



Fig. 1. — P. R. (Pierro Napoleone)



Fig. 2. — G. S. (Giovanni Sestini)



Fig. 3. — ROCCIA



Fig. 4. — CANTOUCHE



Fig. 5. — HAREN



Fig. 6. — DESROES

C. LOMBROSO UOMO DELINQUENTE: STUDIATO IN RAPPORTO ALLA ANTROPOLOGIA, ALLA MEDICINA LEGALE ED ALLE DISCIPLINE CARCERARIE (1876)

LOMBROSIAN THEORY: CRIMINAL TYPES?

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Cesare Lombroso theorised that some people in society had not evolved to the same level as others, and that 'criminal types' would have physical characteristics that allowed them to be identified.

He examined prisoners in Italian and Russian prisons, measuring the angle of the forehead, size of ears, nose, length of arms, how close the eyes were together, and so on.

His follower Enrico Ferri coined the term 'born criminal' as a classification for habitual offenders who were destined to commit crime through their very nature. Together they proposed that "physical stigmata" could be used to identify particular types of offenders.

Thieves, rapists, and murderers, they said, all bore their own physical markers, and so could be easily identified once police officers understood the code.

When it appeared that some types of offender did not, in fact, bear these physical markers, Lombrosians were forced to adapt their theories somewhat.

They accepted that 'moral imbeciles' might have been influenced by environmental factors. They allowed, for example, that poverty might have pushed a 'non-criminal type' into an act of desperation that belied their usual civilized state.

Lombrosian theories, that some humans were less evolved than others, were used to justify genocide in Nazi Germany, and the forced sterilization of African-Americans, in the twentieth-century.

Despite Lombroso's theories being widely disproved, the idea of a 'criminal type' has persisted into the twenty-first century. As can be seen in this exhibition, the faces of convicts are little different to the faces of anyone else we might encounter in society.

CONTRASTED FACES.

"Look on this picture, and then on that!"—SHAKESPEARE.



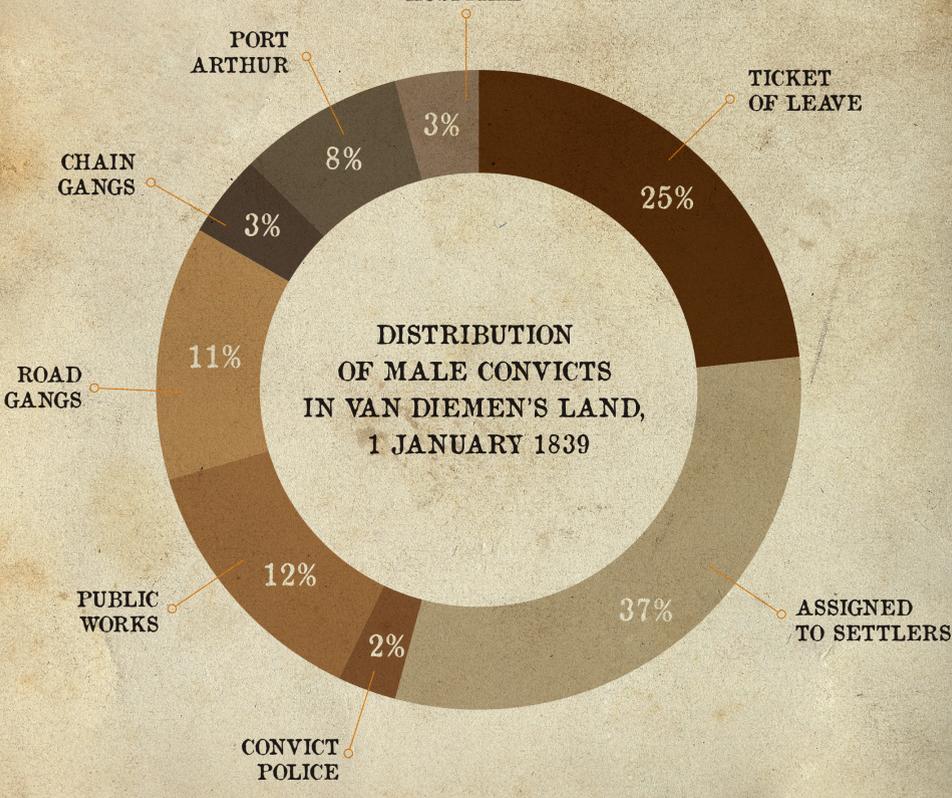
Fig. 747. — FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.



Fig. 748. — BRIDGET MCBRISTER.

19TH CENTURY NEWSPAPER ILLUSTRATION CONTRASTING THE FACIAL FEATURES OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE AND A 'TYPICAL' IRISHWOMAN. IMAGE SOURCE, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS





SOURCE: TASMANIAN ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY SERVICE CSO 49/7 1838

PORT ARTHUR PENAL STATION.

Most convicts in Van Diemen's Land were loaned or hired out to private businesses. While they were not paid the same wages as free workers, they were clothed and housed by their masters and received rations that were considered generous compared to British and Irish working-class diets. There was a downside however. Those that did not bend their backs or earned their master's displeasure in other ways, risked being hauled before a magistrates' bench. Colonial courts were empowered to sentence a convict to an array of punishments.

An offence considered particularly serious could earn a convict woman a stint in a Female House of Correction while a man risked being sent to a Penal Station. These forbidding institutions were designed to make transportation "an object of real terror". Three penal stations operated in Van Diemen's Land and around 10,000 male convicts (17 percent of all those sent to the colony) served time in one or more of them.

Of these Port Arthur, located on the Tasman Peninsula, was both the largest and longest operating. It started its life as a timber station in September 1830, but rapidly expanded. By January 1839 there were 1453 undergoing punishment there. This amounted to eight percent of all male convicts in the colony at the time.

About half the convicts at Port Arthur worked in gangs hauling timber and stone. Their rates of death were three times higher than those for prisoners engaged in less demanding work. Other convicts at Port Arthur were set to learn a trade or helped to run the settlement.

After transportation to Van Diemen's Land ceased in 1853, the convict system retreated to the Tasman Peninsular. By the 1860s Port Arthur was the last remaining convict institution in the colony. The penal station continued to operate until 1877. When it finally closed the remaining inmates were transferred to the old Hobart Penitentiary in Campbell Street which took over the role of goal to the colony.

PENAL STATION	DATES	NUMBER OF CONVICTS
Macquarie Harbour	1822 - 1833	1,100
Maria Island	1825 - 1832	500
Port Arthur	1830 - 1877	8,600





Portland.

Convict Prison.



THE BRITISH CONVICT SYSTEM.

When transportation to Australia was still viable, the British government had little need for an extensive prison system. Until the 1840s, local prisons and lock-ups held debtors, minor offenders, and prisoners awaiting trial. When it started to look like transportation was coming to an end, a system of National Penitentiaries were built across southern England to hold men and women sentenced to penal servitude (stretches of two years or more).

The British did not panic when transportation to Eastern Australia ended in 1853, or even when it ended in Western Australia, in 1868. However, they did underestimate how many 'beds would be needed to accommodate convicts at 'home'. The three thousand convicts they expected to be held in British prisons soon grew to almost sixteen thousand.

As the nineteenth century went on, the convict prison estate grew dramatically in the UK. Following a period of separate confinement, British convicts were sent to

Public Works prisons, where they carried out labour such as quarrying stone, turning a 'crank' or helping to keep the prison laundries and kitchens going.

Every prisoner received an education (basic literacy) and some received training which would help them to find work when they left prison. The system had preserved some of the reformatory systems first introduced in Australia, such as conditional release, which did at least help some released prisoners to find employment and go straight.

By the 1880s the number of repeat offenders had swollen the prisons, habitual offender legislation meant that convicts were serving longer and longer sentences, and prison crowding became acute. The number of prisons being built could not keep pace with the numbers of people sent into confinement. The classic Victorian convict prison was harsh, unhealthy, violent, over-crowded and unsanitary. No wonder prisoners did not reform.





"MUGSHOTS OF PRISONERS HELD IN READING GAOL IN 1895"
(ANGUSKIRK LICENSED UNDER CC BY-NCND 2.0).

CONVICT PHOTOGRAPHY.

In the 1850s and 1860s local police forces in England and Wales began to photograph their prisoners. However, it was only in the 1870s that the practice became common. The Home Office realised the advantages of having photographic records which could be used to identify repeat offenders (or criminals who were using aliases to hide their true identities).

The photographs showed a full face and side profile of each person, together with outspread fingers placed on the chest in order to highlight any missing or deformed digits on hands. Missing fingers identified many offenders! In the earlier photographs, prisoners were photographed in hats and bonnets, and their Sunday best clothes. Following complaints that criminals just did not appear criminal enough, they were photographed in prison garb, with shaved heads. There are numerous examples however of reluctant prisoner's being photographed whilst held down by prison warders.

At Port Arthur, in the 1870s, some of the 'old lags' still left in the penal colony also had their photographs taken - some of which we use here for this exhibition.

When habitual offender legislation allowed repeat offenders to be sentenced to longer than usual prison sentences, the authorities needed to identify offenders to a much greater degree. By 1873 within one year twelve months, over 43,000 convict photographs had been received by the Metropolitan Police. The system became swamped, and long before the system was abolished in the 1930s, the police had stopped using prison photographs as a means of identifying offenders. Now, with computer-enabled searching, photography has again become a useful tool for the criminal justice system.



HISTORY OF CONVICT TRANSPORTATION TO AUSTRALIA.

The first convicts transported in the British Empire left England's shores in 1615. The last were sent from British India to the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean in 1939. In the intervening 324 years at least 381,000 convicts were dispatched to a penal colony to serve out a sentence. Of these 74,000 (or 19 percent) were landed in Van Diemen's Land.

The majority of the 60,500 men who arrived in Hobart were marched on arrival into the yard of this building before being sent to other locations across the colony. Many returned later during their sentence. The Hobart Penitentiary was the most important convict building in the colony. It had the capacity to accommodate over 2,000 prisoners and was home to the Number One and Number Two chain gangs. It was also the place

ORIGIN	DESTINATION	PERIOD	NUMBER
Britain and Ireland	American and Caribbean colonies	1615 - 1789	69,000
Britain and Ireland	Military Service	1766 - 1826	15,000
British Empire	New South Wales	1788 - 1868	80,000
British Empire	Van Diemen's Land	1807 - 1868	74,000
British Empire	Western Australia	1850 - 1868	9,000
Britain and Ireland	Bermuda	1824 - 1863	9,000
Britain and Ireland	Gibraltar	1842 - 1875	5,000
Bengal and Madras	Bencoolen	1787 - 1823	2,000
British India	Straits Settlements	1790 - 1873	20,000
British India	Burma	1828 - 1862	5,000
Straits Settlements, Burma and Hong Kong	British India	1836 - 1864	1,000
Hong Kong	Singapore, Penang and Labuan	1846 - 1858	1,000
British India and Ceylon	Mauritius	1815 - 1853	1,000
Ceylon	Straits Settlements	1848 - 1866	1,000
British India including Burma	Andaman Islands	1858 - 1939	83,000
Total		1615 - 1939	381,000





ELIZABETH CUNNINGHAM.

Elizabeth Cunningham was born in Liverpool in 1851. Her parents were both poor Catholic Irish migrants to the city. They lived on the docks where her father John worked as a porter.

By her mid-teens, Elizabeth was already finding trouble. In many communities where money and materials were limited, alcohol provided a cheap and accessible form of entertainment and escapism, and violent quarrels could erupt over slights to honour or reputation, finding and keeping scarce resources, or over romantic entanglements.

The dominance of Liverpool's shipping trade meant that the city provided few stable employment opportunities for women, and some, like Elizabeth turned to prostitution to survive. This made her vulnerable to police attention, social stigma, and a rough and dangerous life. During the 1860s and early 1870s, Elizabeth had three illegitimate children, and found herself frequently before the courts.

In the fifteen years between 1867 and 1882, when Elizabeth was aged between sixteen and thirty-one, she was convicted of nineteen summary offences which resulted in small fines or a short spell in prison. Elizabeth married John Cunningham in 1879, and they continued living in Liverpool. In reality, little had changed for Elizabeth.

With a history of summary convictions in her past, each new property offence or assault risked a more severe penalty. Elizabeth was acquitted of stealing a watch in 1881, but when she was apprehended in 1883 for the theft of a leather bag containing £24, Elizabeth was sentenced to five years penal servitude.

While she was in prison Elizabeth received a few letters, but no visits from her friends and family back in Liverpool. During her incarceration, her children were sent to Liverpool Industrial School (because they were considered likely to become offenders themselves, and were therefore taken into the hands of the State). Without either Elizabeth's or her husband's consent the children were put up for adoption.

Elizabeth was released from prison in 1886, and there are no further records of her life in Liverpool. With no further known convictions, Elizabeth may have changed her name, and begun a new life in the city. However, there are no records of her husband John either. The pair may have separated, or moved from Liverpool in order to start again, or to search, probably in vain, for their lost children.





MARY METCALF.

Times were hard for Mary and George Metcalf and their nine children. Mary's work was temporary, sporadic, and poorly paid, although George's work as a marble mason did put bread on the table. The family managed to keep their heads above water by the older children working or caring for the younger children.

In 1873, for an offence that came seemingly out of the blue, Mary spent two months in prison for the theft of two buckets. Three years later, another nine months prison for stealing a pan, and two years later, another twelve months for taking a vest. During this time, Mary was also fined or sent to prison for a few days for five petty offences. Soon after her release from prison for the 1878 theft, Mary was arrested for picking pockets. Because she already had a string of earlier convictions, she was now considered a habitual offender, and the penalties for her offences were higher. In 1879 Mary was sentenced to five years in prison.

Middle-age to later life was a vulnerable time for women as they found it harder to secure employment often had large numbers of children to provide for, and sometimes experienced sudden financial or personal crises, such as the death of the husband/wage-earner. Any one of these circumstances or a number combined might see women like Mary gravitate towards crime as a method of subsistence. However, Mary's crimes (or at least those we know of) were not motivated by extreme poverty. George maintained employment as a mason throughout Mary's incarcerations. It is Mary's penal record that perhaps indicates why she turned to crime. In prison she was a model inmate, and the only time she came to the attention of prison

authorities was on account of poor health. On entry to prison, Mary was assessed to have rotting teeth and a weak chest, but within just a few months of her sentence, more serious problems were uncovered. Mary had been experiencing pains in her thighs, and was treated for abscesses in her leg, but investigation in Woking prison hospital revealed that she was suffering from lymph adenoma (tumours) in her thigh. In the coming months, abscesses and tumours were also found in her breast. The prison medical authorities treated her as best they could but could not cure her. It is likely Mary had been suffering with these ailments for some time before she entered the prison. The pattern of her offences, and her medical history suggest she may have been offending with the intention of receiving medical care in prison which the family could never have afforded otherwise. She was released four years into her sentence, in March 1883, and died a few months later, aged 60.

Mary lived a largely unremarkable life, one of thousands of working-class women in Liverpool who did what they could to raise large families, make ends meet, and survive in a society with virtually no safety net for the elderly, the impoverished, and the sick. Mary's longest lasting legacy was not her crimes, but the family she raised. Mary's great-grandson, William Henry Sefton, a plumber and prominent trade-unionist only too aware of the plight of working-class people in Britain, rose to be leader of Liverpool City Council in the latter half of the twentieth century. In 1978 he was made a life-peer, as Baron Sefton of Garston, and went on to take his place in the House of Lords.





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JAMES BLANCHFIELD.

James Blanchfield was born in Milford Haven in Western Wales. After working as a miner he enlisted with 70th Regiment in 1835 at the age of 14. Posted to Gibraltar, he was court martialled for desertion and sentenced to imprisonment for six months. After a further two years' service overseas the 70th Regiment was recalled to England and sent to Leeds.

There James was arrested for 'striking his superior officer'. He was court martialled on 10 June 1844 and sentenced to 14 years transportation. The offence was almost certainly connected with the Leeds Police Riot which started in the Green Man beer house in York Street, on Sunday 9 June 1844 and developed the next day into an all-out brawl between members of the 70th Regiment and the Leeds constabulary.

James was shipped back to Gibraltar, this time as a convict. Set to work constructing a new dock for the Navy, his conduct was described as 'good' and after five years' hard labour he was sent on to Van Diemen's Land. He arrived in Hobart Town on the transport Cornwall in June 1851. Provided with a ticket of leave he was made a constable in Launceston. He did not hold the position for long being dismissed for drunkenness. He was charged several times for other minor offences, the most serious of which was for 'exposing his person. Given the tenor of the rest of his offending history- he was probably drunk at the time. He became free by servitude in August 1858.

In January 1873 he again found himself in court charged with pretending "that certain moneys to the amount of £4500 had been placed in the Union Bank of Launceston" on his behalf.

He had attempted the deception while much in liquor, telling a publican that he had inherited the money from his grandfather. In the end he persuaded the bar owner to make out a cheque for £1. When that was not honoured he made out another for £100. On both occasions he was too drunk to write out the cheque himself. He did, however, sign them, basic literacy being something the army had taught him. James did his best to extricate himself from the mess. He argued that he was much in liquor at the time and that the money was his, but had yet to arrive. He even claimed that the publican had offered him his daughter's hand in marriage. This produced great hilarity in court, but did little to sway judge and jury and he was duly convicted.

When brought up for sentencing he was asked if he had anything to say in mitigation. He replied that it was the first time that he had ever been in trouble. It was bold defence for a man who had been lagged half way across the world as a convict. If he meant that it was the first time that he had tried to defraud somebody- then this might have been true. He had once spent six months in a military prison for desertion, he had paid a heavy price for attempting to break a corporal's jaw and he had been fined on several occasions for being drunk or urinating in public, but there is no evidence that he had ever stolen anything. As a defence, however, it failed to impress his judge and at the age of fifty he found himself sentenced to 3 years imprisonment and was packed off to Port Arthur where this photograph was taken.

8. Left middle finger

9. Left ring finger

10. Left little finger



JOHN NORMAN.

John Norman was born in Westbury Tasmania in November 1865. He was first charged by the police in January 1880 when he was 14 for stealing a pipe and some money from a miner's hut at Moorina in North Eastern Tasmania. He was travelling at the time in company with his mother, Maria - a former convict from Belfast who had been transported in 1852 for stealing from a house. The magistrate who sentenced him to three months in the Launceston house of correction warned him that a 'life of misery' awaited him if he did not mend his ways. Over the next 30 years he was convicted on at least a further 14 occasions. This photograph was taken in 1884 in Campbell Street Gaol following his conviction for house breaking and larceny in the Supreme Court in Launceston. John was 19 at the time.

Released from gaol he joined the Salvation Army, but was expelled for robbing his comrades, and then in the words of the Launceston Examiner - 'showed his ingratitude by robbing them again'.

Known as 'Jack the Goose', it is possible that John suffered from an intellectual disability. He was described in 1893 as a 'half-witted fellow' and 'notoriously eccentric'. When some local larrikins 'goaded him into a frenzy', he drew a knife and stabbed one of them in the neck. An offence which earned him an 18-month sentence.

The judge who heard the case expressed a hope that during his time in gaol John would be placed under medical observation in order to ascertain if he was 'fit to be at large'.

Over the years he appeared in court on numerous occasions charged with using obscene language (four times), stealing wood (twice), furious driving, committing a public nuisance, being drunk and disorderly, non-maintenance of a child and shooting a cow (he claimed the latter was an accident).

Many nineteenth-century commentators expressed concerns about the long-term consequences of sending the refuse of Britain's Empire to the shores of Australia. They were particularly worried that the children of dissolute convicts would bring shame to the colonies long after the last transport vessel had docked. There is little evidence, however, that this was the case. The colonial born prisoners whose descriptions were circulated in the pages of the Tasmanian Police Gazette were not disproportionately composed of the children of former convicts.

Those with intellectual disabilities and mental health problems were probably over-represented, however, and in the respect John Norman may have been more typical.





TASMAN OGDEN.

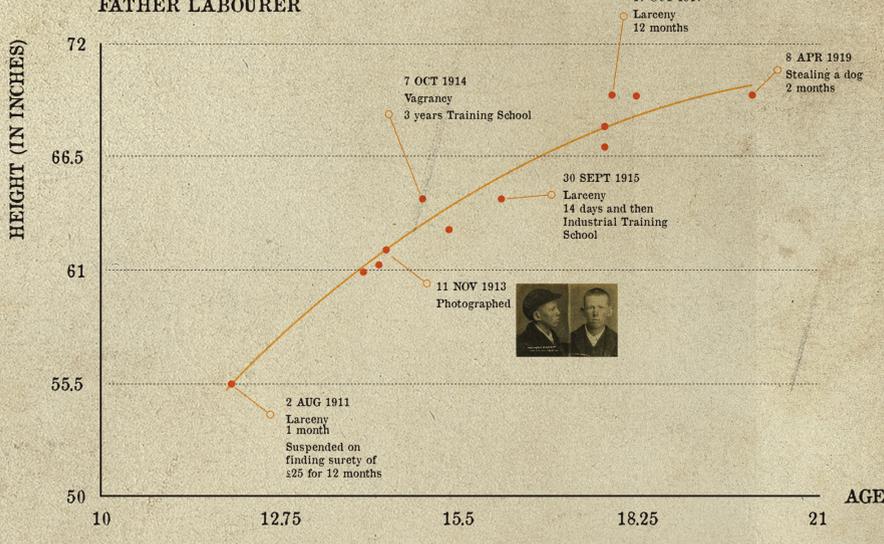
Tasman Ogden was first charged when he was just 12 years old. Described as a school boy he was given a one-month sentence for stealing. He was again prosecuted for larceny two years later and packed off to the New Town Infirmery Boys Training School and Consumptive Home, in Hobart. He absconded a few days into his sentence. After a short period at-large he was readmitted, but promptly escaped once more. After several similar episodes he was returned to the care of his parents. Following another charge of theft he was sent back to the training school, but ran away once more. He was arrested when he broke into the Hobart Show grounds in order to find a place to sleep. In court, the Principal of the training school asked for him not to be sent back as he was a poor influence on the other boys having absconded on no less than five occasions. Tasman was given a three-month custodial sentence.

Not long after his release Tasman was tried for stealing 17 boronia trees from a neighbour's garden. Sentenced to 14 days imprisonment he was discharged from gaol to the service of Captain Attwood of the barque Wild Wave. He stuck his apprenticeship out for over a year before jumping ship.

In May 1917 he was remanded for having 'no lawful visible means of support' and being found on the premises of the Mercantile Rowing Club. Tasman offered to enlist in the Australian Imperial Force for service in France, but was instead sent to prison for a month. On completion of this sentence he secured employment on the S.S. Laranah, but was soon charged with stealing bread, jam and butter from a boat in the harbour. In September 1917 he was fined 10 shillings for riding a bicycle at night without lights. A more serious charge followed in October 1917 when he tried for stealing an alarm clock, a double-barrelled gun and a pair of field glasses. His last brush with the law in Tasmania came in June 1920 when he was fined 5 shillings for smoking on the Argyle Street pier while sitting on a bale of chaff.

As a result of his many interactions with correctional institutions it is possible to plot Tasman's height over the course of his adolescence. In contrast to contemporary young Australians he was still growing at the age of 20.

TASMAN GEORGE OGDEN
BORN, 1 MELBOURNE STREET, LAUNCESTON,
8 AUGUST 1899
FATHER LABOURER





COMPOSITES



PROFILE



FRANCIS GALTON'S COMPOSITE PHOTOGRAPHS OF THREE SISTERS, 19TH CENTURY. IMAGE SOURCE, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

AVERAGE FACES AND COGNITIVE BIAS.

The tendency to judge human character via facial appearance can be traced back to Ancient Greece, Rome and China and became consolidated as physiognomy, a highly popular and influential 18th century pseudo-science championed by Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801). A century or so later, the English polymath, Francis Galton (1822-1911) utilised photography to explore human variation, a project which led him down the path of eugenics.

Galton devoted many years to the use of 'composite portraiture' and sought to represent a group or 'type' of person by superimposing photographs of multiple subjects to produce a single blended image/average.

Influenced perhaps by ideas of criminal atavism and the doctrine of diatheses, these scientists were interested in whether criminality could be identified from facial features.

However, the experiment proved discouraging, with Galton noting that the composites "are interesting negatively rather than positively [producing] faces of a mean description, with no felony written on them."

A number of other researchers have attempted similar criminal averages with the same limited success.

Early averages varied picture opacity, or utilised a template face, but these methods did not represent average morphology. More recent methods generate averages from coordinates by warping the individual faces to the average shape and blending the colour information. between features, pigmentation, sexual dimorphism, age and many other factors.

Today, sophisticated computer software enables the averaging of multiple facial images, including adjustments according to relative percentages of face shape, feature dimensions, proportions.

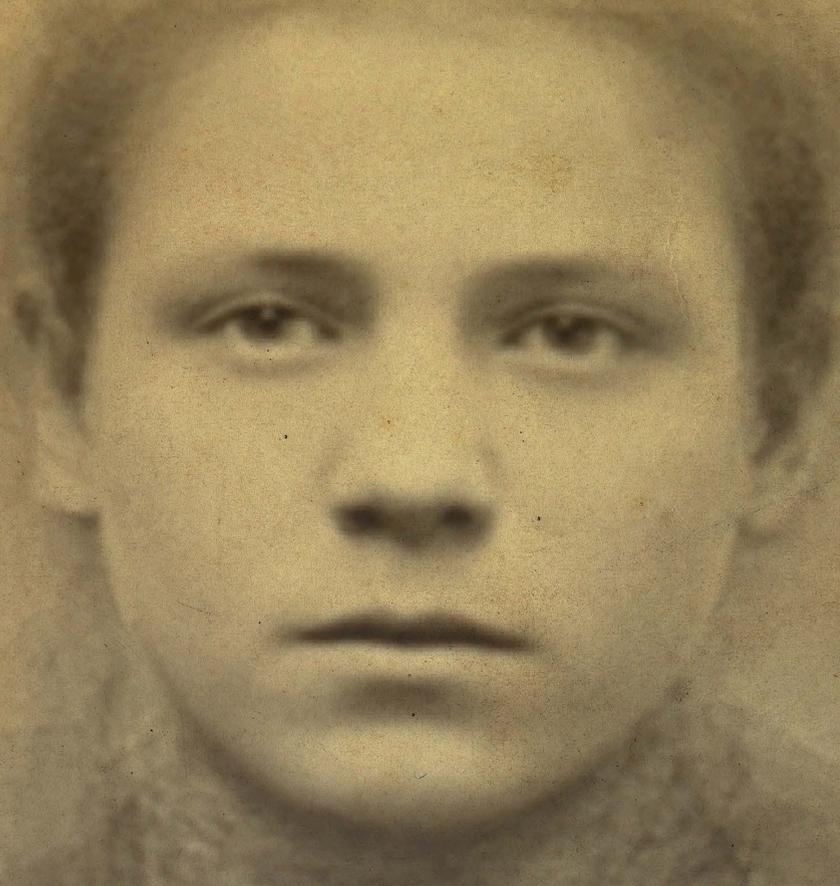
First impressions are constructed from multiple and highly variable visual cues that are more or less active in different contexts. The methods need to be understood for their darker legacies and limits, but also their opportunities to hold up a mirror to contemporary communities and cognitive bias.



AVERAGE FACE OF A 19TH CENTURY FEMALE CRIMINAL. INDIVIDUAL IMAGES COURTESY OF TYNE & WEAR ARCHIVES & MUSEUMS



**AVERAGE JUVENILE
UK CONVICT.**



**AVERAGE FEMALE
TASMANIAN CONVICT.**



**AVERAGE MALE
TASMANIAN CONVICT.**



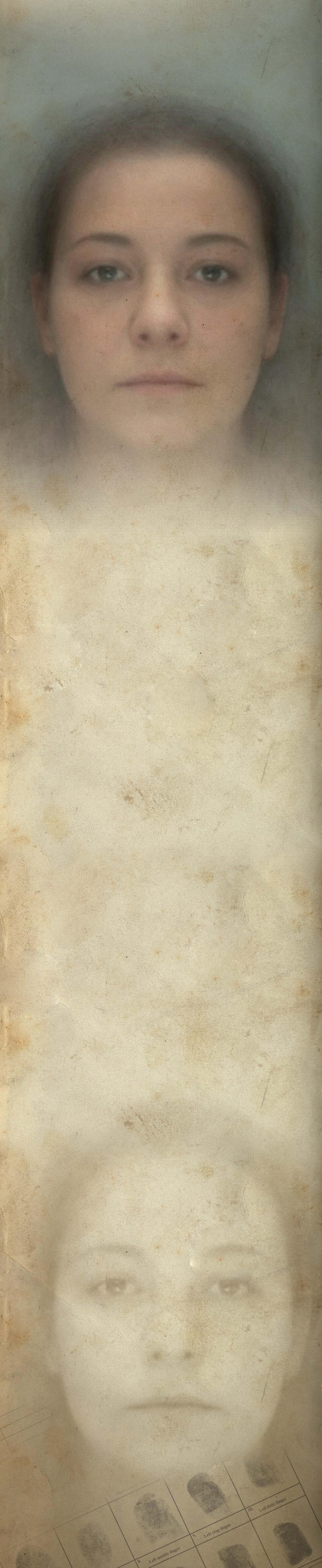
**AVERAGE FEMALE
UK CONVICT.**



**AVERAGE MODERN
LIVERPOOL MALE
OFFENDER.**

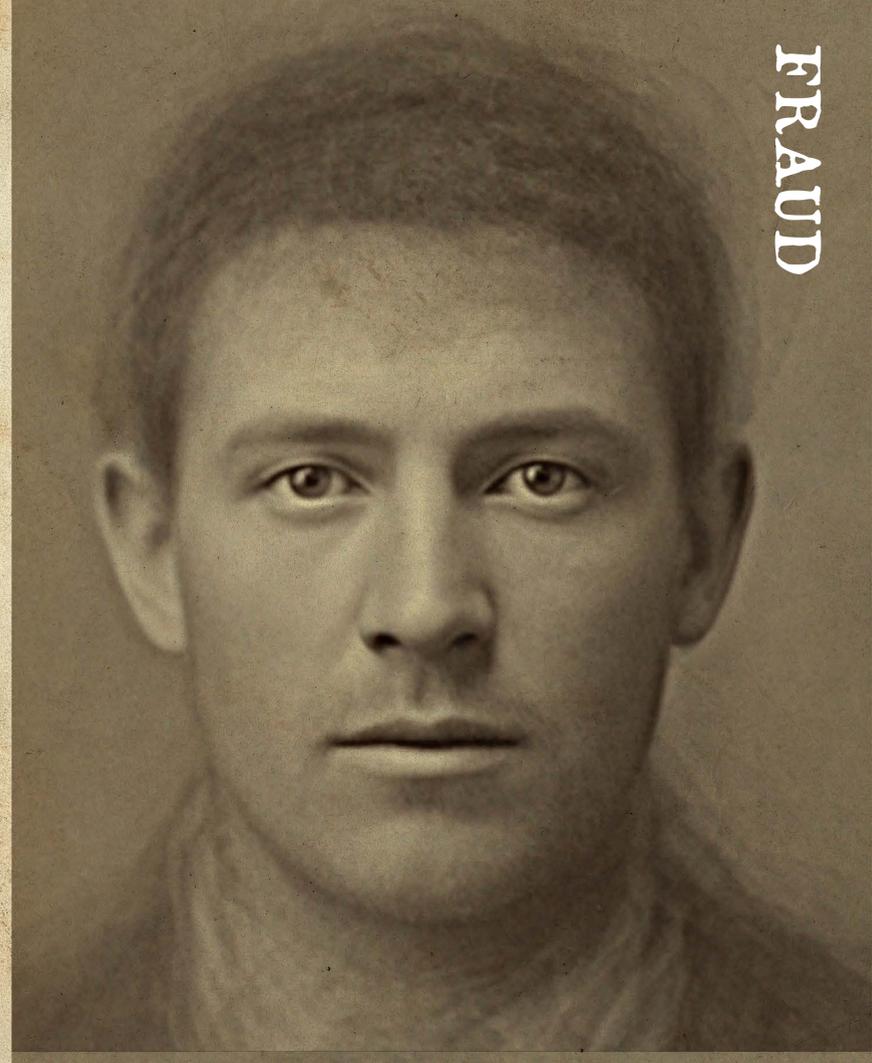


**AVERAGE MODERN
LIVERPOOL FEMALE
OFFENDER.**

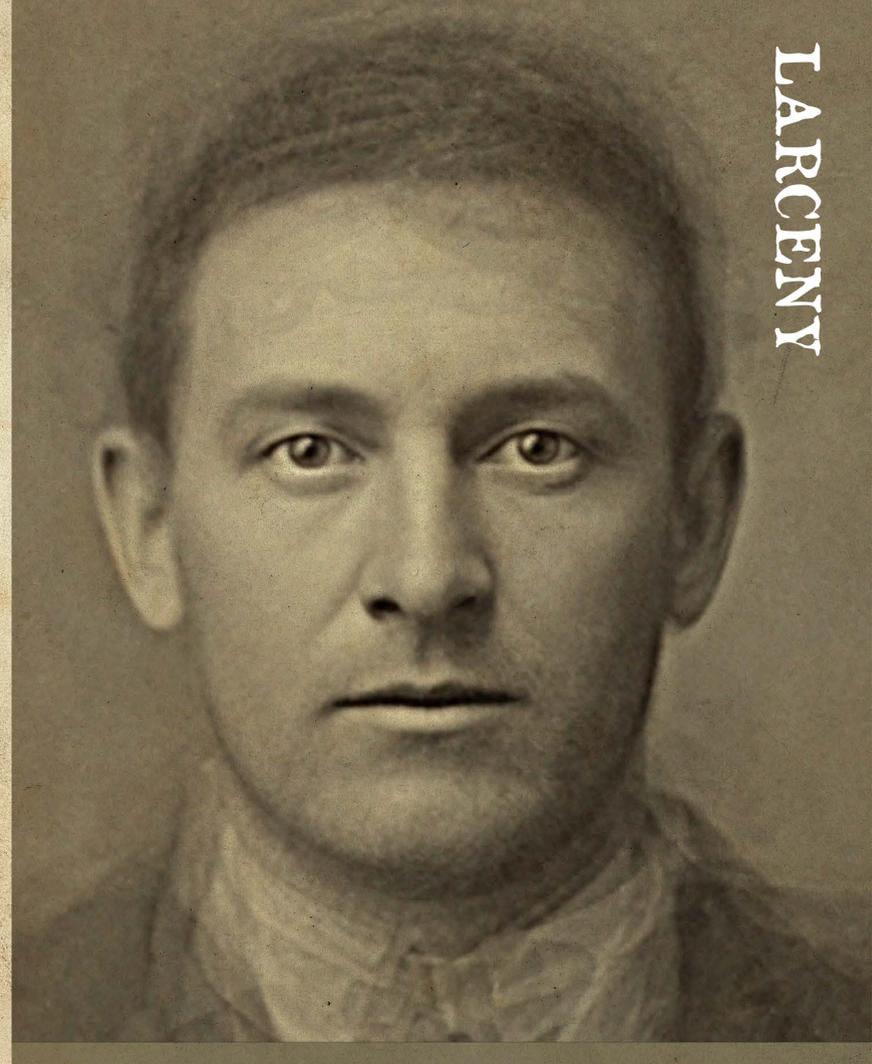




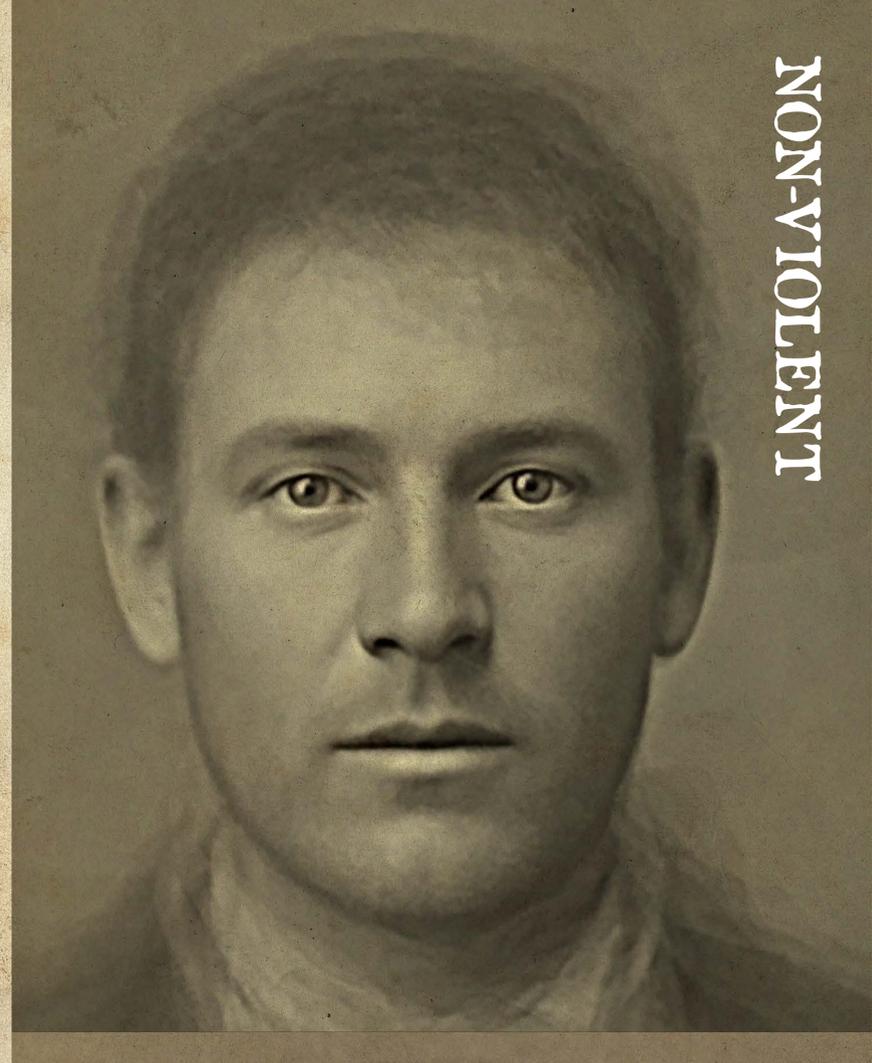
**AVERAGE MALE
PORT ARTHUR
OFFENDERS.**



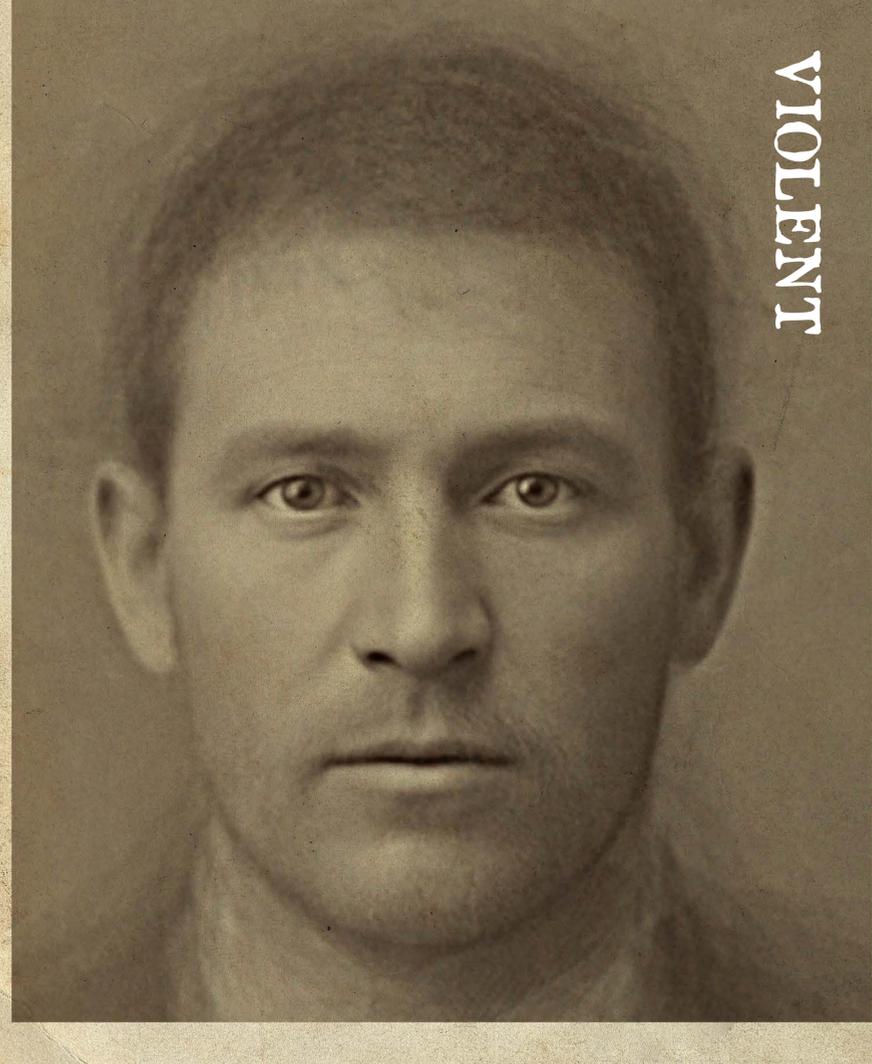
FRAUD



LARCENY

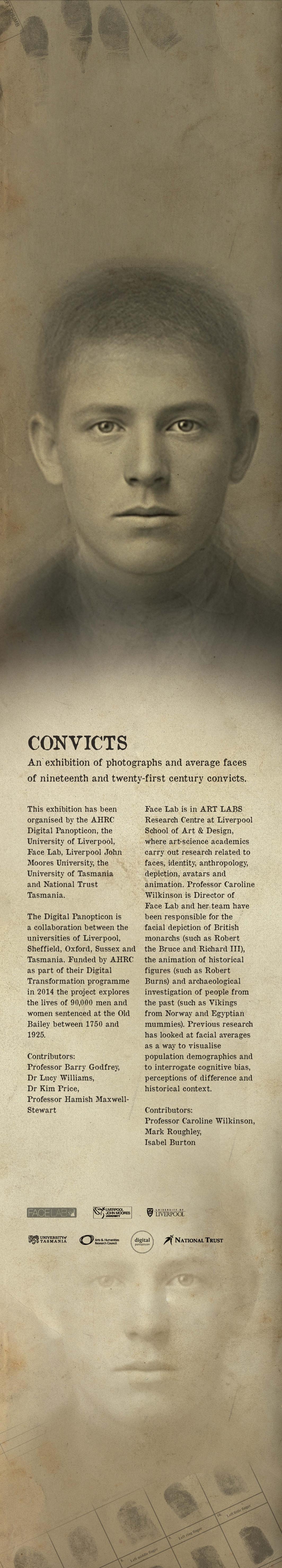


NON-VIOLENT



VIOLENT





CONVICTS

An exhibition of photographs and average faces of nineteenth and twenty-first century convicts.

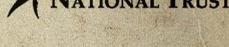
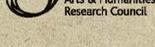
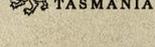
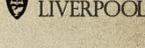
This exhibition has been organised by the AHRC Digital Panopticon, the University of Liverpool, Face Lab, Liverpool John Moores University, the University of Tasmania and National Trust Tasmania.

The Digital Panopticon is a collaboration between the universities of Liverpool, Sheffield, Oxford, Sussex and Tasmania. Funded by AHRC as part of their Digital Transformation programme in 2014 the project explores the lives of 90,000 men and women sentenced at the Old Bailey between 1750 and 1925.

Contributors:
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Face Lab is in ART LABS Research Centre at Liverpool School of Art & Design, where art-science academics carry out research related to faces, identity, anthropology, depiction, avatars and animation. Professor Caroline Wilkinson is Director of Face Lab and her team have been responsible for the facial depiction of British monarchs (such as Robert the Bruce and Richard III), the animation of historical figures (such as Robert Burns) and archaeological investigation of people from the past (such as Vikings from Norway and Egyptian mummies). Previous research has looked at facial averages as a way to visualise population demographics and to interrogate cognitive bias, perceptions of difference and historical context.

Contributors:
Professor Caroline Wilkinson,
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8. Left middle finger

9. Left ring finger

10. Left little finger