-Asiatic Review, Tasmanian and Australian Advertiser*, 19 Aug 1842. *The Courier*, 3 May 1844, p.1.

<sup>49</sup> *Colonial Times*, 9 Dec 1845, p.3.

<sup>50</sup> *Colonial Times*, 3 Nov 1846, p.3.

<sup>51</sup> 'Some mystery surrounds this Inn, on the southern side of Liverpool Street, about four doors west of Murray Street. It opened for business in 1847 and was closed in 1916, with little known of its past except for quite a bit of trouble with the police before it was delicensed'. C.J. Dennison, Here's Cheers : a pictorial history of hotels, taverns and inns in Hobart, Hobart City Council, 2008, p.175.

<sup>52</sup> *Hobart Town General Directory*, 1847, pp. 6, 27, *Hobart Town General Directory*, 1852, pp. 35, 77.

<sup>53</sup> *The Irish Exile and Freedom's Advocate*, 14 Sep 1850, p.8.

<sup>54</sup> *Colonial Times*, 3 Nov 1848, p.2.

<sup>55</sup> *Hobart Guardian, or, True Friend of Tasmania*, 18 Dec 1850, p.3.



- <sup>56</sup> TAHO, Hobart deaths 1852, RGD35/1/3 no 1698.
- <sup>57</sup> *Hobart Guardian, or, True Friend of Tasmania*, 22 Sep 1852, p.3. In March 1854 the young widow Sarah married for a second time. Her husband was George Herbert Pink, a butcher. According to an inquest, he committed suicide by drowning in October 1869, leaving Sarah once more a widow with a second brood of children to care for – *Tasmanian Times*, 27 Oct 1869, p.2.
- <sup>58</sup> Ancestry, Australia Cemetery Index, 1808-2007.
- <sup>59</sup> TAHO, Hobart deaths 1853, RGD35/1/3 no 2232.
- <sup>60</sup> *Colonial Times*, 31 Mar 1853, p.2. "Study of the Prevalence of Chronic, Non-Specific Lung Disease and Related Health Problems in the Grain Handling Industry", National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, West Virginia, 1986.
- <sup>61</sup> TAHO, Wills 1853, AD960/1/3 Will no 494.
- <sup>62</sup> *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 4 May 1859, p.3.
- <sup>63</sup> *The Tasmanian Tribune*, 3 May 1873, p.2.
- <sup>64</sup> TAHO, Hobart deaths 1873, RGD35/1/8 no 1447.
- <sup>65</sup> Gravesites of Tasmania, Section K, Number 63, <http://www.gravesoftas.com.au/>. Unfortunately there is no marked gravestone/marker.
- <sup>66</sup> TAHO, Hobart births, RGD 33/1/1 no 1043, RGD 33/1/2 no 149, RGD 33/1/2 no 1508, RGD 33/1/3 no 705, RGD 33/1/3 no 2277; Hobart deaths, RGD 35/1/2 no 1198.
- <sup>67</sup> TAHO, Hobart births 1852, RGD 33/1/4 no 1924.
- <sup>68</sup> *The Tasmanian Colonist*, 16 Feb 1854, p.2. TAHO, Hobart deaths 1854, 35/1/4 no 919.
- <sup>69</sup> Ancestry, Cox Family Tree, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/family-tree/person/tree/38871414/person/400141060056/facts>.
- <sup>70</sup> *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* ([www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), version 7.2, 14 January 2018), May 1814, trial of CHARLES EDWARD COX (118140525-7). <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org>.
- <sup>71</sup> Ancestry, New South Wales, Australia, Convict Indents, 1788-1842. No Tiverton/Devon birth/baptism record has been found. However, and with nothing to directly link this with the Charles Edward Cox who was tried at the Old Bailey, a St Margaret Westminster, Middlesex record has been located for a Charles Edward Cox, born on 9 Feb 1788 and baptised on 21 Feb 1788, son of Nathaniel and Sarah Cox. Nathaniel Cox and Sarah Nash were married at St Margaret in 1770 – (FMP), Westminster Baptism Transcription and Westminster Marriages Transcription.
- <sup>72</sup> Ancestry, UK, Prison Hulk Registers and Letter Books, 1802-1849.
- <sup>73</sup> Ancestry, New South Wales, Australia, Settler and Convict Lists, 1787-1834.
- <sup>74</sup> Ancestry, New South Wales, Australia, Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788-1856.
- <sup>75</sup> Ancestry, New South Wales, Australia, Convict Registers of Conditional and Absolute Pardon, 1788-1870.
- <sup>76</sup> History Australia, Convict Stockade, Indefatigable 1815, <http://www.historyaustralia.org.au/twconvic/Indefatigable+1815>.
- <sup>77</sup> Irene Schaffer, Land Musters, Stock Returns and Lists Van Diemen's Land 1803-1822, St David's Park Publishing, 1991, List 11:1, Muster of free men at Hobart Town 1822.
- <sup>78</sup> *The Austral-Asiatic Review, Tasmanian and Australian Advertiser*, 6 Oct 1840, p.1.
- <sup>79</sup> *The People's Advocate or True Friend of Tasmania*, 24 May 1855, p.3. *The Hobart Mercury*, 23 May 1855, p.2.
- <sup>80</sup> TAHO, Hobart deaths, 1855, RGD34/1/2 no 2176.
- <sup>81</sup> For example, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/family-tree/person/tree/4818592/person/24201435112/facts?ssrc=>; <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/family-tree/person/tree/83405859/person/48479148185/facts?ssrc=>; <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/family-tree/person/tree/28305189/person/26100107614/facts>.
- <sup>82</sup> TAHO, Hobart marriages 1854, RGD37/1/13 no 261. TAHO, Conduct Register, CON33-1-99 image 219.
- <sup>83</sup> Church of The Holy Trinity, Warwick Street, North Hobart, <https://stors.tas.gov.au/PH30-1-5696>. Consecrated in 1849 and closed in 1970, the building is now a Greek Orthodox Church.
- <sup>84</sup> *Reading Mercury*, 25 Jul 1846, p.3; *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 20 Mar 1847, p.7.
- <sup>85</sup> Ancestry, 1841 England Census, HO107/385/2/11, p.16.
- <sup>86</sup> FMP, England & Wales, Crime, Prisons & Punishment, 1770-1935 Transcription, Millbank Prison, Middlesex, Register of Prisoners; FMP, England & Wales, Crime, Prisons & Punishment, 1770-1935 Transcription, Hulks: Register of Prisoners On The Hulk Stirling Castle. The Tate Gallery now stands on the site of the Millbank Prison – A View from the Mirror – A Cabbie's London, <https://blackcablondon.net/?s=Millbank>. Nuthanger Farm is the setting for Richard Adams' book "Watership Down". FMP, Hampshire baptisms Transcription. TAHO, Conduct Record, CON33-1-99, image 219; *The Tasmanian Daily News*, 5 Nov 1855, p.6; *The Hobart Town Daily Mercury*, 13 Sep 1859, p.1.
- <sup>87</sup> TAHO, Conduct Register, CON33/1/99 image 219.
- <sup>88</sup> Ancestry, England, Select Marriages, 1538-1973; Ancestry, England, Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813-1916; Ancestry, England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index, 1837-1915.
- <sup>89</sup> TAHO, Divorces, SC89-1-1 File No 24. The TAHO record runs to 105 images. Harriette and George Pink [She noted that he had 'acquired' the middle name Herbert sometime after they were married] were married in secret, and after the event she went back home to live with her father Richard Clift, at the Manor Farm, Sherborne St John, Basingstoke, but when her father discovered her 'secret' [noting that she was about three month's pregnant at the time of the marriage] Harriette was sent to live with her brother in London. Her son was born on 12 January 1847, and died shortly thereafter. George Herbert Pink cited two men in support of his claim of Harriette's adultery – brothers Lockhart Hunter and Alexander Hunter. Harriette, under the name Pink, and Lockhart Hunter arrived at Adelaide on 17 July 1849 on the barque *Madagascar*– *South Australia Register*, 21 Jun 1849, p.2. George 'verily believed' that Harriette and Lockhart lived as man and wife in Adelaide and subsequently in Melbourne, where later Harriette took up with the other Hunter brother, Alexander.



<sup>90</sup> The aggrieved (and revengeful?) Mrs. Catherine Hunter stated that her husband, Dr. Hunter, told her that he was scared of Mrs. Lockhart/Clift/Pink – “she is such a devil of a woman; if I put her away, she will expose me. She is a great drinker, and the bad that is in her you do not know” – “Hunter v Hunter Again”, *The Argus*, 12 Sep 1859, p.6.

<sup>91</sup> Harriette’s version of events was presented during the legal action *Roberts v Pink*, in which Mary Roberts, Harriette’s landlady in Hobart, sought payment for board and lodging. *Inter alia*, Harriette stated that on landing at Port Philip Bay she went to Melbourne and found a position with Dr. Hunter as superintendent of a private hospital and his housekeeper. She had arrived by the surname of Pink, but while in Dr. Hunter’s service had used the name Mrs. Lockhart because she thought the surname Pink would compromise her chances of securing employment. Since 1855 she had referred to herself as Mrs. Clift – *The Mercury*, 13 Jun 1865, p.3. See also Mrs. Catherine Hunter’s account of the arrangement between her husband Dr. Hunter and the then styled Mrs. Lockhart – “Hunter v Hunter Again”, *The Argus*, 12 Sep 1859, p.6.

<sup>92</sup> *The Argus*, 31 Jan 1870, p.4. Harriet died on 12 April 1905 and George died on 10 August 1906 – In Memoriam placed by their four children E.R., G.S., LMc., and H.S. – *The Age*, 17 Aug 1907. p.7.

<sup>93</sup> *The Mercury*, 28 Sep 1865, p.2.

<sup>94</sup> *The Mercury*, 19 Sep 1865, p.4.

<sup>95</sup> *The Mercury*, 28 Sep 1865, p.2.

<sup>96</sup> *Ancestry, Tasmania, Reports of Crime 1861-1883, AU6103-1865.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ancestry, Tasmania Reports of Crime 1861-1883, AU6103-1866. Tasmanian Morning Herald, 28 Jun 1866, p.2.*

<sup>98</sup> TAHO, Hobart births 1865, RGD33/1/9 no 8093.

<sup>99</sup> *The Mercury*, 25 Nov 1868, p.1.

<sup>100</sup> *The Tasmanian Times*, 25 Mar 1868, p.2.

<sup>101</sup> *The Tasmanian Times*, 14 May 1868, p.2.

<sup>102</sup> *The Mercury*, 24 Mar 1869, p.1.

<sup>103</sup> *The Tasmanian Times*, 27 Oct 1869, p.2.

<sup>104</sup> *The Tasmanian Times*, 27 Oct 1869, p.2.

<sup>105</sup> *Hobarton Guardian, or, True Friend of Tasmania*, 6 Nov 1852, p.3.

<sup>106</sup> *The Tasmanian Times*, 2 Dec 1870, p.2; *The Courier*, 2 May 1853, p.3; *The Tasmanian Tribune*, 2 Feb 1875, p.3; *The Tasmanian*, 12 Aug 1882, p.884.

<sup>107</sup> *The Mercury*, 30 Sep 1919, p.4.

<sup>108</sup> *The Mercury* 14 Aug 1911, p.1.

<sup>109</sup> *Gravesites of Tasmania, Section X, Number 52, <http://www.gravesoftas.com.au/>.*

<sup>110</sup> TAHO, *Tasmanian Wills, AD960/1/32, File No 8567.*

<sup>111</sup> Julie Marcus, 'Pink, Olive Muriel (1884–1975)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/pink-olive-muriel-11428/text20365>, published first in hardcopy 2002, accessed online 28 February 2018.*

<sup>112</sup> Kerry Pink, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerry\\_Pink](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerry_Pink).



## SOURCES

### Genealogy Websites

#### Ancestry

1841 England Census  
 Australia, Birth Index, 1788-1922  
 Australia Cemetery Index, 1808-2007  
 Australia Convict Transportation Registers – Other Fleets & Ships 1791-1868  
 Australia, Death Index, 1787-1985  
 Australia, Marriage Index, 1788-1950  
 England & Wales, Criminal Registers, 1791-1892  
 England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index 1837-1915  
 England, Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813-1916  
 England, Select Marriages, 1538-1873  
 New South Wales and Tasmania, Australia Convict Indents, 1788-1842  
 New South Wales and Tasmania, Australian Convict Musters, 1806-1849  
 New South Wales, Australia, Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788-1856  
 New South Wales, Australia, Convict Registers of Conditional and Absolute Pardons, 1788-1870  
 New South Wales, Australia, Settler and Convict Lists, 1787-1834  
 New South Wales, Census and Population Books, 1811-1825  
 Online Family Trees  
 Tasmania, Australia, Convict Court and Selected Records, 1800-1899  
 Tasmania, Reports of Crime 1861-1883  
 UK, Prison Hulk Registers and Letter Books

#### FindmyPast

England & Wales, Crime, Prisons & Punishment, 1770-1935  
 Hampshire Baptisms 1752-1851  
 Prison Ship Registers  
 Westminster Baptisms  
 Westminster Marriages

### Other Websites

A Cabbie's London, A View from the Mirror, <https://blackcablondon.net/>  
 Australian Dictionary of Biography, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/>  
 Biographical Database of Australia (BDA), <http://www.bda-online.org.au/>  
 Claim a Convict, <http://www.hawkesbury.net.au/claimaconvict/search.php>  
 Convict Female Factories Research Association, <https://sites.google.com/site/convictfemalefactories/home>  
 Convict Records, <http://www.convictrecords.com.au/>  
 Female Convicts Research Centre, <http://www.femaleconvicts.org.au/>  
 Founders & Survivors: Mugsheets, <http://www.founders-storylines.com/>  
 Free Settler or Felon? <http://www.jenwillets.com/>  
 Gravesites of Tasmania, <http://www.gravesoftas.com.au/>  
 History Australia, Convict Stockade, <http://www.historyaustralia.org.au/twconvic/HomePage>  
 Lachlan and Elizabeth Macquarie Archive (LEMA), <http://www.mq.edu.au/macquarie-archive/>  
 LINC Tasmania, <https://www.linc.tas.gov.au/>  
 Old Bailey Proceedings Online, <https://oldbaileyonline.org>  
 Project Gutenberg Australia, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks13/1300181h.html>  
 Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office, <https://www.libraries.tas.gov.au/archive-heritage/>  
 The National Archives (UK), <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C10367811>  
 Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/>

### Online Newspapers

#### The British Library Archive

Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette  
 Bristol Mirror  
 Northampton Mercury  
 Reading Mercury  
 Staffordshire Advertiser



TROVE

Colonial Times  
Hobart Town Gazette  
Hobarton Guardian, or True Friend of Tasmania  
Launceston Advertiser  
South Australian Register  
Tasmanian and Port Dalrymple Advertiser  
Tasmanian Morning Herald  
The Age  
The Argus  
The Austral-Asiatic Review; Tasmanian and Australian Advertiser  
The Britannia and Trades' Advocate  
The Courier  
The Hobarton Mercury  
The Hobart Town Courier  
The Hobart Town Daily Mercury  
The Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter  
The Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser  
The Hobart Town Mercury  
The Independent  
The Irish Exile and Freedom's Advocate  
The Mercury  
The People's Advocate or True Friend of Tasmania  
The Tasmanian  
The Tasmanian Colonist  
The Tasmanian Daily News  
The Tasmanian Times  
The Tasmanian Tribune

**Publications**

National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, "Study of the Prevalence of Chronic, Non-Specific Lung Disease and Related Health Problems in the Grain Handling Industry", West Virginia, 1986  
Tardiff, Philip, *Notorious Strumpets and Dangerous Girls*, CD electronic format, Gould Genealogy and History, Ridgehaven, South Australia, 2008  
Hughes, Robert, *The Fatal Shore*, Pan Books, London, 1998  
Schaffer, Irene, *Land Musters, Stock Returns and Lists Van Diemen's Land 1803-1822*, St David's Park Publishing, 1991  
Dennison C.J., *Here's Cheers : a pictorial history of hotels, taverns and inns in Hobart*, Hobart City Council, 200

© Leonie Fretwell, 2019