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'You cease to be a man': masculinity and the 'gentleman convict', c.1870-1914

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Reading the accounts of former 'gentleman convicts' sentenced to penal servitude in the late-Victorian and Edwardian decades, one is struck by their vitriolic condemnation of fellow prisoners perceived as 'habitual' or 'professional' criminals.¹ Writing in 1879 as 'a Ticket-of-leave Man', for instance, one memoirist 'solemnly declare[d] that whatsoever things are hateful and fiendish, if there be any vice and infamy deeper and more horrible than all other vice and infamy, it may be found ingrained in the character of the English professional thief.'² Though his volume, like others, warned of the 'contamination' in convict prisons of novice criminals by seasoned thieves, 'a Ticket-of-leave Man' experienced his own 'contamination' not in terms of criminal pedagogy, to which he considered himself immune, but as a sense of defilement both visceral and intense. Of the 'thief class' at Portland convict prison, he observed that 'the very remembrance of [their] behaviour and language makes my flesh creep.'³ Among Portland's convicts, he had befriended a former factory owner, whose wrongful conviction for arson was eventually overturned, and with whom he 'tried to escape the contagion of the moral pestilence by which we were surrounded.' This man had now returned to 'the society of his devoted and pure wife', but remained haunted by 'the hideous oaths of the gaol-birds', which, 'a Ticket-of-leave Man' reported, 'still ring in his ears and cause him to shudder at the remembrance of the pollution which was forced upon him.'⁴ This article explores the nature of this and similar responses to prison

life, drawing upon John Tosh's work on Victorian masculinity, and on Joanna Bourke's 2011 study of changing conceptions of the 'human'.⁵ It argues that prisoners such as 'a Ticket-of-leave Man' found their masculine status — as 'gentlemen', Englishmen, adult males and, ultimately, fully human beings — fatally compromised by imprisonment, leading them to project onto their 'criminal' peers that which they feared they might themselves become. In this way, the memoirs and articles of 'gentleman convicts' allow us to glimpse the terrors of emasculation held for prisoners of this kind, for in observing the ways in which others lacked 'manliness', they confronted the manner in which their own might be undone.

For nineteenth-century middle-class Englishmen, manliness was an 'ideology of masculinity' that set rigid standards for their character and behaviour. As such, it was premised, as Tosh notes, 'on a powerful sense of the feminine "other"'.⁶ For 'a Ticket-of-Leave Man', however, as we have just seen, it is not middle-class femininity that represents the Other, but rather the 'gaol-birds' with which he contrasts this virtuous ideal. In another passage, he draws the contrast again, the feminine arriving this time in the form of his own deceased wife, a domestic 'angel' now transmogrified into the celestial variety, whose memory strikes him almost as a ghostly apparition. He recalls that while working one day,

I heard the vile oaths, and the disgusting and obscene language of my comrades, and I contrasted the scene and its surroundings, with my once happy home, where I was

1. I discuss 'gentleman convicts' in *Prison Service Journal* 232 (2017), pp.40-5.
2. Anon., *Convict Life; or, Revelations Concerning Convicts and Convict Prisons by a Ticket-of-Leave Man* (London: Wyman & Sons, 1879), p.16; a 'Ticket-of-Leave Man' was a convict released 'on licence' to serve penal servitude's third 'stage' (of up to a quarter of a sentence, dependent on good behaviour). It is likely that this author also wrote a series of articles appearing in the London *Weekly Times* between November 1879 and February 1880 under the headline 'Our Convict System by an Ex-Prisoner', later reprinted as a single volume: Anon., *Our Convict System. By an Ex-Convict. Reprinted from 'The Weekly Times.'* (London: J. Hutton, 1880 - a copy held by the British Library was destroyed).
3. *Weekly Times*, 28 December 1879, p.2.
4. Anon., *Convict Life*, p.25.
5. John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995); idem., *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005); Joanna Bourke, *What It Means to Be Human: Reflections from 1791 to the Present* (London: Virago, 2011).
6. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinity*, pp.3-4, p.31, p.91.

cheered and smiled upon by a bright angel who made me, I suppose, too happy. ... My loved one seemed to be beckoning me through the clear ether on that winter afternoon, and my greatest sorrow at that moment, was not ... that I had disgraced myself, and condemned myself to the filthy companionship of thieves and murderers, [but] that I had no power to answer her summons...⁷

Here, once again, it is the 'gaol-birds' that represent the Other, and the feminine an ideal from which the author is separated, for which he yearns, and without which he is incomplete. Such unity, according to Victorian gender ideology, was possible only in the domestic citadel of the middle-class home, where, it was believed, masculine and feminine might achieve their correct equilibrium.⁸ Hence, it is when he is finally reunited with his wife that 'a Ticket-of-Leave Man's' friend is again made whole. Moreover, it is their loss of the feminine, and their capacity to be made whole by it, that separates these 'gentlemen' from their fellows, for whom redemption in this form is inconceivable. If imprisonment involved loss of masculine status — or, in contemporary terms, 'manhood' — masculinity is defined here not in distinction to femininity, which is in fact understood not only to complement but to complete the middle-class husband, but instead to whatever Other 'the awful denizens of Portland' represent.

The othering of the 'thief class' came in several forms, which together provide an index of Others against which Victorian manliness was measured and defined. According to 'a Ticket-of-Leave Man', members of the 'thief class' were 'entirely destitute of all manliness. They could no more stand up, self supported, than the ivy could rear itself like the oak.'⁹ Though such dependence could be thought of as a negative feminine trait, as could the lack of emotional

control 'gentleman convicts' often observed in their fellows,¹⁰ these qualities might just as easily be thought of in terms of childishness. Indeed, during the mid-Victorian decades, masculinity was more likely to be defined via the distinction between men and boys than by contrasts with the feminine: as Tosh notes, 'worries about immaturity counted for much more than fear of effeminacy'.¹¹ This conception of manliness brings us a little closer to the sense in which 'gentleman convicts' observed their fellows' loss of masculine status, and thus to the fears they held for their own. Jabez Balfour, for example, a businessman and former Liberal MP convicted of fraud in 1896 and sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude, evokes childhood punishment when he recalls 'noisy occupants' of Parkhurst's punishment cells being 'forcibly deported to a very remote portion of the Hall', an offender having 'profaned his manhood and abused the gift of speech'.¹² The author of an anonymous article published in the *Westminster Review* in 1878 conceded that some among those he classed as 'habitual' or 'professional' criminals possessed 'traits of unselfishness and generosity and some manliness of nature', but asserted nonetheless that all such prisoners shared

'one mental characteristic ... which cannot be better conveyed than by the term "childishness".

It consists of a certain impulsiveness, proneness to violent and short-lived anger from the most trivial causes, constant boasting and self-exaltation, and a total incapacity to understand the relative value and importance of different objects. All this is accompanied by a mendacity which is astounding.'¹³

The latter, he added, 'has its analogue in most savage races, and, as a transitory phenomenon, even in some well-brought-up children.' A racial Other was similarly invoked by 'a Ticket-of-Leave Man' when he compared prison life to 'herding with 'Zulus'', and convicts at Portland (unfavourably) to 'Hindoos and Zulus'.¹⁴ The *Westminster Review's* correspondent

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7. Ibid., pp.56-7. On 'domestic angels' see Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p.55.

8. Tosh quotes Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies* (1864): 'Each has what the other has not: each completes the other, and is completed by the other'; *A Man's Place*, p.46.

9. Anon., *Convict Life*, p.15.

10. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinity*, p.92.

11. Ibid., p.34.

12. Jabez Spencer Balfour, *My Prison Life* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1907), p.304.

13. Anon., 'Our Present Convict System', *Westminster Review* 109 (1878), p.415-6.

14. Anon., *Convict Life*, p.115; *Weekly Times*, 30 November 1879, p.2.

reached closer to home for his non-English Other, asserting that 'No practical ethnologist can fail to trace in the features of the great majority a large infusion of blood from the sister isle. The brogue has nearly vanished ... but the lineaments and excitable temperament remain.'¹⁵

Such remarks served to reinforce their authors' own masculine national identity as 'Englishmen', while at the same time implying that the 'criminal class' represented a lesser human type. The othering of criminals as subhuman cast them either as a neo-Darwinian sub-species, or as demonic entities, or simply and most commonly as 'brutes'. The *Westminster Review's* correspondent opted for the first of these approaches, noting the preponderance among convicts of 'the 'forehead villainous low,' the scowling expression and ponderous under-jaw of brutal animalism', adding that the 'stealthy motions and furtive glances of others betray a monkey-like cunning'.¹⁶ Published shortly after *L'uomo delinquente* (1876), the article is unlikely to have been influenced directly by Cesare Lombroso, whose volume appeared in English translation only in 1911, but may have reflected notions of the criminal 'type' already held by English penal administrators.¹⁷ Thirty years later, by the time Balfour published his memoir, such biological positivism had gained far wider currency. Adding the weight of his first-hand experience to the opinion of 'more than one eminent English and foreign penologist, that convicts as a class, particularly habitual criminals, are distinguished by certain pronounced and singular developments', Balfour recalled that upon first arriving at a convict prison,

it is sometimes difficult for a newcomer to realize that the men among whom he is thrown ... are really of the same species as the people with whom he has mingled in

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freedom. The beings who surround him seem more like grotesque imitations, pantomimic caricatures of real men than men themselves. They all look alike, and all are hideous. ... Sitting as I did at Wormwood Scrubbs, behind four or five hundred prisoners, it appeared to me that I was among an entirely different species of human beings, ape-like, baboon-like, weird.¹⁸ Most disturbing of all were the 'abnormally protruding and overlapping' ears of his fellow-convicts, a 'widespread and repulsive deformity'. A warder had 'once assured [Balfour] that it was positively trying to be perched at chapel a few inches above the great crowd of prisoners, and to look down upon the ears below him. To use his own words, "It was sickening."¹⁹

[A] Ticket-of-Leave Man' drew not on pseudoscience but literature for an image of the subhuman, observing that when set beside 'the English professional thief', 'Gulliver's 'Yahoos' were cultivated gentlemen'.²⁰ Lord William Beauchamp Nevill, a younger son of the 5th Earl of Abergavenny sentenced in 1898 to five years for fraud, painted the 'habitual' criminal in demonic hues: it was, he declared, 'impossible for anyone who has not witnessed it

to imagine the furious and senseless malevolence of that class of convicts who have got to the hopelessly incorrigible stage.' These men were 'thoroughly vicious by nature', and 'seem to be governed by evil passions, as if possessed by the devil'.²¹ For Edward Callow, a railway company secretary sentenced in 1868 for his part in an attempt to defraud a City bank, the 'creatures in human form' he had encountered at Dartmoor were both subhuman and fiendish: 'mere brutes in mind and demons in heart', they 'seem[ed] to be a different species to ordinary men'.²² Balfour, for his part, managed to conjure an Other that was

15. Anon., 'Our Present Convict System', p.416.

16. Ibid.

17. Chiara Beccalossi, 'Sexual Deviancies, Disease and Crime in Cesare Lombroso and the "Italian School" of Criminal Anthropology', in *Disease and Crime: A History of Social Pathologies and the New Politics of Health*, ed. Robert Peckham (New York: Routledge, 2014), p.45.

18. Balfour, *My Prison Life*, p.215.

19. Ibid., p.216.

20. Anon., *Convict Life*, p.16.

21. 'W.B.N.' (William Beauchamp Nevill), *Penal Servitude* (London: William Heinemann, 1903), pp.136-7.

22. Anon. (Edward Callow), *Five Years' Penal Servitude by One Who Has Endured It* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1877), p.208. Giving evidence in 1879 to a royal commission on penal servitude, Callow intimated that he had been referring specifically to prisoners convicted under the sodomy laws. *Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the working of the penal servitude acts* (hereinafter *Penal servitude acts*), PP 1878-79 [C.2368] XXXVII, 1, qq.11985-8, p. 954. See also my 'Defining "unnatural crime": sex and the English convict system, 1850-1900', in *From Sodomy Laws to Same-Sex Marriage: International Perspectives since 1789*, ed. Sean Brady & Mark Seymour (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), pp.43-56.

simultaneously racial, subhuman, demonic and bestial when describing one Parkhurst convict as ‘an ill-shaped negro giant, of herculean proportions and fearfully forbidding aspect’, notable for his ‘protruding jaw, long, ape-like arms and legs, and cruel, sunken bloodshot eyes that gleamed with the same angry, hungry light that is always noticeable of beasts of prey.’ This prisoner, whose gestures Balfour found ‘more suggestive of a ghoulish than a man’, he contrasted with another, ‘an inoffensive old man’ who, like himself, belonged to a ‘class of convicts’ composed of men ‘who have been bankers, brokers, lawyers, merchants, and the like’.²³

Among variations of the non-human, however, the bestial predominated. ‘[A] Ticket-of-Leave Man’ described the ‘thief class’ as ‘cowardly brutes [whose] animal instincts have crowded every human feeling out of their nature.’²⁴ ‘The passions of many of the habitual offenders,’ wrote Balfour, ‘are ungovernable in their ferocity. Nothing but physical suffering seems to deter them. ... When their passions are aroused, and that occurs easily with many of them, they are more like beasts than human beings’.²⁵ Among ‘the class known as *roughs*’, Callow believed that ‘animal instincts and propensities predominate to the almost total exclusion of any intellectual or human feeling... Brutes they are, and as brutes only can they be punished and coerced, and that is by the Lash.’²⁶ *The Westminster Review’s* correspondent concurred, observing that ‘a very large proportion of the worst class of criminals can be deterred only by the terror of physical pain. ... They are animals, and must be treated as such.’²⁷ It is at this point, arrived at by degrees, that the Other stands revealed against which the ‘manhood’ of ‘gentleman convicts’ was ultimately defined: neither female nor infantile, nor racially inferior, nor even criminally subhuman, but, quite simply, animal.

For ‘gentleman convicts’, then, ‘manhood’ equalled humanity as much as masculinity per se. Both were threatened, but the peril in which the former stood eclipsed even danger to the latter. Human status and

masculine status were, of course, intimately tied. In both scholarly and everyday language, as Bourke notes, collective humanity was referred to either as ‘mankind’ or simply ‘man’, and the humans thus described imagined primarily as male.²⁸ If to be human was to be a ‘man’ then, conversely, to be in any way less than a ‘man’ was also to be less than human. Bourke also reminds us that the discursive boundary separating ‘human’ from ‘animal’ was (and is) far from stable. Christian theology posited a hierarchical Chain of Being stretching from God to beast (and beyond, to the inanimate), along which ‘man’ occupied the middle ground, forever reaching towards God — a God who incarnated as a ‘man’ — yet in danger of descending to the level of a beast. As Bourke observes, those ‘excluded from the status of

being fully “men” might be forgiven for bitterly concluding that they had been decisively demoted to “Beast”.’²⁹ Similarly, post-Darwinian humanist thought disrupted the notion of a straightforward human/animal binary, proposing instead a relativist model in which human and animal occupied a single continuum, at one end of which the ‘fully human’ could be found, and at the other the ‘fully animal’.³⁰ According to this view, humanity existed in degrees or varieties, and physical humanity didn’t necessarily confer ‘fully human’ status. It was from a perspective of this kind that the *Westminster Review’s*

correspondent was able to observe that ‘habitual petty thieves ... are, so to speak, *less human*, have less reason and self-control, and their propensities assume the form of irresistible animal instincts... They are a childish and impulsive race, and only look to immediate results.’³¹

Of course, categories of human far broader than the petty criminal could (and still can) be denied fully human status: women, for instance, to take the most obvious example, and one taken by Bourke as her starting point. And, although she doesn’t mention prisoners, Bourke is also interested in slaves, another such category, one with which prisoners had much in common. As she observes, antebellum American slaves

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23. Balfour, *My Prison Life*, pp.173-5.
 24. Anon., *Convict Life*, p.14.
 25. Balfour, *My Prison Life*, pp.302-3.
 26. Callow, *Five Years’ Penal Servitude*, pp.208-9.
 27. Anon., ‘Our Present Convict System’, p.430.
 28. Bourke, *What It Means to Be Human*, p.2, p.5.
 29. *Ibid.*, p.3.
 30. *Ibid.*, p.11.
 31. Anon., ‘Our Present Convict System’, p.423.

'were not simply "things" in law', but rather 'carefully constructed quasi-legal persons': they could legally be subjected to harsh physical punishment, but could not be murdered and could themselves be tried for murder and for other serious crimes.³² Thus, the status of the antebellum slave mirrored that of the English convict, whose judicial punishment entailed the forfeiture of fully human status in the legal sense of full personhood — that is, as the subject of legal rights and duties.³³ For men such as Callow, 'a Ticket-of-Leave Man' and the *Westminster Review's* correspondent, writing in the late 1870s, slavery would not have been an exotic phenomenon: it had ended in the British West Indies a generation earlier in 1834, in the Southern United States only in 1865, and at this juncture was still legal in Spanish Cuba, where it would be abolished in 1886, and in Brazil, whose slaves were finally freed in 1888. As well as penal labour, moreover, the notion of 'servitude' encompassed not only slavery but serfdom, formally abolished in Russia only in 1861, and indentured service, which remained a feature of English wage relations until the 1870s.³⁴

For a 'gentleman convict', stripped of his status as 'master of the house' and exiled from the domestic sanctuary, work might in theory have provided a means to salvage, at least to a degree, his beleaguered masculine status. On the one hand, labour such as quarrying, brickmaking and dock construction, intended as both punitive and reformatory, was central to the convict prison regime. On the other, as Tosh observes, a work ethic was 'deeply inscribed in middle-class masculinity', manliness and hard work going hand-in-hand with one another.³⁵ Of course, for a man who had earned a living in business or the professions, and who was governed by a gender ideology that treated occupation as the 'authentic expression of his individuality',³⁶ the work required of him in a convict prison lacked all semblance of dignity. But though it might be supposed that such prisoners experienced this

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aspect of their punishment as degrading and humiliating, many, at least by their own accounts, took a sanguine approach to unfamiliar tasks and, like 'a Ticket-of-Leave Man', 'resolved to make the best of it and try to do my duty.'³⁷ As they marched to work, some perhaps took comfort in Thomas Carlyle's assertion that manly potential could find its fulfilment 'even in the meanest sorts of Labour'.³⁸ If strength and endurance were foremost among the core masculine characteristics demanded by Victorian manliness,³⁹ then penal labour might at least allow these qualities to be exercised and displayed.

But manly vigour alone did not constitute manliness; it was, rather, the foundation upon which the self-willed 'independent man' could be erected, capable of initiative and decisive action.⁴⁰ Thus, the 'gentleman convict' who attempted to demonstrate manliness through labour and, in doing so, retain at least some vestige of his status, soon found himself confronted with a deformed version of the masculine ideal, which prized brute strength and inhuman endurance, but ensured these attributes were shorn of the slightest capacity for independent action. Here the 'gentleman convict' faced the appalling truth of his predicament, for the strength and endurance demanded of him were qualities belonging not to free labourers but to slaves. Though few were willing to acknowledge this directly, 'One who has suffered it',

writing in 1910 in the *Hibbert Journal*, was an exception, declaring baldly that '*Imprisonment is slavery*. None of the distinguishing features of slavery are absent.'⁴¹ This correspondent, moreover, who had been sentenced in England to six years' penal servitude and then served the term in an Australian convict prison, drew an explicit comparison with the antebellum South, arguing that the 'slavery of imprisonment' was in fact 'of a more grievous description than the negro slavery once practised in America', insofar as 'the negro' could both marry and

32. Bourke, *What It Means to Be Human*, p.147.

33. *Ibid.*, p.131.

34. Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), p.698-9, pp.707-8.

35. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinity*, p.92.

36. *Ibid.*, p.37.

37. Anon., *Convict Life*, p.80.

38. *Past and Present* (1843), quoted in Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinity*, p.93.

39. *Ibid.*, p.87.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Anon., 'Concerning Imprisonment. By One Who Has Suffered It.', *Hibbert Journal* 8:3 (1910), p.589.

enjoy 'the unrestricted companionship of his fellows, male and female', and 'within the perimeter of his servitude ... was free to come and go as he chose'.⁴²

Like criminals, antebellum slaves were sometimes compared to children or to monsters.⁴³ Primarily, however, the slave was regarded and treated, in the words of Frederick Douglass, as 'a docile animal, a kind of ass, capable of bearing burdens'.⁴⁴ Many English convicts doubtless felt the same. For anybody living in nineteenth-century England, working animals were, of course, a ubiquitous feature of daily life: country-folk and city-dwellers alike lived with the 'constant presence of living, breathing, defecating, and sometimes dying animals'.⁴⁵ Their role in haulage and urban transport aside, horses and mules drove machinery in mills and factories, where they were treated less as sentient creatures than 'living machines'.⁴⁶ Moreover, due to relative cost-efficiency, their widespread use in building and construction persisted into the twentieth century, as did their use in quarrying and brickmaking — tasks to which men sentenced to penal servitude were also put.⁴⁷ Indeed, some convicts found themselves employed as what one Portland prisoner described as 'a sort of human horse'.⁴⁸ According to the Irish republican and former Dartmoor prisoner Michael Davitt, giving evidence in 1878 to a royal commission on penal servitude, convicts drew stones, coal, refuse and manure, harnessed to carts in eight-man teams; he had himself been removed from a 'coal-cart party' following an injury.⁴⁹ Prison officials confirmed the practice, though the commission appeared less concerned with its degrading character than with the opportunities it provided for illicit communication.⁵⁰ Twenty years later, according to Nevill, prisoners assigned to farm parties at Parkhurst still drew manure carts, 'harnessed two by two to a long rope'.⁵¹

As convicts trudged at the day's end wearily home to their narrow cells, and contemplated their monotonous, unpalatable diet, calculated to meet heavy labour's bare nutritional requirements, it would have occurred to some that they were fed, watered and stabled in much the same way as working animals. 'One

who has suffered it' again made the point explicitly, observing that 'Horses are "spelled" when out of breath; not so those human beings who have given their fellows occasion to use them as beasts of burthen'.⁵² The prison cell, he wrote, was 'really a kennel. There, when he is not working, the prisoner must abide: to freeze in winter, to swelter in summer'.⁵³ Upon finishing work, the 'prisoner can hardly crawl back to his kennel', and 'when the key turns and he ... is left locked' inside it, by 'whatever margin ... a human being is superior to a beast, by so much is that human being's condition inferior'.⁵⁴ The sentiment echoed remarks made by John Dillon, Home Rule MP for East Mayo, when debating the Prisons Bill in 1898: imprisoned himself several times during the 1880s, Dillon accused a Conservative member of regarding prisoners 'as a lot of stalled animals, towards whom our only duty was to see that body and soul were kept together'. In this view, they 'were not human beings at all, but were like pigs, or animals with no minds'.⁵⁵

The unmanly dependence of 'gentleman convicts' was, then, less that of women, children, or colonial subjects, than of slaves or working animals. Thus, 'gentleman convicts' faced the annihilation of their status, not merely as middle-class 'gentlemen', but as men of any description whatsoever. Legally, they were denied full personhood; their loss of 'manhood' entailed a loss of humanity as much as masculinity; and as slaves, their condition was little better than that of beasts of burden — or worse still, 'living machines'. Consigned to a world in which the human/animal boundary was distinctly porous, they found themselves 'herded' indiscriminately with the less human, the subhuman, 'brutes' and 'beasts'. 'One who has suffered it' recalled a prison official telling newly arrived convicts: 'When you pass through these gates you cease to be a man'.⁵⁶ It was this prospect that lay at the heart of the fear and revulsion felt by 'gentleman convicts' towards their 'criminal' peers. And it was in defiance of this fate that such prisoners struggled to preserve what little remained of their 'manliness', an identity premised upon a bestial Other that forever threatened to overwhelm it.

42. *Ibid.*, pp.589-90.

43. Bourke quotes George Canning in 1824 comparing 'Negro' slaves to the 'monster' in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus*, first published six years earlier. *What It Means to Be Human*, p.146.

44. Quoted in *ibid.*, p.134.

45. Clay McShane & Joel A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), p.181.

46. *Ibid.*, pp.2-3, p.166.

47. *Ibid.*, p.167.

48. George Smithson, *Raffles in Real Life: The Confessions of George Smithson alias "Gentleman George"* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1930), p.98.

49. *Penal servitude acts*, q.6515, q.6521, p.527.

50. *Ibid.*, qq.2805-6, p.233.

51. Nevill, *Penal Servitude*, pp.34-5. He claimed to enjoy this work, judging 'carting ... infinitely preferable to moping in a cell'; it had, he claimed, been 'proved' that Davitt's health 'did not suffer' as a result dragging stones at Portland.

52. Anon., 'Concerning Imprisonment', p.586.

53. *Ibid.*, p.585.

54. *Ibid.*, p.587, p.593.

55. HC Deb 24 March 1898 vol.55 c.887

56. Anon., 'Concerning Imprisonment', p.600.