

1. Introduction: A Global History of Convicts and Penal Colonies

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Introduction

In 1415, the Portuguese Empire used convicts as part of an expeditionary force sent to conquer the Moroccan *presidio* (fort) of Ceuta in North Africa. This marked the first known use of condemned criminals by a European power in an expansionary imperial project. Numerous other global powers emulated the Portuguese example in the years, decades and centuries that followed. The Spanish, Dutch, Scandinavians, British, French, Japanese, Chinese, Russians and Soviets all transported convicts over large distances of land or sea; as did the independent states of Latin America, including Cuba, Mexico, Ecuador, Brazil and Argentina. Transportation was a means of punishment, deterrence, and population management and, through the expropriation of convict labour, of occupying and settling distant frontiers. Convicts travelled multi-directionally, shipped outwards from Europe and other metropolitan centres, within nations, and between colonies and the so-called peripheries of empires and polities. Excepting Antarctica, its extent touched every continent of the globe.

A conservative estimate of total convict flows within the western Empires during the period from 1415 to the closure of Europe's last penal colony, French Guiana, in 1953, approximates to around 900,000 men, women and children. France's impressment of criminal offenders into the army between 1860 and 1976 adds a further 600,000 men to the statistics; and China and Japan in the period to 1912 at least 148,000 more. If we include the continental penal labour camps of Western Europe during the period 1750-1950, this figure grows by perhaps 5 million. Deportation, exile and collective resettlement in Russia and the USSR adds between 10 and 25 million to the statistics (Table 1). This global tally substantially augments previously available estimates.¹

¹ Clare Anderson and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, 'Convict Labour and the Western Empires, 1415-1954', in *The Routledge History of Western Empires*, eds Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie (London: Routledge, 2014), 102-17. This work revises the figures first proposed by Stephen Nicholas and Peter Shergold: 'Transportation as Global Migration', in *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, ed. Stephen Nicholas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 28-61. On French military impressment, see Dominique Kalifa, *Biribi: Les bagnes coloniaux*

These expansive convict flows both succeeded and co-existed with other means of punishing and putting to labour criminalised and socially marginal or undesirable people. In the medieval and early modern period, such punishments included the use of prison and vagrant labour on galleys and in frontier towns, and in workhouses, bridewells, dockyards, arsenals, hulks and *bagnes* (prisons).² From the turn of the nineteenth century, they incorporated new cellular means of incarceration; for example, London's Millbank, Peru's Lima, and Burma's Moulmein, and offshore island prisons such as Wadjemup (Rottneest) in Western Australia, and Corfu.³ The development of agricultural, industrial and juvenile

de l'armée française (Paris: Perrin, 2009). There is much research to be done on the history of penal transportation in China. For the period 1758-1920, see Joanna Waley-Cohen's excellent *Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758-1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) and 'Banishment to Xinjiang in Mid-Qing China, 1758-1820', *Late Imperial China* 10, no. 2 (1989): 44-71. It has been suggested that since the 1950s, between 15 and 25 million people have died in Chinese prison farms and labour camps: the *laogai*. See Hongda Harry Wu, *Laogai: the Chinese gulag* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2004) and Philip F. Williams and Yenna Wu, *The great wall of confinement: the Chinese prison camp through contemporary fiction and reportage* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004). There are currently no statistical estimates of penal transportation in the nation states of post-colonial Latin America.

² Francis Snyder and Douglas Hay, eds, *Labour, Law and Crime: An Historical Perspective* (London: Blackwell, 1987); Thorsten Sellin, *Slavery and the Penal System* (New Orleans: QUID PRO Books, 2016); Pieter Spierenburg, ed., *The Emergence of Carceral Institutions, 1550-1900* (Rotterdam: Erasmus University, 1984); Pieter Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991).

³ *Transactions of the Third National Prison Reform Congress, held at Saint Louis, Missouri, May 13-16, 1874: Being the third annual report of the National Prison Association of the United States*, edited by E.C. Wines, secretary of the association (New York: Office of the Association, 1874), 483; Neville Green and Susan Moon, *Far From Home: Aboriginal prisoners of Rottneest Island* (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1997). The Dutch East India Company used Robben Island in the Cape Colony as an offshore prison from the end of the fifteenth century; the British reconfigured its carceral character when they took control of the Cape in the nineteenth century. See: Clare Anderson, 'Convicts, Carcerality and Cape Colony Connections in the 19th Century', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42 no. 3 (2016): 429-42; Harriet Deacon, *The Island: a history of Robben Island 1488-1900* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997). On the history of the prison, see Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850-1935* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Florence Bernault, *A History of Prison and Confinement in Africa* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2003); Mark Colvin, *Penitentiaries, Reformatories, and Chain Gangs: Social Theory and the History of Punishment in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997); Christian G. De Vito and Alex Lichtenstein, eds, *Global Convict Labour* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Frank Dikötter and Ian Brown, eds, *Cultures of Confinement: Cultures of Confinement: a history of the prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London, Penguin, 1977); Guy Geltner, *The Medieval Prison: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Mary Gibson, 'Global Perspectives on the Birth of the Prison', *American Historical Review* 116 no. 4 (2011): 1040-1063; Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850* (New York: Penguin, 1978); Sean S. McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration, Volume 1, 1750-1877* (London, Routledge, 1981); Norval Morris and David J. Rothman, eds, *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998);

reform colonies was also important, with establishments including France's Mettray, Belgium's Ruysselede and Beernem, for boys and girls respectively, Mexico's Escuela de Orientación, and Ferrargunj in the Andaman Islands.⁴ Many such institutions were run by religious orders, not the state, including in India the Salvation Army, in Latin America the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, and in the schools for convict children in French Guiana and New Caledonia the Sisters of St Joseph de Cluny.⁵

This history of carceral succession and co-existence, as Sarah Badcock and Judith Pallot argue in this volume for imperial Russia and the Soviet Union, means that there is no need to separate entirely 'deportation' from 'imprisonment'. Rather, penal transportation developed in the aftermath of and in tandem with other forms of punishment, and the architectures of confinement associated with imprisonment, penal colonies and rehabilitative training were syncretic. By the nineteenth century, in numerous global contexts, penal transportation blended convict mobility with carceral immobility. Furthermore, in these locations penal colonies were imbricated with other sites of social discipline and containment

Ricardo D. Salvatore and Carlos Aguirre, eds., *The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America: Essays on Criminology, Prison Reform, and Social Control, 1830–1940* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press: 1996).

⁴ Clare Anderson, Madhumita Mazumdar and Vishvajit Pandya, *New Histories of the Andaman Islands: landscape, place and identity in the Bay of Bengal, 1790–2012* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), ch. 2; Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, eds, *Isolation: places and practices of exclusion* (London: Routledge, 2003); Ceri Crossley, 'Using and Transforming the French Countryside: The "Colonies Agricoles" (1820–1850)', *French Studies* 44, no. 1 (1991): 36–54; Jeroen J. H. Dekker, 'Punir, sauver et éduquer: la colonie agricole "Nederlandsch Mettray" et la rééducation résidentielle aux Pays-Bas, en France, en Allemagne et en Angleterre entre 1814 et 1914', *Le Mouvement Social*, 153 (1990): 63–90; Jeroen J. H. Dekker, *The Will to Change the Child: Re-education Homes for Children at Risk in Nineteenth Century Western Europe* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001); Paul A. Field, *Working Men's Bodies: Work Camps in Britain, 1880–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Luc Forlivesi, Georges-François Pottier and Sophie Chassat, *Éduquer et punir. La colonie agricole et pénitentiaire de Mettray (1839–1937)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005); Albert Schauwers, 'The "Benevolent" colonies of Johannes van den Bosch: Continuities in the Administration of Poverty in the Netherlands and Indonesia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2 (2001): 298–328; Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: imperial durabilities in our times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), ch. 3.

⁵ Rachel J. Tolen, 'Colonizing and Transforming the Criminal Tribesman—The Salvation Army in British-India', *American Ethnologist* 18, no. 1 (1991): 106–25; M. le Dt Jh Orgéas, 'Contribution a l'Étude du Non-Cosmopolitisme de l'Homme: La Colonisation de la Guyane par la Transportation, Étude Historique et Démographique', *Archives de médecine navale*, 39 (March 1883): 251, 255; Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence (ANOM) H2034 Inspections New Caledonia: Inspection Report, Ducos Penitentiary, 20 April 1912.

that cut across Europe and its empires.⁶ As Ann Laura Stoler puts it, agricultural colonies, penal colonies and overseas settlement were ‘conceptually and politically tethered projects.’⁷

A sometimes uneasy and contradictory carceral mix characterised the process of convict transportation and the existence of penal colonies, and this was the result of the oft-times conflicting interests and investments of their various stakeholders, who were keen to profit from convict shipment, expropriate convict labour, effect particular penal outcomes, and/or control populations. As Ryan Edwards writes in his chapter on Latin America: ‘Penal colonies ... served multiple social, economic, and geopolitical functions.’ In these respects, convict transportation as a form of punishment was always explicitly intertwined with both political economy and metropolitan and imperial governmentality. It also had a close relationship to other kinds of free and coerced labour and migration, including extra-judicial or administrative population concentration and exile, and the exploitation of prisoners of war, including in labour battalions.⁸ These different and sometimes incompatible motivations perhaps explain its failure in some places, and its persistence long into the twentieth century in others.⁹ Indeed, in modern Europe, as Mary Gibson and Ilaria Poerio show in Chapter 12, many locations for the transportation of convicted offenders were repurposed as

⁶ Ann Laura Stoler, ‘Colony’, *Political Concepts: A Critical Lexicon*, 1 (2011) <http://www.politicalconcepts.org/issue1/colony/> (accessed 5 February 2017); Stoler, *Duress*, 75, 78.

⁷ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 132. See also Allyson Jaye Delnore, ‘Empire by Example? Deportees in France and Algeria and the Making of a Modern Empire, 1846-1854’, *French Politics, Culture and Society* 33, no. 1 (2015): 33-54.

⁸ Clare Anderson, ‘After Emancipation: Empires and Imperial Formations’, in *Emancipation and the Remaking of the British Imperial World* eds Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper and Keith McClelland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 113–27. Work on prisoners of war includes: Isabel Hofmeyr, ‘South Africa’s Indian Ocean: Boer prisoners of war in India’, *Social Dynamics: a journal of African Studies* 38, no. 3 (2012): 363-80; Heather Jones, ‘A Missing Paradigm? Military Captivity and the Prisoner of War, 1914-18’, *Immigrants and Minorities* special issue 26, nos 1-2 (2008): 19-48; S.P. Mackenzie, ‘The Treatment of Prisoners of War in World War II’, *Journal of Modern History* 66, no. 3 (1994): 487-520; Renaud Morieux, ‘French prisoners of war, conflicts of honour and social inversions in England, 1744-1783’, *Historical Journal* 56 no. 1 (2013): 55-88; Harold Mytum and Gilly Carr, *Prisoners of War: Archaeology, Memory, and Heritage of 19th- and 20th-Century Mass Internment* (London: Springer, 2013).

⁹ Arguably, for the Russian Federation, the twenty-first century.

places of explicitly political confinement.¹⁰ In the Russian federation today, argue Sarah Badcock and Judith Pallot, both distance and the deliberate withholding of information about penal destinations from prisoners, remain key elements of punishment.¹¹

This collection of essays provides the first global overview of convict transportation and penal colonies, proposing that across a range of contexts over a period of five centuries they were key to attempts to satisfy the interlocking but sometimes incompatible desires for punishment, labour extraction, population management and imperial expansion. In some cases - France,¹² Britain,¹³ Russia and the USSR,¹⁴ and India¹⁵ - these histories are relatively well

¹⁰ See also: Javier Rodrigo, "Exploitation, fascist violence and social cleansing: a study of Franco's concentration camps from a comparative perspective," *European Review of History – Revue européenne d'histoire* 19, no. 4 (2012): 553-573. Another example from across the Atlantic is that almost a century after convict importations from Britain and Ireland ceased and after the abolition of slavery in 1864, the idea of penal transportation was transformed into a new kind of punishment in which labour remained central: into the 1920s, the state leased out African-American prisoner chain gangs to public works projects. See: Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Colvin, *Penitentiaries, Reformatories and Chain Gangs*; Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labour: the political economy of convict labour in the new south* (London: Verso, 1995); Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: peonage in the south, 1901-1969* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972).

¹¹ See also Laura Piacentini and Judith Pallot, "In Exile Imprisonment" in Russia', *British Journal of Criminology* 54, no. 1 (2014): 20-37; Judith Pallot, 'Russia's Penal Peripheries: Space, Place and Penalty in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia', *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers*, New Series 30, no. 1 (2005): 98-112.

¹² Louis-José Barbançon, *L'archipel des forçats. Histoire du bagne de Nouvelle-Calédonie (1863-1931)* (Lille: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2003); Alice Bullard, *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000); Danielle Donet-Vincent, *De soleil et de silences. Histoire des bagnes de Guyane* (Paris: La boutique de l'histoire, 2003); Odile Krakovitch, *Les femmes bagnardes* (Paris: Perrin, 1998); Isabelle Merle, *Expériences Coloniales: La Nouvelle-Calédonie, 1853-1920* (Paris: Belin, 1995); Peter Redfield, *Space in the Tropics: from convicts to rockets in French Guiana* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000); Miranda F. Spieler, *Empire and Underworld: captivity in French Guiana* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Sylvie Thénault, *Histoire de la guerre d'indépendance algérienne* (Paris: Flammarion, 2005); Stephen A. Toth, *Beyond Papillon: the French overseas penal colonies, 1854-1952* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

¹³ Jocelyn Alexander and Clare Anderson, eds, *Politics, Penalty and (Post-) Colonialism*, special edition of *Cultural And Social History* 5, no. 4 (2008); Ian Duffield and James Bradley, eds, *Representing Convicts: New Perspectives on Convict Forced Labour Migration* (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1997); Robert Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987); Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, *Eighteenth-Century Criminal Transportation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004); Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, *Banishment in the Early Atlantic World: Convicts, Rebels and Slaves* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Deborah Oxley, *Convict Maids: the forced migration of women to Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); K.M. Reid, *Gender, Crime and Empire: Convicts, Settlers and the State in Colonial Australia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

known. In others, knowledge is either non-existent or limited. Until now, there has been almost no work on penal transportation in the Scandinavian empires, scant appreciation of the scale of penal transportation across the early-modern Spanish empire,¹⁶ and only limited research on the penal colonies of Latin America¹⁷ and Japan.¹⁸ The history of transportation and convict labour in Angola and Mozambique has remained marginal to Portuguese imperial history.¹⁹ There are large gaps in our understanding of convict circuits in the Dutch empire, especially during the period from 1815 to the Second World War.²⁰ Even where studies on convict transportation exist, some penal colonies are better known than others. Singapore,²¹ Bermuda,²² Gibraltar²³ and Pulo

¹⁴ Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: a history of the Soviet camps* (London: Penguin, 2003); Sarah Badcock, *A Prison Without Walls? Eastern Siberian exile in the last years of Tsarism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Daniel Beer, *The House of the Dead: Siberian exile under the Tsars* (London: Allen Lane, 2016); Andrew A. Gentes, *Exile to Siberia, 1590-1822* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008); Andrew A. Gentes, *Exile, Murder and Madness in Siberia, 1823-61* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010).

¹⁵ S.N. Aggarwal, *The Heroes of Cellular Jail* (Patiala: Panjabi University, 1995); L.P. Mathur, *Kala Pani: History of Andaman and Nicobar Islands with a Study of India's Freedom Struggle* (New Delhi: Eastern Book Company, 1992); Satadru Sen, *Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁶ Ruth Pike, *Penal Servitude in Early-Modern Spain* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993); Eva Mehl, *Forced Migration in the Spanish Pacific World: From Mexico to the Philippines, 1765-1811* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Stephanie Mawson, 'Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado* System: Convict Transportation between New Spain and the Philippines during the Seventeenth Century', *Revista de Indias* 73, no. 259 (2013): 693-730; Stephanie Mawson, 'Convicts or *conquistadores*? Spanish soldiers in the Seventeenth-Century Pacific', *Past and Present* 232, no. 1 (2016): 87-125. On the Portuguese Empire, see: Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); Timothy J. Coates, *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire, 1740-1932* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

¹⁷ Ricardo D. Salvatore and Carlos Aguirre, 'Colonies of settlement or places of banishment and torment? Penal colonies and convict labour in Latin America, c. 1800-1940', in De Vito and Lichtenstein, eds, *Global Convict Labour*, 273-309.

¹⁸ Hideki Hatakeyama, 'Convict labor at the Sumitomo Besshi copper mine in Japan,' *International Journal of Social Economics* 25, nos 2/3/4 (1998): 365-9. For a broader study of punishment, see: Daniel Botsman, *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

¹⁹ Despite Timothy J. Coates' painstaking and pioneering work. See his *Convicts and Orphans*, and *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire*.

²⁰ Beyond Kerry Ward's superb study of convict shipment between the Cape colony and Batavia: *Networks of Empire: forced migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²¹ Anoma Pieris, *Hidden Hands and Divided Landscapes: A Penal History of Singapore's Plural Society* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

²² C.F.E. Hollis Hallet, *Forty Years of Convict Labour; Bermuda 1823-1863* (Pembroke, Bermuda: Juniperhill Press, 1999).

²³ Lawrence A. Sawchuk, Lianne Tripp and Michelle M. Mohan, "'Voluntariness of Exposure': Life in a Convict Station', *Prison Journal* 90, no. 2 (2010): 203-19.

Condore,²⁴ for example, have not been studied as extensively as the Andaman Islands, Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), and French Guiana. There also remain large holes in our understanding of convict transportation in China since the early nineteenth century, despite or perhaps because of the persistence of *laogai* (labour camps and prison farms) in the modern republic, where an unknown number of many millions of prisoners are today undergoing 're-education through labour'.²⁵

These emphases, distortions and elisions are primarily the result of the tendency to link the history of penal transportation to Europe's outward flows of convicts to colonies overseas – with Russia's continental expansion held up as an exceptional case. They are also partly a consequence of the tendency of historians to work within the frameworks of national, regional or imperial history, and their associated archives. A transnational approach that cuts across polities and colonies is necessary to piece together these histories of geographical mobility and confinement.²⁶ Indeed, the starting point of most chapters in this collection are convict routes and penal colonies, rather than Europe or specific extra-European localities as points of origin or arrival. This enables an appreciation of the diversity and range of penal patterns of connection that sometimes entirely circumvented metropolitan Europe. It also brings to the fore the scale of the transportation of Asians, Africans and other non-European peoples. In this volume, we propose that it is only when we view metropolitan centres, regions and what are often defined as geographical peripheries within a single analytical frame, that we can begin to trace the enormous importance and impact of convict transportation and penal colonies as means of governance and unfree labour supply.

²⁴ Peter Zinoman, *The Colonial Bastille: A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam, 1862-1940* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

²⁵ Waley-Cohen's superb study, *Exile*, covers mid-Qing China, 1758-1820. On the modern period, see Wu, *Laogai*, and Williams and Wu, *The great wall of confinement*.

²⁶ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*. Even within the British Empire, the archives of the India Office are structurally separate from those of the Colonial Office, and only very recently have their separate histories of penal transportation been considered in the same historiographical frame. See: Clare Anderson, 'Transnational Histories of Penal Transportation: punishment, labour and governance in the British Imperial World, 1787-1939', *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 3 (2016): 381-97.

Our global reach is only possible because we have worked collectively, to explore common patterns and themes across a wide array of materials, in numerous languages. There are excellent and comprehensive records sets for some of the areas under concern. For others, there are not, and our authors have reached for the trace, piecing their narratives together from archival fragments.²⁷ Our sources include among many others official correspondence and reports, and also a seventeenth-century bailiff's notebook and the writings of a French medical doctor (Portuguese empire), court records (Dutch empire), meticulously recorded lists of convicts and their destinations (British Asia and the Australian colonies, French empire), contemporary penology (Europe, Japan), travel writing (imperial Russia), journalism (French Guiana), convict memoirs (Japan), and the published work of political leaders (Latin America). For the Russian Federation today, where the gulag remain in living memory, we have both written memoirs and recordings of oral testimonies, including by women.²⁸

Here, we note three points. First, as Johan Heinsen remarks with respect to the Scandinavian empires of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, convict resistance and agency created anxieties that did not just 'sculpt' the project of transportation, but shaped the nature of the archive itself.²⁹ Second, quantities of documents have never been catalogued, or have been lost during natural disasters (Portugal), war (Andaman Islands, Republic of Ireland, Singapore), and in places of convict settlement where the revelation of convict descent was once feared, deliberate destruction (New South Wales).³⁰ Third, beyond official and administrative accounts, there are many more sources that enable us to interrogate the experiences of convict elites, who were literate and so left textual reflections of their experiences of transportation or exile. We must guard against over-reliance on them in our global storytelling, and remain wary of allowing them to represent the experiences of their ordinary brethren. This is a particular

²⁷ I borrow the term 'reach for the trace' from novelist Amitav Ghosh: Elleke Boehmer and Anshuman A. Mondal, 'Networks and Traces', *Wasafiri* 27, no. 2 (2012), 31.

²⁸ Jehanne M. Gheith et. al., *Gulag Voices: Oral Histories of Soviet Detention and Exile* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010).

²⁹ See also Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*.

³⁰ Christine M. Shergold, 'A Note on the Destruction of New South Wales Convict Records,' *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 11 (2009), 220-226; Babette Smith, *Australia's Birthstain: the startling legacy of the convict era* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2008), 50-1.

issue as regards the Asian and African transported across European empires, but who neither spoke European languages nor left vernacular traces of their experiences.³¹ That said, there is an undoubted richness to elite accounts, as for example evidenced in the case of the Australian colonies,³² the Soviet Union (Sarah Badcock and Judith Pallot), and Hokkaido (Minako Sakata).

In centering what previously has been understood or represented as numerically insignificant, geographically peripheral or socially marginal in our collective analysis, it is the goal of this volume to show that the transportation of convicts and the existence of penal settlements and colonies were connected to punishment, governance, national and imperial expansion, migration, and colonization. It offers a connected history framework of interpretation that positions penal transportation within a range of historiographical and methodological concerns and debates, including some of the key concerns of global history.³³ Within this large macro-historical narrative, and despite the challenges of the archives, we try to keep sight of the convicts themselves, of their experiences, identities and perspectives.³⁴ The history of punishment, legal history, labour history, migration history, historical geography, and new imperial history; all intersect with the analysis and interpretation of convicts and penal colonies. Convicts, we suggest, were agents of imperial occupation and expansion and labour pioneers. All the global powers used them in order to settle and then push back national and imperial boundaries and borders. To an unprecedented degree, convicts enabled the occupation of land distant from national and imperial centres, both across land and sea. Their presence has left important legacies in the world today.

³¹ As discussed by Satadru Sen in 'Contexts, Representation and the Colonized Convict: Maulana Thanasari in the Andaman Islands', *Crime, History and Societies* 8, no. 2 (2004): 117-139.

³² Tim Causer, "'On British Felony the Sun Never Sets': Narratives of Political Prisoners in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1838-1853', *Cultural and Social History* 4, no. 5 (2008): 423-435; Lucy Frost and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, eds, *Chain Letters: Narrating Convict Lives* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001).

³³ Maxine Berg, ed., *Writing The History of the Global: challenges for the twenty-first century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2013).

³⁴ We are influenced here by a 'subaltern studies' approach. See David Ludden, 'Introduction: a brief history of subalternity', in *idem*, ed., *Reading Subaltern Studies: critical meaning, contested meaning and the globalisation of South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1-39.

Mapping, Enumeration, Colonization and Migration

One of the key findings of the research represented in this volume is the global expansiveness and multi-directionality of convict transportation flows, often over large geographies and a very long period of time. As the mapping of penal routes suggests, convicts were not mainly or solely, as has often been previously assumed, transported out of metropolitan Europe, to colonies or frontier zones. Rather, convicts were also or often moved around the territories of nation states and empires. It is also evident that convicts did not necessarily remain in one location during the term of their sentence, but could be shifted according to labour desires or for reasons of political exigency. Only very rarely, for example in the French Empire during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, were imperially convicted non-European convicts transported to metropolitan jails.³⁵ Writing of convict flows, in their respective chapters on the Spanish and Dutch empires, Christian G. De Vito and Matthias van Rossum refer to 'circuits', as a means to capture the multi-directionality of penal transportation. This approach resonates across the volume as a whole, as does van Rossum's exploration of the relationship between local, regional and inter-continental convict mobility in this regard.³⁶

Convict voyages were always protracted, involving journeys from home to place of trial, from jails to ports, from ports to huts, barracks or jails, and ultimately to transportation destinations. Johan Heinsen characterises the gathering of prisoners from across the realm of Denmark-Norway in Copenhagen, and their

³⁵ E.g. ANOM H21B The shipment of convicts to France: Governor of Martinique to the Minister of the Navy and the Colonies, 28 July and 19 October 1862. Previously, enslaved persons considered 'dangerous' were transported to Senegal, French Guiana and Puerto Rico: John Savage, 'Unwanted Slaves: The Punishment of Transportation and the Making of Legal Subjects in Early Nineteenth-Century Martinique', *Citizenship Studies* 10, no. 1 (2006): 35-53.

³⁶ On carceral circuits, see Nick Gill, Deirdre Conlon, Dominique Moran and Andrew Burridge, 'Carceral circuitry: New directions in carceral geography', *Progress in Human Geography* (OnlineFirst, 2016), 1-22. With respect to convict mobility more generally, this volume's approach follows recent calls for less Eurocentric understandings of labour movement, as more than a straightforward migratory process with an easily defined geographical start and end point. See: Prabhu Mohapatra, 'Eurocentrism, Forced Labour, and Global Migration: A Critical Assessment', *International Review of Social History* 52, no. 1 (2007), 110-15; Tony Ballantyne, 'Mobility, Empire, Colonisation', *History Australia* 11, no. 2 (2016): 7-37. See also Clare Anderson, Carrie M. Crockett, Christian G. De Vito, Takashi Miyamoto, Kellie Moss, Katherine Roscoe and Minako Sakata. 'Locating penal transportation: punishment, space, and place c. 1750 to 1900', in *Historical Geographies of Prisons: Unlocking the usable carceral past*, eds Karen M. Morin and Dominique Moran (London: Routledge, 2015), 147-67; Ward, *Networks of Empire*.

holding for many years prior to selection, as a kind of ‘serial displacement’. Depending on the period in which they were convicted, convicts marched, often in chain gangs; rode in carts, wagons, trains and cars; went upriver on boats and barges; and voyaged over bays, seas and oceans in sailing vessels or steam ships. They did not necessarily travel separately from other passengers. The precise, clean lines of the maps presented in this volume do not represent either the multiple stages of each journey or the actual geography of the routes that convicts took. Neither do they show the long periods of time that some convicts spent voyaging into transportation. They could be sent hundreds if not thousands of miles; detained in tents, holding centres or transfer prisons for long periods on the way, over many months if not years. The mobility of convicts through villages, towns, cities and ports, as Christian G. De Vito suggests for Spanish Latin America, created ‘a popular imaginary of punishment’, which impacted on all communities, not just those caught up in criminal process. Journeys were important for the formation of identities and solidarities, and could also be opportunities for convict escapes, often along routes of flight that ran parallel to their transportation paths, for example in Russia. Where convicts were sent by sea, there were incidents of violent mutiny, including sometimes the murder of captains and crews. These included the dramatic case of the convict seizure of the *Havmanden* on the way to the Danish Antilles (Johan Heinsen), the capture of the New South Wales vessel *Lady Shore*, and mutinies on over a dozen Indian convict vessels.³⁷

We have robust figures of annual convict flows for some transportation routes and destinations, particularly within the British and French Empires and for Japanese Hokkaido. However, the polycentric nature of early modern empires, the importance of regional jurisdiction, the use of administrative (as distinct from judicial) sentencing, the unreliability of some sets of statistics, and the

³⁷ Clare Anderson, Niklas Fykman, Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcus Rediker, eds, ‘Mutiny and Maritime Radicalism in the Age of Revolution: A Global Survey’, *International Review of Social History* 58 (S21) (2014); Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus and Marcus Rediker, eds, *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration in the Making of the Modern World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007).

intrinsically transnational and intra-imperial character of penal transportation, means that in other contexts it is only possible to estimate their extent (Table 1).

Table 1: Global Convict Flows

Portuguese Empire	1415-1961	100,000
French Empire	1542-1976	100,000 (+ 600,00 penal impressment)
Spanish Empire	1550-1950	110,000
Russian Empire	1590-1917	1,900,000
Dutch Empire	1595-1942	202,000
British Empire	1615-1940	376,000
China	1644-1912	134,000
Scandinavian Empires	1670-1917	2,000
European penal labour	1750-1950	5,000,000
Japan	1881-1908	14,000
USSR	1928-1953	10,000,000-25,000,000

Sources: Anderson and Maxwell-Stewart, 'Convict Labour and the Western Empires'; Carrie Crockett, 'Russia: Convict Labour and Transportation, 1696-1960', <http://convictvoyages.org/expert-essays/russia-1696-1960> (accessed 8 March 2017); Nicholas and Shergold: 'Transportation as Global Migration'; Joanna Waley-Cohen, 'China: Exile In Traditional China', <http://convictvoyages.org/expert-essays/china> (accessed 9 March 2017) (estimate based on annual average of 500); Kabato shūchikan ed., 'Kabato shūchikan enkaku ryakki (*Brief History of Kabato shūchikan*)', in *Shin Asahikawashishi* 6, ed. Asahikawashi henshū kaigi (c. 1892; Asahikawa: Asahikawashi, 1993), 526-527; Hokkaido shūchikan ed., *Hokkaido shūchikan tōkeisho (Statistics of Hokkaido shūchikan)* 1-3 (Tokyo: Hokkaido shūchikan, 1892-94); Hokkaido shūchikan ed., *Hokkaido shūchikan nenpō (Annual Report of Hokkaido shūchikan)* (Tokyo: Hokkaido shūchikan, 1896-1900), 5-9.

Note: These figures are rounded up or down to the nearest 1,000. Those for the Spanish and Dutch empires, and China, are likely underestimates. Johan Heinsen supplied figures for Scandinavia, Minako Sakata for Japan, and Matthias Van Rossum for the Dutch VOC. The Japanese statistics only include transportations to Hokkaido, and not the earlier shipment of convicts to offshore islands. The VOC figures are based on an average of 100 long-distance transportations per year, 1595-1811, and 1,500 per year, 1816-1942. Estimates of USSR gulag transportations depend on which categories of deportations are included in the figures. As such, they range from 10 million persons (Sarah Badcock and Judith Pallot, in this volume) to 25 million (Crockett, 'Russia'). Mary Gibson provided the estimates for mobile penal labour in Europe (pre-1914 1.5 million; 3.5 million during and after the Second World War). There are large gaps in our knowledge of European *bagnes* and agricultural colonies. Where statistics do exist, they are often fragmented and represent the standing number of inmates in a particular year, rather than annual admissions. The European figures do not include the 3 million prisoners shipped to death camps and killed immediately. Neither does the table include the forced migrations of the First World War, the foreigners compelled to work in the Nazi death camps or Japan's forced deportations of Koreans and Chinese during the Second World War. See Mark Spoerer and Jochen Fleischhacker, 'Forced Laborers in Nazi Germany: Categories, Numbers and Survivors', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 33, no. 2 (2002): 169-204; Matthew Stibbe, 'Introduction: Captivity, Forced Labour and Forced Migration during the First World War', *Immigrants and Minorities* special issue, 26, nos 1-2 (2008): 1-18. There are currently no available estimates for the independent nation states of post-colonial Latin America.

Apart from in the British and French Empires, an especial frustration of the existing data is the inability to trace annual shipments for all contexts. It is thus difficult to connect peaks and troughs in transportation flows, and fluctuations in the number of transportation convicts in any given year, to the larger global political context. These includes during times of war, revolution, and anti-imperial or proto-nationalist uprising. Further research will certainly augment examples such as that of the decline of penal transportation from Britain during the Napoleonic Wars (Hamish Maxwell-Stewart), and its sharp rise following the 1857 rebellion in British India (Clare Anderson).

Table 2: Global labour mobility, 1415-1976

<i>Penal transportation, China and Japan</i>	<i>1644-1912</i>	<i>148,000</i>
Indian Ocean slave trading, by Europeans	1500-1850	* 489,000
Asian indenture in the Caribbean and Indian Ocean	1834-1916	1,451,000
<i>Penal transportation (inc. penal impressment), European empires</i>	<i>1415-1976</i>	<i>1,490,000</i>
Migration: India, China, Japan and Africa to the Americas	1846-1940	2,500,000
Migration: Africa, Europe, N.E. Asia and Middle East to S.E. Asia, Indian Ocean rim, South Pacific	1846-1940	4,000,000
<i>European penal labour camps</i>	<i>1750-1950</i>	<i>5,000,000</i>
<i>Penal transportation, exile and collective resettlement, Russia and USSR</i>	<i>1590-1953</i>	<i>11,900,000 - 26,900,000</i>
Foreign forced labour, Nazi Germany	1939-45	13,500,000
Atlantic slave trade	1500-1866	12,521,000
Migration: N.E. Asia and Russia to Manchuria, Siberia, central Asia, Japan	1846-1940	+ 48,500,000
India and Southern China to S.E. Asia, Indian Ocean rim, South Pacific	1846-1940	§ 50,000,000
Migration: Europe to the Americas	1846-1940	^ 56,500,000

Sources: Richard B. Allen, 'Satisfying the "Want for Labouring People": European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850', *Journal of World History* 21, no. 1 (2010): 64; Sunil S. Amrith, *Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Clare Anderson, 'Global Mobilities,' in *World Histories from Below: Disruption and Dissent, 1750 to the Present*, eds Tony Ballyntyne and Antoinette Burton (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 169-196; Brij V. Lal, ed., *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian Diaspora* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2006), 46; Adam McKeown, 'Global Migration, 1846-1940', *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 155-89; Slave Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database <http://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates> (accessed 9 March 2017); Mark Spoerer

and Jochen Fleischhacker, 'Forced Laborers in Nazi Germany: Categories, Numbers and Survivors', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 33, no. 2 (2002): 201.

Note: These figures are rounded up or down to the nearest 1,000. *Richard B. Allen's estimate is between 431,000-547,000. Adam McKeown's estimates are: ^ 55-58 million, § 48-52 million and + 46-51 million. See note to Table 1 on statistical range for Russia and the USSR. These figures do not include the overland migrations of North America, regional migration in the Caribbean and Southeast Asia, immigration into Africa, or internal migration in Europe, Russia, India or China. Many free labour flows were seasonal and/ or circulatory, and are thus difficult to capture statistically.

Compared to other labour and migrant flows - enslavement in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds, Asian and Pacific islander indenture, seasonal circulation in the Bay of Bengal and Asia, European migration to the Americas and settler colonies, the Nazis' use of foreign forced labour – excluding continental Europe, Russia and the USSR, the absolute number of convicts subjected to penal transportation or impressment may appear somewhat limited in scale (Table 2).³⁸ However, it is immediately evident from the data that penal transportation endured for an exceptionally long period of time, and constituted a statistically significant element of coerced or unfree labour migration. Like the penal labour camps of twentieth-century Europe, convict transportation, exile and collective resettlement in Russia and the Soviet Union are not usually incorporated into such estimates. When they are, their longevity and magnitude are striking.

Conversely, it should be noted that even relatively small numbers of convicts are important to histories of mobility and migration. This is because they could constitute a disproportionately large or even majority population in colonizing missions. In the Danish Antilles, for instance, a few hundred convicts at a time were used to prepare the ground for what was ultimately desired: free migration. In this they paralleled the work of more expansive or enduring convict flows, which instigated profound environmental and demographic

³⁸ Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2015); Sunil S. Amrith *Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Sunil S. Amrith, *Crossing The Bay of Bengal: The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of Angloworld* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Marina Carter, *Voices from Indenture: Experiences of Indian Migrants in the British Empire* (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1996); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); David Northrup, ed., *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
See also: <http://www.slavevoyages.org> (accessed 31 January 2017).

change.³⁹ As Johan Heinsen writes, ‘convicts were propelled into these miniature Atlantic economies by some of the same structural forces that took convicts to the colonies of the much larger European empires.’ Similarly, Minako Sakata argues for Hokkaido: ‘it would not have been possible to settle people inland without the convict-built roads.’ However, in some places the convict presence left a stigma, which in the longer term discouraged later migration. This was especially the case where large numbers of convicts, ex-convicts, or exiles occupied and cultivated the best land, or flooded the labour market and reduced wages. Sarah Badcock and Judith Pallot argue in the case of Russia: ‘While the climate and isolation were key elements of exile’s punitive nature, it was the challenges of finding paid work that often defined exile experience.’ The penal history of particular locations sometimes also made it difficult to contract workers for particular labour tasks, which had been degraded through their former association with ‘convict work’.

Free migration was not always the ultimate or sole goal of transportation, however. The use of convicts for colonization purposes elsewhere included, sometimes in combination, the development of trade and trading routes (Andaman Islands), the prevention of rival occupation (New South Wales, Hokkaido), or the exploitation of natural resources (USSR).⁴⁰ The fact of penal transportation as a means of labour mobilisation and permanent settlement is evidenced in the selection of convicts for transportation on the basis of age and health, the careful recording of convict occupations upon arrival, and the skill matching that took place in their allocation to work.⁴¹ In some cases, penal destinations specifically requested convicts experienced in particular jobs or

³⁹ The classic Australian work is Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (Sydney, NSW: University of New South Wales Press, 2006). An excellent recent Latin American study is: Ryan C. Edwards, ‘Convicts and Conservation: Inmate labor, fires and forestry in southernmost Argentina’, *Journal of Historical Geography* 56, no. 2 (2017), 1-13.

⁴⁰ See Pallot, ‘Russia’s Penal Peripheries’, and Jane M. Rausch, ‘Using Convicts to Settle the Frontier: A Comparison of Agricultural Penal Colonies as Tropical Frontier Institutions in Twentieth-Century Columbia’, *SECOLAS Annals* 34 (2002): 26-48. I thank Ryan Edwards for this reference.

⁴¹ This insight was first pioneered by Steven Nicholas, ed., *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia’s Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). See also Deborah Oxley, *Convict Maids: The Forced Migration of Women to Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

trades, as in the case of the desire to develop silk production in early nineteenth-century Mauritius.⁴² In many places, ex-convicts remained in transportation locations after their release, sometimes receiving land grants or merging into local populations. In the Andaman Islands, they became known as ‘pioneers’, and in New Caledonia as *forçats-colons* (convict colonists).

Our aim in this volume is not to categorize penal transportation as one peg on a linear scale of freedom and unfreedom, but to point to its place on a continuum of mobility, particularly of coerced workers.⁴³ As Johan Heinsen argues: ‘convict labour was intertwined with other forms.’ Hamish Maxwell-Stewart notes similarly that despite the apparently distinct features of transportation as compared to other kinds of labour exploitation, ‘[practice] muddled all these boundaries.’⁴⁴ We propose that penal transportation was not simply a punishment, but an element of migration history. Convicts sometimes constituted a distinct portion of settler populations, and in other contexts blended into larger labour diasporas.⁴⁵

Punishment, Labour and Repression

It is commonly held that the most important moment in the history of punishment in the modern age was the birth of the prison at the turn of the nineteenth century. This, as Michel Foucault famously argued, signalled a shift from corporal punishment to carceral confinement, and thus pre-modern to

⁴² Clare Anderson, *Convicts In The Indian Ocean: transportation from South Asia to Mauritius, 1815-53* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 46-8.

⁴³ Anderson, ‘After Emancipation’.

⁴⁴ Penal transportation is usually absent from such histories. See: Tom Brass and Marcel van der Linden, eds, *Free and Unfree Labour* (Bern: Verlag Peter Lang, 1997); Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World migrations in the second millennium* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, ‘Discussion – Global Migration: From mobility transition to comparative global migration history’, *Journal of Global History* 6, no. 2 (2011): 299-307; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, eds, *Migration, Migration History, History: old paradigms and new perspectives* (Bern: Verlag Peter Lang, 2005); Adam McKeown, ‘Global Migration, 1846-1940,’ *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 155-89; Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2012); ‘Migration and World History,’ special issue of *International Review of Social History* 52, no. 3 (2007); Leslie Page Moch, ‘From regional to global repertoires of migration,’ *Journal of Global History* 6, no. 2 (2011): 321-25. A notable exception is David Eltis, ed., *Coerced and Free Migration: Global perspectives* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002). Another recent attempt to rebalance the literature is Clare Anderson, ‘Global Mobilities’, in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds, *World Histories From Below* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 169-96.

⁴⁵ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An introduction* (London: Routledge, 2008).

modern forms of penal discipline.⁴⁶ This volume suggests a need to reconceptualise this theoretical claim. Of particular note here is not Foucault's periodization, which has been the subject of previous critique, but an appreciation of the relevance of space and mobility to histories of confinement, and most significantly the incorporation of national and imperial territorial ambitions into the analysis. By appreciating the importance of convicts for expansion and colonization, rather we suggest that the history of punishment was not so much characterised by a developing immobilisation of prisoners within the walls of jails, but by their ongoing geographical mobilisation as forced labour, on a global scale.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn wrote of his experiences of the Soviet labour camps as part of what he called a *Gulag Archipelago*.⁴⁷ Three years after Solzhenitsyn's publication in the west, Foucault coined the metaphor 'the carceral archipelago' to bring together a whole swathe of carceral institutions as means of disciplining and surveilling populations, and producing criminality.⁴⁸ Foucault was relatively unconcerned with empire, but as Ann Laura Stoler has shown with respect to various disciplinary institutions in Europe and its colonies, 'the carceral archipelago' created 'nodes in an imperial network'.⁴⁹ This volume proposes that with respect to penal transportation specifically, convict routes and flows were so extensive and multi-directional, and convict settlements and penal colonies were so numerous and widespread, that as an expression and means of power, governmentality, discipline and imperial expansion, from the start of the fifteenth century the carceral archipelago was a global geographical reality that stretched far beyond the USSR and Europe and its colonial spheres of influence, and into post-colonial Latin America and East Asia. Moreover, as Judith Pallot puts it in stressing the

⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1975). See also David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society: a study in social theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Norval Morris and David Rothman, eds, *The Oxford History of the Prison: the practice of punishment in western society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁴⁷ This work was written between 1958-68, and was first published in the west in 1973. There are numerous online editions available.

⁴⁸ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 297, 301.

⁴⁹ Stoler, *Duress*, 78; Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 130-4.

ongoing mobility associated with Soviet prison camps: 'Solzhenitsyn's archipelago was not fixed in space.'⁵⁰

From the late eighteenth century, innovations in the punishment of transportation followed the modernisation of criminal law and political change. These included the transformation of Spain's *presidios* from military to penal establishments, attached to urban public works; the establishment of separate convict settlements in otherwise free locations, as in the port city of Singapore; and the founding of often isolated penal colonies in places like Van Diemen's Land, Ile Nou (now Nouville) in French New Caledonia, Sakhalin Island in the Russian Far East, and the island of Ushuaia, Argentina. But penal transportation was always connected to local factors, as also to the character and needs of empires and nations. Climate, labour requirements and the availability of other workers were all critically important in shaping both the composition and routes of transportation flows as well as the choice of sites and the work that convicts were made to perform. Thus, during the early modern period, Spain used convicts for the purpose of military defence, and in mines and manufacturing, in what was essentially a land-based empire. Following the independence of Latin America, its empire took on a more maritime character, and it established new penal colonies including in the Philippines and Cuba. Christian G. De Vito explains this as a 'double process of the "urbanisation" of punishment and the partial move towards penal transportation proper'.

Across the broad sweep of contexts represented in this volume, the nature of convict work was extraordinarily diverse. It ranged from land clearance to quarrying, from breaking rocks to draining swamps and cutting down forests. Convicts built and repaired basic infrastructure such as forts, arsenals and stores. They constructed their own huts, barracks and jails, and established networks of connection. The latter included roads, bridges, and railroads, most famously parts of the Trans-Siberian route in Russia, as also canals, lighthouses and dockyards, including in Aden, Bermuda and Gibraltar. Convicts made ropes, bricks and ironwork, kept livestock and grew crops, loaded and unloaded boats,

⁵⁰ Pallot, 'Russia's Penal Peripheries', 101.

and took employment as servants, cooks, grooms and boatmen. They wove cloth, stitched clothing, manufactured shoes and furniture, and even made art or crafted wooden boxes, shell engravings and other small objects that they sold as curiosities to administrators, guards and visitors. Some convicts became well known for their paintings and craftwork.⁵¹ Further, penal administrators used convicts in new experimental ventures, including the cultivation of coffee, spices, cotton, indigo, pepper, tobacco, sugar cane, wheat and barley; and the mining of coal, tin, nickel, silver and gold. In Hokkaido, as Minako Sakata explains, each penal site was associated with a particular labour function, either agriculture, sulphur or coal mining. The use of convict labour could intensify in times of war, both through convict impressment into the army, as in the Spanish and British empires, and in Russia during the First World War when the nation urgently required new roads and railways.

This is not to suggest that convict labour was necessarily or always efficient or productive. In some cases, convicts were made to perform non-productive labour tasks that the authorities believed were demoralizing and thus particularly punitive.⁵² In other cases, convicts' poor health often worked against their fulfilment of the labour demands made on them. Global convict death rates compared to those of other local and migrant populations are not currently known, though available figures for some locations suggest appalling levels of mortality. Fully one third of all convicts shipped to the Andamans died within the first eighteen months of arrival in 1858.⁵³ Almost two thirds of the convicts sent to French Guiana after 1852 were dead by 1866; and about half of all *relégués* in the colony died during one hunger-stricken year of the Second World War (Jean-Lucien Sanchez). One third of the convicts working on the Asahikawa to Abashiri

⁵¹ Prue Ahrens and Louis Lagarde, 'Convict Art and Crafts in Colonial New Caledonia', *History Compass* 8, no. 11 (2010): 1243-56; Ann Stephen, ed., *Visions Of A Republic: the work of Lucien Henry* (Sydney: Powerhouse Publishing, 2001). See also the sketchbook of Tasmanian convict William Buelow Gould <https://www.linc.tas.gov.au/allport/Pages/gould.aspx> (accessed 29 March 2017).

⁵² Raymond Evans and William Thorpe, 'Power, Punishment and Penal Labour; *Convict Workers* and Moreton Bay', *Australian Historical Studies* 25, no. 98 (1992): 90-111; Satadru Sen, *Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁵³ Clare Anderson, *The Indian Uprising of 1857-8: Prisons, Prisoners and Rebellion* (London: Anthem Press, 2007), ch. 5.

road in Hokkaido perished during just one nine-month period in the 1880s (Minako Sakata). Though one of the appeals of convict labour was its expendability, where it intersected with other political concerns such extreme death rates could produce changes in penal policy. This was the case in France's decision to suspend the transportation of Europeans to French Guiana in 1867, in favour of the apparently more salubrious New Caledonia.

With respect to the global reach of convict labour, there is also a need to rethink current understandings of the historical character of punishment, and in particular the idea that from the late eighteenth century prisons largely replaced other forms of punishment. Moreover, it is arguable that the carceral rhythms of what we think of as modern forms of imprisonment actually emerged *from* the experience of penal transportation. As the president of the International Prison Commission, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, noted just after the First World War, the origins of probationary remission of sentence lay not in prisons, but in penal colonies.⁵⁴ Penal transportation did not exist as an addendum to the central narrative of the history of punishment as a story of the rise of the prison, but predated it, co-existed with it, and shaped it in crucial ways. Beyond its influence on prisoner probation, from the late eighteenth century on, penal colonies were key spaces of innovation in penal technology, perhaps most famously through the development of detailed methods of textual record keeping and later on convict photography and fingerprinting.⁵⁵ The Camp de la Transportation in Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni (French Guiana) even incorporated an anthropometric studio through which all newly arrived convicts passed for measurement and photographing.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, *Prison Reform At Home and Abroad: a short history of the international movement since the London Congress, 1872* (London: Macmillan, 1925), 20.

⁵⁵ Clare Anderson, *Legible Bodies: race, criminality and colonialism in South Asia* (Oxford: Berg, 2004); Jane Caplan and John Torpey, eds, *Documenting Individual Identity: the development of state practices in the modern world* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Julia Rodriguez, 'South Atlantic Crossings: Fingerprints, Science, and the State in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina', *The American Historical Review* 109, no. 2 (2004): 387-416; Robert Shoemaker and Richard Ward, 'Understanding the Criminal: Record-Keeping, Statistics and the Early history of Criminology in England', *British Journal of Criminology*, Advance Article access.

⁵⁶ The studio is now part of the transportation museum complex in the town.

Neither was penal transportation exclusively an imperial phenomenon. In Western Europe, as Mary Gibson and Ilaria Poerio demonstrate, in those states that did not have overseas possessions internal displacement or exile was a key feature of punishment. These could include offshore islands, as in the case of Italy. In the Habsburg empire, too, convicts were transported over long distances to work on public works programmes.⁵⁷ In other cases, alternative punishments like galley service were concurrent with experiments in transportation. For example, as Jean-Lucien Sanchez argues, in the early-modern period, convicts were simultaneously both put to work on the oars and sent out to Louisiana.⁵⁸

A widespread, global circulation of ideas about convict reform and management techniques accompanied the extensive penal mobility to and around the penal locations explored in this volume. This might be described as a contemporary politics of comparison,⁵⁹ or 'selective bricolage'.⁶⁰ The establishment of the International Penitentiary Congress, first held in London in 1872, brought regularity to previously informal gatherings of penal experts in Europe and North America, and as Ryan Edwards shows included Latin American penologists. Held periodically in the years that followed, all the global powers participated, and discussed numerous issues relating to punishment. This included the efficacy or otherwise of penal colonies in effecting the goals of reform and deterrence.⁶¹ Indeed, given the range of stakeholders invested alternatively in convict punishment or in employing convicts as workers, as

⁵⁷ Stephan Steiner, '"An Austrian Cayenne": Convict Labour and Deportation in the Habsburg Empire of the Early Modern Period', in *Global Convict Labour*, eds De Vito and Lichtenstein, 126-43.

⁵⁸ See also James D. Hardy, Jr., 'The Transportation of Convicts to Colonial Louisiana', *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 7, no. 3 (1966): 207-220.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ann Laura Stoler and Carole McGranahan, 'Refiguring Imperial Terrains', *Ab Imperio* 2 (2006): 17-56.

⁶⁰ Ann Laura Stoler and Carole McGranahan, 'Introduction: Refiguring Imperial Terrains', *Imperial Formations* (New York, NY: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), 4-6, 13, 14.

⁶¹ The prison congress convened subsequently every five years, at venues in Stockholm (1878), Rome (1885), St Petersburg (1890), Paris (1895), Brussels (1900), Budapest (1905), Washington (1910), London (1925), Prague (1930), Berlin (1935) and The Hague (1950). An organising committee invited all the nations of the world to contribute papers, to comment on pre-circulated questions, and to send delegates. The first London meeting had 400 corresponding members and representatives from 20 countries. In that and later years, they hailed from as far afield as the USA and Canada, Chile, Mexico, Haiti, Jamaica, Scandinavia, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Italy, Spain, Turkey, India, Russia and Japan.

noted above, the character of convict sites could change over time.⁶² However, some were in practice characterised by little more than hard labour, and were only nominally if at all committed to the idea of convict rehabilitation.

Beyond these discussions, the pattern of the circulation of knowledge repeats itself across empires and polities. In the seventeenth century, in sending convicts to North America, Sweden drew on its understanding of contemporary British transportation to the continent (Johan Heinsen). Captain Arthur Philip was given command of the Australian First Fleet because he had previous experience in the conveyance of convicts for the Portuguese. Before the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the financing and management of convict ships to Australia had an exceptionally close relationship to that of contemporary slave trading vessels.⁶³ In a range of published texts dating from the 1830s, when new such establishments were under consideration, various French authors weighed up the relative merits of the penal colonies of Australia and Russia.⁶⁴ Russian officials were interested in the operation of French penal colonies.⁶⁵ Japan sent high-ranking officials on a tour of the Indian penal settlement of Singapore, though ultimately they were mainly inspired by France's penal colonies.⁶⁶ The New South Wales system influenced the development of a penal class system in the nineteenth-century Straits Settlements, Burma and Andaman Islands.⁶⁷ Even

⁶² Stephen A. Toth writes: 'With their intricate and multiple layers of administration, penal colonies did not operate outside the social world, but in an environment in which there were many areas of conflict and contestation': 'Colonisation or Incarceration? The Changing Role of the French Penal Colony in Fin-de-Siècle New Caledonia', *Journal of Pacific History* 34, no. 1 (1999): 59-74.

⁶³ Lauren Darwin, 'Convict Transportation in the Age of Abolition, 1787-1807,' PhD Thesis, University of Hull, 2016.

⁶⁴ *On The Penitentiary System in The United States*; Paul Merruau, *Les Convicts En Australie* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1853); Jules de la Pilorgerie, *Histoire de Botany Bay, état présent des colonies pénales de l'Angleterre dans l'Australie our examen des effets de la déportation* (Paris: Paulin, 1836); Marquis de Blossville, *Histoire de la Colonisation Pénale et des Établissements de l'Angleterre en Australie* (Évreux: Imprimerie de Auguste Hérissey, 1859); Ivan Foinitski and Georges Bonet-Maury, *La Transportation Russe et Anglaise avec une Étude Historique sur La Transportation* (Paris: Lecène, Oudin et Co., 1895).

⁶⁵ P. Kropotkine, *In Russian and French Prisons* (London: Ward and Downey, 1887).

⁶⁶ Takashi Miyamoto, 'Towards an Evolutionary History of Penological Information in Modern Japan', <http://staffblogs.le.ac.uk/carchipelago/2014/04/16/towards-an-evolutionary-history-of-penological-information-in-modern-japan/> (accessed 7 July 2014).

⁶⁷ Anderson, 'Transnational Histories of Penal Transportation'.

Germany, which never established penal colonies, was drawn into pan-European discussions and debates.⁶⁸

A key question for historians of punishment must be the very choice of penal transportation in preference to a capital sentence.⁶⁹ Scholars have accounted for the decline in execution rates in Europe with the argument that since the nineteenth century modern forms of confinement have gradually replaced so-called spectacles of suffering.⁷⁰ This volume suggests that this perspective may not work when we decentre Europe from the analysis, and take a wider imperial view. It may even be that in Europe itself, as Timothy J. Coates argues for the modestly populated yet globally ambitious Portugal, it was not so much that new kinds of punishment were favoured over execution, but that convict bodies were simply too valuable to kill. This had been the case in Spain and its empire, too, when from the sixteenth century capital sentences were routinely commuted to what were called 'utilitarian' punishments, including galley service. Coates goes on to explain that whilst Britain and Portugal appear to have transported roughly the same number of convicts from the mid-sixteenth to mid-eighteenth century, with a much smaller population, Portugal sent proportionately more overseas. This has profound implications for our understanding of the comparative use of convicts by European powers, and its relationship to imperial statecraft.

Moreover, as we look outwards to the colonies, taking the British empire as an example, we do not necessarily see a decline in execution rates. Putting to one side its use as a means of spectacular repression in the aftermath of rebellion (e.g. Demerara 1823, India 1857, Jamaica 1865),⁷¹ in the penal colony of New

⁶⁸ Matthew Fitzpatrick, 'New South Wales in Africa? The Convict Colonialism Debate in Imperial Germany', *Itinerario* 37, no. 1 (2013): 59-72.

⁶⁹ For an overview, see Clare Anderson, 'Execution and its Aftermath in the Nineteenth-Century British Empire', in Richard Ward, ed., *A Global History of Execution and the Criminal Corpse* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), 170-98.

⁷⁰ Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society*; Pieter Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering: executions and the evolution of repression from a preindustrial metropolis to the European experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

⁷¹ Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of glory, tears of blood: the Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Gad Heuman, *"The Killing Time": The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (London: Macmillan, 1994),

South Wales capital punishments were staggeringly frequent. In 1822 one convict was executed for every 7,000 people in the total population, compared to just one for every 2,500,000 in England and Wales.⁷² This high rate suggests that transportation did not entirely replace the death sentence as a 'spectacle of suffering', but incorporated it. This was also the case for other forms of corporal punishment. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, convicts could be fettered with irons around their legs, feet or necks, kept into solitary or dark cells, placed on the treadwheel, issued starvation rations, allocated to excessively hard or degrading labour, or sent on to more rigorous penal regimes. As Jean-Lucien Sanchez stresses, the discipline associated with penal transportation could be extraordinarily brutal, including for example in French Guiana the chaining of convicts to their beds. By contrast, in many locations, convicts were provided with rations that were often generous compared to those of comparable plebeian populations, and received monetary and other incentives for compliant behaviour and good work.

It is also important to consider that whilst the shorthand 'penal colony' might be used to describe a broad range of locations in the period since c. 1780, and the establishment of discrete convict sites, it is something of a misnomer. Their penal character could change radically during the period in question here. This was the case of the long-lived *presidio* of Ceuta in North Africa - which transitioned from fort to penal colony, and from Portuguese to Spanish control - and the Australian colony of New South Wales, where the penal system underwent enormous change during its five-decade long existence. Moreover, most penal colonies incorporated multiple sites of punishment, often representing scales of penalty, and expressed through diverse forms of penal architecture. These ranged from the co-existence of relatively open huts and barracks, as in Mauritius and Penang, to villages and repurposed military forts

⁷² Raymond Evans, '19 June 1822: Creating "An Object of Real Terror": The Tabling of the First Bigge Report' in *Turning Points in Australian History* eds Martin Crotty and David Andrew Roberts (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009), p. 59; Gustav De Beaumont and Alexis De Tocqueville, *On The Penitentiary System in The United States, and Its Application in France; With an Appendix on Penal Colonies, and also, Statistical Notes* (trans. F. Lieber) (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1833), 144. See also 'Abstract of Returns as to Trials' New South Wales, 1819-1824' in *Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Volume XI* (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1917), 478-9.

and *depósitos*, such as in Luanda and Mozambique Island, and cellular jails like those of Poulo Condore and the Andaman Islands. Ryan Edwards' arguments, both that modern penitentiaries replicated architectural features of *presidios*, and that the island of Ushuaia was a 'hybrid' form of penal confinement, for it kept convicts in a radial cellular jail in an offshore penal site, are insightful and might equally be applied to other contexts.⁷³ In the eighteenth century, the Dutch used the offshore islands of Batavia for this purpose (Matthias van Rossum); in the Australian colonies sites of secondary punishment were called 'penal stations'.

What we might conceptualise as penal satellites also developed across empires and penal colonies, and constellations of punishment expanded, shrank and disappeared over time. This was according to the success or otherwise of the enterprises connected with them, for example mines or plantations, or the completion of labour tasks, like the laying of railway sleepers or the building of sea walls. For this reason, Timothy J. Coates helpfully terms the Luanda *depósito* 'a hub or central cog in a much larger system.' Convicts moved in and out of and circulated around penal spaces, according to the exigencies of labour needs and other social or penal considerations. Convicts could be removed to new infrastructural projects, taken out of settlements where there were high rates of escape, or removed when the climate was found to be unsuitable and was associated with high rates of mortality. In many locations too, different categories of convicts were concentrated in different parts of colonies. In French Guiana, some locations held either European or colonially convicted convicts, and others were reserved for recidivists, 'dangerous' offenders, probationers, or the sick and infirm. When convict sites became unsustainable, they could be replaced. This was the case not just in the abandonment of French Guiana in favour of New Caledonia for European convicts in 1867, but the reversal of that decision in 1896 (Jean-Lucien Sanchez).

⁷³ Varied architectures of confinement in the twentieth-century Soviet Union is noted by Pallot, 'Russia's Penal Peripheries', 101.

One especially significant idea that is related to this more nuanced understanding of the architecture and spatial variegation of penal colonies was its intimate connection to the ideology and practice of national and imperial expansion. That is to say, frequently convicts moved through penal stages by moving through and across the lands, seas and oceans of nations and empires. Their sentence could start with hard labour locally in their place of conviction, often in jail, continue with their transfer to a relatively open metropolitan prison, or overseas colonial site, and end with a period of probation in a free or ex-convict village. Britain used Bermuda, Gibraltar and Western Australia as sites of secondary and tertiary punishment, for example, until the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Later on, into the 1930s Portugal sent second-stage convicts to Angola and Mozambique. Russia appended sentences of exile to those of incarceration, with convicts forced to leave their home localities immediately after release from jail. Perhaps the most extreme example of the penal incorporation of the colonies into judicial practice is that of the French Empire, which after 1885 transported recidivists (*relégués*, or repeat offenders) to New Caledonia and French Guiana, in the latter case into the middle of the twentieth century.

In appreciating the character of transportation as a punishment it is also important to note that not all convicts were judicially convicted. Across Europe, Russia and various colonies thousands of individuals were sent into exile as a result of administrative and other extra-judicial decisions, rather than passage through the courts. In the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC) these included through domestic law (for slave masters) or discretionary authority. Ryan Edwards describes the latter in twentieth-century Mexico as producing exile that was ‘unpredictable and precarious.’ Penal transportation was also used as a mode of repression and relocation, or what was sometimes termed ‘collective resettlement’. Across contexts, enslaved people, peasants and elites were shipped out of their localities with the express purpose of breaking up communities and associated anti-imperial solidarities. As the essays in this volume show, as early as the 1640s, Sweden sent the rebellious Forest Finns into transportation and, in the 1650s, thousands of convicts were

transported from Ireland in the wake of Oliver Cromwell's invasion. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the British sent enslaved rebels out of the British Caribbean, including from Barbados to Sierra Leone in 1816. After the Great Indian Uprising of 1857, they transported rebels and mutinous sepoys (soldiers) to the Andaman Islands. The Spanish in Cuba in the 1890s 'reconcentrated' hundreds of thousands of insurgents in the the world's first concentration camps (Ryan Edwards). In the 1920s, Russia employed what Sarah Badcock and Judith Pallot call 'exisionary violence', including of urban 'criminals' and 'undesirable elements'. European penal colonies acquired the status of 'extra-legal institutions of punishment' in Europe between the two world wars (Mary Gibson and Ilaria Poerio). Later on, the Soviets sent whole families of rich peasants and ethnic groups supposedly belonging to the latter category to *spetsposelenia* ('special settlements'), on an equivalent scale to the number of prisoners incarcerated in the gulag.⁷⁴ Mary Gibson and Ilaria Poerio find deep continuities between early modern and nineteenth-century carceral institutions in Western Europe, in this respect, and twentieth-century political dictators' use of various kinds of camps, including most notoriously those set up by the Nazis for the purpose of human extermination. As they argue: 'The longevity of the penal colony depended on its adaptability to different purposes and its shifting valence in public discourse.'⁷⁵

It is its political function, perhaps, that partly explains the movement of convicts simultaneously and multi-directionally within the complex and expansive geographies of many polities, and sometimes the sale and transfer of convicts from one empire to another. Examples include Britain's selling of Caribbean convicts (often formerly enslaved) to the Spanish Caribbean in the seventeenth

⁷⁴ Lynne Viola, 'The Aesthetic of Stalinist Planning and the World of the Special Villages', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 4, no. 1 (2003): 101-28.

⁷⁵ The reference to 'adaptation' underscores the need to distinguish between those camps established as part of imperial military strategy against colonial rebellion (e.g. Cuba, the Philippines and South Africa) and the Nazi death camps. See Iain R. Smith and Andreas Stucki, 'The Colonial Development of Concentration Camps (1868-1902)', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 39, no. 3 (2011): 417-37. It is also important to recognize the historicity of camps as ambiguous, repressive and/or (claimed) rehabilitative imperial spaces: Amy Kaplan, 'Where is Guantanamo?' *American Quarterly* 57 no. 3 (2005): 831-58; Sibylle Schelpers, 'The Use of Camps in Colonial Warfare', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* special issue 'Hostile Populations', 43, no. 4 (2015): 678-98.

and eighteenth centuries,⁷⁶ and Prussia's sale of convicts to the Russians in the nineteenth century. To be sure, in the Spanish empire, as Christian G. De Vito reveals, inter-regional transportation to far-off destinations was sometimes an express means of punishing what were perceived as particularly serious crimes, though the decision on a convict's ultimate destination was sometimes made after their disembarkation at an intermediate geographical point. In the Dutch empire, high-status, European or repeat offenders usually faced the most far-flung destinations (Matthias Van Rossum). In Latin America transportees were sent to offshore penal colonies in preference to those neighbouring urban centres. The political function of transportation was also sometimes related to the distinct cultural meanings that were associated with it. Clare Anderson argues that in British South Asia, the colonial authorities believed that Hindus particularly feared penal transportation, because to get to their destinations they had to undertake culturally taboo sea crossings and thus would lose caste. In Western Europe and Latin America, on the other hand, internal exile transitioned from being a means of removing common criminals to a means of exacting retribution or deporting and containing political dissidents, sometimes in violation of the rule of law.

A further point of interest is that routes of penal transportation were also often deployed in the banishment of elites, who were subjected to exile or isolation *tout court*, rather than supposedly rehabilitative hard labour. In the seventeenth century, Denmark-Norway used Tharangambadi in India for the exile of high profile enemies of the King. The VOC exiled religious leaders and others from the Dutch East Indies (Java) to the Cape Colony and Dutch Ceylon. Later on, in the early nineteenth century, British Ceylon exiled Kandyan rebels and royals to various South Indian locations, and to Mauritius. British Burma exiled the royal family to mainland Indian towns and forts, including those earlier used for the Kandyans. During the same period, various Japanese localities exiled convicts to offshore islands (Minako Sakata). The example of French Indochina is also instructive, with enemies of empire sent from all over Southeast Asia to French

⁷⁶ Diana Paton, "'An "Injurious" Population: Caribbean-Australian Penal Transportation and Imperial Racial Politics', *Cultural and Social History* 5, no. 4 (2008): 451-2.

Guiana and New Caledonia, the Pacific islands and African sites in Gabon and Obock (Djibouti).⁷⁷ In imperial and Soviet Russia, the authorities decided upon the location of exile according to perceived level of political threat, with the most dangerous convicts sent the furthest. In Western Europe, dictators developed a network of sites of internal exile, which as Mary Gibson and Ilaria Poerio argue were *de facto* 'extra-legal institutions of punishment in the interwar period.' The concentration of exiled prisoners in penal colonies could transform them into spaces of political education. Nationalists and other exiles routinely published accounts of their incarceration or deportation upon release to such an extent, that as Ryan Edwards shows for Latin America, island colonies became 'the political and intellectual epicentres of the nation'.⁷⁸

Convicts were transported within a range of legal categories during the long period under consideration in this volume, to such an extent that just as the term 'penal colony' is a misnomer, the all-encompassing nature of the term 'convict' itself is also somewhat problematic. The Portuguese used the term exile, or *degradado* ('degraded'), with penal destinations dependent on the severity or otherwise of the crime. As Jean-Lucien Sanchez shows, the French created three specific legal categories: *déportés* (politicals), *transportés* (criminals), and *relégués* (repeat offenders). The French system bears some comparison to that of its contemporary, the late Portuguese empire, which shipped vagrants and recidivists to the African colonies from the late nineteenth century. It kept them separately from convict men and women, who were themselves segregated on the lines of race and gender. The use of transportation to satisfy a diversity of penal functions is far from exceptional. In Russia and the USSR, its use as means

⁷⁷ Robert Aldrich, 'Out of Ceylon: The Exile of the Last King of Kandy', in Ricci, ed., *Exile in Colonial Asia*, 48-70; Uma Kothari, 'Contesting Colonial Rule: Politics of Exile in the Indian Ocean', *Geoforum*, 43 (2012): 697-706; Lorraine M. Paterson, 'Prisoners from Indochina in the Nineteenth-Century French Colonial World', in Ricci, ed., *Exile in Colonial Asia*, 220-247; Ronit Ricci, 'From Java to Jaffna: Exile and Return in Dutch Asia in the Eighteenth Century', in Ricci, ed., *Exile in Colonial Asia*, 94-116; Ward, *Networks of Empire*.

⁷⁸ This was also the case in twentieth-century British India. See David Arnold, 'The Self and the Cell: Indian Prison Narratives as Life Histories', in *Telling Lives in India: Biography, Autobiography, and Life History*, eds David Arnold and Stuart H. Blackburn (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 29-53. On the concept of the 'political prisoner' as 'the product of modern states and political movements', see categories of incarceration, see Padraic Kenney, '"I felt a kind of pleasure in seeing them treat us brutally." The Emergence of the Political Prisoner, 1865-1910', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 4 (2012): 863-89.

of deportation, relegation and collective resettlement leads Sarah Badcock and Judith Pallot to choose the word 'exile' in lieu of 'transportation, in their words 'to emphasise the integral nature of movement and displacement to all these different modes of punishment'.

Enslavement, Indenture, Impressment and Indigenous Contact

Convict transportation was integrally connected to other forms of labour exploitation, and its relationship to enslavement is particularly important.⁷⁹ Generally speaking, during the early period under consideration in this volume, convicts were transported either in preference to or alongside enslaved people and other kinds of coerced, migrant or sojourner workers, who laboured with them in transportation, in *presidios*, public works or plantations. In some instances, for example in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Americas, convicts were sold into indenture for a term of service, and referred to as 'servants', or 'slaves'. Here the lines of distinction between legally distinct labour categories were *de facto* blurred. Indeed, as Hamish Maxwell-Stewart demonstrates, the selling of British and Irish convicts into indenture shaped judicial sentencing patterns, which were fixed, 'not for legal reasons, but in order to competitively position convicts within the trans-Atlantic market for unfree labour.'⁸⁰ However, experientially, things were more complex, for convicts and indentured labourers were treated in ways both like and unlike, and this varied across and was highly dependent on the peculiarities of local contexts. Sweden, for example, largely transported only convicts who had not committed 'dishonourable' offences, and this explains the lack of distinction between convicts and free labourers compared to Denmark, which transported convicts for crimes of dishonour, and placed them in an entirely separate class. This was a system of labour mobility that, as Timothy J. Coates argues for the Portuguese empire, was 'loosely structured, minimally supervised, and inexpensive for the state'.

⁷⁹ Anderson, 'After Emancipation'; De Vito and Lichtenstein, eds, *Global Convict Labour*; Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, "'Like Poor Galley Slaves": Slavery and Convict Transportation', in *Legacies of Slavery: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Marie Suzette Fernandes Dias (Newcastle, NSW: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 48–61.

⁸⁰ See also: Robert J. Steinfeld, *The Invention of Free Labor: the employment relation in English and American law and custom, 1350-1870* (Raleigh, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

Penal transportation preceded and outlived enslavement in modern European empires, and convict flows incorporated women and men from all over the world. It was no more an exclusively European phenomenon that enslavement was solely an African one. Moreover, in certain contexts, in defining the bodies of poor and marginalised Europeans as expendable, it is possible to see it, as Hamish Maxwell-Stewart argues for Barbados, as ‘the *ideological* precursor of plantation racism’.⁸¹ In the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Atlantic world, he demonstrates, white convict labour and indentured servitude did not so much precede plantation slavery as enable the accumulation of the capital necessary for the transition to enslaved labour. Enslaved people then gradually replaced convicts in newly racialised labour systems that had not been apparent in the earlier period. By the eighteenth century, the once common practice of working European convicts and enslaved Africans together had come to an end, as the lines of race distinction hardened.⁸²

Convicts were often preferred for especially hard or dangerous labour. In eighteenth-century Puerto Rico, for example, skilled enslaved men were used as oarsmen on the galleys, but convicts took the brunt of the load. During the same period, the British sold enslaved persons sentenced to penal transportation to Cuba, where they were put to work in the island’s mineral mines. Brazilian ‘slave convicts’ served their sentence in the penal colony of Fernando de Noronha.⁸³ Both forms of labour were related to convicts’ relative expendability, as non-chattel workers who were neither bought nor sold. The same was true in East India Company Asia where, as Clare Anderson shows, paradoxically the use of convicts even enabled the production of rhetoric of enlightened (i.e. non-slave) labour relations in the years around Britain’s abolition of the slave trade in 1807. This was part of a larger labour context in which the Company claimed competitive advantage in global markets, for example for sugar, against those

⁸¹ My emphasis.

⁸² See also Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America 1607-1776* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

⁸³ Peter M. Beattie, “Born Under the Cruel Rigor of Captivity, the Suppliant Left it Unexpectedly by Committing a Crime”: Categorizing and Punishing Slave Convicts in Brazil, 1830-1897’, *The Americas* 66, no. 1 (2009): 11-55.

producers reliant on enslaved workers in the Atlantic world. Arguably, Indian convict transportation also facilitated the later waves of Asian indentured labour across the Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean. The malleability of convicts was important too. As a labour force controlled through varying degrees of violence, administrators often preferred convict to free labour, especially where local workers were in short supply, and thus wages were high, or were unwilling to enter into new kinds of labour relations with trading companies or occupying powers. This was the case in the early modern Spanish Americas, seventeenth-century New Sweden, British Burma in the mid-nineteenth century and the Russian Far East later on.

Here, the fact of a convict's criminal conviction can perhaps explain the relative lack of contemporary humanitarian concern about their use as unfree workers, compared to enslaved persons. Indeed, supporters of the slave trade at the turn of the nineteenth century even justified it by comparing African judicial enslavement to British sentences of penal transportation.⁸⁴ In some contexts, penal transportation actually stripped individuals of certain rights of citizenship, as in both Denmark and Russia, where part of the punishment was dishonour. In the eighteenth-century Dutch empire, too, as Matthias van Rossum explains, sentences of banishment with public works labour were explicit in their intent to ban convicts from their former position in society.

Later on, efforts were made to separate convicts and other workers in penal locations, and this was effected according to changes in ideas about hierarchies of race. In the Portuguese African colonies, for example, according to Timothy J. Coates, though early convict classification was decided on the basis of criminal offence, eventually convicts from Cape Verde, Guiné, São Tomé and Príncipe

⁸⁴ Darwin, 'Convict Transportation in the Age of Abolition', ch. 1. In the Australian context, however, humanitarians did link convict transportation to enslavement, as well as to Indigenous protection. See Penny Edmonds, 'Travelling "Under Concern": Quakers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker Tour the Antipodean Colonies, 1832-41,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, no. 5 (2012): 769-88; Fiona Paisley and Jane Lydon, 'Australia and Anti-Slavery', special issue of *Australian Historical Studies* 45, no. 1 (2014): 1-12. Note also that the Salvation Army was active in humanitarian assistance to prisoners after their release in French and British colonies. On France, see Jean-Claude Vimont, 'Les récidivistes et l'Armée du Salut (1952-1970): L'assistance par le travail au château de Radepond (Eure)', *Criminocorpus* (2012) (<http://criminocorpus.revues.org/2016>, accessed 30 March 2017).

were kept apart from those convicted in Portuguese Asia: India, Macau and Timor. Likewise, Eurasian (Anglo-Indian) convicts in British Southeast Asia were kept separate from Indians (Clare Anderson). In inter-war Western Europe, note Mary Gibson and Ilaria Poerio, different carceral sites held inmates from religious and racial groups, including Jews, Slavs and Catalonians. In some places, administrators deliberately inverted the racial order with the intention of enhancing the punishment of European convicts. In French Guiana and New Caledonia for example the prison administration employed North African convicts as turnkeys, or *port-clefs*, or to inflict corporal punishment on white Europeans.⁸⁵

A focus on convicts and work, rather than the history of punishment *per se*, can also help us to explain differences in the comparative chronologies and geographies of penal transportation. Here, differences in the structure of European nation states and empires, in particular their relative centralisation, is important. This determined the availability of convicts for transportation, as in the cases of Denmark and Sweden, as also patterns of movement, for example around the Bay of Bengal. A further key factor was the role of trading companies (East India Company, VOC, New Sweden Company) in driving the demand for and the supply of convicts, even in contexts where they appeared an *ad hoc* solution to labour problems, rather than an integral part of the forward planning of colonization projects. Here, convicts were not solely utilised as a means of formal occupation or settlement, but also as the supporting labour structure for the interests of trading companies, however interconnected to the desires of Crowns and their maritime empires. Nonetheless, we see the instigation of penal sentences of hard labour in the seventeenth century (Russian *katorga*); and the subsequent use of convicts in tandem with captives, vagrants, Chinese migrants ('coolies') and deserters to develop both the frontiers of the Spanish empire and ultimately the new nation states of Latin America.

⁸⁵ A remarkable sketch of the Moroccan convict flogger Embarek, 'dit "le Nègre" [known as "the black man"]' can be found in Louis-José Barbançon and Christophe Sand, *Caledoun: histoire des Arabes et Berbères de Nouvelle-Calédonie* (Bayeux, France: Association des Arabes et Amis des Arabes de Nouvelle-Calédonie, 2013), 69.

Despite the seeming change in the physical landscape of penal transportation, from blended forms of coerced labour migration to efforts at penal separation, convicts were never entirely kept apart from other workers. Convicts in discrete penal sites probably shared experiences with those sent to the more mixed environments of early modern *presidios* and plantations. In Portuguese Africa, and other locations as diverse as British Bencoolen and Burma, French Guiana and New Caledonia, convicts were leased out, working in various capacities, including for municipalities and in business, agriculture or households. In some cases, these systems were modelled on that of Australian assignment, the allocation of convicts to private employment, despite critique that it produced a lottery of labour and punishment and in some ways reproduced the spirit of enslavement via the institution of a slave master state.⁸⁶ It was also common for convicts to work side-by-side with other coerced or free labour, at least nominally so, including on imperial Russian infrastructural projects and on the public works of Angola and Mozambique.

Just as transportation was connected to enslavement and indenture, in numerous contexts and in various ways convicts and penal colonies also intersected with the mobility, work and military service of armies and navies.⁸⁷ During the early modern period, the Scandinavian and Iberian powers (Portugal and Spain) transported convicts and soldiers on the same vessels, and worked them together in *presidios* and on plantations, to such a degree that until very recently the former have been almost entirely obscured to historians. Portuguese and Spanish convicts were also sent into military service following

⁸⁶ Captain Maconochie, *Australiana: Some Thoughts on Convict Management, and Other Subjects Connected with the Australian Penal Colonies* (Hobart: J.C. MacDougall, 1839), 6, 37; Richard Whateley, *Thoughts on Secondary Punishments, in a letter to Earl Grey, to which are appended, two articles on transportation to New South Wales, and on secondary punishments; and some observations on colonization* (London: B. Fellowes, 1832), 116.

⁸⁷ Like convicts, soldiers often circulated around empires. See Ravi Ahuja, 'Mobility and Containment: The Voyages of South Asian Seamen, c. 1900-1960', in *Coolies, Capital, and Colonialism: Studies in Indian Labour*, eds. Rana P. Behal and Marcel van der Linden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 111-41; Ulbe Bosma, 'European colonial soldiers in the nineteenth century: their role in white global migration and patterns of colonial settlement,' *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 2 (2009): 317-36. On the relationship between conscription and penal servitude specifically, see Peter M. Beatie, 'Conscription versus Penal Servitude: Army Reform's Influence on the Brazilian State's Management of Social Control, 1870-1930', *Journal of Social History* 32, no. 4 (1999): 847-78.

commutation of sentence.⁸⁸ As Ryan Edwards explains, independent Latin American *presidios* often retained a blended penal/ military function. In turn of the nineteenth century Britain and Ireland, judges sometimes sentenced convicts to military or naval service, as an alternative to imprisonment or transportation. They also placed soldiers and civilians in what Hamish Maxwell-Stewart describes as 'dedicated penal units'. These were often in tropical locations where mortality rates were extraordinarily elevated, including the slave forts of West Africa in the late eighteenth century.⁸⁹ This paralleled the French practice; at least 600,000 convicts were deployed in the North African colonies of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, to serve their sentences in disciplinary companies and battalions.⁹⁰ This was at least five times the number of convicts sent to penal colonies with the French empire.⁹¹

Later on, in some of the world's great infrastructural projects, convicts commonly worked alongside soldiers - and sailors. This was the case, for instance, in Britain's vast dockyard building programme, which stretched from Bermuda in the Atlantic to Gibraltar in the Mediterranean and Australia's southern Pacific, including Cockatoo island, Sydney. The military was also deployed to guard and to supervise convict labour, as for example in Brazil's Fernando de Noronha and Portuguese Angola and Mozambique, from the late nineteenth century into the 1930s. Such guards were in many cases from the same economic and social strata as convicts. There, and in numerous other contexts, practices and terminologies of convict organization paralleled that of the military. Uniforms, companies, brigades, barracks, musters, marches, bugles, drills and messes were all features of penal colonies, as was the incorporation of convicts into musical bands and parades.

⁸⁸ Stephanie J. Mawson, 'Convicts or *Conquistadores*? Spanish Soldiers in the Seventeenth-Century Pacific', *Past and Present* 232 (2016): 87-125.

⁸⁹ Emma Christopher, *A Merciless Place: The Lost Story of Britain's Convict Disaster in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁹⁰ Kalifa, *Biribi*.

⁹¹ During the First World War, 16,000 prisoners in mainland Indian jails were drafted into service in Mesopotamia. See Radhika Singha, 'Finding Labor From India for the War in Iraq: The Jail Porter and Labor Corps, 1916-1920', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 2 (2007): 412-45.

The cost of convict transportation and maintenance, compared to the value of convict work, was an issue that greatly vexed administrators. In places of population surplus, it was sometimes argued that wage labour would be cheaper. In places with a less plentiful, seasonal or unwilling local workforce, or where soldiers were routinely employed, convicts seemed to cost less. This was the case in Matthias Van Rossum's example of the military works at Banka in Dutch Sumatra. Moreover, convicts often performed work that would not otherwise have been commissioned or completed, and was thus difficult to value. Statistics on the relative cost of convict work cannot then explain in isolation the continuation or abolition of transportation. What is not in doubt is that convicts played a vital role in major infrastructural works and resource extraction at geographical frontiers.⁹² In turn, the desire to both punish and to extract work from convicts produced two kinds of stakeholders in the system – prison administrators and labour overseers – whose interests sometimes converged but in other cases had little care for each other's perspectives or compulsions.

Finally, understanding the relationships between convicts and free populations already living in penal destinations is critical for an appreciation of the character of convict transportation and penal colonies, and their relationship to imperial ambitions and the modalities of colonial rule. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese and Spanish empires deployed convicts as cultural intermediaries. They dropped them off on their way into transportation or sent them out beyond the *presidios* to develop what they hoped would become beneficial relations with indigenous ('native') and local populations. In this sense, convicts must be written into the history of imperial contact in places like Latin America.⁹³ The importance of convicts for contact missions in the penal colonies of Australia, the Russian Far East, and the Pacific and Indian oceans is well known. Though there is evidence of interaction via trade and cultural exchange, for example of furs in Sakhalin Island, as foreign occupiers invaded

⁹² Pallot, 'Russia's Penal Peripheries', 101. Note the ambiguity of Siberia as both 'colony' and 'frontier': 'Siberia: Colony and Frontier', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Forum: Rediscovering Siberia, 14, no. 1 (2013).

⁹³ Martin Dauntton and Rick Halpern, eds, *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1650-1800* (London: University College London Press, 1999).

land, and indigenous people resisted them, in many locations there was war and violence with convicts and penal personnel, including administrators, soldiers and guards. Ultimately, imperial governments removed indigenous people from the land that they desired for convicts and colonization. They immobilised indigenous people through internment or restriction to 'reserved' land, in ways that mirrored the confinement of convicts.⁹⁴ In other instances, indigenous groups were targeted for mass removal. Most notoriously, perhaps, in the 1930s and 1940s Russia collectively resettled entire ethnic groups, notably the kulaks.⁹⁵ Thus convicts occupy a rather ambivalent position in the history of empire building, for they were both colonized and colonizers, repressed and repressive, settlers and evictors. As such, we urge their inclusion not just in histories of migration, punishment and empire, but in the theorisation of settler colonialism. Convicts were not always European and neither were they voluntary migrants.⁹⁶

The fate of indigenous people living in or around *presidio* or penal colony sites varied. Much depended on their previous history of contact, and disease immunity, as well as the nature and extent of imperial occupation and its associated brutality. In places where there had only been limited prior relations between indigenous people and outsiders such as the Australian colonies and

⁹⁴ Clare Anderson, 'Colonization, Kidnap and Confinement in the Andamans Penal Colony, 1771-1864', *Journal of Historical Geography* 37, no. 1 (2010): 68-81; Bullard, *Exile to Paradise*; Inga Clendinnen, *Dancing with Strangers: Europeans and Australians at First Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Kristyn Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts: Australian, Khoisan and Maori Exiles* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2012); Benjamin Madley, 'From Terror to Genocide: Britain's Tasmanian Penal Colony and Australia's History Wars', *Journal of British Studies* 47, no. 1 (2008): 77-106; Mark Finnane and John McGuire, 'The uses of punishment and exile: Aborigines in colonial Australia', *Punishment and Society* 3, no. 2 (2001): 279-98; Adrian Muckle, 'Troublesome Chiefs and Disorderly Subjects: The Indigénat and the Internment of Kanak in New Caledonia (1887-1928)', *French Colonial History*, 11 (2010), 131-60; Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*; Satadru Sen, *Savagery and Colonialism in the Indian Ocean: Power, Pleasure and the Andaman Islanders* (London: Routledge, 2010); Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996). The best-known account of Sakhalin Island is that of a journalist: Vlas Doroshevich, *Sakhalin: Russia's penal colony in the Far East*, translated by Andrew A. Gentes (London: Anthem, 2011). For a non-penal colony context, see Andrew Woolford and James Gacek, 'Genocidal carcerality and Indian residential schools in Canada', *Punishment and Society* 18, no. 4 (2016): 400-19.

⁹⁵ Lynne Viola, 'The Other Archipelago: Kulak Deportations to the North in 1930', *Slavic Review* 60, no. 4 (2001): 730-55; Lynne Viola, *The Unknown Gulag: The lost world of Stalin's special settlements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁹⁶ Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Woolford and Gacek, 'Genocidal carcerality'.

Andamans, in part due to epidemics such as smallpox, and in part due to warfare, there was a dramatic and drastic decline in indigenous populations. In places where trading relations were long established, including Hokkaido and Sakhalin, though indigenous settlements were removed away from the growing towns and cities, and indigenous land sold to prospectors and settlers, despite the radical change to their way of life indigenous people survived in larger numbers. In many cases, they were forced to move far from their homelands in the new penal settlements, but they showed more demographic resilience.

Minako Sakata's reading of Japanese Ainu sources leads her to the conclusion that not only did convict road building stimulate forced relocation and destroy the environment in which they lived, but that escaped convicts greatly troubled the Ainu. A further development over time, in Hokkaido as elsewhere, was the gradual incorporation of indigenous people into carceral rhythms of production, through their entry into both identical kinds of work to convicts, and the structures of penal management. In Queensland, for instance, indigenous Australians were incorporated tropical commodity labour.⁹⁷ In turn of the twentieth century Hokkaido, Ainu people were paid to return escaped convicts. This was also the case for the indigenous, Kanak and Great Andamanese people of the Australian colonies, New Caledonia and the Andaman Islands.

Gender, Resistance and Agency

Perhaps the most significant social feature of penal transportation in the various polities discussed in this volume was its homosociality, for most locations received mainly or solely convict men. There are glimpses in the archives of sex between male convicts, as in this volume in the case of Japan, though administrators and others often exaggerated or sensationalised accounts in the context of anti-transportation rhetoric. There are very few insights from the men themselves.⁹⁸ When women were transported, they almost always constituted a

⁹⁷ Raymond Evans and Bill Thorpe, 'Frontier Transgressions: Writing a History of Race, Identity and Convictism in Early Colonial Queensland', *Continuum: Journal Of Media And Cultural Studies* 13, no. 3 (1999): 325–332.

⁹⁸ For the USSR, Australia and Andamans, see: Dan Healey, *Russian Homophobia from Stalin to Sochi* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), ch. 1; Tim Causer, 'Anti-transportation, "unnatural crime", and the "horrors" of Norfolk Island', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 14 (2012): 230-40;

small proportion of convicts. They made up less than five per cent of early modern Portuguese flows, for instance, and about the same proportion of late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century British Asian ones. Fewer than one per cent of French Guiana transportations, and just over one per cent of New Caledonia's, were female. There was a higher proportion of women in the Australian flows; around fifteen per cent of all convicts in New South Wales, for example. After arrival in their transportation destination, women were typically kept to what were viewed as appropriately gendered forms of work, including domestic labour, cleaning and stitching. They were not always separated from men, though in general over time they became increasingly segregated. Women's transportation prisons in the Australian colonies were called the 'female factories', as was the sole such institution in the Andamans. In New Caledonia, women were sent to a separate location in Bourail, several hours' travel north of the capital, Nouméa. As for men, we have only snapshots of convict women's sexuality in these and other locations.⁹⁹

Where the global powers had aspirations of permanent settlement, the gender imbalance amongst convicts was a cause of concern. This was because administrators viewed women as both a moralising influence and as a means of encouraging men to stay on post-sentence and so to populate frontiers.¹⁰⁰ Thus in some places administrators not only promoted marriage between convicts, but encouraged convicts' free wives and families to join them as voluntary settlers, as in Brazil. However, such schemes, including for example the administrative deportation of entire families in the nineteenth-century Spanish empire, and plans to organise the migration of Algerian women to French Guiana, were far from successful. Many women refused to go, and in practice

Raymond Evans and Bill Thorpe, 'Commanding Men: Masculinities and the Convict System', *Journal of Australian Studies* special issue 'Australian masculinities', 22, no. 56 (1998): 17-34; Kath Weston, 'A Political Ecology of "Unnatural Offences": State Security, Queer Embodiment, and the Environmental Impacts of Prison Migration', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 14, nos 2-3 (2008): 217-37.

⁹⁹ Joy Damousi, *Depraved and Disorderly: female convicts, sexuality and gender in colonial Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Krakovitch, *Les femmes bagnardes*; K.M. Reid, *Gender, Crime and Empire: convicts, settlers and the state in early colonial Australia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁰ There are parallels here with indentured Asian labourers who were under contract for a term of years. See: Marina Carter, *Lakshmi's Legacy: the testimonies of Indian women in C19th-Mauritius* (Rose-Hill, Mauritius: Éditions de l'océan Indien, 1994).

only small numbers if any went at all.¹⁰¹ In Russia and the USSR, on the other hand, whole families could be sent into exile, including through the mass deportation of ethnic groups to special settlements. This was also the case for the gulag. In contrast, conceived largely as a means of supplying temporary labour gangs for road building and dockyard projects, places like Hokkaido, Bermuda and Gibraltar never imported women, and repatriated all convicts when their work was complete.

Though their visibility in archives is highly variable, it is possible to discern aspects of convict experience in transportation. As Timothy J. Coates writes, 'we see fragments which mean little in isolation but that point to a much larger system at work.' Christian G. De Vito suggests that in the Spanish Empire 'the mobility intrinsic to penal transportation became an unexpected tool for convicts to conceptualize the space they travelled across, to manipulate their identities and influence their punishment and destination.' Transportation convicts challenged their fate in ways that exceeded manipulation and influence, responding to their geographical and cultural dislocation with violence. We mentioned above the incidence of mutiny at sea. After arrival in their destination, convicts resisted the penal regime in manifold ways. They refused to work, attacked their overseers, feigned sickness, went on hunger strike, or broke out in open rebellion.¹⁰²

The prospect of escape from what were often relatively open penal environments presented a particular opportunity for convicts and a problem for the authorities. Indeed, Minako Sakata represents convict flight as a manifestation of the key ambiguity of transportation, which in Hokkaido was simultaneously a deadly and yet relatively 'free' experience. Johan Heinsen, meanwhile notes the omnipresence of plots to desert in Scandinavian New

¹⁰¹ Archives départementales de Guyane, Cayenne: IX39 Penal administration: Immigration of North African women, 1929-30. See also Abby Schrader, 'Unruly Felons and Civilizing Wives: Cultivating Marriage in the Siberian Exile System, 1822-1860', *Slavic Review* 66, no. 2 (2007): 230-56; Satadru Sen, 'Rationing Sex: Female Convicts in the Andamans', *South Asia* 30, no. 1 (1999): 29-59.

¹⁰² Escape features in much of the area studies literature. Specific examples include: Anderson, *Convicts in the Indian Ocean*, ch. 4; Paul Truter, 'The Robben Island Rebellion of 1751: A Study of Convict Experience at the Cape of Good Hope', *Kronos* 31 (2005): 34-49.

Sweden, as does Matthias Van Rossum for the Dutch East Indies. Escape could also, as Hamish Maxwell-Stewart argues for nineteenth-century Van Diemen's Land, have an interesting gendered dimension. There, women were more likely to desert than men, because of the way in which the penal authorities controlled the labour of female convicts and their children. Christian G. De Vito writes of the Spanish imperial context: 'While open revolts were relatively rare, escapes were frequent and represented the most radical, albeit often temporary, interruption of the mechanism of transportation.'

Despite the brutality and violence of many transportation systems, convicts were able to carve out social space for themselves. As Jean-Lucien Sanchez shows, convicts became engaged in contraband trading. They enjoyed intimate and social relationships, not just with each other but also with men and women in those communities bordering penal colonies.¹⁰³ In some situations, including on the voyage to Australia and on the hulks of Bermuda and Gibraltar, convicts learned to read and write. Penal transportation could be a vector for the spread of proto-nationalist ideas too, as in post-colonial Latin America (Ryan Edwards). There is also the extraordinary case of a convict's assassination of the Viceroy of India during an official visit to the Andaman Islands in 1872. Three months beforehand, his fellow convict villagers testified, the assassin had received a letter from the mainland, and wept at the news that his 'brother', a fellow Afghan, had been hanged in Calcutta for the murder of Chief Justice John Norman. He had thrown a feast the night before he plunged a knife into the viceroy's back.¹⁰⁴ In all cases, it was the relative openness of transportation journeys, *presidios*, and penal settlements and colonies that opened up spaces for such manifestations of convict agency.

Penal settlements and colonies were socially and culturally distinct carceral spaces in that they brought together convicts of highly diverse origins, in terms

¹⁰³ Anderson, Mazumdar and Pandya, *New Histories of the Andaman Islands*, ch. 5; Richard Price, *The Convict and the Colonel: a story of colonialism and resistance in the Caribbean* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

¹⁰⁴ Cambridge University Library Department of Manuscripts: Add. Ms 7490 Mayo Papers, Events of the assassination, 8-13 February 1872.

of place of conviction and penal category. The often-lengthy journey into transportation led to the formation of close identity ties, and ultimately syncretic cultures. In this regard, it bears comparison to the Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades, Asian indenture, and European settler-colonialism.¹⁰⁵ Convicts took languages, religions and other cultural practices to their new destinations. Where there was little choice in travelling and working companions, new kinds of cosmopolitan societies emerged, in which convicts' social and cultural lives underwent remarkable transformations. In these overwhelmingly homosocial locales, European convicts sometimes married non-convict women, including those of indigenous or migrant origin, or people who had been formerly enslaved or were descended from slaves (French Guiana and New Caledonia, Russian Far East). Ryan Edwards helpfully conceptualises family and community encounters as 'carceral relationships.' In Indian sites like the Andaman Islands, in the absence of culturally appropriate marriage partners, caste distinctions underwent profound change.

In some contexts, convicts did not return to their place of origin or conviction after they had served their sentence. This was either because they were not allowed to, could not afford to (where the state would not pay their passage), or because they had formed local attachments and wished to stay. Indeed, permanent settlement was the very intention of penal colonization in some of the places explored in this volume, including in the Russian Far East, French New Caledonia, Australia and the Andaman Islands. In other locations, states envisaged convicts as sojourner labour force, and paid for their return. This was the case in Hokkaido, for example, as also in Portuguese Africa, where few if any ex-convicts settled in former penal colony sites.

Conclusion

¹⁰⁵ For comparable work on indenture and enslavement, see Marina Carter and Khal Torabully, *Coolitude: An Anthology of the Indian Labour Diaspora* (London: Anthem, 2002); Robin Cohen, ed., *The Creolization Reader: studies in mixed identities and cultures* (London: Routledge, 2009); Patrick Eisenlohr, *Little India: Diaspora, Time, and Ethnolinguistic Belonging in Hindu Mauritius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

A geographically and chronologically expansive perspective on convict transportation and penal colonies opens out to view their importance in some of the key processes that underpinned global change. The focus on convicts helps to explain some of the textures of punishment and repression, and the history of frontier expansion and overseas colonization. It enables an appreciation of the capaciousness of unfree labour as a relational category, where convict transportation was part of a continuum of coerced labour and migration, alongside enslavement, indentured contract work, military and maritime impressment, and indigenous expropriation. It places ordinary people at the heart of global transformation, including the building of infrastructures of connection, and dramatic changes to natural and human environments over the past six hundred years.

The forced movement of convicts over large distances remains integral to criminal sanctions in many parts of the modern world, including most notably in the Russian Federation. Like the nation states of Latin America, Russia remains a high imprisonment society in which the contemporary prison lexicon resounds with historical reference points. Moreover, the ‘correctional colonies’ that are in use today are both carceral legacies of historic penal sites and incorporative of features of both imperial and Soviet colonies – including a journey experienced punitively.¹⁰⁶ It is also noteworthy that while many penal colony sites emerged out of earlier architectures of confinement, and enveloped or repurposed built structures like military forts and barracks, after their closure some were subsequently transformed into prisons. Camp Est in New Caledonia is today the site of a prison, for example, as is Abashiri in Hokkaido, and Mazaruni in Guyana. Other former penal colony buildings have been transformed into heritage sites and museums, including Robben Island in South Africa, the cellular jail in the Andaman Islands, French Guiana’s Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, and numerous sites in Australia, including Port Arthur. This often sparks controversy.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Judith Pallot, ‘Forced Labour for Forestry: The Twentieth Century History of Colonisation and Settlement in the North of Perm’ Oblast’, *Europe-Asia Studies* 54, no. 7 (2002), 1055-1083.

¹⁰⁷ For example, Clare Anderson, Eureka Henrich, Sarah Longair and Katherine Roscoe, ‘Empire And Its Aftermath in Four (Post-)Colonial Settings’, in *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism*, eds Jacqueline Z. Wilson, Sarah Hodgkinson, Justin Piche and Kevin Walby (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017), 609-30; Hamish Maxwell-Stewart and Lydia Nicholson, ‘Penal Transportation,

If they were not repatriated, in many instances ultimately convicts and ex-convicts merged with indigenous, enslaved, or other free or unfree populations. This accounts for the absence of penal transportation from the history of some locations. In others, convicts and their descendants retained a sense of history and identity, and today constitute self-aware or politically astute social groups.¹⁰⁸ There remains also the issue of forced removals and penal labour camps in the twentieth century, about which families continue to seek answers. A global history of convicts and penal colonies incorporates governance, territorial occupation, mobility and labour extraction. It opens out to view the nature and extent of subaltern agency, creativity and resistance. From the North Sea to the southern oceans, from offshore islands to littorals and inland frontiers, and from nations and empires to continents and seas, histories of state expansion and imperialism are inextricably linked to penal transportation.

Family History and Convict Tourism', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism*, eds Wilson et al, 713-34; Myra Shackley, 'Potential Futures for Robben Island: shrine, museum or theme park?' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): 355-63; Michael Welch, *Escape to Prison: Penal Tourism and the Pull of Punishment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).

¹⁰⁸ For example, Anderson, Mazumdar and Pandya, *New Histories of the Andaman Islands*; Ronald D. Lambert, 'Reclaiming the ancestral past: narrative, rhetoric and the "convict stain"', *Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 2 (2002): 111-127.