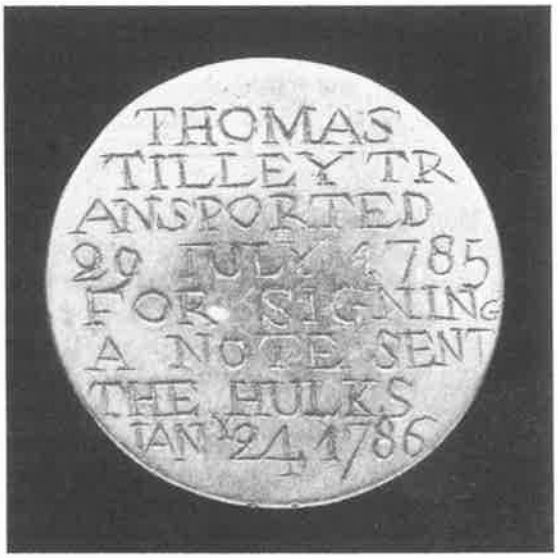

Clockwise from top left

Figures 1 & 2. Convict Love Token engraved for/by Thomas Tilley of the First Fleet on a copper halfpenny, England, 1787. Diam. 2.5cm. Powerhouse Museum 87/1494.

Figure 3. Convict Love Token inscribed on a copper penny: "JOHN HOWE AGED 14 YEARS / LIBERTY IS SWEET / WHEN THIS YOU SEE REMEMBER ME AND BERE ME IN YOUR MIND." Made in England circa 1810. Note the manacles under the text. Diam. 3.6cm. Powerhouse Museum 87/982.

All photographs by the Powerhouse Museum Photography Department.

"WHEN THIS YOU SEE REMEMBER ME": CONVICT LOVE TOKENS AND RELATED KEEPSAKES

Paul Donnelly

Thomas Tilley wanted to be remembered and he was compelled, like many fellow convicts, to leave a keepsake with a loved one in the life he once knew. He chose to use a customised token of a particular kind favoured by his fellow felons: an engraved copper disc converted from a coin. On one side is engraved a bird chained from its neck to the ground; a true jailbird. On the other side is the inscription: THOMAS / TILLEY TR / ANSPORTED / 29 JULY 1785 / FOR SIGNING / A NOTE SENT / THE HULKS / JAN 24 1786. As a First Fleet convict, Tilley's history is reasonably well documented. He was arraigned before the Staffordshire Summer Assizes in 1785 and found guilty of theft with force. With the loss of the American colonies his sentence of seven years transportation meant incarceration on the hulks until a suitable alternative destination was decided upon. It was in the hulks—derelict and rat infested old naval ships of the line—that he stayed and in which his token was probably made, until 1787 when he found himself bound for Botany Bay on the transport *Alexander*. The token, as was its destiny, remained in England with a loved one, but in Tilley's case it was not altogether an honest parting testimony. In true autobiographical style, his token enhanced his past by bending the truth somewhat—the more genteel crime of signing a note (fraud) has replaced his recorded conviction of theft with force. Tokens such as this one provide small but invaluable insights into the human character; the desire to remember, and the need to be remembered (MAAS 87/1494; Figures 1 and 2).[1]

Tilley's offering to posterity is an example of what are commonly known as convict love tokens, engraved keepsakes made from coins, the original impressions of which had been deliberately erased by grinding and polishing to leave a smooth surface. This is but one kind of love token amongst an incredible variety of love tokens and personal keepsakes produced across the social spectrum. This is especially true of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, on which this article concentrates, attesting to a rich tradition that demonstrates a human need for keepsakes as guardians of personal memories and associations. It is no coincidence that during this period of huge social, economic, and population change there is a burgeoning of these objects designed to stimulate recall and recreate fragments of memory. Understandably this seems particularly pertinent in response to one especially harsh aspect of social reality—the government policy of transporting criminals to penal colonies. The truncation of human contact inherent in the convict system provided the perfect catalyst for producing items designed to perpetuate memory.

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[1] Where possible tokens and other objects in the collection of the Powerhouse Museum (Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences) in Sydney will be used as examples and identified by catalogue numbers with an MAAS prefix. Catalogue numbers will also be given for other public collections. The majority of tokens on which this paper focuses are a selection from 160 examples in the Millett collection, privately owned in London. The absence of a number indicates a private collection.

As befits the humble status and British origins of these tokens, low value British copper and bronze coins were favoured. The majority after 1797 were made from the copper "cartwheel penny" dating to that year of George III's reign. In the second half of the eighteenth century and up to 1797 very little copper coin had been produced and Britain's urgent need for fractional coinage in that period meant steam power was harnessed for the first time in minting, allowing large numbers of these coins to be produced. The penny, together with the larger two penny piece, were an experiment in using base metal equal to the value of the denomination, as opposed to a token representative of the value as was usually the case. To equal an ounce worth of copper therefore, the 1797 penny was large, measuring 36mm in diameter. The combination of ubiquity, easily worked copper, and broad surface area made them the ideal matrix for reuse as dedicated tokens of love.[2]

Convict love tokens span the whole British/Australian convict period, from as early as the 1780s to the middle of the nineteenth century. As a discreet group of material objects, these tokens gesture towards a fairly specific class grouping within the convict population; namely the poorer convict majority.[3] As this paper will illustrate, however, these tokens relate to a broad range of material generated across the social spectrum which can loosely be ensnared under the designation "tokens of love": items as diverse as letters, miniatures, garments, tattoos, jewellery and locks of hair.[4] What weds such objects together in such a way as to transcend both gender and social class is a similarity in the conditions of their making. As this paper will argue, in whatever form

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[2] In the fifteenth century coins were also exchanged between lovers as keepsakes. They were not engraved and the only modification was to bend the coin, a process which was reputed to give 'benders' as they were known, magical powers. They thus acquired amuletic properties which the power of superstition no doubt helped to validate. Could the nineteenth-century equivalent have been considered in a similar way? The archaeologist Sir Flinders Petrie in his work on ancient Egyptian amulets remarked incredulously in 1914 that it was very common for people to still hold great stead in the power of inanimate objects as lucky or protective charms. It is not impossible to imagine a degree of comfort for the grieving receiver of a token and if this transpired into a subconscious sense of benefit, then some amuletic quality was obtained. Such emotions are not commonly recorded, and might not even be consciously acknowledged, yet some of the love tokens have been pierced for wearing, a common technique used for amulets as much as jewellery.

[3] In the scope of this paper the term "convict love token" therefore refers to the type of token favoured by the poorer convict, as distinct from minority "gentlemen" convicts who who "were given pardons and appointed to positions of responsibility under the colonial government. Four of the most prominent and wealthy ex-convicts, D'Arcy Wentworth, principal surgeon, William Redfern, assistant surgeon, Andrew Thompson, farmer and landowner Simeon Lord, merchant were invited to dine at the governor's table" (Blair 3). Their style of living and material wealth were akin to any other affluent person of the day and we would not have expected them to have employed a reused coin token such as Thomas Tilley's.

[4] Similar to these items, but outside the scope of this paper, are textile objects such as samplers and layette pincushions produced during the same period. Amongst the familiar samplers composed of pious dedications or sentimental verses which young women were encouraged to embroider are examples resembling keepsakes or commemoratives. One unprovenanced example by Elizabeth Bowker is different from the usual pattern in its simplicity as well as more personal and emotive content (MAAS H5143-1). A family chronicle, young Elizabeth has dutifully listed all the members of her family, including the dead infant sister whose name she inherited. Similar in concept if not in technique to the embroidered samplers is a layette pincushion celebrating the birth of a child composed from smooth headed pins in the 1830s (MAAS A6954). Interestingly, this cushion includes an early reference to "Advance Australia" within its design, intimating a more positive attitude than the chains, wheelbarrows and poignant verse seen on contemporary convict tokens, and which symbolised the convict's destination and future of servitude.

they take tokens of love can be seen as a direct human response to separation, whether that separation be transportation, migration, or death.[5] It is the emotional motivation of their manufacture; the need to remember and memorialise, which gives the objects human resonance and enables them to "speak" collectively from out of their disparate pasts. Convict love tokens therefore provide the nexus from which this paper will explore similarly evocative objects across a broader cultural and historical context.

The tokens demonstrate that sentimentality, nostalgia and romance were pervasive in material culture even before the high Victorian period; a time seen as particularly synonymous with these sentiments, permeating as they did all aspects of cultural production from literature and the arts to the popular press. A recurring catalyst for much of this sentimentality, and the main link that binds convict love tokens and other keepsakes is the commonly experienced human condition of *absence* and *separation* from loved ones. Tamar Worsfold of Surrey petitioned the Rt. Hon. Lord Sidmouth on 10 May 1820, expressing herself to be:

> . . . truly thankful for that Royal Mercy
> which hath spared the life of her dear
> unfortunate husband but being in great
> and bitter grief at the prospect of being separated
> for life from him with whom she hath always
> lived in cordial affection and agreement. (Qtd Robinson 123)

Petitions such as this in response to transportation were not unusual and allow an insight into the emotional trauma such separation caused. Perhaps even as she wrote her hopeful words, Tamar Worsfold was already in possession of a love token given by her "dear unfortunate husband." To judge by the variety of material culture produced both commercially and individually in previous centuries, there was, and indeed still is,[6] an innate human need for tangible items to help cope with the "great and bitter grief" of separation by providing a *physical* association with an absent individual. For the *stranded* receiver there is the association with an item to stimulate memory and provide the comfort of a physical link. For the journeying giver there is satisfaction in the knowledge that their own memory is perpetuated with a physical marker in the life of a loved one in a familiar environment. This need for *marking a place in time* or *anchoring a memory* is well represented in material culture even beyond keepsakes.[7]

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[5] Situating convict love tokens within a group of objects with fairly disparate social origins and quality can also be justified as true social history; a response to Gaynor Kavanagh's contention that "The problem of 'history' in the museum is . . . compounded by the fact that most museums designate material from the middle and upper classes, such as clothing and furniture, as fine and decorative art, thus separating it out from any consideration of cultural variation and experience" (126).

[6] There is a characteristic burgeoning of such items during periods of large scale separation, for example in WWI and WWII. Keepsakes in the form of jewellery, commonly known as "sweetheart brooches" were extremely popular as particular forms of what is more broadly referred to as "trench art." Either made by the individual servicemen themselves or commissioned from enterprising comrades, the most was made of available materials with salvaged perspex aircraft cockpits particularly favoured in WWII. Fashioned into brooches and lockets etc. they were sent back to family and lovers as love tokens.

[7] A stroll through any churchyard will provide examples beyond the obvious headstones which serve the relatively practical use of dating a burial. Marking time and love are dedications of a whole host of architectural features, from walls, gates and stairs, to pews. Regardless of any pious ulterior motives, the

Human nature seems capable of sentimental attachment to virtually anything depending on the experience or occasion associated with it. How many flowers pressed between the pages of books remain today as mute testimonies of romance? Amongst examples of items transmuted into keepsake status are love letters; the primary aim of which is ostensibly communication. For many, however, the writing and receiving of letters (especially of love) has always seemed something of a sacred process. They attain a certain luminosity that gives them a life all their own; the spontaneous outpourings of the pen seem connected to the heart and mind like no other text, or tangible remains. Perhaps the most famous love letters in literary history are those that passed between Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning during the months of their courtship in 1845-46. The precious nature of their letters is evidenced by Elizabeth's refusal to leave them behind when arranging her clandestine departure from London, even when it was practical to do so. She wrote to Browning: "Your letters to me I take with me, let the 'ounces' cry out aloud, ever so. I *tried* to leave them, and I could not. That is, they would not be left: it was not my fault" (qtd Markus 20).[8] In a less poetic but no less heartfelt fashion a group of convict letters from the 1860s and 70s were found in a purpose made pouch of kangaroo hide during the demolition in 1931 of the police station in Toodyay, Western Australia (Hasluck xi). It contained letters written by Myra Sykes, agonisingly expressed as best she could, to her convict husband William Sykes. Despite being a casual correspondent himself, William had carefully placed the letters—"limp and tattered from much reading"—in the kangaroo pouch for safekeeping. It is thought that they were discovered amongst his meagre possessions taken to the police station after his death in 1891 and were either placed or by chance fell into a wall cavity. These letters were obviously cherished and survived thanks to the pains William went to in keeping them together; an action which accorded them an everlasting reverence.

More tragically, a child's garment in the Powerhouse Museum collection has survived from the 1820s because it was preserved as a keepsake (MAAS A7885). Young John Marsden, the son of the Reverend Samuel, was wearing the dress when he died after falling into a boiling cauldron. The survival of what would otherwise be an unassuming printed cotton garment shows how much the bereaved Elizabeth Marsden cherished her son's dress as a keepsake and memorial. The Toodyay letters and Marsden dress are examples of keepsakes which were created accidentally, either through circumstance or as an unintended result of the primary function of communication. As Alan Radley has remarked:

> The world of objects, as material culture, is therefore the tangible record of human endeavour, both social and individual. As part of that

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variety of plaques and plates show how important it was to remember loved ones and accord them perpetual memory. Examples of similar activities or inscriptions most relevant to this paper include graffiti—in particular jail graffiti. In the exercise yard of Nottingham Prison the name "Valentine Marshall" is engraved in capitals terminating in serifs. Marshall was a convict transported for his part in the ransacking of Colwick Hall during the Reform Bill riots of 1831. (I am grateful to Karen Wyer of The Galleries of Justice, Nottingham, for this information.)

[8] A.S. Byatt's *Possession* is an excellent fictional expression of the respect accorded love letters in the Victorian period, and their importance to current literary scholarship. Whether secreted in an impassive filing cabinet or between the pages of a dusty tome, the discovery of a cache of letters is a pursuit which haunts Victorian scholars the world over.

> endeavour certain objects are marked out intentionally as things which will help their makers—or those who come after them—to remember an event, activity or principle. Other artefacts are not so intentionally created, but only later come to be marked in a way which designates them as special possessions, as part of the cultural heritage or of one's memorabilia. (48)

Long distance travel in the last century was potentially fraught with the many hazards of a sea journey, often involving lengthy periods of time. These factors combined with the expense of passage made the possibility of return for many virtually impossible. At a time when emigration was the cause of dislocation for millions of people, in terms of personal relationships long distance travel could be tantamount to death, and for the pious even the religious comfort usually associated with grief was missing. Indeed, for many of those left behind, parents, siblings, cousins, friends and lovers were never to be seen again. For the illiterate there was not even the consolation of written communication; their past loves and lives became memories frozen in time.

The degree of helplessness and fear felt by emigrants can only have been magnified in the minds of the criminal transportees of Britain's penal system. Convict transportation meant enforced dislocation without the benefit of self determination to ease the pain. It is tempting and all too easy to interpret the sentiments on the convict love tokens as clichéd verses. However, in reality we shouldn't underestimate the gravity of the circumstances in which they were given and received. A picture of a generic little house on one token is underscored by the proclamation: "THIS WAS ONCE MY COTTAGE OF PEACE / EA." On another is a ship at sail above the dedication: "Accept this dear mother from your unfortunate son / Thos Alsop / Transported July 25 Aged 21, 1833." A token from around 1810 is engraved: "JOHN HOWE AGED 14 YEARS / LIBERTY IS SWEET / WHEN THIS YOU SEE REMEMBER AND BERE ME IN YOUR MIND" (MAAS 87/982; Figure 3). On this last token the crude outline of items that symbolised young John Howe's new life and circumscribed his body can be readily discerned: leg irons and manacles.

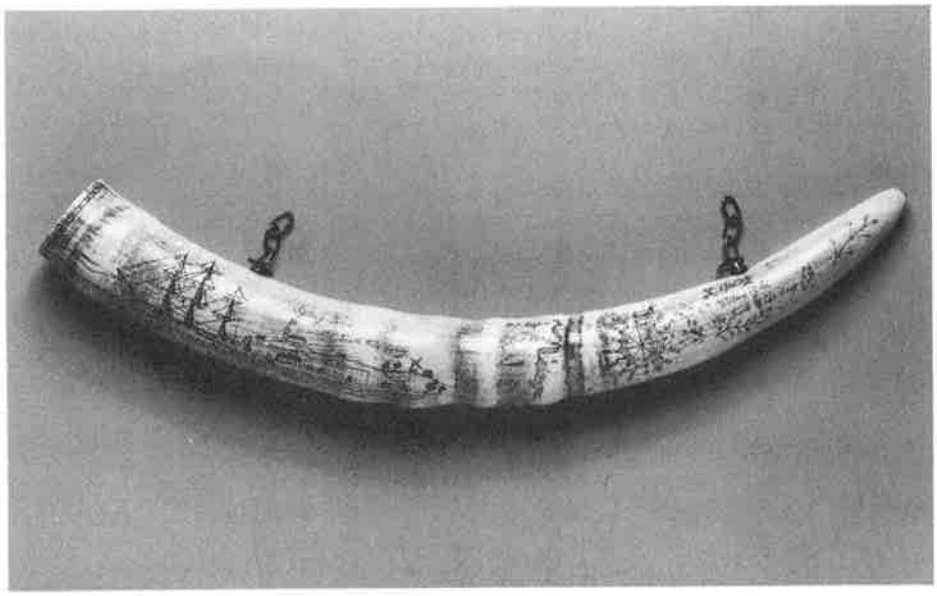
The dedications on the tokens show that they were as likely to be left to relatives and friends as much as lovers. Despite not knowing her actual role in the giver's life the inscription "ADIEU DEAR AUNT ADIEU" on one token leaves us in no doubt as to the receiver's familial relationship; perhaps a favourite aunt or maybe a surrogate mother? In 1831 another convict, George Carney, wrote on his offering: "A token of love to his sister Mary Carney / May we live to meet again." Heartfelt wishes such as this were not hollow, melodramatic or mawkish. A sentence of 14 years was substantial at a time when the average life expectancy overall for males in England and Wales between 1838 and 1854 was 39.9 years (Smith 197). For the working classes it varied in the 1830s from 30 years for shopkeepers and tradesmen, to 22 years for silk workers (Smith 197). It is true that such figures are reduced as an average by high infant mortality but nevertheless life was harsh, and could be short. Even a minimum transportation sentence constituted a significant span in an individual's life. On an 1838 token from JM is a particularly poignant message; simple and to the point. "Seven Years" were considered tragic prose enough. His future's epiphany.

The convict love tokens are survivors of a population group rarely represented by anything more tangible than entries in court assizes, ship rolls, prison musters, and

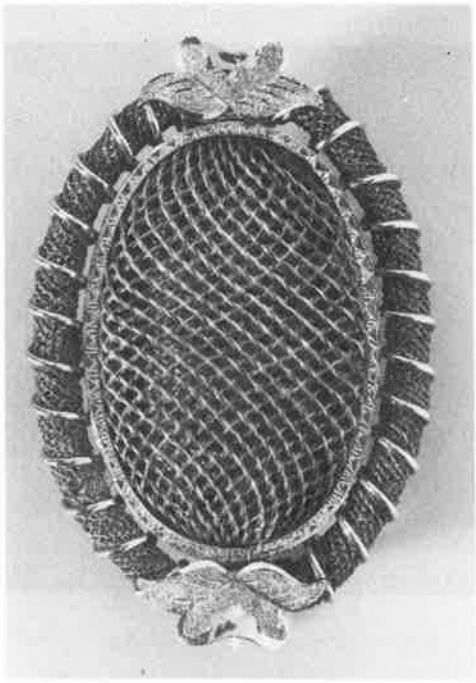
occasionally letters and diaries. The undoubted importance of the tokens as documents therefore is significantly increased due to the fact that they were produced by the individuals themselves, or at least by members of the same class grouping on another convict's behalf. This immediacy to the individual enables a rare opportunity of glimpsing how the convicts perceived themselves, and how they wanted to be remembered. Perhaps most important of all, these tokens signify the apogee of punishment inflicted by transportation: that of banishment. Fashioning the tokens was a means of coping with banishment and the myriad aspects of life that were affected as a result of the separation from loved ones and dislocation from a familiar environment and way of life. There is of course no doubt that the ellipsis in the minimal text of these tokens leaves many questions unanswered and only occasionally can convict records be matched to flesh out some details. But even when this is not the case, and we must rely solely on the tokens themselves, these evocative and enigmatic little remains of individual lives and loves are invaluable testimonies to human relationships and the innate need to perpetuate their memory.

If separation is the prime motivation for the production of these tokens, then there are other influences that determine and reflect their form—notably traditions inherent in working-class culture. Some of the verses on the love tokens, for example, were familiar to the convicts from domestic objects seen in everyday life. In particular, variants of "When this you see, remember me" were popular on a variety of everyday objects, notably ceramics and glassware from the late eighteenth century (Maxwell-Stewart and Bradley 3). Commercial production of these items made for popular consumption from the end of the eighteenth century strike a chord in popular sentiment: glass Nailsea rolling pins emblazoned with "Forget me Not" and a circa 1820 Sunderland pink lustreware jug has the transfer print: "When This you see remember me / And keep me in your Mind / Let all the World say what they will / Speak of me as you find" (MAAS A5249; Figure 4) are just two examples.

So familiar were these everyday items that their influence extended even to tattoos; a phenomenon popular amongst the working classes. The sentimental content and emotional *raison d'être* of tattoos were often very close to the convict love tokens. Much research has been done on the tattoos worn by convicts (Bradley and Maxwell-Stewart) which were studiously recorded for surveillance by the disciplinary authorities; a practice which "also served to remind each convict of their new status as humiliated subjects of power imprisoned by knowledge about their own body" (Maxwell-Stewart and Bradley 4). The application of particular tattoos for celebrating relationships and lamenting separation is especially noticeable in those that appear to have been applied post sentencing, or made during the sea voyage, as of course is also the case with love tokens fashioned from reused coins. Indeed, the similarity in sentiment between convict tokens and tattoos has an analogous crossing over with the method of their making; the repeated insertion of a pin reinscribing a bodily or metallic surface. Personal dedication tattoos where relationships are celebrated feature the ubiquitous "When this you see remember me" as well as endless different combinations of initials, "plus" symbols, and heart symbols. Of the 1500 Scottish convict tattoos in Bradley and Maxwell-Stewart's sample, 213 had strings of initials as a permanent reminder of relationships (195). In addition to this encrypting images are occasionally added. In one example a woman and girl holding hands together with hearts, darts and "ETMTWT" was tattooed on the body of William Thomson (Bradley and Maxwell-Stewart 194). This implied portrait of a



Anti-clockwise from top left
Figure 4. Sunderland earthenware jug with pink lustreware decoration and the transfer print verse: "When This you see remember me / And keep me in your Mind / Let all the World say what they will / Speak of me as you find." Made in England circa 1820. H. 18.3cm. Powerhouse Museum_A5249, Gift of R.S. Miller, 1964. Figure 5. Scrimshaw walrus tusk with a simple scene of Sydney dated 1806. Also featured is a schematised map of the NSW coastline which includes Port Macquarie—hence more accurately dating this tusk to after the town's foundation in 1821. Made by Captain William Grice, probably in commemoration of his [1806] arrival in Sydney. L. 44.0cm. Powerhouse Museum A7313. Figure 6. Presentation medal of the "Mercantile and Naval Academy" awarded to John Chisholm and made by Samuel Clayton in Sydney, 1829. Diam. 4.4cm Powerhouse Museum 95/170/1.



From top left
Figure 7. Gold sentimental brooch with intricately woven hairwork attached to a gold backing and inscribed: "Mother from / Louise August 30 1867," probably made in England. L. 4.2cm. Powerhouse Museum 86/1669. Figure 8. Pendant earrings of hair twisted into loops and attached to a circlet of applied gold hearts, probably made in England, circa 1880. H. 5.0cm. Powerhouse Museum 85/1766.' Figure 9. Gilt brooch dating from 1870 inset with a photograph of Captain R.J. Miller. In the back is a plait of his hair under a glass cover. H. 7.0cm. Powerhouse Museum H7529, Gift of R.S. Miller, 1964. Figure 10. Painted miniature of General Sir Ralph Darling (later Governor of NSW), watercolour on ivory by Henry Edridge, England, circa 1805. H. 6.4cm. Powerhouse Museum 95/141/1.

forcibly estranged wife and child are poignant images equivalent to engraved love tokens applied to the skin. Cross pollination of influences undoubtedly occurred in the prisons, hulks and transports where tattoos and tokens were produced by the convicts themselves, their comrades, or even itinerant workers. This cross pollination is, however, better represented in convict tattoos, where recurring designs appear in consistent groups per ship en route to Australia (Maxwell-Stewart and Bradley 6).

Other similarities between the convict love tokens and tattoos symptomatic of working-class culture can be seen in their subversive religious and masonic symbolism (Maxwell-Stewart and Bradley 7). The tattoo inside John Green's left arm of a "half moon, 7 stars aged 22 Crucifix" has an interesting parallel with William Brain's 1838 coin token where the sky features a sun, moon and seven stars above a conventional shoreside farewell scene. Inherent in some of these items can be discerned an underlying sense of self-identification; a hidden text which tantalisingly eludes the modern observer. In the main, however, while the tattoos and tokens share the important distinction of vocalising the "convict voice" (Bradley and Maxwell-Stewart 198), it is important to note that all the tokens, unlike some tattoos, cannot be confused with pre-transportation existence and experience. Where tattoos depicting love messages could have been acquired by a person at any time before their convict status as part of the social and romantic tradition of such things, the convict love tokens are a direct product of incarceration and transportation; the names, initials, dates, dedications and scenes were all made after the individual's judicial fate was passed. The fundamental importance of the tokens thus lies in the fresh perspective they impart; the "voice" they contribute is one which has helped to "unshackle 'Australia's founding fathers and mothers'—the transported convicts—from a history which ignores their human capital" (Nicholas 201).

With the transportation experience working-class tattoos blur into maritime culture, a culture with which they are usually seen as synonymous. There are other connections, however, between the tokens and maritime culture in terms of traditional seafaring crafts. This is perhaps due in the case of both convicts and sailors to a combination of idle time, wide variations in competence, and the motivating factor of separation to produce a gift or keepsake for lovers, friends and family. An oil painting in the New South Wales State Library attributed to the convict architect Francis Greenway shows the interior of Newgate Prison in Bristol, England. The prisoners appear to be unsupervised and it is easy to imagine love tokens being made in such an environment amongst the card playing and idle chatter. Similarly for sailors, time to themselves or long periods of calm at sea provided the opportunity to produce a variety of crafts, prominent amongst which was scrimshaw, the laborious working of tooth, bone and horn.

Many beautiful examples of scrimshaw survive as testimony to the skill of their makers. Although not specific to the whale teeth and bone, the abundance of raw materials and suitable tools in whaling has ensured scrimshaw is mainly associated with that industry. The material is prepared in much the same way as the tokens by grinding and smoothing the surface, though tooth enamel and bone take longer to hone than the soft copper tokens. Once the surface is prepared the design is incised into the tooth or bone surface, and stained with ink or soot. Often given as keepsakes, a sense of the tokens in terms of recording environment and personal commemoration can be seen in a walrus tusk in the Powerhouse Museum collection where a simple scene of 1820 Sydney

has been rendered by Captain William Grice (MAAS A7313; Figure 5). Surprisingly, some of the most professional looking scrimshaw can share technical origins with some of the crudest tokens. On scrimshaw it was possible (and later quite common) to trace a printed design by pushing a pin through into the ivory or bone, and then after removing the pattern, join the dots to achieve a satisfying representation. On the coins the design and even the dedication could be totally composed from the dots or "pin-hole work," with widely differing success. They were made by tapping a sharp implement such as a nail into the surface where, depending on the force of the blow, the inscription could be made quite bold. One letter could be formed from as many as 20 or 30 tiny "pricks." This technique had the distinct advantage of being very forgiving to the unskilled, as it allowed the maker to slowly build up a reasonable design with the simplest makeshift equipment.

The use of coins for the convict love tokens within this working-class and maritime cultural milieu is not at all surprising. Coins were unequalled as a convenient source of metal suitable for relatively simple conversion. The uses were multifarious, varying from coins engraved in honour of religious piety with the Lord's Prayer, to political comment, birth commemoratives and even pornographic scenes (Entenmann 74). Love tokens, at their simplest, are better described as portable graffiti. On a worn Anglesey penny token are scratched the initials "BS / E+SB+S / MS" (MAAS N10373). We can only guess why this was made, probably to celebrate relationships and in so doing, staking a claim in the passage of time? Carving initials on a tree trunk or school desk are less portable examples of the same activity. Since the original design on this coin has been defaced and not obliterated, there was the opportunity of returning it to circulation as a clandestine means of advertising a flowering romance or friendship. The fact that there is another in the Powerhouse Museum collection that is stylistically related to this token scratched with the name "Mary Tibson / 1795" and the initials "MS / RS" (MAAS N10374) suggests they were secreted together until they found their way as a pair into the museum's collection.

Professionally made examples of love tokens reused from coins also date at least from the early eighteenth century (Sheppard 110). With their professionally executed designs commonly featuring ornate and inter-locked initials these were very different to the above mentioned "graffiti" style of token as well as the convict examples. Other affluent tokens more akin in spontaneity to the convict examples also exist and one example in the Powerhouse Museum collection understandably lacks the poignant nature of the convict equivalent (MAAS N21529). It is possible that this token is a record of a romance between an officer on the French scientific expedition led by Baudin, and a woman in Sydney Cove. The French ship was in Sydney from June to November 1802—more than enough time for romance to blossom. On this token we can just make out a coastal scene with a ship in the background. In the foreground are two figures hand in hand; a male in a naval officer's uniform bidding farewell to a woman in a long dress and cap. On the other side is an ornate coat of arms surmounted by a stag head and encircled by a dedication in French; "L'AMOUR ET L'AMTTIE": love and friendship. The token is in silver and the workmanship is quite reasonable suggesting it had been commissioned from a fairly skilled engraver, albeit one who was unfamiliar with French. In the word *amitie* the engraver has mistakenly put double "TT" instead of "IT," letters easily confused when written with serifs. All the details of the genteel and romantic scene are captured; small animals dot the foreground in place of leg irons. It is

significant that despite the officer's relative wealth and (judging by the heraldic arms) noble ancestry, a token made from coin was a convenient keepsake in a colony which had inherited an established tradition.

No better illustration of the convenience of coin reuse can be seen than in the official government appropriation of the practice in colonial New South Wales. Where circumstances and convenience suited, government authorities and other "respectable" social bodies would turn to reusing coins, suitably inscribed for presentational purposes, and despite the fact that the defacing of a coin of the realm was an illegal practice. The Male Orphan Institute of which Governor Macquarie was patron awarded a medal to young James Flood in 1821 for cobbling (MAAS N12477). The medal is a smoothed shilling engraved by the pre-eminent craftsman of the period, Samuel Clayton. In a later example of 1829, the Mercantile and Naval Academy awarded their annual prize, also made by Clayton, in the form of a beautifully engraved medal (MAAS 95/170/1; Figure 6). Its dimensions would indicate that in its former life as a struck coin it was once a Spanish dollar or British Crown. Whether a convict love token or "official" award, coins offered the most convenient matrix for dedicatory and commemorative purposes.

So far in this paper the place of the convict love tokens has been firmly established in material culture as a natural result of memory marking, owing debts to working-class culture, maritime tradition and convenient coin reuse. Just as rich is the scope of other material culture that served the same emotional purpose of providing comfort in the absence of loved ones. The convict love tokens themselves provide clues about this related group, and to its gendering, since significantly the overwhelming majority of love tokens were given by males. Out of the total 112 tokens in the Millett collection for which the sex could definitely be determined, only four were from women. Considering that one in six convicts were women we would expect 18 tokens in the collection at least. Even within the limitations of a relatively small sample such as this, it seems fairly clear that men were more likely to leave engraved love tokens with females, be they lovers or family members. The logical conclusion is that either women didn't give tokens, or had their own alternatives to the engraved coins.

There is evidence to suggest that women did give tokens, and the most likely and convenient alternative keepsake that females could offer was a lock of hair. George Jones, forsaken young storekeeper's son in 1840s Canada, ends his journal with a confession which unintentionally affirms the importance of hair as a token of love: "O Honorine, Honorine, have you forgotten your love for me [sic]. The only Consolation (if it is one) I have at present is her letters and her hair, which I kiss often" (qtd Ward 14). It is possible that other keepsakes from women took the form of personal items made for men such as clothing, but their more practical nature—for example slippers popular with the middle class in the mid to late Victorian Period—make them blur into general domestic culture and thus difficult to identify when disassociated from the discourse that would signify them as dedicated keepsakes of love.

The potency of hair as the ultimate in personal mnemonics is evidenced in the examples of hair held in public institutions. In the State Library of New South Wales alone are a variety, including a box of hair from the family of Matthew Flinders (R48/5), Macquarie family hair (R618a-d), a lock of hair from James Cook contained in a miniature wooden coffin that was sent to his wife following his death on Hawaii (DR2), and a lock of Mary Shelley's hair (R802). This hair from the heads of famous people, predictably considered worthy as keepsake material, also reflect elements of

institutionalised collecting practice; it is this contrived sorting typical of a public collection that artificially determines what remains, and who remains. History provides ample testimony to the fact that bestowing locks of hair was a common, and sometimes rather absurd, practice. Emily Eden noted in 1835 that when her brother left to be Governor General of India, he was nearly bald from giving away locks of hair to friends as well as acquaintances (Druitt 42). A bizarre example is that of love-sick Charles Frederick Beilby who literally wished himself to death in Sydney in 1838. In his last will and testament he requested that the locks of hair from five women should be removed from his desktop and placed in his coffin (Atkinson 105). While public collections do not provide verifiable convict and lower-class examples, it is likely that the reverence for hair as a keepsake is a reflection of wider community practice, especially given its ready acquisition and cheapness.

As a reflection of the importance given to hair as a keepsake it is not surprising that various methods were devised for carrying it upon the person. Hair, if contained or carried in cloth pouches or paper envelopes (as is probable in the case of poorer individuals such as the majority of convicts and the less affluent settlers), is unlikely to survive. The chance of hair surviving as a keepsake is more likely when included in jewellery, often called sentimental jewellery, but in effect a genteel form of love token. Hair in jewellery is often wrongly assumed to be exclusively memorial and indeed it is not always easy to tell the difference. Only when obvious clues are given, such as the dedication "IN MEMORIAM," can a piece be accurately identified as such. Sentimental jewellery on the other hand uses hair as a token of the living. In the Powerhouse collection is an English oval shaped brooch with intricately woven hairwork attached to a gold backing (MAAS 86/1669; Figure 7). The brown hair woven into tiny chains was a gift from a daughter; on the rear is inscribed: "Mother from / Louise August 30 1867." A pair of pendant earrings dating to around 1880 are likely to be romantic love tokens. They are delicately composed from finely woven tubes of human hair twisted into loops and attached to a circlet of applied gold hearts (MAAS 85/1766; Figure 8).

Mourning or memorial jewellery shares with other keepsakes and tokens of love a response to the separation—in this case the ultimate separation—from loved ones. In *Great Expectations* Pip observed that Mr Wemmick "appeared to have sustained many bereavements; for he wore at least four mourning rings, besides a brooch representing a lady and a weeping willow at a tomb with an urn on it. I noticed too that several rings and seals hung at his watch chain" (qtd Hinks 84). The brooch's classical scene Pip describes was typically eighteenth century and would have been similar to a gold English finger ring in the Powerhouse Museum collection (MAAS A1368), which has a marquis shaped ivory centre and is painted with the mourning scene of a woman leaning on a cinerary urn under a weeping willow. On the back is the inscription: "Sarah Stonard at 31 May 1783 aged 69."[9]

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[9] As well as for memorial purposes, rings are perhaps the most conventional symbols of romance in western culture. In addition to their more ritualistic exchange in marriage however, certain types of rings could be given to both bridge separation and offer protective benfit. For example, a silver ring in the Powerhouse Museum collection (MAAS A7825-4) has MIZPAH applied in raised letters invoking the Biblical reference: "The Lord watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another" (Genesis 31:49). This covenant made at Mizpah between Jacob and his family is transmuted by the forging of the ring into an amulet and token of love.

Hair in mourning jewellery undoubtedly intensified the comfort of personal contact. It certainly was a very popular component even before the death of the Prince Consort in 1861 and the prolonged mourning of Queen Victoria which earned her the title "Widow of Windsor." Through the Queen's influence on fashion, and as a result of patriarchal Victorian social practices, women bore the responsibility of mourning far more heavily than men (May 18-19). It was an intrusive interruption into their lives and the various stages of mourning over two or more years from full to half and "slight" only contributed to the huge variety of jewellery manufactured. The selection available was enormous and a major industry burgeoned with towns such as Whitby in Yorkshire booming on the strength of fashionable jet jewellery.[10]

At the extremes of fashion and technology are two examples of mourning jewellery in the Powerhouse Museum collection. A rectangular gold brooch made in 1830 features plaited grey hair behind a cabochon of crystal surrounded by seed pearls; evidently symbols of tears (MAAS A6182). With the advent of photography, mourning brooches increasingly contained an image in addition to hair. A gilt brooch dating from 1870 features a photograph of a Captain R.J. Miller, and set in the back is a panel of his hair simply interlaced under a glass cover (MAAS H7529; Figure 9). This brooch exemplifies the pervasive difficulty in distinguishing between sentimental and mourning jewellery, and indeed if its original purpose was to celebrate the living it could, in time, inevitably change from one type of keepsake to the other.[11]

The new technology of photography, once it became affordable after the middle of the century, democratised the accurate likeness, previously the preserve of the rich with their painted miniatures of loved ones. These miniatures were the best equivalent to the engraved love token for the more affluent sentimentalist. Despite their portable nature, however, their form implies a reasonably comfortable sedentary lifestyle since they are fragile and not convenient to carry. As with many examples of material culture, these miniatures were a celebration of social position, yet their purpose and ability to deliberately engender memory cannot be doubted—especially considering the directly evocative power of a likeness. Lieutenant Ralph Clarke of the First Fleet certainly gained great comfort from the miniature of his wife, Betsy Alicia, which he kissed in a daily ritual: "The only happiness that I have is the kissing of my Betsy's dear picture and my little boy's hair that she sent. I would not part with them for a Captain's commission" (qtd Hughes 248). Clarke was not alone in his romantic musings and reliance upon miniatures to conjure up absent loved ones; such sentiments also pervade the literature of the period, suggesting an interesting intersection between visual and literary culture:

> WHICH is the truest reading of thy look?
> Just one look before I sleep,
> Just one parting glance, to keep
> On my heart and on my brain
> Every line and feature plain,
> In sweet hopes that they may be

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[10] By the 1890s, however, a lower mortality rate combined with changing social attitudes made the obligations of mourning less exacting and mourning jewellery eventually lost favour (Hinks 87).

[11] For a comprehensive study of Australian jewellery, see Schofield and Fahy.

> Present in those dreams to me . . .
> Picture dear, farewell to thee,
> Be thine image left with me!

So runs the poem "Different Thoughts: Suggested by a Picture by G.S. Newton, No. 16 in the British Gallery, and Representing a Girl Looking at her Lover's Miniature" by Letitia Landon in 1823 (Armstrong 242). Typical of these tiny portable portraits is one of General Sir Ralph Darling painted on ivory within a gold oval frame and dating to about 1805 (MAAS 95/141/1; Figure 10). Some miniatures were small enough to be incorporated within a locket. One dating from the 1830s features a portrait on ivory of the colonial architect, John Verge (MAAS A7801). As simple portraits these likenesses successfully and often beautifully represent an individual's physical characteristics, but the relatively mute information they impart makes them in some ways less evocative than their convict love token counterparts, which display a powerful immediacy to the emotions of an individual. In addition, the temporal and commemorative aspect preserved by the convict tokens—where accompanying spoken narrative is not needed for context (as is usually the case with the miniatures)—makes them frequently more successful as records or guardians of memory.

Historical depictions of convicts often portrayed them stereotypically, as depraved characters entirely devoid of "genteel" human sentiments. This kind of portrayal undoubtedly comforted the "respectable" sections of British society by designating behaviour supposedly alien to their own class, effectively reinforcing class pretensions. These segments of society would have found solace in the confirmation that social misfits were being ejected from their shores. Contrary and contemporary to these dehumanising depictions, the love tokens show a sympathetic and human aspect to convict society. Despite their diminutive size they are important and in many ways unique social documents. As this paper has shown, convict love tokens map out a distinctive space within a corpus of material culture created by a whole range of social classes, and which reached its apogee in the Victorian period, a time synonymous with sentimental and romantic material culture. This innate human need to perpetuate memory by bestowing tangible items both marries an otherwise disparate grouping together, and gives a voice, albeit a whispered one, to a population often muted by social history.

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