Wellington's Men in Australia

Peninsular War Veterans and the Making of Empire c. 1820-40

Christine Wright

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Series Editors' Foreword

The century from 1750 to 1850 was a seminal period of change, not just in Europe but across the globe. The political landscape was transformed by a series of revolutions fought in the name of liberty – most notably in America and France, of course, but elsewhere, too: in Geneva and the Netherlands during the eighteenth century and across much of mainland Europe by 1848. Nor was such change confined to the European world. New ideas of freedom, equality and human rights were carried to the furthest outposts of empire, to Egypt, India and the Caribbean, which saw the creation in 1801 of the first black republic in Haiti, the former French colony of Saint-Domingue. And in the early part of the nineteenth century they continued to inspire anti-colonial and liberation movements throughout Central and Latin America.

If political and social institutions were transformed by revolution in these years, so, too, was warfare. During the quarter-century of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, in particular, Europe was faced with the prospect of 'total' war, on a scale unprecedented before the twentieth century. Military hardware, it is true, evolved only gradually, and battles were not necessarily any bloodier than they had been during the Seven Years' War. But in other ways these can legitimately be described as the first modern wars, fought by mass armies mobilised by national and patriotic propaganda, leading to the displacement of millions of people throughout Europe and beyond, as soldiers, prisoners of war, civilians and refugees. For those who lived through the period these wars would be a formative experience that shaped the ambitions and the identities of a generation.

The aims of the series are necessarily ambitious. In its various volumes, whether single-authored monographs or themed collections, it seeks to extend the scope of more traditional historiography. It will study warfare during this formative century not just in Europe but in the Americas, in colonial societies and across the world. It will analyse the construction of identities and power relations by integrating the principal categories of difference, most notably class and religion, generation and gender, race and ethnicity. It will adopt a multifaceted approach to the period, and turn to methods of political, cultural, social and military history, and of art history, in order to develop a challenging and multidisciplinary analysis. Finally, it will examine elements of comparison and transfer and so tease out the complexities of regional, national and global history.

Rafe Blaufarb, Alan Forrest and Karen Hagemann

Acknowledgements

An idea about the influence of Peninsular War veterans developed many years ago while sitting in the Mitchell Library in Sydney reading the diaries and letters of men who had settled in New South Wales during the 1820s and 1830s, for a history honours thesis. There, I kept tripping over the same sort of person: British army officers who had fought in the Peninsular War and whose names are now quite well known in Australian historical circles, not for their background but for their leading role in the expansion of the Australia colonies. The idea became a PhD dissertation, successfully completed at the Australian National University, Canberra, in 2005.

In attempting to turn the dissertation into a published book, I owe particular thanks to the National Museum, Canberra, for a three-month fellowship in the Historical Research Centre. The Australian National University generously provided a Visiting Fellowship in the School of History, Research School of Social Sciences, College of Arts and Social Sciences, and the National Library's Petherick Room also provided a congenial workspace.

My husband, Ian, who has had to live with a horde of British army officers for some years, deserves my greatest thanks for his support. This book is dedicated to him.

Introduction: 'war was our trade'

Dominating the landscape of colonial Sydney were the largest military barracks in the British colonies, and it was here, on a cold May night in 1829, that two regiments of the British army each gave a grand dinner to celebrate the anniversary of the glorious battle of Albuera,[1] one of the more well-known battles of the Peninsular War. These regiments, the 39th and the 57th, were part of the garrison in the British colony of New South Wales.[2] Lamps illuminated the barracks, and the large central building had a ribbon of lamps with the word ALBUERA in large letters, underneath a crown. The effect was magnificent, and spectators jostled to obtain a glimpse. Preceding the dinners, two veterans were chaired around the Barrack Square: Lieutenant Colonel Shadforth, who had been severely wounded, and Captain Jackson, both of whom performed 'heroic deeds' on that battlefield, according to the *Sydney Gazette*.[3] At the dinner of the 57th, the walls of the Mess Hall were hung with laurel, and on one was an inscription with the date of the battle: 16 May 1811. British army officers, civil officers and 'respectable private inhabitants' were invited and these guests included Sir Ralph Darling, the governor of the colony and a Peninsular War veteran, Alexander Macleay, the Colonial Secretary who had been with the Transport Board during the Napoleonic Wars, and Deputy Commissary General Laidley, who had been with the Commissariat during the Peninsular War.[4] The guests chose each course from the best food the colony could offer; champagne and wine flowed. Many toasts were drunk at these feasts: to the Duke of Wellington, to Lieutenant General William Inglis who commanded the 57th at Albuera, to Lieutenant General Sir G. Airey and the men of the 39th, to those who had fallen at Albuera and, fittingly, to the Colonial Secretary and the gentlemen of the Civil Department, the majority of whom had also been involved in the Peninsular War.

Men such as these, British army officers who had fought in the Peninsular War and who later came to the Australian colonies, are the focus of this book. Only officers are included, as I have written elsewhere on the men of other ranks.[5] Appendix One consists of an inventory of influential British army officers in the Australian colonies in the 1820s and 1830s. While the original list contained only those who served on the Iberian Peninsula, I have now included other British army officers who perhaps did not serve in the Peninsula, but were equally influential. This inventory totals 135 officers; of these, probably 2/3 stayed in the Australian colonies, while 1/3 returned to Britain or died in India (the next overseas station after New South Wales). Appendix II goes further, to illustrate the extent of the colonial careers of these men, and how they moved around the Empire: to the Cape Colony, West Indies, Canada, Mauritius, etc., and whether they were landowners or not. As in Britain, land was the key to power in the Australian colonies as well as an indicator of social status.

These men are important for two reasons: they played a crucial role in the emergence of the British Empire, from the time of the loss of the American colonies to Waterloo, and they were instrumental in the transformation of the Australian colonies, particularly the development of New South Wales from a penal colony to a free society. They were the nucleus of colonial power structures, and may well have been the only group so well prepared for this role. It could be said that Peninsular War veterans were merely the first of many groups to come to Australia following a major European war; but this group was distinctive because of its unique impact on the Australian colonies. Among other things, they had a physical presence for over 60 years.

The origins of the founding of the Australian colonies lay in the aftermath of the American War of Independence in 1776, when it was no longer possible to cast off the unwanted refuse of British society to that location: another destination for convicts lying in crowded hulks in the Thames was urgently needed. For a short time, the coast of West Africa was thought to be a suitable destination, however, that proved not to be the case, as Emma Christopher has shown.[6] Botany Bay seemed ideal because of its remoteness, and thus the first fleet of 11 ships of convicts arrived in Sydney in 1788. The trickle of convict ships continued, though slowed by transport difficulties during the Napoleonic Wars, and the convict and free population continued to expand. From 1815 onwards, the convict population increased dramatically: three-quarters of the convicts transported to Australia arrived after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.[7] Yet free settlers began to arrive as early as 1790, and

from the 1830s the British government underwrote emigration schemes to the Australian colonies. That there was tension between the convict colony and free settlers is not surprising, and it erupted in acrimonious debates on the benefits of convict transport. During the 1830s, the major debate was the future of convict transportation, as it was closely linked with the question of responsible government. The great majority of landowners saw the retention of the convict system as essential because of the labour it provided, though ultimately the continuation of convict transportation alongside free immigration could not continue forever. Hence in 1838 a British House of Commons committee recommended that transportation to New South Wales and the settled parts of Van Diemen's Land be abolished. In 1839 assignment of convicts ceased, and in 1840 the last batch of convicts disembarked. The penal colony of New South Wales came to an end after 52 years. Transportation had given a purpose to the founding of the Australian colonies, but the vast numbers of free immigrants changed the landscape: in the twenty years from 1830 to 1850 over 200,000 free immigrants arrived in the Australian colonies, of which 70,000 were assisted by the British government to come to New South Wales.[8]

The foundation of other colonies soon followed that of New South Wales: Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in 1803, Moreton Bay (Queensland) in 1824, Swan River (Western Australia) 1829, Port Phillip (Victoria) 1836. The only colony to be free of convict transportation was South Australia, founded in 1836.

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Whenever a Briton spoke of the 'Great War' during the nineteenth century and the earliest years of the twentieth, he or she meant the long struggle between Britain and revolutionary France, which had lasted for a generation. The Peninsular War was the latter part of that 'Great War', and it shook the Iberian Peninsula from 1808 until 1814. The Peninsular War was one of the largest campaigns the British ever fought, and was a massive exercise in logistics and administration, besides involving the largest number of fighting men ever put together by the British. The British army served in several other places during this period, for example, in North America and while this campaign was a longer one, and was a nuisance and a distraction, it was not a serious threat.[9] Napoleon with his Grande Armée was the serious threat.

The wars between Britain and France began in 1793. Napoleon became virtually the ruler of Europe: he was Emperor of the French and

King of Italy, his brothers reigned elsewhere, and many countries were his allies. In all continental Europe, only Sweden and Portugal were outside his sphere of influence, but it was Britain that was his bitter enemy. Napoleon finally gave the British the opening they desperately needed when he took his army across Spain in an attempt to capture Portuguese ships. In doing this, he made an enemy of Spain, his oldest ally. As a result, from 1808 onwards, British troops and their Portuguese and Spanish allies marched though the mountains of Portugal, across the rivers, plains and sierras of Spain, finally crossing the western Pyrenees and forcing Napoleon's army back into France, where the last battle of the Peninsular War was fought in 1814 at Toulouse by a combined British, Portuguese and Spanish army under the command of Field Marshall Lord Wellington. Early nineteenth century Britain was a country at war, a war that pressed on every household, and impinged on every aspect of life. Indeed, it has been argued that the common experience shared by all Britons in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was shaped by the demands of war.[10] By the war's end in 1815, Britain had transformed itself into a global empire and the leading commercial and industrial power in the world, and the British army played a central part in Britain's dramatic transformation by means of their victory against the armies of Napoleon.

With the declaration of peace after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, and the subsequent reduction in the army, Peninsular War veterans found they were reduced to half pay. Many were disillusioned, for it meant the end of their career. After all, an army officer in peacetime had little chance of promotion. Some were fortunate enough to be retained in their regiments and were deployed in garrison regiments, mainly in Ireland. But even those fortunate few were aware that they should look around for other opportunities, and it was the empire that provided these. The empire was dominated by military structures, especially in New South Wales, a penal colony administered by the military. Peninsular War veterans were in demand because they were military men who had gained useful skills in wartime, one of which was the management of men.

Today, within Britain, very little is known of the veterans of the Napoleonic Wars[11] as the number of Peninsular War veterans would make it almost impossible to study them there. On the other hand, South African historians, particularly Mostert and Laidlaw, have identified the importance of the Peninsular campaign on that country's history. There, the influence of those veterans, particularly men such as Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir Harry Smith has been identified, as well as the social networks that sustained them.[12]

The British historian and Peninsular War specialist, Professor Charles Esdaile of Liverpool University, observed some years ago that most scholarly work on the Peninsular War is of recent origin and lamented not only that historians within the academy have neglected the subject, but that there is among academics a hostile attitude to military history.[13] This attitude has resulted in much of the work of the Peninsular War being left to amateur military enthusiasts and the writers of popular British history. In the latter genre, the Peninsular War has recently acquired a high profile, as that well-known regiment of green jacketed Riflemen in the Peninsular War, the 95th, has been fictionalised in the enormously popular Sharpe series of novels, and then made into a very successful television series in Britain. The continued popularity of the Peninsular War is also reflected in the current demand for battlefield tours: in 2010 there were ten companies operating various tours of the Peninsular War battlefields.[14]

Despite the British army having had a key role in colonial Australia, there is nothing at all that examines veterans of the Peninsular War in Australia as a distinct group, in the light of their experiences in that war. The immensity of the military barracks in Sydney and the distinctly martial atmosphere of the early Australian colonies have occasionally been commented on, but their long-term significance has not been explored. Altogether, 14 regiments of the British army that served in the Peninsular War later undertook garrison duty in the various Australian colonies. The history of the first of the Peninsular regiments to serve in New South Wales is recorded in Clem Sargent's *The Colonial Garrison 1817–1824: The 48th Foot, the Northamptonshire Regiment in New South Wales*, published in 1996. Sargent has published, alongside this book, many worthwhile articles in *Sabretache*[15] on the contribution of British military regiments. In a similar vein to Sargent, Geoff Blackburn has recorded the history of one regiment of the British army in Western Australia: *Conquest and Settlement: The 21st Regiment (Royal North British Fusiliers) in Western Australia 1833–1840*, yet he makes no mention of the regiment on the Iberian Peninsula.

Of the more general military histories, *Two Centuries of War and Peace* edited by M. McKernan and M. Browne, published in 1988, is by far the best and most thoroughly researched study of the contribution of the military to Australia. Chapter 2 devotes much attention to the military explorers, particularly Captain Charles Sturt and Major Thomas Livingston Mitchell, two of Australia's better known explorers. Their explorations in the light of their war-time activities has not been considered, nor has there been any attempt to make any connection

between the two, although Mitchell, for example, spent much of the Peninsular War in exploring, surveying and drawing the topography of Spain and Portugal. By contrast, Peter Stanley, in *The Remote Garrison: The British Army in Australia 1788–1870*, published in 1986, devotes one quarter of the book to the 1820s and 1830s, the period when Peninsular regiments were serving in the Australian colonies. On the whole, though, the book is hampered by a lack of references. *A Military History of Australia*, by Jeffrey Grey, published in 1990, is written from a military perspective and makes the observation that 'the nature of that military force influenced the shape which the early colonies took'.[16] Beyond this brief comment, however, there is no reference to Peninsular War veterans.

The penultimate commentary on the British army in Australia is Peter Stanley's entry in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*, published in 1995. While noting the army's role in colonial society has been neglected.[17] Stanley also makes the point that the primary sources available for the study of these soldiers are not extensive, and my focus on individuals and their careers has necessarily looked to other sources. The latest word on this subject is the beautifully written *Red Coat Dreaming: how colonial Australia embraced the British Army*[18] published in 2009 by Craig Wilcox. In this book, he discussed the allure of the oft forgotten red coat from the first British settlement to the First World War.

Specialist historians too have noted the presence of Peninsular War veterans. Economic historian Noel Butlin, in *Forming a Colonial Economy*, emphasised the importance of ex-army and navy officers as emigrants, describing them as part of an imperial network,[19] and noting that their service background and their contacts were influential in their deciding to emigrate to the Australian colonies. However, although he noted the 1826 military grant regulations to provide inducements to army and navy officers, he assumed that these regulations applied only to the Australian colonies. That assumption is incorrect. Arthur McMartin, in *Public Servants and Patronage: the foundation and rise of the New South Wales Public Service 1786–1859*,[20] notes the preponderance of Peninsular War veterans in the public service, although he does not examine the origin of their skills in any way.

Recently, a couple of journal articles have recognised a particular aspect of the impact of Peninsular War veterans on the Australian colonies. Grace Karskens, writing on the construction of the Great North Road from Sydney, points out that military men who dominated the Roads and Bridges Department and the Surveyor General's Department

in colonial Sydney were the carriers of new technology in road making.[21] Judith Keene's article focuses on the experience of Juan D'Arrieta, who was firstly a Spanish contractor for the British Commissariat in Spain, then a settler in New South Wales. Keene argues that these veterans were significant, and left a considerable mark on Australian society and culture. She also indicated the need for a full study of the impact of the whole group.[22]

There has been some recognition by Australian historians, then, that a gap exists in the historiography of colonial Australia – the impact of Peninsular War veterans on the Australian colonies – and those who edit the journals of Peninsular War veterans have also felt this. From the Australian perspective, these journals have been of interest only because of what they reveal about life in the various colonies. In 1992, John Mulvaney, in his introduction to Captain Collet Barker's journals: *Commandant of Solitude: The Journals of Captain Collet Barker, 1828–1831*, recognised the importance and breadth of the contribution of veterans of the Peninsular Wars to the Australian colonies, and noted that it has been barely recognised.[23] Likewise, Peter Chapman, the editor of *The Diaries and Letters of G. T. W. B. Boyes, Volume 1 1820–1832*, in 1985 recorded the significance of what he termed the 'cultural' migration of Peninsular War veterans. Chapman's work, in particular, was a source of inspiration at the beginning of my research. He wrote that the Peninsular War was

> indeed a prologue, not only for Boyes but for many of his Peninsular colleagues, a great collective experience which determined not only the courses of their lives, but also a certain course in Australian history. So much of what happened in the vast and alien countries of the Iberian Peninsula was transferred, in the persons of the officer elite, to the management of the Australian colonies.[24]

Biographers of men involved in the Peninsular War –for example, Sir Thomas Mitchell, Governor Ralph Darling and Governor George Gipps – have also delved into the background of their particular veteran and his part in that war. Two examples are Brian Fletcher's *Ralph Darling: A Governor Maligned*, published in 1984, and William Foster's *Sir Thomas Livingston Mitchell and his World 1792–1855, Surveyor General of New South Wales 1828–1855*, published in 1985. In another biography of Mitchell, *The Civilised Surveyor: Thomas Mitchell and the Australian Aborigines*, published in 1997, Don Baker also conveys some sense of Mitchell's background and military life on the Peninsula. Also *Every*

Inch a Governor: Sir George Gipps Governor of New South Wales 1838–46, published in 1996, gives due recognition to Gipps's Peninsular War experiences. But again, each historian is concerned with only one subject, not with Peninsular War veterans as a group. Yet the contribution of many Peninsular War veterans to the Australian colonies has been recognised by entries in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Some, including Sir Thomas Mitchell and William Light, also have entries in the British *Dictionary of National Biography*.

In recent years, there has been greater interest in this topic. Peninsular War veterans who are the subject of biographies published lately include William Sorell (2004), Robert Hoddle (2004) and Samuel Perry (2009). As well, other more general histories have been influential: *Colonial Connections 1815–45: patronage, the information revolution and colonial government* (2005), *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: imperial careering in the long nineteenth century* (2006), *Advancing with the Army: Medicine, the Professions and Social Mobility in the British Isles 1790–1850* (2006), and *A Swindler's Progress* (2009).

Although many of these men are well known in Australian history, never have they been grouped together. Nor has there been exploration of the later lives of these men in any geographic location. What is unmistakable is that there is a paucity of academic, or any other, historical research on the impact of the Peninsular War, not only on veterans involved in that conflict, but also on the social, cultural and political affairs of the Australian colonies following that war, particularly the 1820s and 1830s. This work attempts to fill that gap and introduces a new range of sources relating to the Peninsular War available in Australia, both published and unpublished. These include published memoirs, private papers, biographical memoirs, published letters and published and unpublished diaries.

The very masculine social world of the British army is examined in this book, alongside its transmission to the Australian colonies. The mothers, wives and daughters of Peninsular War veterans warrant attention too, and this is achieved in a minor way in a couple of instances: a mention of art of these women and also a discussion of the extended family network of the Dumaresq families in New South Wales. The story of the women's private lives, however, calls for further research. Rather, my aim is to sketch the lives of certain Peninsular War veterans in order to draw attention to important aspects of their careers, as well as to the physical circumstances of their experiences as British army officers. These individual biographies reveal similarities and divergences between the men and, using this method, I have been able to show that

this group had a disproportionate impact on the Australian colonies. The Australian experience of Peninsular War veterans is located firmly within the study of relationships, networks and connections, traced not only between the Australian colonies and London, but also around the British Empire.

The framework of the book is thematic. Chapter 1 examines the aftermath of the Peninsular War and argues that, as the Napoleonic Wars had transformed the British army and the Empire, the British army officers who returned from the Iberian Peninsula and elsewhere found they had few opportunities. Their future was in the colonies with their newly acquired skills, ones that were sought after, particularly in the Australian colonies. New South Wales, with its salubrious climate, was very popular. They were a distinct group of emigrants who came in the critical expansionist years of the 1820s and 1830s, though the circumstances of their emigration varied. Many took advantage of the military grant regulations of 1826, which gave special consideration to officers of the army and navy, and became landholders. Thus, this group of British army officers benefitted financially and socially from their emigration.

Chapter 2 studies the social origins of some British army officers and contrasts those origins with their later high social status in the Australian colonies. Both General Sir Ralph Darling and Sir Thomas Mitchell, for instance, sprang from modest backgrounds, yet were most particular about social distinctions. The Empire provided opportunities for advancement: if they had stayed in Britain, their chances of being landholders and magistrates were non-existent. This chapter confirms a hitherto little known fact: that the system of obtaining commissions in the British army altered considerably during the Peninsular War, and this had significant consequences for the Australian colonies.

Chapter 3, by probing the social networks of Peninsular War veterans, shows how these networks influenced the pattern of settlement, the exercise of law, marriage patterns and the social and public life of the colonies. The transition of Peninsular War veterans from obscurity to colonial prominence should be thought of not simply as a matter of individual ability – although I will show that this was important – but also as the result of social and political connections and their dynamics in the critical post-Napoleonic war years in Britain. These were networks of knowledge, patronage and power. The study of these networks reinforces Marjorie Harper's argument that personal networks were more important than government policies when making the decision to emigrate to the colonies.[25]

Chapter 4 discusses the ubiquity of Protestantism in Britain, and in the British army, and shows how this religious influence was a fundamental part of the impact of Peninsular War veterans in colonial Australia. It also demonstrates the link between the British army, British national identity and Protestantism, and how the Napoleonic War years transformed the concept of British nationalism. Among Peninsular War veterans, I argue, national and religious identities were inextricably linked. This chapter adds another dimension to the work of Linda Colley on British nationalism and the absolutely centrality of Protestantism to the British people.

Chapter 5 describes the skills these men acquired during the Peninsular War, and shows how these contributed to the development of colonial institutions, and the British colonisation of Australia. They were among the few colonists who had acquired the necessary bureaucratic and management skills, as well as the latest technical skills: surveying, map making, draughting, town planning, engineering and road-making. Others brought medical skills acquired in the new British Army Medical Department. These skills gave them an advantage over others seeking colonial appointments following the demobilisation of troops after the battle of Waterloo.

Chapter 6 argues that Peninsular War veterans, and other British army officers, were a major component of the ruling class in New South Wales and other Australian colonies, were at the heart of colonial power structures, and considerably reinforced the military character of colonial administration. This claim engages with Stone's argument that late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century Britain was a military state.[26] The decades of the 1820s and 1830s were the peak period of the authority of military men in New South Wales, when Governors Darling and Bourke, Peninsular War veterans themselves, selected magistrates because of their military background.

Chapter 7 details the relationship between arts in the colonies and those in Britain. Art was a significant aspect of British culture brought to the Australian colonies by Peninsular War veterans and their families. These were well-educated, often literary and artistic men and women who played an important role in the culture of the Australian colonies and, along the way, helped the shape Australian images of Britishness and imperial identity.

In Chapter 8 the employment of Peninsular War veterans on the frontier of white settlement is examined: they formed the Mounted Police and Border Police defending settlers against attacks by Aborigines. They were also appointed as commandants of penal stations (places of secondary punishment for convicts). When the military nature of these

bodies in the Australian colonies is examined alongside the increasing militarisation of prison and prison systems in England, it is easy to see the parallels. In fact, I contend that the appointment of Peninsular War veterans as military commandants of penal stations was an ineluctable consequence of British penal ideology.

As one member of Wellington's famous Rifle Brigade, Captain John Kincaid, wrote in his memoirs, 'We had been born in war, reared in war, war was our trade.'[27] After 1815, and facing lean times on half pay, British army officers who had fought in the Peninsular War, and their cohort, were surely delighted to discover that they were uniquely advantaged by their service and that their 'trade' was vital to the Empire, particularly the Australian colonies, at a time of large-scale colonial development.

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'emigration is a matter of necessity': The aftermath of the Peninsular War

Susanna Moodie was the wife of a young lieutenant who was part of the general reduction in the British army following the battle of Waterloo, and she firmly believed that 'emigration is a matter of necessity'.[1] In 1813, J. W. D. Moodie had joined the 21st Regiment, or Royal North British Fusiliers; he was the fourth of five sons of Major James Moodie of Orkney and had two brothers in the Royal Navy, one in the service of the East India Company, and one who had emigrated to the Cape Colony in 1816.[2] Moodie was sent to Holland, and was part of the campaign at Bergen-op-Zoom, where a musket ball lodged itself in his left wrist. Unable to continue in the army, he was placed on a small pension for a couple of years. After the war, Lieutenant Moodie, attempting to exist on half-pay like so many other British army officers, moved to the Cape Colony where he lived cheaply with his brother, Benjamin, for ten years. He then returned to England and married Susanna Strickland,[3] placing himself under more financial pressure. At the time, Moodie's income was about £100 per year, barely enough to provide him and his wife with food and rented accommodation.[4] Emigration seemed the only solution and Moodie chose Canada, a decision he later regretted.

In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, relatively few Peninsular War veterans saw a place for themselves in post-war Britain. Britain had changed radically and, while the generation that fought in the Peninsular War lacked economic opportunities in Britain itself, they were more fortunate than most because a future was available for them in the British Empire. Although I treat the Peninsular War veterans and their cohort who settled in the Australian colonies as a group, they arrived over a 20-odd-year period, and the circumstances of their emigration varied. Some came in garrison regiments and then stayed; some emigrated with their families; some came with civil appointments and

then stayed. A distinctive feature of this group was the broad timing of their arrival: they were part of a crucial transition in New South Wales during which the colony was transformed from a convict depot into a settler colony.

The differences between the British army before and after the Napoleonic Wars are examined in this chapter, as are the radical economic, social and demographic changes in Britain itself. The Peninsular War was the defining episode in the lives of many British army officers, yet the combination of attempting to live on half-pay, and the diminishing prospects for employment after the war, meant they had no future in Britain. As well, some had wounds that restricted their ability to continue a full life as an officer in the British army, and I give the example of three such officers. Emigration seemed the only avenue for many Peninsular War veterans, and when the British government introduced the military grant regulations in 1826 to encourage settlement in British colonies, their fate was sealed. Why New South Wales was the favoured destination, rather than elsewhere, will be explained. The British government had a general policy of planting ex-army and ex-navy officers in the colonies, but there were particular reasons for encouraging Peninsular War veterans to settle in New South Wales. There, they could find civil employment and reduce the numbers on half-pay, they could provide colonial law and order and they could be useful in what had become a strategic location.

* * * *

The French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars changed the face of continental Europe and that of Britain's Empire also. During the Napoleonic Wars, for instance, Britain gained control of the Seychelles, Mauritius, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucia, the Cape Colony and British Guyana. Britain doubled her export trade, trebled her revenue and increased commerce with South America by 14 fold.[5] After the Peninsular War and Waterloo, Britain was at the zenith of its power. It was the strongest military power in the world and red-coated soldiers served on every continent except Antarctica.[6] For the first time, Britain's power was military and this was reflected in the military component of Parliament. Nearly 1000 Members of Parliament, or almost half the politicians in the 30 years between 1790 and 1820 had served in the military.[7]

The Napoleonic Wars also transformed the British army, not least because it was more than six times larger in 1814 than it had been in

1789.[8] One source has put the number of British men fighting during these years at one in four of the British male population.[9] For the first time, the army gained a hold on the imagination of the British public, rather than the navy,[10] and that popularity is recorded in Jane Austen's *Sanditon*, in which Mr Parker named his house Trafalgar House, but lamented that he had, 'for Waterloo is more the thing now'.[11]

The British Army that pushed Napoleon's Grande Armée over the Pyrenees and back into France in 1813 was an entirely different army from that which had fought in Flanders 20 years before. For the first time, it was a truly professional one.

After the battle of Waterloo, and the large reduction in numbers, it changed again: three-quarters of the infantry battalions were assigned to garrison duty in overseas stations. Thus, the army became primarily a colonial force whose duty was to protect the frontiers of the Empire.[12]

The soldiers who fought in the latter part of the Napoleonic Wars, on the Iberian Peninsula, were likewise transformed. It was a defining episode in their lives, as evidenced by the transcription on Major James Crummer's grave in Port Macquarie NSW, which lists all battles in which he fought.[13] For others, their appearance had changed so dramatically that they were not recognised on arrival home in Britain. Edward Close recorded his bitterness on arriving back in England with the 48th Regiment:

> From very few uniforms being amongst us we were taken for Frenchmen during the entire route to Northhampton. Whether this proceeded from the above cause – our sun burnt countenances, or our habit of communicating our remarks in Portuguese – certain it is we were not acknowledged for countrymen.[14]

There were few prospects, and very little gainful employment for British Army officers after 1815. Promotion in the army was practically unobtainable, as the half-pay lists were choked with all ranks. France was occupied until 1818, after which the strength of the army was reduced, and most of the infantry battalions were assigned to garrison duty in overseas stations. The reduction in Britain's post-war army and navy was enormous: the army's numbers were reduced from 236,000 in 1814 to 81,000 in 1819 and the navy's from 147,000 to 23,000 in the same period.[15] A great many officers were placed on half-pay, and that was a sort of retaining fee for future calls on their services, but it was fixed at the monetary level of a century before: at the level of 1714.[16] Consequently, it was not long before the veterans realised they could

not live on half-pay; but they had lost their youth to the war and it was perhaps too late to begin another career in a climate of economic decline. Linked to this latter reality was their institutionalisation in the army, which made many of them unsuitable for other careers. Sir George Cockburn clarified these anxieties:

> During the war which ended in 1815, we had more than two hundred battalions; of course, they required officers. Some got their commissions for nothing – but all served a certain number of years, and in their youth, so as to lose other professions, which it was too late to begin when discharged to half pay.[17]

Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, had very little choice. For most, it was not possible to remain in the army. Those who did remain faced slow promotion in peacetime, which was not universally appealing to ambitious young men.

Those officers on the half-pay list found that it was a mixed blessing to be part of Britain in 1815 and beyond. Britain became the foremost power in Europe, the British Empire was markedly increased and the city of London became the world's financial centre. Much of this change can be attributed to the effect of the Napoleonic Wars, of which the war on the Iberian Peninsula was a major part. The Napoleonic Wars had lasted for a generation, and when those who fought in those wars returned to Britain, they encountered many economic, social and demographic changes. Wars are expensive. A new form of taxation, income tax, was introduced for the first time.[18] England counted the cost of the long struggle against the French, just part of which was the large half-pay bill. The cost of the pensions and half-pay in the post-1815 period – commonly referred to as the deadweight – amounted to £5 million.[19] So, what was for many the welcome end of the Napoleonic Wars resulted in an economic depression that lasted until 1821.[20] The rate of industrialisation increased, and one consequence of this was that more people left villages, where their families had lived for generations, and moved to large cities. The scale of industrial change was enormous, more extensive in Britain than it would be anywhere else in Europe or the world.[21] As well, the population of Britain rose rapidly from the 1760s until the mid-1820s.[22] The rise in fertility rates was exacerbated by a couple of factors: almost 55 per cent of the British population was under 25 years old,[23] and it became the norm to marry younger.[24] Some of these changes were already in train before the Napoleonic Wars and some men joined up because of the dislocation.

During the turbulent period following the Napoleonic Wars, Britain faced a dangerous combination of political unrest, a rising crime rate and much unemployment, caused to an extent by the discharge of large numbers of soldiers and sailors. After 1815, the number of convicts transported increased dramatically too, as transportation was seen by the British government as the best way to deal with the post-war increase in crime.[25] It is perhaps not surprising that old soldiers were at times involved in protests: the striking weavers in Glasgow in 1819, for instance, were organised by an old Rifleman, and the protests were structured into street battalions and regiments.[26] The dangers of having trained soldiers on the radical side were well recognised by the government, and this may have prompted the introduction of the Veteran Companies for service in New South Wales.[27] These events turned the development of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land in a new direction: eyes were cast to these favoured settler colonies.

It was as apparent to many Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, as it is to the modern-day historian that they had diminished prospects in a radically altered Britain. Those in the lower ranks had lost their footing on the economic ladder and were forced back into the British army to survive. For the officers, it was a similar story. Both groups were very often young single men, but when they married upon their return home and children appeared, they were placed under more financial pressure. For Peninsular War veterans, the need to emigrate was evident: Britain had changed in their absence and they could not return to previous occupations, if indeed they had had an occupation before the war.

Robert Hoddle was just one of those for whom post-war Britain held few prospects. He was employed during the Peninsular War as a Royal Military Surveyor and Draftsman, based at Plymouth. There he was employed in, among other things, copying maps of Plymouth and Gibraltar, both strategic locations. The employment of Hoddle, and others like him, as surveyors and copiers of maps, was due entirely to the exigencies of war. In 1817, however, the Royal Military Surveying and Drafting Corps was reduced, and Hoddle wrote in his diary, 'In the year 1817, I bid adieu to military discipline, and began the world de novo.'[28] Attempting to exist on half-pay after his marriage and his wife's subsequent pregnancy, Hoddle was forced to live with his wife's family in Surrey, in the south of England. From there, like so many others, he wrote to Lord Bathurst, seeking employment in the colonies.[29] It was in New South Wales that he sought employment as a surveyor or Draftsman. When he was offered a post as a schoolmaster there, he refused it, and instead accepted a position as surveyor in the Cape

Colony. That colony did not suit him, and he left for New South Wales, despite having no appointment and only a letter of recommendation. Nonetheless he was appointed as Assistant Surveyor to John Oxley, the Surveyor General. The rest of his life was spent in the Australian colonies, surveying roads and town reserves, and measuring grants for settlers. Hoddle is perhaps best known in Australia as the man who originally mapped Melbourne, and as Victoria's first Surveyor General.

While awaiting a colonial appointment, these men were forced to find somewhere cheap to live. Major (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Snodgrass moved his family to the Isle of Man for five years, before his appointment to New South Wales. Many other army officers did the same, as there was no taxation on the Isle of Man.[30] A former Commissariat officer, G. T. W. B. Boyes, chose another option. He moved to France without his family, as he could live there more cheaply. It was there in 1823 that Boyes received the letter directing him to proceed to New South Wales to take up a position in the Commissariat. For Boyes this was a dilemma, but it was a general condition that an officer on half-pay could, at any future time, be ordered to service. With a great number of men on half-pay, a refusal would certainly ensure that he would not receive another offer. Boyes, therefore, had no option and sailed for New South Wales almost immediately, leaving his family in England. It would be another ten years before they joined him in Van Diemen's Land.

James Phillips was another Commissariat officer on half-pay. After ten years serving the Government, including the Peninsular War, he could not obtain further employment to support his family, so he emigrated with his family to the colony of New South Wales. Phillips, with four children and another soon to be born, had been granted a free passage but he could not afford to provision his family for the long voyage.[31] Phillips pleaded with the Government for some relief towards the support of himself and his family on their sea voyage, and this was granted. On his arrival in New South Wales, his testimonials ensured swift approval for a free land grant.[32]

The state of health of some Peninsular War veterans was a factor in their decision to emigrate. Three Peninsular War veterans who settled in New South Wales, Major Crummer, Lieutenant-Colonel Shadforth and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dumaresq, all suffered debilitating wounds, creating health problems for the rest of their lives and, in Dumaresq's case, shortening his life considerably. Major Crummer's first wound was at the battle of Albuera on 16 May 1811. A musket ball passed through his leg, fracturing a bone on the way, and he suffered severely, enough

for a surgeon to recommend his return to England for the recovery of his health.[33] Unhappily, Crummer received another gunshot wound in the same leg during the battle at the Pass of Maya, in the Pyrenees, in 1813. By 1832, a doctor of the 92nd Regiment, writing from Fermoy, in Ireland, stated that Crummer's 'wound has since remained open and pieces of bone frequently come away'. Crummer, wrote the surgeon, would be 'permanently disabled and unfit to perform efficiently the duties of a Captain of Infantry'.[34] Likewise, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Shadforth was one of the heroes of Albuera. As with Crummer's wound, Shadforth's knee was so battered by a musket ball that pieces of the bone continued to surface. The wound never healed, requiring daily dressing up to the time of his death.[35] Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dumaresq's tale is similar. He survived 13 battles of the Peninsular War with minor wounds, but, at the battle of Waterloo, a musket ball lodged itself in his chest.[36] His right shoulder and ribs were broken at the same time. The ball was never removed, causing years of suffering and, finally, his early death at 46. Of course, surgical operations to remove musket balls were dangerous. Death was one outcome, another was gangrene, and it was often recommended that a wounded man leave the ball in situ, rather than risk removal. For those who chose to have a musket ball removed surgically, further problems sometimes resulted. One man who had a musket ball in his ankle joint had it removed, but the ball was jagged and tendinous fibre had grown into it, causing what he termed 'excruciating torture' on its removal.[37] Given their wounds, neither Shadforth, Crummer nor Dumaresq was fit enough to continue his army career and each sold his commission to become a settler in New South Wales.

The decision was not whether to emigrate, but where, and New South Wales was certainly the most popular destination. Without doubt, one of the factors in attracting emigrants to New South Wales was its healthy climate. This was promoted in both medical journals and emigrants' guides: *The Lancet* and *The British Medical Journal* published articles on the beneficial climate, particularly for those suffering from tuberculosis and other chest complaints.[38] It is difficult to judge how widespread the readership of these journals was; however, it does seem likely that the benefits of the climate were well known in educated circles. Emigrants' guides for Van Diemen's Land also praised the climate there:

This island has to boast of perhaps the most salubrious and congenial climate of any in the known world, for an European constitution; it has been ascertained by the thermometer to be similar to that of the south of France; the general temperature is about 60° of Fahrenheit, and the

extremes from 43° to 80°. The spring commences early in August, the summer in November, the autumn in March, and the winter in May; the winter, therefore, is not of more than three months duration, and the severest part only six weeks.[39]

Guides to New South Wales stressed similar points: the 'climate of surpassing salubrity', the dry atmosphere and 'the cool and grateful sea-breeze'.[40] It is not hard to imagine that the warmth of the Australian colonies would be an inducement to those who had been to Portugal and Spain during the Peninsular War. There, many had enjoyed a warm climate for the first time, and had rejoiced in missing one of England's coldest winters, that of 1810–11, when ice covered a part of the Thames, nearly blocking the arches of Westminster Bridge.[41]

Besides a salubrious climate, New South Wales had other attractions. One guide reminded readers that in the colony 'the laws, customs, the language and religion of your forefathers are in as full force as your native land'.[42] New South Wales also had many financial advantages: free grants of land, cheap labour and, as an added bonus, a settler and his family and servants were victualled at government expense for six months.[43] Among British settlers in general, and Peninsular War veterans in particular, there was a decided preference for British colonial ports. This Britishness was perhaps more appealing after the experience of other European cultures during the Peninsular War.

Apart from the good climate and Britishness, the major explanatory factor in the decision of Peninsular War veterans to settle in New South Wales was the military grant regulations of 1826. Some came directly to settle and others came as part of the garrison in New South Wales, and then sold out to obtain a grant of land. The British government particularly encouraged these men:

> His Majesty's Government having deemed it advisable to encourage Officers of the Army, and more especially those on Half Pay, to become Settlers in the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land by holding out to them, in consideration of their Services, advantages superior to those enjoyed by ordinary Settlers.[44]

The despatch went on to list the conditions of these grants, among which was that no free grant would be made to any officer under the rank of Captain. Much to the chagrin of those at whom they were aimed, these regulations were altered in 1831. From then on, everyone was expected to purchase his land, but, as a 'sweetener' for army officers, they were

offered a remission of the purchase money on a scale according to the length of their service: those who had served a minimum of 20 years were allowed £300, those who had served a minimum of seven years, £150. If an officer had served for less than seven years it was difficult to obtain land, but just possible, provided the written permission of the General Commander-in-Chief was obtained, either to go on half-pay or to retire for the purpose of settling in the colony.[45]

These same military grant regulations applied to Canada and the Cape of Good Hope. Some Peninsular War veterans did emigrate to Canada, among them Lieutenant Moodie, mentioned earlier. A group of Napoleonic War veterans settled around Lake Ontario, where, from the mid-1820s to the mid-1830s, they were granted nearly 65,000 acres of land in Upper Canada.[46] A perusal of the large 914-page *Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography* reveals some Peninsular War veterans, whose colonial careers mirror those of their Australian contemporaries, for example, Edward O'Brien (1799–1875), and his brother Lucien O'Brien (1796–1870). Edward went to Canada first in 1830, and became a Justice of the Peace, while Lucien followed a couple of years later, and became the Chief Military Surgeon at Toronto. Also listed were many British army officers who went to Canada with the British army in 1812 and stayed, a smattering of governors (as in New South Wales and the Cape Colony), lots of fur traders and a few French soldiers who had fought in the Napoleonic Wars on the French side. Whether Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, had an equivalent impact on Canada as they did on the Australian colonies awaits further study.

For several reasons, very few Peninsular War veterans settled in the Cape Colony. One reason was the failure of the 1820 Albany settlement. It had military objectives, designed to be of benefit to both Britain and the Cape Colony: the settlers were to be the first line of defence on closely settled land, wedged on 100-acre plots between the two cattle-grazing societies of the Boer and the Bantu.[47] Also, there were several notable differences between the Cape Colony and New South Wales: the Cape retained the Dutch legal and administrative systems, whereas those of New South Wales were firmly British; the population was more polyglot in the Cape, with diverse peoples of Dutch and African origin, whereas New South Wales had a population that was more British; and, while contemporaries described Sydney as a very English town, Cape Town's architecture was foreign, with buildings in the vernacular Cape Dutch style.[48]

Military grants were an explicit policy of the Colonial Office, dating from before the American Revolution, but carried on well into

the nineteenth century.[49] These grants had a long history in North America and experiments of this nature were made there after 1783 and again in 1814. It was thought that the planting of military colonies along exposed frontiers could be a useful defence measure,[50] as it was with the Albany settlement in the Cape colony. Consequently, military grants were given to former army officers and lower ranks along the St. Lawrence Valley, scene of the American attacks during the war of 1812.[51] This strategic factor in both the Canadian and Cape of Good Hope emigration schemes has been noted by well-known Australian historian Geoffrey Bolton.[52]

Apart from Canada and the Cape colony, no alternatives for emigration existed. This has been confirmed by my comparison of Peninsular War veterans in the Australian colonies with three other British groups who enlisted in expeditions to Spain and its South American colonies. Of these thousands of soldiers, there was only one British army officer, who was also a Peninsular War veteran. This surely emphasises the uniqueness of their experience in the Australian colonies.

Firstly, between 1816 and 1825, 7,000 British and Irish adventurers of all ranks sailed to Gran Colombia in South America to fight with the rebel forces of Simon Bolivar against Spanish colonial rule, and they were an essential part of the revolution that eventually gave South America its freedom. Today, what was known as Gran Colombia forms the republics of Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia.[53] Matthew Brown has written a superb account of the role of Simon Bolivar's foreign adventurers in the Spanish South American colonies and, in the process, discovered that fewer of the recruits were veterans of the Napoleonic Wars than previously reported. They were a different group of people altogether, and while a fruitful exchange of information between Brown and myself failed to uncover any Peninsular War veterans who went to Gran Colombia and later settled in the Australian colonies, a comparison between these two groups of men – Matthew Brown's 'adventurers' and my Peninsular War veterans – strengthens my argument about the type of British army officer who came to the Australian colonies, not least because South America did not suit their needs; they wanted to settle in a British colony.

Among the two groups of soldiers, there are more similarities than divergences, but it should be noted that while I focused entirely on British army officers, only 22 per cent of Brown's group were officers,[54] and most had no previous military experience. They were certainly the same age: in Brown's group most were born in the late 1790s, with the oldest born in 1764 and the youngest in 1808.[55] In my group of

Peninsular War veterans, the ages match almost exactly: most were also born in the late 1790s. Many of Brown's men married and stayed in South America too. As with Peninsular War veterans in the Australian colonies there were economic imperatives for these men to seek alternatives to Britain. Many emigrants to South America saw their military service as a means of obtaining free grants of land, alongside the honour and status derived from military service. But the greatest connection between Brown's work and my own is the focus on the cultural and social dimensions of our groups, and their social networks.

That there was a commercial imperative for recruitment of the expeditions seeking independence from Spain is clear, given the small network of men in London who remained directly interested in Gran Colombia before, during, and after the Wars of Independence. This group was joined by kinship, economic, political, and social ties, and had close personal links to those who led the expeditions.[56] Within Gran Colombia, networks of officers and merchants reached into political circles. Marriage networks, too, proved important in both places, with men in both places marrying the daughters of principal military figures and politicians. While the Australian colonies were part of the British Empire, Gran Colombia was also linked to Europe by its own networks of commerce, politics and migration. The main distinction between the two groups is that the Gran Colombian experience did not create bonds that survived into post-war life,[57] whereas the Peninsular War did.

The Grand Colombian expeditions were marketed to adventurers rather than military veterans[58] and only 1.28 per cent of adventurers became landowners in Gran Colombia post 1822.[59] This is in striking contrast to Peninsular War veterans in the Australian colonies, where approximately 44 per cent were landowners; full details can be found in Appendix II.

Secondly, I investigated the officers and soldiers who went to Spain with the International Brigade in 1823. From Australian sources, I have identified just one Peninsular War veteran who accompanied this expedition to Spain: William Light. Known as the father of Adelaide, he was born in Malaya in 1786, the illegitimate son of a Captain in the Royal Navy. This may have given rise to his heightened sense of adventure as, from my database of 135 British army officers, and their cohort, in the Australian colonies, Light's life was, by far, the most romantic and daring of them all. Light was educated in England, and joined the navy at 13. In 1804, he was interned in France but made an audacious escape and in 1805 was in India, for his sister's wedding, where he

accompanied his brother-in-law, Major Welsh of the Indian army, on various expeditions across southern India. Returning to England, he purchased a commission in a prestigious cavalry regiment[60] and took part in the Peninsular War, mapping and undertaking reconnaissance trips. Light is well known for a spectacular incident on 19 March 1814:

> Wellington was desirous to know whether a small or a large force thus barred his way, but all who endeavoured to ascertain the fact were stopped by the fire of the enemy. At last Captain William Light [who, incidentally, was as yet only a Lieutenant], distinguished by the variety of his attainments, an artist, musician, mechanist, seaman and soldier, made the trial. He rode forward as if he would force his way through the French skirmishers, but when in the wood dropt his reins and leaned back as if badly wounded; his horse appeared to canter wildly along the front of the enemy's light troops and they, thinking him mortally hurt, ceased their fire and took no further notice. He thus passed unobserved through the wood to the other side of the hill, where there was no skirmishers, and ascending to the open summit above put spurs to his horse and galloped along the French main line, counting their regiments as he passed. His sudden appearance, his blue undress, his daring confidence and speed, made the French doubt if he was an enemy, and a few shots only were discharged, while he, dashing down the opposite declivity, broke from the rear through to the very skirmishers whose fire he had first essayed in front. Reaching the spot where Lord Wellington stood, he told them there were but five battalions on the hill.[61]

The reasons for the British intervention in Spain with the International Brigade are many. By 1819, Spain was in desperate difficulties, with a battered economy and the rebellion in her South American colonies. In the summer of that year, an army of 22,000 men, on their way to America, revolted. The uprising spread throughout the rest of Spain, and the country began to slip into anarchy. The Congress of Verona, held in October 1822 by an alliance of Russia, Prussia, Austria and Britain, met to consider 'the Spanish question'. It was agreed to restore order in Spain, and they ordered Spain to change her constitution, but the Spanish Government refused. The French were ready to invade with 100,000 soldiers to restore stability and support King Ferdinand VII, the Spanish cousin of Louis XVIII, and they crossed the Pyrenees in April 1823.[62] British intervention was called for, although Wellington pointed out that Britain was in no state to embark on another Peninsular War.

Nonetheless an international force led by Sir Robert Wilson left Britain in April 1823 to assist the Spanish *liberales* in their struggles against King Ferdinand. It was, for all intents and purposes, a civil war in Spain. William Light, surely the most adventurous of the 'adventurers', could not resist joining the International Brigade and became aide-de-camp to Wilson.

Finally, there was the British Auxiliary Legion participation in the First Carlist Wars in Spain from 1835–38. The most recent work on this subject is *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War in Spain, 1835–38: A Forgotten Army* by E. Brett published in Ireland in 2005, regrettably with no footnotes. British troops were in Spain with the blessing and assistance of the British government, supporting the *cristinos*, the legitimate forces,[63] against the *carlists* (followers of Carlos, pretender to the Spanish throne, and uncle of the Queen). It was in the English interest to pursue the cause of the young Queen of Spain, as the continuation of the allegiance between Britain and Spain could not be guaranteed if Don Carlos became the monarch.

Of the 10,000 men of all ranks in the British Auxiliary Legion, there were 8448 infantry, 552 rifles, 700 cavalry and 300 artillery.[64] Given the virtual impossibility of identifying each officer, I have limited my search to those sources available in Australia. Of this group, there were three men who came to the Australian colonies: Sir Maurice Charles O'Connell (1812–1879), Edward Parke Jnr (1812–1885) and Charles James Herbert de Courcy St. Julian (1819–1874). The observant reader will notice that these three are a little older than those who participated in the Peninsular War and the Gran Colombian expeditions.

Sir Maurice O'Connell led a regiment of Irish volunteers in the Carlist Wars and rose to General of Brigade in the British Auxiliary Legion. He was born in Sydney where his father was Lieutenant-Governor, and entered the British army in 1828. When the legion was disbanded, O'Connell returned to England, but quickly returned to New South Wales as assistant military secretary to his father, who was to command the troops there. He held various government appointments, and was knighted in 1868.[65]

Edward Parke Junior also had military experience, as a Royal Marine, before enlisting with the British Auxiliary Legion. He was, however, court-martialled and cashiered in 1833, and that may explain his enlistment in the Spanish expedition, where he was commissioned as Captain in 1835 and Major in 1836, providing him again with an income and military rank.[66] Parke arrived in New South Wales in 1838, and is listed as a landholder in the New England area in 1848, on a run that adjoined

one of Maurice O'Connell's.[67] Parke probably came to New South Wales on the recommendation of O'Connell, as he was first superintendent of one of O'Connell's runs, before striking out on his own. Parke named his property *Hernani*, after an area in Spain near San Sebastian, where the British Auxiliary Legion had fought.

Charles St. Julian was altogether a different story. His father was a French army officer, and Charles joined a couple of expeditions before enlisting with the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain. He arrived in Adelaide in 1838 as an assisted immigrant, under an assumed name, and became a journalist in Sydney. Later, he was mayor of Waverley Council in Sydney for some years, and a magistrate, but never a landowner.[68]

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That there was a strategic factor in attracting British army officers to settle in New South Wales is evident. It was the colony farthest away from Britain, and one in which the French seemed to be expressing interest. The military grant regulations of October 1826 were preceded in March of that year by a despatch from the British government marked *private*, of which the second sentence reads as follows:

> The sailing of two French ships on a voyage of discovery have led to the consideration how far our distant possession in the Australian Seas may be prejudiced by any designs, which the French may entertain of establishing themselves in that quarter, and more especially on that part of the coast of New South Wales which has not as yet received any Colonists from this Country.[69]

The despatch pointed to the stretch of coastline from Melville Island in the north of the country to Western Port in the south, and gave instructions to Governor Darling to 'earnestly direct' his attention to the formation of a colony at Western Port (Albany in Western Australia), besides referring to the proposed establishment of a settlement at Shark's Bay, on the western side of the continent, in the same vein.[70] The decision of 1826 to establish new penal settlements at Melville Island, Western Port and Shark's Bay can thus be attributed to the fear of French incursion on what Britain considered to be its territory. Also in 1826, Captain James Stirling recommended the establishment of a naval and military station at the Swan River, as the troops and seamen stationed there could 'pour upon any surrounding country, either for the annoyance of an enemy's settlements, or the protection of our own'.[71]

In the same letter to Governor Darling, Stirling noted that Shark's Bay was unsuitable for a settlement, and the decision was made in favour of a settlement at the Swan River, now Perth.

In hindsight, if fears of French settlement seem unfounded, they were very real at the time. A military station was also founded in the same year at Five Islands in the Illawarra district of New South Wales, south of Sydney, and Peter Bishop, a Peninsular War veteran, was put in charge.[72] That land, reasonably close to Sydney, was unoccupied and thought of as defenceless, as the only track to Sydney was via a steep mountain pass. Governor Darling wrote to Major Lockyer, also a Peninsular War veteran, of his concerns that

> the French Discovery Ships, which are understood to have been pre-paring for these Seas, may possibly have in view the Establishment of a Settlement on some part of the Coast of this Territory, which has not yet been colonized by us.[73]

This was not the first time the British had expressed concern about pos-sible French settlement in the Australian colonies. In 1803, the British established a settlement at Risdon Cove on the River Derwent, in Van Diemen's Land, to prevent 'the French gaining a footing on the east side of these islands' as Governor King explained in a despatch to Nepean.[74] King also sent confidential instructions to Lieutenant Bowen, comman-dant of the proposed new settlement, in the event of any French ships attempting to form an establishment: 'You will inform the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's right to the whole of Van Diemen's Land.'[75]

For British purposes, New South Wales was also useful as a sort of head-quarters for the eastern part of the Empire, as it was closer than Britain to the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, India and Java. One consequence of the Napoleonic Wars was that the European and British imperial drive was directed to the east. Large tracts of South Asia were colonised, and new colonies were acquired from the Cape of Good Hope to Singapore.[76] It made sense to have a British base closer to these new colonies.

As well, there is certainly evidence also of a deliberate social and eco-nomic policy of planting ex-army and navy officers in distant British colonies. Brian Fitzpatrick commented that 'on the surface Government policy during the period from 1815 to 1825 seemed to aim at … turning New South Wales into the nineteenth century equivalent of a plantation colony, whereby large property owners would rely on convict labour'. He commented further that in 1828 at least one-third of the men who were specially recommended as settlers were officers of the army and navy.[77]

It appears that the Colonial Office had not only strategic considerations in mind, but also the type of free settler they wanted to encourage; and Peninsular War veterans and their ilk fitted the bill perfectly, as they had already proved their loyalty in war. Without doubt, these sentiments are reflected in the Report of the Select Committee on Emigration in 1827. That committee reported on the difference between *colonisation* and *emigration*, defining the difference as

> between planting colonists in a soil prepared to receive them, aided by a small portion of capital to enable them to take root and flourish, and the mere pouring out of an indefinite quantity of emigrants without capital.[78]

Not only were free land grants given to Peninsular War veterans and others until 1831; they were assigned cheap convict labour to work the land, at least until 1840 when transportation was halted. In the early golden years of the 1820s, convict labour was freely available. In a series of letters published in *The Australian* in 1828, 'Delta' wrote that convicts were an advantage in New South Wales, and not the reverse, as was commonly thought:

> They drive our ploughs, build our houses, reap our harvests, fell our trees, herd our cattle, shear our sheep and, for the most part, are the willing and obedient servants of the settlers.[79]

One of the many Peninsular War veterans who had assigned convicts to build his house was Major Archibald Innes, owner of Lake Innes house near Port Macquarie in northern New South Wales. Although theoretically it was impossible, it appears that Innes was able to hand-pick some of the labourers required to build his palatial dwelling at Lake Innes: his assigned servants included four brickmakers, a bricklayer/plasterer, a carpenter/joiner, a painter, a glazier, a slater and a well-sinker/pump-borer. This accords with Stephen Foster's argument that patronage and discretion played a part in the allocation of assigned servants during the rule of Governor Ralph Darling (1825–1831).[80] Archibald Innes married Margaret Macleay, the daughter of the Colonial Secretary. The Darlings and the Macleays had known each other before coming to New South Wales and once here, the families continued to socialise together. Thus, Major Innes had easy and direct communication with the Governor. Innes also had many other convicts assigned to him during his successful years: three grooms, two stablemen, a harnessmaker, a horsebreaker,

three dairymen, five ploughmen, two gardeners, a carter, two tailors, four shoemakers, three millers and six butchers.[81] The considerable extent of Innes' land grants is explained elsewhere; here it is sufficient to note it. These land grants, combined with the large amount of convict labour, represent substantial assistance from official sources. Graham Connah, in a recent article in *World Archaeology*, has noted that 'men like Innes saw themselves as part of a future Australian aristocracy, their privilege supported by the servitude of others'.[82]

The timing of the military grant regulations, 1826, coincided with a period of rapid economic expansion in New South Wales as settlers fanned out from Sydney searching for good pastoral land. The 1820s and 1830s also marked a transition in the status of New South Wales from a military and penal society to a free one and this altered status attracted a marked increase in free immigration. The same was happening in Van Diemen's Land and, in 1825, when it became independent from Sydney, good employment opportunities opened up in the nascent bureaucracy there. Unfortunately, there are only approximate figures on free immigration to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales during the 1820s, but what can be identified is the increase in the number of free settlers arriving. In the years from 1821 to 1825, the average number of free arrivals was 650 a year and this rose to 950 in the period from 1826 to 1830; these arrivals were more or less equally divided between New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.[83] The number of army officers has been noted as the most striking feature of immigration to New South Wales in the five years from 1826.[84] It was also during the 1820s that the economic prospects of these two colonies were recognised by capitalists in England: in 1824 the Australian Agricultural Company was floated in London, followed in 1825 by the Van Diemen's Land Company. These companies were promised what were by any standards, enormous grants of land: one million acres in New South Wales for the former and a half million acres for the latter.[85]

That New South Wales and the other Australian colonies were good places to make money was well known. On his appointment to New South Wales, Major Thomas Mitchell wrote to his brother that 'it is a famous country for getting rich'.[86] The foremost avenue to making money was, of course, land and sheep. The opportunity to possess large, free tracts of land could not fail to attract settlers, particularly ex-army and navy officers who were offered extra inducements. Most came to settle in the Australian colonies permanently, but some were merely birds of passage: they came to make their fortune and return to England to live in retirement. The military grant regulations required that a

settler was required to reside for only seven years, but was not allowed to sell the land until he had expended capital equal to half its value.[87] Some settled within the Limits of Location of New South Wales as prescribed by Governor Darling in 1829, but many others commenced a pastoral invasion of the continent and squatted on what was known as 'waste land', both within New South Wales and the Port Phillip district, later the colony of Victoria. Squatters stressed the heroic nature of their discoveries and the usefulness of redeeming 'waste lands'.[88] Major Thomas Mitchell, the first to pass through the Port Phillip district, was the precursor of many squatters who followed 'the Major's line' soon afterwards. The open plains of the Port Phillip district Mitchell named 'Australia Felix' were ideal for sheep, and the rush was on. During three months in 1838, W. A. Brodribb saw 100,000 sheep pass through his station at Gundagai in southern New South Wales and cross the Murrumbidgee River on their way to this new Eden.[89] Wool exports were booming and offered the lure of making one's fortune: in 1830, 1,967,309 lb of wool were exported from New South Wales and this leapt to 4,210,301 lb in 1835 and yet further to 12,959,671 lb in 1841.[90]

One extra advantage that Peninsular War veterans had as potential emigrants was that they were perhaps more willing to leave their homeland than those who had not travelled beyond the shores of England. They had experience of life abroad and had travelled to the Continent, although that was but a short voyage. The experience of fighting in the war had, for many, been full of expectation and adventure, and diaries and journals kept during those years reflect this. Edward Close's diary, for example, resembles more a description of a young man's grand tour of Europe, rather than of a war: it is replete with comments on Roman ruins and aqueducts. These men were young, impressionable and eager for life, and often away from their homeland for the first time. Having experienced a couple of short sea voyages was at least some preparation for the long one to New South Wales, and in fact, some Peninsular War veterans had made several sea voyages. Lieutenant-Colonel George Barney, for instance, later a settler in New South Wales and Queensland, made seven ocean crossings: from England to Gibraltar in 1810, back to England in 1812, to Jamaica the following year, back to Portsmouth in 1830, and then from England to Sydney in 1835.[91] Besides making other shorter journeys around the Australian colonies (for example, to Norfolk Island and to Port Curtis) Barney also travelled to England in 1844 and then back to Sydney in 1846. Veterans of the Peninsular War were probably more adventurous than other free settlers and had acquired a larger 'mental map' than their contemporaries.

When Peninsular War veterans returned from that campaign, the Britain they encountered was a profoundly altered place. The Napoleonic Wars had transformed not only Britain and its Empire, but the British army and those who fought in it. In particular, the Peninsular War had given some British army officers increased social mobility during the war itself, but not upon return to Britain. The vast majority of British army officers found themselves reduced to half-pay, and those who married and acquired children soon after their demobilisation were under even greater financial pressure. Emigration emerged as the only solution, as they could not exist in Britain. Peninsular War veterans and their ilk were a distinct group of emigrants to the Australian colonies: they were partly economic refugees like many others, and part of the capitalist growth of the 1820s in New South Wales, but they also had unique 'push' and 'pull' factors that contributed to their decision to emigrate and settle in the Australian colonies. Military grant regulations were introduced to attract Peninsular War veterans to other British colonies, such as Canada and the Cape of Good Hope, but it was to the Australian colonies and, in particular New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, that they were chiefly attracted. They were certainly not attracted to the Gran Colombian expedition. For veterans of the Peninsular War, the Australian colonies became a feasible destination at a crucial stage in their lives, and were part of the transformation of convict colonies to free ones. The British Government's general policy of planting ex-army and ex-navy officers in the colonies is evident, yet there were other reasons too. In fact, it was mutually beneficial for the British Government and Peninsular War veterans themselves to emigrate to the Australian colonies. The British government could reduce the large half-pay list, veterans could provide colonial law and order, and they were ideal respectable settlers in what had become a strategic location at a vast distance from Britain. Those veterans in poor health had even fewer options than most. For the veterans themselves, they were leaving a Britain with no economic or social opportunities, for a place where they would be given large grants of land, and the bonus of cheap convict labour to work that land. New South Wales was rapidly expanding and it had the reputation of a good place to make money. The descendants of these Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, should be unquestionably grateful to the British government for the incentives of the military grant regulations of 1826 that enabled their ancestors to become landowners and hence provided the status that goes with land ownership, something unattainable for them in Britain.

2
'they make Ancestry': Veterans as Officers and Gentlemen

Stewart Ryrie, who joined the Commissariat of the British army during the Peninsular War, came to New South Wales in 1825 with an appointment as Deputy Commissary General in Sydney. Ryrie brought with him the six children of his first marriage (to his cousin Anne Stewart) and his second wife, whom he had recently married. Isabella Ryrie was only a year or two older than her eldest stepchild, and she had another three children in quick succession in Sydney, making nine children in all. For Stewart Ryrie, these nine children produced 49 grandchildren. After only a few years in Sydney, Ryrie was granted land south of Sydney, at Braidwood, where his adult sons were also granted land, and where he built a house fit for a gentleman that he called Arnprior, after his second wife's birthplace in Scotland. This lovely thirteen-roomed stone house, near the banks of the Shoalhaven River, has a front door flanked on either side by half pillars and a carved thistle above the fanlight.[1] The house still stands, though no longer occupied by the family. Alexander Ryrie, one of Stewart's sons, purchased Micilago,[2] near Canberra, in 1859 and one branch of the Ryrie family remains there to this day. With the weight of numbers, the Ryrie family had a considerable impact in Australia, with the sons squatting on the Monaro and in the Port Phillip district (now the state of Victoria). William, Donald and James Ryrie were part of the burgeoning Melbourne social scene, and William (known as 'Fiery Ryrie') fought a duel there. In his listing of the social order of Port Phillip society before 1850, de Serville placed the three Ryrie sons in the second category; in other words, they were not 'gentlemen by birth', but were 'gentlemen in society'.[3] There was general anxiety about status in New South Wales, and most inhabitants were attempting to assert their social respectability. The Ryrie family was no exception with listings in Burke's *Colonial Gentry* and Mowle's

A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia. In both of these status conscious publications, the listings were self-selected. Yet in these publications, there is no reference to the antecedents of the first Stewart Ryrie. All that is known with certainty is that Stewart Ryrie was one of 12 sons, so the background of the family in Scotland remains a mystery. A recent publication on the life of General Sir Granville Ryrie (one of Stewart's grandsons) still contains the same scant family tree,[4] which is surprising given the recent boom in family history research. It appears that Ryrie consciously founded a new dynasty, to become part of the landed, or colonial, gentry in the Australian colonies. For the Ryrie family, then, and many other imperial adventurers who gambled on being able to make themselves anew, the motto of one genealogical work is pertinent:

> Ancestry makes not them,
> They make Ancestry.[5]

In this chapter, I investigate the social origins of some Peninsular War veterans who, like Stewart Ryrie, lived the life of a gentleman in the Australian colonies. Most of these men do not fit the standard image of a British army officer, and I have uncovered what may be unexpected backgrounds in the light of their later lives. The stereotype is an aristocratic man, wealthy enough to purchase his army commission, and that was largely the case in peace time. During the turbulent years of the Peninsular War, however, the system whereby one purchased an army commission was adapted to suit dire circumstances. In 1813, for instance, 300 new officers were required and 792 left the army.[6] The number of peers dropped dramatically during the Peninsular War: from 140 regimental officers who were either peers or the sons of peers in 1809, this figure dropped 20 per cent by war's end. Hence, there were simply not enough officers, and so commissions were given to men who would otherwise not have been so fortunate. Needless to say, an army commission gave the recipient a fairly spectacular career opportunity and, in addition, those who subsequently emigrated were given grants of land in the Australian colonies under favourable conditions because they were army officers. It is unlikely that these men would have obtained an army commission at any other time than during the Peninsular War and, for the most part, this was the type of British army officer who later came to New South Wales, and other Australian colonies, to settle. In effect, then, the Peninsular War gave such men a double opportunity.

As exemplars of the different sorts of men who obtained army commissions during that period, and of the different methods of acquisition of commissions, I discuss the backgrounds of five British army officers who fought in the various campaigns of the Peninsular War, and who later settled in New South Wales. Also examined is the background of a governor, General Sir Ralph Darling, as an example of someone who similarly obtained a commission without purchase, albeit earlier than the others, at the outbreak of war with France in 1793. Each one of these individuals obtained his British army commission without purchase by various methods: either as a gentleman volunteer, or by coming up from the ranks, or through patronage. As the demand for officers during the Peninsular War greatly exceeded supply, officers had to be drawn from a much wider social base. Yet, regardless of their backgrounds, these veterans thought of themselves as gentlemen, and they confirmed and demonstrated their gentlemanly status in the new British colony.

Of those who obtained an army commission without purchase, two of my exemplars are well-known names in colonial history: Ralph Darling of the 51st Regiment, later Governor of New South Wales from 1826 to 1831 and Thomas Mitchell of the 95th Regiment, later Surveyor General of New South Wales from 1828 until his death in 1855. The other five are not so well known: Lieutenant-Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass of the 52nd Regiment, Paymaster Terence Murray and Captain Francis Allman, both of the 48th Regiment, Major James Crummer of the 28th Regiment, and Major Archibald Innes of the 3rd Regiment who, though not a participant in the Peninsular War, was given an army commission in 1813 and was part of the same cohort. Men who were veterans of the Peninsular War became large landowners, as well as holding military and civil power in New South Wales. It was ownership of land that was the key to power in the Australian colonies, as it was in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain. Land was also the most visible and effective way of exhibiting wealth and status, as it gave influence in ways that other forms of property did not.

It is important to understand first what was customary for commissions in the British army – how they were obtained – and why that changed during the Peninsular War. The purchase system began in the seventeenth century and, at that time, those who ruled Britain were well aware of the political significance of armed forces, as the army was used in the service of despotism, both military and monarchical.[7] Thus, the social composition of the army officer corps was a matter of great concern, as was the matter of standing armies generally. The Mutiny Act, passed in 1689 and renewed annually thereafter, provided

the only sanction for the existence of a standing army in peacetime.[8] Consequently, the core of the British Empire was always sea power and trade, rather than army power. It was important, nonetheless, to have the right kind of men and the ideal army officers were 'men of high social position, holding large possessions and attached to the Protestant succession'.[9] It was thought that men drawn from the propertied class were unlikely to challenge the *status quo*, and that was certainly the norm both *before* and *after* the Peninsular War, when 90 per cent of British officers were drawn from the propertied or higher professional strata.[10]

One of the first historians of the English in the nineteenth century, Elie Halévy, has given us a colourful description of a typical English army officer:

> [T]he English officer was essentially an aristocrat, for whom camp life was but the continuation of the life on his country estate, to which he had been accustomed from infancy. War was a sport like any other, only rougher and more dangerous. When a young man scarcely sixteen years old bought an ensign's commission and joined a regiment, he found a non-commissioned officer, without prospect of promotion to a higher rank, ready to advise him and cover his inexperience. And in this old sergeant who inspired or interpreted his orders, the young officer would recognise the old servant who in days gone by on the family estate taught him to ride or shoot.[11]

British army officers, then, were gentlemen of property and that ideal was cemented by the linking of three strategies – nomination, purchase and pay. To begin with, the name of an aspirant to a military commission was placed on a list. Unless one could generate interest, however, one's name might linger indefinitely on that list. The Commander-in-Chief was in charge of the infantry and cavalry of the line, the Master-General of the Ordnance had the patronage for the artillery and engineers, and the Guards and Household Cavalry were under the control of the colonels of those regiments. Most aspirants, then, had to secure a nomination from the Commander-in-Chief. To purchase a commission was an expensive matter, with £400 the absolute minimum for an ensigncy or cornetcy in a less-favoured regiment, more in a prestigious regiment, and then one had to purchase each promotion at a minimum cost of £500. That this was a costly business is shown by the example of an infantry officer who, if he purchased each promotion up to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, would have had to pay out £7000; while an officer

in a prestigious cavalry regiment would have had to pay out £10,475.[12] On top of that, it was very difficult to live on an officer's pay.

The army was certainly not an ideal career path if one simply wanted to get rich. One also had to have some private means to pay for the uniform, a servant and mess bills. It has been estimated that, during the Peninsular War, an officer needed an annual allowance from his father of somewhere between £50 and £100.[13] The usual British army officer, then, was a gentleman of property who had a private income. A study of the social origins of British army officers concluded that the army officer corps[14] was a highly exclusive body and that army officering was markedly hereditary.[15] After purchasing a commission, it was also necessary to purchase each step up the ladder. These were often advertised:

> To be sold, a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, a Sub-Lieutenancy, two Lieutenancies of Cavalry, an eligible Cornetcy. Also some Ensigncies at Gibraltar, Canada, and the West Indies, and at Home.[16]

During the Napoleonic Wars, it was possible to rise rapidly through the ranks, simply because there were many opportunities for advancement. For instance, the Duke of Wellington's own rise was surely meteoric: from ensign to Lieutenant-Colonel in 6½ years, via five infantry and two cavalry regiments.[17] That was the theory of the purchase system for British army commissions and that is how it worked for almost 200 years until its abolition in 1870. However, the reality of the demands of the Peninsular War made for an anomaly. The military historian, Michael Glover, has undertaken an analysis of all army promotions and first appointments notified in *The London Gazette* for two periods during the Peninsular War, from September 1810 to August 1811, and from March 1812 to February 1813. This showed that in the overwhelming majority of cases, four out of five in fact, purchase played no part in appointments and promotions. It was seniority within the regiment that decided promotion.[18] In the two periods, Glover analysed 3941 new appointments, of which 1790 were first commissions as cornet, ensign or second lieutenant, and of these, only 19.5 per cent were by purchase.[19] The vast majority of commissions issued *without purchase* were to infantry of the line, and of those commissions that were purchased, most were in the Foot Guards and the Cavalry, both of which had social prestige and higher pay. In the less prestigious regiments, only 232 out of 1368 commissions were purchased.[20] My own work on the lives and backgrounds of Peninsular War veterans who came to the Australia colonies has confirmed Glover's

analysis that a great many British army commissions during the Peninsular War were not purchased.

Historians have largely ignored the class dimension of the large numbers of commissions without purchase distributed during the Peninsular War. One contemporary commented that 'it changed the whole order of society'.[21] This anomaly introduced a generation of men into the British army who previously would not have been able to obtain a commission. But just who was included in this new category of British army officer and what were the criteria for selection? By definition, they were gentlemen; but was a man made an officer because he was a gentleman or was he made a gentleman by becoming an officer?[22]

With the demands of war, extra battalions were raised in 1804, creating more than 2,000 new commissions, all of them without purchase.[23] The only necessary requirement at this time was an ability to read and write, and the Scots with a better education system than the rest of the British Isles, fitted the bill admirably; which may well explain the reasonably high percentage of Scots among Peninsular War veterans who came to the Australian colonies. This new cohort of officers did not benefit from the provision of education at the new military schools,[24] as it was not until after the Peninsular War that the influence of military schools became apparent.[25] Certainly, these new officers were educated and came from families who could afford the necessary annual allowance of between £50 and £100. For men commissioned from the ranks, and who had no such allowance, the Patriotic Fund[26] often stepped in to provide the initial sum of about £50 for uniform expenses.[27]

Kenneth Snodgrass was one young man who obtained a commission, without purchase, in the 90th Regiment in 1803. Snodgrass was born in Paisley, in Scotland, the son of a Presbyterian minister, and a well-connected mother, Janet Mackenzie.[28] Promotion followed quickly, through the 43rd Regiment and into the 52nd Regiment, again without purchase. He was promoted to Captain in 1808, and the following year took part in the retreat to Corunna. Snodgrass remained in the Peninsula, and led a company of 400 Portuguese soldiers to victory in the battle of Vittoria in June 1813. At the battle of Orthes, on the French side of the Pyrenees, in 1814 he received a severe head wound. He was then invalided home to Scotland.[29] Snodgrass returned to Portugal in 1815, as a full Major attached to the Portuguese army, and he remained there until 1822. Then he languished, like so many others, on half-pay until 1827, when he was appointed Major of Brigade to the British army in New South Wales: a position of honour, just below that of Governor. As part of his duties, Snodgrass was for a time in the charge of the

Mounted Police; this is discussed further in Chapter 8. Snodgrass played a prominent role in society, and was asked to lay the foundation stone of St. Andrew's Cathedral in Sydney in 1833. He was Acting Governor in Van Diemen's Land for some months after Governor Arthur had left the colony, and then returned to New South Wales where he was appointed Acting Governor until the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Sir George Gipps. Snodgrass then hoped for the position of commandant of the Port Phillip district, but that was given to La Trobe. Meanwhile, he had been granted land on the Williams River, in the Raymond Terrace area of New South Wales, and purchased more. There he built a fine house, which he named Eagleton, set on a knoll overlooking the river. A fine garden was attached to the house, and there were vineyards too. He resided there permanently from 1839, after the sale of his commission.[30]

One path to a commission without purchase was that of the 'gentleman volunteer'. An example of someone who gained a commission without purchase via this method is Sir Thomas Mitchell, the well-known explorer and surveyor in New South Wales. Mitchell wrote the following in 1801, as a nine year old:

> Thomas Mitchell is my name
> Scotland is my nation
> Grangemouth is my dwelling place
> A bonny habitation
> My father he is a shoremaster
> And he stays at Sea-Lock (another name for Grangemouth).[31]

Mitchell's father had charge of the canal, built in 1790 that linked the Firth of Forth with the Clyde River. Hence, Mitchell's own background was certainly not gentry, though he was connected to the gentry family of Livingston of Parkshall, in Stirling. That he did live there with his 'uncle' Thomas Livingston for at least two years is certain, but he was not 'brought up' there as he often claimed. Thomas Livingston of Parkshall was probably a half-brother of John Mitchell, Thomas's father. Throughout his life, Thomas Mitchell claimed he was heir to Parkshall, although on Thomas Livingston's death, a nephew was declared heir. After Thomas Mitchell's father died, the family was in greatly reduced circumstances and they lived on £10 a year paid by the owners of the Forth and Clyde Navigation Company.[32] Mitchell did, however, manage to obtain a very good education, compliments of Thomas Livingston, at the University of Edinburgh, where he was first enrolled at the age of thirteen.

Soon after completing his education, Mitchell wrote to General Sir David Dundas, Commander-in-Chief of the Army

> The Memorial of His Excellency humble servant Thomas Mitchell sheweth that your Memorialist, a native of Scotland, aged 19, is a son of respectable parentage, now Dead, and has received a liberal and classical education, qualifying him to fulfill the Duties of a Gentleman and a Soldier.
>
> That your Memorialist ardently desires to enter into the services of his Country in the Army, but has not the immediate means of purchasing a commission or other expectation of success other than through the well-known liberality of Your Excellency.[33]

Mitchell was accepted into the army as a *gentleman volunteer*, one who served in the ranks, and messed with the officers, until a vacancy became available. They carried on until death created a vacancy, and they were then appointed to an ensigncy. In fact, 'Volunteers' accounted for 4½ per cent of new officers.[34]

Mitchell was swiftly given a commission as 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Battalion, 95th Regiment in July 1811. Clad in distinctive dark green jackets and trousers, the men of the 95th Regiment, later the Rifle Brigade, were the scourge of the French and their regiment was the subject of many more histories than any other. Before long, Mitchell had a temporary transfer to the Quartermaster-General's Department as a military surveyor, working in forward positions, often alone. He moved between the Quartermaster-General's Department and the 95th Regiment, because he was fighting with the 95th at the battle of Salamanca in 1812, considered by some to be Wellington's most brilliant action: the defeat of 40,000 French in 40 minutes, with French casualties between 14,000 and 15,000 compared with Allied casualties of about 5000.[35] By 1814, Mitchell was with the Quartermaster-General's Department again and spent the next five years making sketches of the battlefields, under the auspices of Sir George Murray. Mitchell returned to England in 1819 and spent the next six years at Sandhurst, finishing his plans of the Peninsula battlefields. This was arduous and specialised work, and Mitchell sought a reward for his superior skill. With the reduction in the army after peace was declared, Mitchell realized there was very little prospect for promotion, and he sought a colonial appointment. Among the positions he was offered was that of Deputy Surveyor General of New South Wales and this he accepted. He arrived in Sydney in 1827, where he set out about proving that he was a gentleman.

As evidence of their status as gentlemen, some Peninsular War veterans set about building and furnishing fine houses or 'villas', as they were known, and Mitchell became an arbiter of taste by designing *Craigend* at Woolloomooloo. When it was advertised for sale in 1837 *Craigend* was described thus:

> All that splendid Roman Villa and spacious Pleasure Grounds on Wolloomooloo Hill called *Craigend* but entirely under the super-intendence and for the last ten years the residence of Thomas Livingston Mitchell, Esquire, Surveyor General of New South Wales, whose well known taste in Architecture and Landscape Gardening is only inferior to those rarer and higher qualifications which have already immortalized his name as one of the most intrepid and successful discoverers of the present age.

The advertisement continues:

> The scenery and views from Major Mitchell's grounds, as every one knows are grand beyond description, resembling another Naples. *Craigend* is remarkable as being perhaps the only Villa, among the rich specimens of architecture near Sydney, that may be said to be decid-edly adapted to the country and climate of New South Wales.[36]

As James Broadbent, the architectural historian of early colonial houses, has noted, *Craigend* was intended to be 'the superior house of a superior colonist of superior taste'.[37] Mitchell was a man to whom status and appearance were of the greatest importance and in New South Wales his achievements in that direction were impressive by any standards. Besides the position as Surveyor-General (with its large salary), his broad acres, his town house and country estate, his other brilliant achieve-ment, in his eyes, was his knighthood. Even though Mitchell did not inherit in Scotland as he might have wished, he became master of more land in New South Wales than that held by the House of Livingston. He named his country estate *Parkshall*, after the Livingston family estates in Scotland.

Sir Thomas Mitchell's *Craigend* on Woolloomooloo Hill was among the grants in that area given by Governor Ralph Darling. Mitchell was overjoyed at obtaining the grant, and wrote to his brother:

> I am about to build in the middle of a rocky piece of ground near Sydney containing about ten acres, which has been granted for this

purpose. This I can assure you is no joke, for land sells here sometimes as high as £125 an acre.[38]

Mitchell was fortunate: his grant of ten acres was one of the largest. To ensure that only gentlemen lived at Woolloomooloo, these grants had conditions attached to them: one was that within three years the grantee had to erect a building of a value not less than £1000;[39] another was to ensure that each house was isolated in its own grounds and not visible from the road.[40] Altogether, there were nine villas built at Woolloomooloo, four of them by veterans of the Peninsular War: Mitchell, Dr Douglass, James Laidley and Samuel Perry.

Another route to a British army commission without purchase was to rise from the ranks, and this was possible if a man had outstanding ability, or was given a reward for specific acts of gallantry. In Wellington's army 5.42 per cent had risen from the ranks.[41] One who obtained a commission from the ranks was Ralph Darling. In Darling's background, there is nothing to suggest that he would rise from the lowly rank of private in the British army to become a general, gain a knighthood and govern two British colonies, Mauritius and New South Wales. Darling was the son of a sergeant in the British army, and as a consequence, the life of his family was far from comfortable. For one thing, if a wife and family did manage to go abroad with the regiment (and that privilege was limited to six wives per 100 men, chosen by lot), there was no provision for married quarters. The whole of Darling senior's family went to the West Indies with the 45th Regiment, where both Ralph Darling and his brother, Henry, joined up as privates. By 1792, Darling was 20 years old and only a private, albeit one with substantial ability, industrious habits and ambition.[42] It was the outbreak of war with France that provided Darling with the opportunity for advancement in the army. Just one year later, in 1793, Ralph Darling obtained a commission without purchase, as did his brother Henry the following year. Their younger brother, William, was granted an ensigncy without purchase in 1801.[43]

Darling held various military positions in the West Indies: customs official in Grenada, adjutant to the 15th Regiment, and military secretary to Sir Ralph Abercromby and to his military successors, and finally to the headquarters staff. For a short time he was stationed in England, but then returned to the West Indies as military secretary to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Trigge, the new commander. The West Indies proved extremely lucrative for Darling, as in February 1800, or seven years after his first commission without purchase, he purchased a commission as Major in the 4th West Indian Regiment of Foot. The next

year he purchased a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the 69th regiment at a cost of £9000.[44] So Darling's star was very much on the rise: he had been promoted twice and purchased two commissions, thanks to the exigencies of war. Furthermore, during his period in the West Indies, Darling gained valuable experience, working with a succession of influential men and greatly widening his social networks. Darling fought in the Peninsular War, in command of the 51st Regiment, and took part in the retreat to Corunna, in Portugal.[45] The death of Sir John Moore there made this one of the better-known episodes in the Peninsula campaign, and the poem *The Burial of Sir John Moore at Corunna*, was taught to English schoolchildren.

General Darling was a stickler for etiquette, probably to prove himself a gentleman in New South Wales. In nineteenth-century Britain, etiquette was taken to mean the manners and rules of polite society and referred to certain sorts of behaviour, especially table manners, forms of address, hospitality, distinctions of rank and relations between the sexes. Where the social order was already established as in Britain, it was a matter of maintaining standards; but in a colonial society such as that of New South Wales, a new social order had to be created. As Elizabeth Windschuttle has pointed out, etiquette was used by the socially mobile to maintain standards.[46] Darling, of course, was not socially mobile in New South Wales: he was the Governor, the ultimate social as well as political authority; but he was a self-made man and, like many such men, more sensitive than most to the rules of etiquette. Etiquette was, after all, the public manifestation of gentility. Darling was also most particular on matters of uniform, and once upbraided a couple of Commissaries who went to Government House for dinner with their coats unbuttoned, in an attempt to keep cool in Sydney's hot and humid summer heat. A couple of days later, Darling issued an order to the effect that when officers of the Commissary Department went to Government House, they should be in full uniform with the coat buttoned and their swords by their sides.[47]

Darling's social standing came not by birth; it was created by his army promotions and by his marriage to Eliza Dumaresq, after which he forged yet more links with important relatives and influential friends. Along with his increased social standing, Darling developed expensive habits and a taste for high living, a way of life he continued when commandant of the island of Mauritius. In fact, Darling's brother in law, Colonel Henry Dumaresq, wrote that Darling's life in Mauritius 'is the best in the colony and his establishment altogether of the best order'.[48] Darling continued this lifestyle in New South Wales. Having reached

the pinnacle of his career, and with Government House as the centre of social activity in Sydney, Darling sought to protect himself and his family from wealthy ex-convicts and 'the vulgar and impertinent' by the use of etiquette.[49] Christiana Brooks, wife of another Peninsular War veteran, viewed Darling as 'a great stickler of all forms of Etiquette of which he is a perfect pattern in his own conduct'.[50] Another commentator on Sydney society in the 1820s, Amelia Forbes, wife of the Chief Justice, Francis Forbes, agreed that

> [s]ociety in Sydney at this time was composed almost entirely of the families of the Government officials, the military and naval officers and their wives and some few of the leading colonists. The prejudice against trade, from a social standpoint, was very pronounced and no one engaged in any kind of trade or business was admitted within the circle of the exclusive set.[51]

Obviously, one had to be very careful and one's conduct was constantly subject to scrutiny. A wealthy young free settler, Patrick Leslie, was moved to comment that the 'first people here are so very particular that you cannot get into their circle without first rate introductions and can only keep in it by first rate conduct'.[52] When the next governor arrived in the colony in 1831, some of the starch and polish disappeared, as Amelia Forbes noted: 'the entertainments at Government House were not nearly so stiff and formal as they had been in the time of Governor Darling'.[53]

Another method of obtaining an army commission without purchase was the notorious one of patronage. Despite the popular image of the British army as a sordid institution where rank was either bought or obtained by influence, actually influence played only a very small role in first appointments during the Peninsular War. With a well-known patron, it was always possible to obtain a commission in the British army, but Michael Glover has shown that, during the Peninsular War, the percentage of commissions and promotions given through patronage was not high and in, fact, influence had a smaller role than purchase. Of 1558 promotions during the two periods from September 1810 to August 1811 and from March 1812 to February 1813, only 115 were obtained by patronage.[54]

Terence Murray, one who obtained his commission through patronage, is less well known to Australian historians than are two of his children: his politician son Terence Aubrey Murray of Yarrowlumla, and his daughter, Anna Maria Bunn, author of *The Guardian*, the first novel published

in Australia. At first glance an unlikely candidate to be the recipient of patronage because he was a Catholic, Terence was one of the nine sons of Thomas Murray of County Limerick in Ireland. However, the Murray family were liberal Catholics, and able to move freely between the worlds of Protestantism and Catholicism.[55] Terence married well too, to Ellen Fitzgerald, who was acquainted with Mrs. Maria Fitzherbert, the Catholic and common law wife of the Prince of Wales, later King George IV, who used her influence to obtain army commissions for three Murray brothers,[56] including Terence.[57] Terence Murray's first appointment, a civilian one, as paymaster to a Brigade of Guards for three years from 1811, was also quite likely due to Mrs. Fitzherbert's influence.[58] His army commission as Paymaster to the 48th Regiment dates from 1815.[59] This latter appointment gave him the military rank of Captain. By then he was no longer a young man: he was 39, a widower with three small children, and his circumstances may have been the reason for the intervention of Mrs. Fitzherbert on his behalf.

Leaving his children in the care of his mother, Murray sailed for New South Wales with his regiment in 1817. He spent seven years there and then followed his regiment to India, the usual posting after New South Wales. When he left for India, the regulations for the encouragement of army officers to become settlers in New South Wales had not yet been promulgated. Murray served for only a year in India, before being invalided back to England. By then, the regulations to attract respectable settlers from the ranks of serving army and navy officers to New South Wales had become well known, and Murray sold his half pay for £1200[60] to provide capital. This more than satisfied the minimum capital requirement of £500 for settlement in the colony.[61] Murray returned to New South Wales with his family in 1827 and went to live at Erskine Park, rented from the widow of his former commanding officer, Colonel James Erskine.[62] As Erskine was a former Lieutenant Governor, a certain social status was attached to living at Erskine Park. During his first year in New South Wales, Murray was granted 2560 acres of land near Lake George.

Terence Murray did not build himself a villa to prove he was a gentleman, but he did have his portrait painted, which equally signified gentility. Colonial portrait painting was a continuation of the English country house tradition of covering the walls with paintings of one's ancestors; however, in the case of the Australian colonies the purpose was to confirm one's class and position.[63] Richard Read Junior, an artist with a large clientele drawn from what an Art Gallery of New South Wales publication has termed the '*nouveau riche*', painted Murray's portrait.[64]

Another to be granted a commission without purchase in the British army was Archibald Innes in 1812, at the tender age of 13. As the son of an Army Major, Innes had a different background from Darling, Mitchell and Murray. Soldiering was a hereditary occupation in the Innes family: besides Archibald himself, his father, two uncles and two brothers were in the British army. The other family members were all attached to the 94th Regiment, but Archibald Innes' commission was with the 3rd Regiment. Three members of the Innes family were killed during the Peninsular War, two at the battle of Salamanca and one at Badajos, and Archibald's commission may well have been given to the Innes family as some sort of recompense. Although the Innes's are a branch of the titled family of Innes of Balvenie,[65] they had no money until George Innes, an uncle of Archibald's, went to India and amassed a fortune trading in liquor. Archibald's father, James Innes, inherited his brother's estate and purchased Thrumster House in Caithness in 1812, and set about becoming a laird. As the sixth of nine sons, however, it was doubtful that Archibald would inherit.

It is uncertain if Archibald Innes actually fought in the Peninsular War, although his entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* credits him with service there. As well, Innes's name is not included in a list of officers who served in the Peninsula and does not appear in a list of officers who went to Canada in 1814 with his regiment.[66] However, he did serve with the occupation forces in France after Waterloo, then completed garrison duty in Ireland for some time and he was part of the cohort of men who were given army commissions during the Peninsular War years. By 1822, Innes was a Captain, and in charge of the guard on the convict ship *Eliza*, which arrived in Sydney in November of that year. Innes quickly gained vital appointments in New South Wales, firstly, as aide-de-camp to the Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, next as a magistrate, and then as officer in charge of the penal settlement at Port Macquarie.[67] On his return from Port Macquarie, Innes was appointed Superintendent of Police at Parramatta, where he married the daughter of the Colonial Secretary, Alexander Macleay. The Macleays and the Darlings (the Governor's family) were friends, so Innes was a young man mixing at the top level of Sydney society.

During his posting to the penal settlement at Port Macquarie, Archibald Innes was impressed with the area and, as soon as it was opened up to free settlement, he requested a grant of land. Innes' initial grant was the norm, 2560 acres (1037 hectares), and as well his wife received 1280 acres (518 hectares) as a marriage portion from Governor Darling.[68] The gods appear to have been smiling on Archibald Innes

during the 1830s: his real estate holdings grew to over 30,000 acres (12,175 hectares) and he also built a store. Privately owned stores in remote locations were important as they enabled convict gangs and their guards, who were working on roads, to be victualled locally, while settlers even further removed from Sydney than the store were supplied with food and clothing.[69] These stores were surprisingly lucrative for their owners.

Innes built a house that, by the early 1840s, had become one of the most impressive mansions outside Sydney, and he named it Lake Innes House. Did he set out to prove, with the colonial rural estate of Lake Innes, that he could be a laird like his father? To be sure, his status as a younger son had denied Archibald a landed estate in Scotland.[70] In any event, his attempts were impressive. Innes's niece remembered the house as having 22 apartments, a drawing room upholstered in yellow satin damask, a Veronese painting and a wonderful library.[71] This lavish and extravagant lifestyle at Lake Innes House did not last long, as Innes had been in debt for years and he lost even more in the depression of the 1840s; but when his niece visited in 1843 she still found a butler, two footmen, two maids, a Scots piper and two Spaniards in livery who looked after the carriages and stables.[72] As a younger son, Archibald Innes enjoyed the sort of status in the colony he could not have expected in Scotland. As Graham Connah has said in his study of Lake Innes House, the social ambitions of Major Archibald Innes 'clearly exceeded both his financial abilities and his common sense'.[73] Archibald and Margaret Innes had their portraits painted too, by Maurice Felton, one of the leading artists in the colony.[74]

Regardless of their social origins, these men and others like them, held military and civil power and acquired large landholdings that gave them something akin to aristocratic status. Both Mitchell and Innes were appointed magistrates, a position of high honour and recognition of their status in the community. The magistracy has been defined as 'an office that conferred considerable state-backed authority on economically powerful figures'.[75] These Peninsular War veterans were certainly that: they were, effectively, the aristocracy of the colony. They were the landed gentry in New South Wales and they and their offspring climbed the social ladder because of their position and landholdings, not because of their social origins.

The descendants of these veterans were well placed too, with many of them choosing careers in the army, in politics, and in the public service; in other words, they continued to be what their fathers and grandfathers had been: men of the British Empire. For several generations, the

extended Ryrie family distinguished themselves in public life. They included a Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales (William Stewart), one of the five senior commanders of the Australian Light Horse in World War I, Major-General Sir Granville Ryrie, a member of the both the lower and upper houses of the New South Wales Parliament from 1880 to 1909, the Hon. Alexander Ryrie, and the Dean of Veterinary Science at Sydney University in the 1920s, James Stewart.[76] Another of Stewart Ryrie's grandsons, Stanley, was an army man too.[77] Among the descendants of Terence Murray, his son, Terence Aubrey Murray, was a well-known politician, and his grandson, Sir Hubert Murray, fought in the Boer War and was then appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Papua.[78] Many others had sons in the army, among them Val Blomfields's son Thomas, John Mackenzie's son Hugh, while Thomas Shadforth had two sons, Henry and Thomas, in his old regiment, the 57th. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Shadforth was killed in the Crimean War.[79] Major Elrington had a son, Clement, in the army as well as five descendants who fought in World War I. Similarly, the descendants of Captain Edward Close of Maitland in New South Wales served in World War I: Thomas Close Smith, Donald Campbell, Major Cecil Campbell, Commander Henry Treherne R. N. and George Campbell.[80] All five of Commissary Boyes's sons had positions of note in the public service.

Peninsular War veterans surely benefited from a 25-year sequence of Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors, who were themselves veterans of those wars: Brisbane, Stewart, Darling, Lindsay, Bourke, Snodgrass and Gipps. Another opportunity to move up the social ladder was by marrying a woman with influential connections: Mitchell married a General's daughter, Darling married a Colonel's daughter, Innes married the daughter of the Colonial Secretary and, as noted, Murray married a friend of Mrs. Maria Fitzherbert.

These Peninsular War veterans all received grants of land, with Innes claiming top position with over 30,000 acres. Land, of course, was the key to power in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain. Not only did they obtain free grants of land in the Australian colonies, but they also had cheap convict labour to work the land. Great pastoral enterprises were the road to economic success, provided one was not overstretched, as was Innes. In fact, Peninsular War veterans could well be described as gentleman capitalists. Cain and Hopkins explain their concept of 'gentlemanly capitalism':

> The more an occupation or a source of income allowed for a life-
> style which was similar to that of the landed classes, the higher the

prestige it carried and the greater the power it conferred. Capitalists could become gentlemen if they derived incomes from agricultural or urban property.[81]

It is evident that grants of land given to Peninsular War veterans in the Australian colonies enabled them to become men of property and to live a life similar to that of the landed classes in Britain.

This tradition of power emanating from land ownership, exported from Britain to the Australian colonies, had to be supplemented: good connections were clung to, bad ones ignored and pedigrees invented. Thomas Mitchell clung to his good connection with the Livingston family; but a pedigree of his family, now in the Mitchell Library, is erroneous. As Don Baker has pointed out, the pedigree was quite likely prepared at Mitchell's request and was designed to 'inherit gentility'.[82] Likewise, Archibald Innes provided himself with a bogus coat of arms, which he displayed at his house at Port Macquarie. The motto, in Latin, translates as 'While I live I aspire to the highest'.[83] The ideas and ambitions of gentlemen such as Thomas Mitchell and Archibald Innes are clearly expressed in their preoccupation with genealogy and heraldry, a means of proving one is a gentleman and, moreover, a gentleman connected to the British landed gentry.

These men and their offspring, and others like them, were at the peak of the social pyramid in New South Wales. Then again, it was not only these men who made it to this level in New South Wales, a position not possible for them in their country of origin. Social climbing at the farthest edge of the Empire was rampant. A case in point is that Sir James Dowling, a man with no military connections: he was a barrister and solicitor. In 1827, when Dowling was 40 years old with a wife and six children, he decided to try his luck in one of the British colonies where he thought there may be more opportunities than in England.[84] He wrote to Viscount Goderich, Prime Minister at the time, and pressed his case, adding that he knew no one with influence who could speak on his behalf. After offering an appointment as Chief Justice of Dominica, which Dowling declined, Goderich mentioned another appointment, of that Puisne Judge of New South Wales. Dowling responded that as a family man he would prefer a more genial climate, such as that of New South Wales, even though that appointment was of a lesser rank. That must have done the trick, as Dowling was offered the New South Wales position.

Dowling did very well financially in New South Wales: received two grants of land, one of 2560 acres and one of seven acres at Wolloomooloo,

on which he built himself a villa, close to that of Sir Thomas Mitchell. About ten years after his arrival, Dowling was appointed Chief Justice and was knighted. Yet Dowling's social origins are not quite what one might expect: his entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* gives his father as Vincent Dowling of Queens' County, Ireland. A small hand-written note in the Dowling papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, reveals that Vincent Dowling's father, and Sir James's grandfather, was Vincenza Dolinghos, a Spaniard and a Catholic. During the Peninsular War and for a long period after, British people condemned the Spaniards as lazy and unreliable, in other words, they embodied the sorts of things the British were not. Not surprisingly, the Spanish grandfather does not appear in any biographical mention of the Dowling family. In a colonial situation, it was easier to re-make oneself.

Certainly, gentlemanly status in the new Australian colonies could be problematic. The historian Kirsten McKenzie, writing about a trial in 1835 to determine whether a man was a viscount or a convict imposter, describes New South Wales as a society 'where all were on the make'.[85] It was also a place to re-invent oneself successfully, and one example is Sir Charles Nicholson. Described by the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* as a statesman, landowner, businessman, connoisseur, scholar and phy-sician, recent research has discovered his doubtful origins: his real name was Isaac Ascough and he was the illegitimate son of a labourer's daugh-ter.[86] When he died in 1903, his secret was still safe and remained so for the next 100-odd years.

It is no wonder that many sought the opportunities for advance-ment that the colonies offered, particularly men retiring from the East Indian Company's service. Many came to New South Wales on leave and decided to settle, while others moved between New South Wales and India seemingly unable to make a decision on the most convivial place to reside.[87]

For the descendants of those Peninsular War veterans, and others, who had settled in the Australian colonies, a way to demonstrate their status in the Australian colonies was by means of an entry in Burke's *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Colonial Gentry*. Unlike Burke's *Landed Gentry* for which the ownership of land was the criterion for inclusion, the criterion for *Colonial Gentry* is not easy to determine. It is fair to assume that there was a fair amount of self-selection, as Burke noted in the preface that families had given him information 'freely and courteously' from 'their private papers, *traditions* and genealogies'[88] (my emphasis). David Cannadine believes that most of those included in Burke's *Colonial Gentry* were self-selected.[89] Geoffrey Bolton, on the

other hand, is more guarded, and notes that they were included because they were willing to be included.[90] *Colonial Gentry*, produced in two volumes between 1891 and 1895 and modelled on the British *Peerage* and *Landed Gentry*, was begun by Sir Bernard Burke and completed by his sons after his death. The aim was to 'preserve in a convenient and permanent manner the records of the leading families in the Colonies' and to show 'the close bonds of kinship that unite the sister Colonies to one another and to the Mother Country'.[91] This publication, much-maligned then and since, contained about 563 entries from all over the Empire, including 340 from Australia.[92] Among them were: Sir James George Lee Steere of Jeyes, Blackwood, Western Australia, whose ancestry could be traced 'without interruption since the conquest'; Fitzwilliam Wentworth of Vaucluse, Sydney, whose family 'is said by genealogists to have derived its designation in Saxon times'; and Richmond Beetham of Christchurch, Canterbury, New Zealand, who claimed descent from King Edward the Elder.[93] *Colonial Gentry* was condemned by an 1896 review in *The Genealogist*, a quarterly magazine, in which the author pointed out that more than two-thirds of the families in this publication were 'no gentlemen'.[94] Recent publications have also roundly condemned *Colonial Gentry* for the same reasons. In an article in *Push from the Bush*, John Spurway commented that the publication of *Colonial Gentry* 'must be seen as the result of a new imperial attitude, manifest in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which involved the fostering of native elites in various dominions'.[95] He goes on to draw a connection with the great Imperial Assemblage at Delhi in 1877, at which newly devised coats-of-arms were presented to Indian rulers. Both these coats-of-arms and entries in *Colonial Gentry* affirmed a sense of belonging to the British Empire. A trenchant critic of *Colonial Gentry*, Paul de Serville argued that at least two-thirds of the entrants in that publication were not even technically gentlemen and he criticised the genealogies as exiguous. Most of the genealogies do not go back more than three generations, and some do not even mention the subject's parents.[96]

This reckless genealogical tome, then, contains the entries of some Peninsular War veterans: Edward Close, the Dumaresq brothers, James Laidley, George Meredith, Stewart Ryrie and Thomas Walker. Of these, only the Dumaresq family can lay claim to any pedigree. The Close entry begins with Edward's father; the Laidley entry begins with James Laidley himself and notes that the family surname was originally Laidlaw but was changed; the Meredith entry begins with George's father; the Ryrie entry begins with Stewart Ryrie himself; and, lastly,

the Walker entry begins with Thomas Walker's father. This small sample accords with de Serville's criticism that many of the entries do not go beyond one generation.

There are three Commissariat officers listed in *Burke's Colonial Gentry*: Stewart Ryrie, James Laidley and Thomas Walker. This is most unusual according to Ward, who found only about 20 listings from a total of 410 commissaries in the Peninsular War. Ward argues that one could search *Burke's Colonial Gentry* or *Burke's Landed Gentry* 'almost in vain to find families owing to a commissary'.[97]

Some 50 years, and a couple of generations later, other similar publications appeared: Mowle's *A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia* and *Henderson's Australian Families: a Genealogical and Biographical Record*.[98] While not having the same reputation for recklessness as Burke's *Colonial Gentry*, Mowle's work did have the same aim and even used the same words:

> The utility of such a work, which would record in a permanent form the descendants of the earliest arrivals in Australia, seemed unquestionable, whilst it would also show *the close bonds of kinship* which exist between the families in Australia and those of *the Mother Country*.[99] (my emphasis)

This publication, concentrating mainly on New South Wales, was entirely self-selected with those seeking inclusion having to pay a fee.[100] It has listings for 14 Peninsular War veterans and their families: Antill, Blomfield, Close, Gibson, Lamb, Mackenzie, Maclean, Molle, Shadforth, Steel, Ryrie, Murray, Waldron and Walker. There was somewhat of an emphasis on former army officers, with about one-third in that category. As with the *Colonial Gentry* listings, the entries begin with the first man of that name to come to Australia, the pioneer. That there was a prestige attached to families who could trace their origins to a pioneer is evidenced by the publication of these books of reference.

Since people in the Australian colonies were part of a new society where not everyone knew each other, and where one needed to make enquiry about social backgrounds, a frequently asked question was 'Is he a Gentleman?'[101] This was especially true in colonies with an ex-convict element. The term 'gentleman' was a piece of reassuring social shorthand in Britain and, as a consequence, in the Australian colonies during the early nineteenth century. Governor Gipps, in a letter to La Trobe in 1841 referring to a magistrate from Parramatta who was now in the Port Phillip district, wrote 'I know nothing of his abilities, but [he] is a Gentleman,

which is always something'.[102] That a man was publicly labelled a gen-
tleman made him acceptable to his equals, and he could be placed in
society. Gipps, ever vigilant, wrote of a prospective civil servant 'of his
other qualities I know nothing – save that he is a Gentleman', and of
Count Strzelecki, 'a man of science, and certainly a gentleman'.[103] It was
therefore a useful question when dealing with men in search of office.
But what defined a gentleman, and was being a gentleman the same as
being part of the colonial gentry?

The colonial gentry has been defined thus by David Denholm:

> The colonial gentry were the people who dined first and most
> lavishly at the table of colonial opportunities, which enabled them
> to apportion more of the opportunities for their children and their
> children's children, enabled them to use their wealth to exercise
> economic and therefore political and social power, and encouraged
> them to consolidate their achievements by intermarriage and by
> friendship and business systems. The gentry were thus the people
> who turned themselves into an hereditary ruling elite.[104]

Peninsular War veterans fit neatly into this description of colonial
gentry; though, of course, descriptions and definitions can be fluid.

Many Peninsular War veterans confirmed and displayed their status
as gentlemen in New South Wales by various means. They, and their
sons, formed gentlemen's clubs: those masculine institutions, remi-
niscent of regimental life. In Sydney, the Beef Steak Club was the first
private club for gentlemen, founded in the mid-1830s.[105] Despite a brief
life, this club was a forerunner of sorts to the Australian Club, founded
in 1838. George Leslie described the latter club as

> a club formed by all the gentlemen in the country and each member
> is separately elected by ballot and if an objectionable person is pro-
> posed someone blackballs him and many a one is black-balled and
> consequently not admitted as a member. It is a large home fitted up
> like a hotel where members can get lodgings at a much cheaper rate
> than he can get any other where in town and is sure to meet nothing
> but gentlemen which is a very essential thing in this country where
> everyone sets himself up for a gentleman.[106]

The membership lists of both clubs are peppered with not only
Peninsular War veterans, but also many ex-Royal Navy men. Archibald
Innes was a member of the prestigious Australian Club, and he was

perhaps the most ambitious of them all. Darling's position as Governor and the leader of society left him with no need to join such a club; Murray died as it was being formed, but his two sons became members; and Mitchell was in England on leave at its inception. Among the more prominent members of the Australian Club was Dr James Mitchell, also a Peninsular War veteran. He was a trustee during the 1840s, as well as vice-president in 1855, 1857, 1859 and 1864.[107]

Yet not all Peninsular War veterans were wholly successful in the colonies, despite being given an army commission without purchase. Many suffered during the financial depression of the 1840s too, notably Captain Francis Allman, Major James Crummer and Major Edmund Lockyer. Allman was a son of the late John Allman, Esq. an Irish gentleman of some property, according to his obituary in *The Yass Courier*. Allman was given a commission as an ensign, without purchase, in the 2nd Foot in 1794. He served in Holland and Egypt, and joined the newly formed 2/48th as a lieutenant 1803. In the Peninsula from April 1809, Allman fought in the battles of Talavera, Busaco and Albuera, where he was severely wounded, and then taken prisoner by the French.[108] He spent the next five years as a prisoner of war at Verdun, in northern France. In 1818, he and his family arrived in Sydney as part of the garrison regiment, and he was soon appointed commandant of the new penal settlement at Port Macquarie. Allman decided to settle in New South Wales, instead of going to India with his regiment. Consequently, he sold his commission in 1829. Allman's grant of land was in the Hunter Valley, but he was not successful at all as a farmer and was forced to seek civil appointments as police magistrate. These positions kept him going financially until 1843, when he was obviously bankrupt and forced under government legislation to resign his appointment.[109] Fortunately, he still had a war pension of £100 a year, but it was a sorry end to his career.

Like Allman, Major James Crummer was born in Ireland and given a commission without purchase, in his case, as an ensign in the 28th Regiment in 1805. Crummer served at Copenhagen in 1807 and was present at fourteen actions in the Peninsula. He also took part in forming the squares at Quatre Bras and fought in the battle of Waterloo. Afterwards, he went to the Ionian Islands, where he was commandant of Calamos from 1822 to 1827. There, his role was the protection of Greek refugees during the war of independence against the Turks. He came to New South Wales in 1835 with his regiment to garrison the colony, and subsequently held the Commission of the Peace for 21 years.[110] His wounds, described in Chapter 1, hampered his life in

New South Wales. These wounds, combined with his increasing age, left him unable to fulfil his duties as police magistrate at Maitland, and he was appointed to Port Macquarie, probably because it was an easier post. He had a small farm at Newcastle, where he had also been police magistrate for a time, and he relied on the income from that farm to help support his large family. In 1846, however, he suffered a large loss over a sheep deal and complained, 'I am destined to be unfortunate in all my dealings in this Colony'.[111]

Major Edmund Lockyer, the son of a Plymouth merchant, was commissioned as an ensign, with purchase, in the 19th Regiment in 1803. At war's end, Lockyer went to Ireland, but was dissatisfied. His younger brother Henry, also in the army, had been in New South Wales with the Buffs, and sent news of the opportunities. Thus Lockyer exchanged into the 57th Regiment and arrived in Sydney in 1825. Just a few years later, he sold his commission and retired from the army to become a settler. His civil appointments included Principal Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, Police Magistrate and Superintendent of Police. Grants of land followed and these should have been fruitful; however, he was ruined by the economic collapse of the early 1840s and was insolvent by 1845.[112] Luckily, he was saved from absolute poverty with another government post.

Of those discussed in this chapter, several were younger sons, and thus ever vigilant for opportunities: for example, Edmund Lockyer was the third of seven sons, Francis Allman was the second of five sons, Terence Murray was the fifth of nine sons, Archibald Innes the sixth of nine sons and Stewart Ryrie one of twelve sons. A steady rate of population growth from the 1760s until the mid-1820s,[113] produced several generations of impoverished younger sons and their plight was a vexing problem for many British families. Spared the indignity of possible descent down the social scale were young men who were born in the late eighteenth century and thus of age during the Peninsular War, and who were fortunate enough to obtain an army commission without purchase.

It is evident that, for the Peninsular War, the British army's purchase system was adapted to suit changing circumstances to provide many army commissions without purchase. The sorts of men who were commissioned in these years were not the same class of men who were officers in the British army at any other period. In hindsight, surely one unintended consequence of the Peninsular War was the emigration to the Australian colonies of a distinctive class of British army officers. They became gentleman capitalists and led lives similar to the landed

class in Britain. These colonial gentlemen were given substantial grants of land and a convict labour force, they built large villas, had their portraits painted, frequented gentlemen's clubs, and were appointed to the high office of magistrate. Some of them appear in rash genealogical tomes, such as *Burke's Colonial Gentry*. Though they lacked any aristocratic origins, they often made up for that in their vigilant interpretation of hierarchies and status. Without doubt, these men were more than doubly fortunate: not only did they become army officers without having to pay the usual price, they also were granted land in New South Wales under favourable terms because of their army service, and they became the *quasi aristocracy* – the landed gentry – of New South Wales. But these Peninsular War veterans were also self-made men, some with self-made pedigrees and coats of arms.

3
'we are in sight of each other': The Social Networks of Veterans

In 1809, Edward Close and Val Blomfield were both commissioned into the 48th, or Northamptonshire, Regiment of the British army. Together, they saw action at five of the major battles of the Peninsular War: Busaco, Albuera, Vittoria, Orthes and Toulouse. Close was also present at the crossing of the Douro and at the battles of Talavera and Nivelle, and Blomfield at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz and Salamanca. Between them, they were in all of the major engagements of that decisive war, and both were awarded the Military General Service Medal: Blomfield with eight clasps and Close with seven. Both arrived in Sydney with the 48th Regiment in 1817, married within a year of each other, and sold their commissions. Captain Francis Allman, another of the 48th's men, joined them in New South Wales the following year. These three officers, all from the same regiment, decided to sell out and settle in New South Wales, with another officer of the 3rd Regiment (the Buffs) who had also been at Busaco, Albuera and those latter battles in the Pyrenees, Captain Samuel Wright. Deliberately they chose grants of land in the same place, the Hunter Valley. Blomfield wrote to his sister in 1829:

> I am now my own master and intend to keep so, and have very little to do with any person. I have a few intimate friends, two of which are my old brother officers, Close and Captain Allman. The former lives about seven miles from me and the latter two. We are in sight of each other, a large sheet of water, near two miles across, between us; I can see them with my glass almost as well as I were there.[1]

I use the concept of social networks to investigate the lives of Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, in the Australia colonies. Social networks are defined as

> a relevant series of linkages existing between individuals, which may form a basis for the mobilisation of people for specific purposes under specific conditions.[2]

The various patterns formed by social bonds will be examined to discover what connections there may be between those patterns and the behaviour of the people within those networks. Networks are communication mechanisms that can be used by their members to benefit themselves or others, and use of a network may involve the transmission of information, or of patronage, via personal connections. My concern is with the network of personal relations between individuals and how the social networks of individuals influence their actions. One of the pioneers of social network analysis, John Barnes, explained social networks in this way:

> Each person is, as it were, in touch with a number of other people, some of who[m] are directly in touch with each other and some of who[m] are not … I find it convenient to talk of a social field of this kind as a *network*. The image I have is of a set of points, some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other.[3]

A particular line of thought within social networks analysis is that personal social networks form a kind of resource that individuals can mobilise to achieve their goals, and to better their material conditions in life. Social networks then can be seen as a form of social capital.

Networks is a term much more used than it used to be. The first to document the powerful colonial networks was David Denholm who in *The Colonial Australians* (1980), showed that the largest marriage network in New South Wales in 1818 linked eleven families, with two separate lines leading back to England to the families of the two victors of the Battle of Trafalgar, Lord Nelson and Admiral Collingwood. Some 25 years later, Zoe Laidlaw recognised the networks of personal connections that were of critical importance to the Empire, and colonial governance, in the early nineteenth century. She has described the network of Peninsular War veterans, among others, in her work *Colonial*

Connections (2005).[4] She also stresses the existence of multiple connections between the same individuals, and the ability to belong to more than one network. Like Laidlaw, I have identified several categories of networks, although I place much more emphasis on the Peninsula network than she has, and the use the members made of it. The latest word on imperial networks, which connected people first and foremost, is the very good *Colonial Lives* (2006)[5] – a series of biographical portraits which illustrate networks in imperial history.

The social networks of Peninsular veterans had an impact on immigration to New South Wales, on settlement patterns, on marriage patterns and on the sometimes ambiguous relationship between government and private enterprise. These networks also had particular bearing on place naming, as well as on public and social life in the Australian colonies. The extraordinary influence of the Peninsular network will be highlighted in this chapter, and emphasis is placed on its usefulness throughout the whole British Empire, particularly between London, the Cape Colony and New South Wales and, to a lesser extent, Mauritius. These were men of diverse imperial experience. At the London end, the Peninsular influence within the Horse Guards was crucial to its operation. The experiences of Peninsular veterans within the Cape Colony and New South Wales will also be compared, to note their similarities; and reference is made particularly to veterans of the 95th Regiment, or Rifle Brigade, and the Commissariat. Also of particular note are the family networks surrounding the Dumaresq, Ryrie and Snodgrass families.

Though I use the term 'social network', Peninsular War veterans would have been unfamiliar with that term. They thought in terms of regimental comrades, connections, patronage, shared political views, or family obligations. When pondering the Peninsula network and its pervasiveness, it is important to recognise the uniqueness of life in a British army regiment. These regiments were, and probably still are, tight-knit social units and they became the officer's home, a sort of extended family. Residence overseas for lengthy periods, such as during the Peninsula campaign, only intensified the sense of belonging and the regiment became the embodiment of home. The friendships, loyalties, gratitude and respect forged under such difficult circumstances were life long. During the Peninsular War, there were still an enormous number of troops garrisoned around the British Empire: for instance, the Cape Colony (South Africa) had 6500 troops in 1810, more than Gibraltar or Malta, a reflection of the strategic significance of the recently seized colony.[6] Most infantry regiments spent more

than half their service overseas, and it was these lengthy periods that instilled a sense of belonging to the regiment in each soldier.[7] The first of the Peninsula regiments in the Australian colonies, the 48th Regiment, arrived in Sydney in 1817, stayed for seven years, and then sailed directly to India, always the next posting after Australia. The movements of the 40th Regiment were

1808–1814	Iberian Peninsula, Ireland, America
1815–1823	Waterloo, England and Ireland
1823–1825	New South Wales
1826–1829	Tasmania
1829–1846	India and Afghanistan[8]

The service of the 80th Regiment reflects similar overseas postings:

1807–1809	Seringapatam, India
1813–1817	Quilon, southern India
1817–1820	England and Scotland, Gibraltar
1822–1828	Malta
1828–1831	Ionian Islands
1831–1836	England, Ireland
1837–1844	New South Wales
1845	India, 1st Sikh war[9]

Within a regiment, veterans who experienced a campaign together grew closer, as did Close, Allman and Blomfield of the 48th Regiment. One veteran described his experience thus:

Because such friendships as those I speak of were not formed by interested motives, they were consequently the more sincere and lasting. They left also behind them the bones of forty thousand of their companions who had fallen, either by disease or by the sword, in the tremendous but glorious contest they had been all engaged in – a contest which decided more than the fate of the Peninsula, for the very *existence* of England was the stake played for, or rather fought for, in this terrible game.[10]

Consequently, veterans of the Peninsular War had special status, and in at least one regiment after that campaign, if a veteran private returning to Britain from the Peninsula saw that a soldier who was not a veteran was equipped with a better sword, he was able to protest, and the two men could exchange weapons.[11] To have served in the Peninsula campaign was a source of pride, and their regimental uniforms and symbols

reflected this. For an army officer, his uniform conveyed not only authority but also his rank, which was clearly defined. In every sense, writes Colley, these men were 'dressed to kill',[12] and that set them apart from the rest of the population.

In London, the Peninsular network extended well into the corridors of power, and it had many links in the colonies. At the Horse Guards, the administrative wing of the British army, almost every important individual was a Peninsular veteran, and this continued until the Crimean war. Thus the Horse Guards exercised considerable influence over the colonies: it was they who decided where troops were stationed, who was favoured for governorships, and who was not. The Peninsular network revolved around Wellington, the most influential figure of all: sometime commander-in-chief of the British army and, more importantly, prime minister. As well, the Master General of the Ordnance had considerable influence in both military and political affairs, and this position was held at various times by Wellington, Sir Hussey Vivian, Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir James Kempt, again all Peninsular War veterans.[13] To be personally known to Wellington, or to have had some sort of contact with him in Spain or Portugal, was advantageous. Wellington was involved in the appointment of people in different parts of the empire: Harry Smith as governor at the Cape, D'Urban to command the forces in Canada, W. G. Broughton as the first Anglican bishop of Australia.[14] Sir Thomas Brisbane was appointed governor of New South Wales on the advice of Wellington, under whom he had served during the Peninsular War.[15] As his aide-de-camp in New South Wales, Brisbane brought with him John Ovens, of the 73rd Regiment; Ovens had occupied the same position during the Peninsular War.[16] Conversely, not to be a Peninsula veteran, or known personally to Wellington, was a decided disadvantage. For instance, Lieutenant-General John Wood, who hoped for the post of governor of New South Wales, felt that the reason he was overlooked for this position was his Mediterranean service during the Peninsular War.

The influence of the Peninsular network can be glimpsed in many colonial careers, and the career of Ralph Darling is one. Darling, later Governor of New South Wales, was frustrated after the declaration of peace in 1815 and ever anxious for an appointment. He approached Wellington directly, and was told there was no vacancy and 'that if he wished to be considered when one arose, he should apply to the Duke of York, because Wellington did not know him personally'.[17] Nonetheless Darling had an established reputation at the Horse Guards and could rely on several influential men: The Duke of York, for one. The Duke was a close friend of Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, a good man to know if one

sought a colonial appointment. Others in Darling's network were Sir John Macdonald, the Adjutant-General, and General Francis Slater Rebow.[18] One effect of the Peninsular network was the formation of the United Service Club in London: Darling was one of a select group of officers who met in May 1815 to establish a club for army officers. Among its members was the Duke of Wellington, as well as other famous military men.[19]

The Peninsular network and its influence has been commented on by historians of the Cape, though only Laidlaw has seen the same significance for the Australian colonies. Noël Mostert, in his superb work, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People*, devotes only a couple of pages, in over 1200, to the benefits derived in the Peninsula by both Harry Smith and Sir Benjamin D'Urban. Henry George Wakelyn Smith, later Sir Harry Smith, governor of the Cape Colony, was gazetted an ensign in the 95th Regiment, or Rifle Brigade, in 1805; incidentally, this was also the regiment of Sir Thomas Mitchell (later of New South Wales) and of John Molloy (later of the Swan River colony). Smith's time in Spain and Portugal was tough: he just survived the siege of Badajoz, one of the strategic cities located in Spain on the border of Portugal, with the pockets of his uniform filled with stone chips from the famous siege of that town. But he also became something of a hero with his adventures: he married a young Spanish girl at Badajoz, and this tale was re-told in Georgette Heyer's novel, *The Spanish Bride*. Smith's first appointment at the Cape, as Deputy Quartermaster General, came through the Duke of Wellington and, when he arrived in 1828, he found Sir Lowry Cole and Francis Wade, both known to him from the Peninsula, who gave him an hospitable welcome. Second-in-command of the British military forces, he was given full civil and military powers and, when news of the Xhosa invasion reached Cape Town, Smith galloped away on his epic six-day, 600-mile ride to Grahamstown. Following the battle of Aliwal in India, Smith was dubbed 'the hero of Aliwal' and had a triumphant return to his homeland, where he met Queen Victoria and attended a dinner for a hundred Peninsula veterans of the Light Division. *The Times* described them as 'survivors of the most renowned division of the most famous army of England's most famous war'.[20] In his history of the Cape, Mostert describes Smith as 'one of the most extraordinary personalities of all, dashing, vain, self-glorifying, reckless, somewhat mad'.[21] This sketch may well describe Smith's character, but its defects did not seem to hamper his career. Smith's appointments reflect the imperial dimension of the lives of these men: after the Iberian Peninsula, Smith was in Washington in 1814, New Orleans in 1814/5, Waterloo in 1815, France from 1815 to 1818, Glasgow from 1819 to 1825, Nova Scotia in 1826, Jamaica in 1827,

Cape of Good Hope from 1828 until 1840, India from 1840 until 1845, the Cape of Good Hope again from 1847 until 1852, and lastly, on the Home Staff in England from 1853 until 1859.[22] Smith's life after 1815 was one of those well nurtured by the Peninsular network.

Among others who took advantage of the Peninsular network were Sir Thomas Mitchell and John Molloy. As he planned the new town of Wagga Wagga in New South Wales, Mitchell named the streets for his comrades in the 95th: Fitzmaurice, Beckwith, Kincaid, Simmons, Shaw, Mackinnon, Gurwood and others. In a letter to his brother, he wrote of 'the band of brothers who received me with open arms when but a Volunteer'.[23] As explained in Chapter 2, Mitchell joined the army as a volunteer in Spain, and it was here that he made his contacts. As with Darling, he had neither the family connections nor private means to secure promotion. After his arrival in New South Wales, Mitchell was to use the Peninsular network many times, and he personally knew many of the civil officials in the colony. Mitchell was also for a time with the Quartermaster General's Department, where he and Governor Bourke (Governor of New South Wales 1831–1837) knew each other, and, when Bourke went on his maiden tour of inspection to the Argyle district in 1832, Mitchell accompanied him. Mitchell also knew William Light very well. In a letter to Sir George Murray in London, he wrote of 'Light, the Surveyor General of South Australia, who as an officer attached to Lord Combermere, joined me on the Esla and accompanied me when reconnoitering [*sic*] that river before the commencement of the campaign of 1813; we met afterwards at Bordeaux.'[24] On the other side of the world, Mitchell and Light held the same position in neighbouring colonies. Mitchell, a prodigious letter writer, wrote continually to those he knew had influence. Some 35 years after they had served together in that 'band of brothers', the 95th Rifles, Mitchell wrote to his old comrade from that regiment, Major-General Sir Dudley Hill, and asked him to keep an eye on his son. Young Campbell Mitchell was off to join his regiment in Bengal, of which Hill was the commanding officer.[25]

Because of its unique nature as a rifle brigade, the 95th Regiment had a stronger and more long-lasting network than other regiments. Most kept in touch during their lives either directly or indirectly, as this letter discloses:

> Riflemen still remain to dine together sometimes … John Bell cultivates dahlias at Staines, Will Napier misgoverns the Guernseymen, Johnny Kincaid regulates the secrets of a prison-house, Jonathan Leach writes histories.[26]

One former 95th officer, Captain John Molloy, 'handsome Jack' to his friends, first met Harry Smith after the battle of Talavera in Spain in 1809, and they remained close friends and correspondents throughout their lives. Smith later went to America where, at New Orleans, the Americans routed the British forces. The captain of the *HMS Brazen*, sent to pick up survivors, was Captain James Stirling, later of the Swan River colony (Western Australia). It was Harry Smith who recommended Stirling to John Molloy, and hence was pivotal in Molloy's decision to emigrate to the Swan River colony.[27] When Molloy sailed to the Swan River colony in 1829, the *Warrior* stayed at Cape Town for a week or so, and Molloy was able to visit some of his former comrades from the Rifle Brigade, all of whom held high office: General Sir Lowry Cole, Governor; Colonel John Bell, the Colonial Secretary; and his old friend Harry Smith, who was Quartermaster General there. Molloy and Smith went out hunting together as they had done in the Peninsula.[28] Later on, when living in Western Australia, Molloy was to take great delight in reading of the explorations of that other 95th man, Major Thomas Mitchell, in his *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*. Georgiana Molloy, his wife, wrote:

> Captain Molloy is much pleased with many parts of Australia and has long wished to read Major Mitchell's work. He is an old brother officer of Molloy's, and from all accounts is a most zealous and indefatigable person, an excellent draftsman, and on the Peninsula would be absent for weeks together among the hills with his 'sketch book' without a companion.[29]

Molloy also enjoyed reading the published reminiscences of his two fellow officers of the 95th, Jonathan Leach and John Kincaid.[30]

William Light, who acquired a commission in the 4th Dragoons in 1808, and who was later Surveyor-General of South Australia, was another Peninsular War veteran willing to exploit the Peninsular network. Writing to one of the Colonisation Commissioners for South Australia in 1839, he wrote that he personally knew Wellington himself, as well as the Duke of Richmond, Lord Hill, Lord Lynedoch, Lord Combermere, Lord Greenoch, Lord Edward Somerset, Sir Thomas Bradford, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Sir Charles Dalbiac, Sir Willoughby Gordon, Sir Charles Dickson, Sir Charles and Sir George Napier, and many others.[31]

Among the 15 or so officers of the Commissariat who were appointed to New South Wales, there is also evidence of the influence of the

Peninsular network. A full list of their names is provided in Chapter 5. As all except William Lithgow had served in the Peninsular War, the influence of the Horse Guards is again apparent. William Lithgow and G. W. T. B. Boyes were auditors for their respective colonies of Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales for more than a quarter of a century.[32] Often, Commissaries were just as much involved in the battles of the war, and their aftermath, as were other officers. Boyes, for instance, rode into Ciudad Rodrigo and witnessed the atrocities committed by the British soldiers after they had successfully laid siege to the city. There was an unwritten privilege to plunder and drink dry a stormed city; but, by all accounts, the behaviour of the lower-ranked men here was worse than anywhere else during the Peninsular War. Wellington himself was outraged. Commissaries often accompanied the army on marches, and Boyes did so on the army's advance of 1813 in northern Spain, and was present at the battle of Vittoria. Yet occasionally there were some pleasant alternatives: those working in one improvised Commissary office in Spain often laid down their pens after one o'clock and walked to an hotel where, with the shutters closed, 'the cement floor was sprinkled with water and gorgeous bunches of flowers placed all about' to cool the room, they would take off their clothes and lie on sofas and read novels.[33]

When in New South Wales and later Van Diemen's Land, almost the entire social circle of Commissary George Boyes was the Peninsular network. In a letter to his wife in 1824, Boyes described one dinner party:

> I dined with Wemyss on Saturday – the party consisted of Mr. Lithgow, Major Bates of the Royal Artillery, just arrived from the Mauritius, Mr. Savage, a merchant, Lieutenant [Edward] Dumaresq of the East India Service, Doctor [James] Mitchell, Mr. D. A. C. G. Howard, Radford.[34]

Of this group, only two were not part of the Peninsular networks. Wemyss, Lithgow, Howard and Radford were commissaries, Dumaresq was a brother-in-law of Governor Darling in New South Wales and Dr Mitchell was also a veteran of that war.

As well, in New South Wales, there were William Lukin, the 'inimitable Lukin' of his letters, William Cordeaux, John Clements and Juan D'Arrieta. Bushrangers attacked Clements on Christmas Day in 1826 as he set out to visit William Cordeaux, and wounded him to such a degree that he could not continue his career. Boyes not only dined with, but also paid lengthy visits to members of the Peninsular network: to

D'Arrieta[35] on his estate, Morton Park, near Sydney, for a visit of 47 days;[36] and to Major Morisset, another Peninsular veteran, at Bathurst, when Morisset was commander there. In Van Diemen's Land from late 1826, Boyes continued to socialise with his Peninsula colleagues, notably Affleck Moodie, who married Elizabeth, a daughter of Stewart Ryrie. Boyes knew Stewart Ryrie well and, in fact, had succeeded him in a position in Sir Robert Kennedy's office in the Peninsula.[37]

The social networks of Stewart Ryrie, forged during his service in the Peninsular War and used in his subsequent life in New South Wales, may well be those of the archetypal Peninsular War veteran. Ryrie, who was born in Caithness, in northern Scotland, in 1777, was first appointed as a Deputy Assistant Commissary General. In Chapter 5, I emphasise the efficiency of the Commissariat during the Peninsular War and hence, the efficiency with which most of them carried out their duties. For the ten years between the completion of the war and his appointment to Sydney, Ryrie may well have been on the half-pay list together with many of his comrades. For the next five years, until 1830, Ryrie served in the Commissariat in Sydney and then commuted his army pension into land. By this time, he and Isabella had added another three children to the Ryrie clan, making altogether seven sons and two daughters. Another member of the Peninsular network was in Sydney at the same time, William Stewart, brother of Ryrie's first wife, and his children's uncle. Stewart, another Scot, arrived some months before the Ryries in command of the 3rd Regiment and was there at the dock to welcome the family as the *Triton* arrived. William Stewart was the senior military officer in the colony and, as such, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor for the hiatus between Governors Brisbane and Darling, a period of eighteen days in December 1825. Commissary George Boyes also knew William Stewart well and dined with him in both Sydney and Hobart.

By 1828, three Ryries: William, Donald and Stewart Jnr., resided on a grant of 2560 acres to their father near Braidwood, in southern New South Wales. These young men had a workforce of eleven convicts, over 550 cattle and over 1000 sheep. On a nearby grant called Durran Durra another Ryrie, James, was in residence, with 75 cattle and 540 sheep.[38] In 1830, Stewart and Isabella Ryrie, with the younger children, came to live at Arnprior and built a fine stone house. Located strategically on the main road from Sydney to Braidwood via Bungonia and quite near the Shoalhaven River, Arnprior became a centre of hospitality.

The Ryrie family also had large properties in the Monaro district of New South Wales, and a list of squatting runs there for the late 1840s

shows Wallace and Ryrie[39] leasing Coolringdon and Island Lake runs, and Stewart Ryrie Junior leasing Jindabine and Cootalandra runs.[40] Financially, the Ryrie family was progressing quickly, as just seventeen years later they held over 92,000 acres on the Monaro, making them the largest group of leaseholders.[41] In another instance of the mobilisation of the Peninsular network, the younger generation of Ryries intermarried with the younger generation of other early Monaro leaseholders who were also Peninsular War veterans: the Blomfields and the Mackenzies; and this proved fundamental to their financial success. Indeed, many of the early leaseholders on the Monaro were either Peninsular veterans or their offspring.

Both the Snodgrass and Dumaresq family networks provide rather good examples of the link between the Peninsular network and familial social networks. When Lieutenant-Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass arrived in the colony of New South Wales to take up his appointment as Major of Brigade, he brought with him his wife and five children; another child was born in Sydney. That same year, Snodgrass's brother-in-law, Major Benjamin Sullivan, arrived to settle in New South Wales with his wife and four children. A few years later, Snodgrass's mother and sister arrived to create a family network of sixteen people.[42] Snodgrass, while acting governor of New South Wales, gave all his sons government appointments: John as his private secretary, Peter as Commissioner for Crown Lands for the district of Port Phillip, and young William as a clerk in the Surveyor-General's office. Snodgrass's brother-in-law, Major Sullivan, was also appointed as a police magistrate.[43]

An examination of the Dumaresq family network is not only illustrative of the Peninsular network, but also of what some contemporaries saw as the power base of the colony of New South Wales during the 1820s: the close-knit social network of Governor Ralph Darling and his two Dumaresq brothers-in-law. Certainly, E. S. Hall, editor of the *Monitor*, roundly criticised Darling for nepotism. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary in 1828, Hall drew attention to those 'persons selected for special favour' by Darling, and named his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant de la Condamine, his three brothers-in-law, Colonel and Captains Dumaresq, his nephew, Ensign Darling and the family surgeon, Dr Andrew Gibson. Presbyterian minister, J. D. Lang, also commented on the powers of Lieutenant de la Condamine, and likened them to that of a minister of state.[44] Hall was concerned with the expense of this favouritism, and indicated the salaries and allowances paid to each, as well as referring to grants of land to these people. Hall may have had a point, as some of the salaries, particularly those of the Dumaresqs, appear unusually

large: Colonel Henry Dumaresq's army pay in charge of the Royal Veterans, his salary as secretary to Darling, and salary as clerk to the Councils, plus allowances, amounted to £2000 per annum; Captain William Dumaresq's army pay as Captain of the Staff Corps, salary as civil engineer, salary as sometime aide-de-camp, and salary as member of the Land Board, amounted to £1700 per annum; Lieutenant de la Condamine, who was until 'very lately a modest unambitious ensign', had a salary as Military Secretary, salary as Clerk to the Council, salary as private civil secretary to Darling, salary as sometime aide-de-camp, and allowances, amounted to £1975 per annum; Ensign C. H. Darling's army pay, plus his salary as sometime aid-de-camp, and allowances, amounted to £460 per annum; and Dr Andrew Gibson's pay as Assistant Surgeon of the New South Wales Royal Veterans Companies, and his salary as Assistant Surgeon on the civil establishment, plus allowances, amounted to £444 per annum.[45] Hall was particularly bitter about Gibson, who he thought should be in Newcastle where the veterans were doing garrison duty, rather than in Sydney in private practice as a surgeon.

The Dumaresq family network exemplifies many things, among them how the Peninsular network influenced settlement patterns in New South Wales. Captain William Dumaresq was the first of the family to establish himself in the New England region of New South Wales in 1835, with the property *Tilbuster*. His brother, Colonel Henry Dumaresq, began farming *Saumarez* the next year. The latter property became the more significant, with the mounted police stationed there almost immediately and then, later on, the Commissioner of Crown Lands made his camp nearby. With the position of government engineer, William Dumaresq was closely associated with making official policy on the siting and planning of rural towns, as discussed in Chapter 6. In about 1838, Dumaresq established a village at *St. Aubins*, his other property near Scone, and as it was in a strategic location, on the main road north, it flourished.[46] The two Dumaresqs were the brothers-in-law of Governor Ralph Darling, who had married their sister, Eliza. A brother-in-law of William Dumaresq, Archibald Innes (married to Margaret Macleay, sister of Susan Dumaresq) had spectacular success in the creation of the town of Port Macquarie in New South Wales. Innes was largely responsible for transforming it from a penal settlement into a flourishing town. In the late 1830s Innes purchased stations in the New England area, but they could only be supplied by means of a road passing through Walcha and linking Port Macquarie with the road through Armidale. Such a road was quickly surveyed and built, and Innes established a store on land owned by William Dumaresq, and that land later became the town of Armidale.[47] These stores were

crucial to early supply and communications networks. Atkinson suggests that Innes foresaw the development of Armidale as a large rural town with the establishment of his store, and soon afterwards a couple of inns, and argues that, as both Innes and Dumaresq were so closely connected with the government, through the Darlings and the Macleays, 'even when they were making money for themselves they were also acting as officials'.[48]

There are a number of other examples of Peninsular network influence on settlement patterns within New South Wales. The first is the experience of three officers of the 48th Regiment, Allman, Close and Blomfield, recorded in the vignette at the beginning of this chapter. All three settled within sight of each other in the Hunter Valley of New South Wales. Also in the Hunter Valley, near Paterson, was the network surrounding the Ward and Phillips families. William Gordon Ward who was, according to family legend, of the First Regiment of Dragoons, arrived with his family in Sydney in January 1820 with an order for a grant. However, further research has proved that he was not in that regiment, and most likely to have been in the Commissariat. While in Portugal during the Peninsular War, he had married at Oporto, and one daughter was born at Cintra. Very soon after they arrived in the colony, his wife Susannah wrote to Governor Macquarie to point out that, as her husband was very ill and affording no support, the family was in a desperate situation, and she sought a land grant. This she received, and it was named Cintra. Ward died a couple of months later, and Macquarie appointed Susannah Ward supervisor and matron of the Female Orphan School at Parramatta, at a salary of £100 per annum.[49] In 1821, it was the sole government position available for a woman and it paid a handsome salary too, the same as the Master of the Male Orphan School. In 1828, Susannah received a further grant of land at Paterson that she named Clarendon Park, after her great friends John Charles Villiers, 3rd Earl of Clarendon and his wife, Maria, who were in Portugal at the same time as the Wards, from 1808 to 1810. This was a fortuitous connection indeed as Maria Villiers' sister was married to William Wellesley, brother of Arthur, the Duke of Wellington.[50] Susannah Ward's land grants and government position surely owed a great deal to these very good connections. The Ward's daughter, also named Susannah, married Lieutenant Commander Frederick Bedwell RN, who had also received a land grant in the same locality. Bedwell took part in naval activities during the Peninsular War, including the defence of Cadiz. He first came to New South Wales as a surveyor and, among other things, surveyed the east coast and Torres Strait.

Quite likely the best-known early white settler in the Paterson district of the Hunter Valley of New South Wales was James Phillips, a Commissariat

officer, mentioned in Chapter 1, who was a veteran of the wars in the Peninsula, and of Waterloo. James Phillips knew William Ward, ostensibly from when they were together in the Commissariat, and it seems that the Wards may have encouraged the Phillips family to emigrate to New South Wales. On their arrival, the Phillips family stayed with the Wards[51] and the Phillips and the Ward families selected adjoining land on the Paterson River.

Similarly, in the southern parts of the colony of New South Wales there were parallel examples of the effect of the Peninsular network on settlement patterns. In Braidwood in the 1830s, there were four Peninsula veterans: Major William Elrington, Colonel John Mackenzie of the Fourth (or the King's Own) Regiment, Commissary Ryrie and Dr Henry Douglass. William Sandys Elrington obtained a commission in the British army in a regiment raised for service in the West Indies in 1795, and served in a number of regiments for 29 years before becoming a settler on a grant of 2560 acres in the Braidwood area, just within the Limits of Location. Elrington was in the Peninsula from August 1809 to January 1813. Mackenzie arrived in Sydney in 1832 by the *Clyde*, in command of a detachment of his regiment, and retired from the army two years later to farm sheep on the Monaro. Afterwards, he obtained a grant of 901 acres on the Endrick River, between Nowra and Braidwood that had originally been granted to Dr Douglass. Likewise, in the Goulburn area, not far from Braidwood, there were a number of Peninsular veterans at different times: Francis Allman, Andrew Gibson, Lachlan McAlister, Francis Rossi, John Moore and Edmund Lockyer.[52] As well as the large social network of the Ryrie family on the Monaro mentioned earlier, there was a small, though still influential, family group, the Blomfields. This network consisted of Val Blomfield of the 48th Regiment, who had Run No. 8, known as Collamatong, his son Arthur, who married a daughter of Colonel J. K. Mackenzie, and his brother-in-law, Richard Brooks.[53]

Important family connections within the Peninsular network were a significant asset, particularly older relatives or in-laws. It is notable that three governors, two of New South Wales and one of Van Diemen's Land, had influential military fathers-in-law. Governor Ralph Darling married Eliza, the daughter of Colonel Dumaresq; Governor George Arthur married Elizabeth, daughter of General Sir John Frederick Sigismund Smith; and Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales from 1838 to 1846, married Elizabeth, daughter of Major-General George Ramsay of the Royal Artillery.[54]

A very close connection to a governor, or to a senior colonial official, often paved the way for a colonial appointment, as demonstrated with

the Snodgrass family. Another example was Major Frederick Goulburn, a Peninsular veteran, who was appointed Colonial Secretary of New South Wales in 1820, when his brother, Henry, was Under Secretary of State at the Colonial Office.[55] Likewise, a former Admiralty official, John Deas Thomson, who knew R. W. Hay, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and managed to secure good colonial careers for his two sons: John, as naval storekeeper in the Cape Colony; and Edward, as clerk of the Executive and Legislative Council in New South Wales.[56] Again, it was the Empire that furnished these opportunities and the Peninsular War network that exploited them. Edward Deas Thomson later married Anne Bourke, the Governor's daughter, and with Bourke's influence was appointed Colonial Secretary of New South Wales. It appears Edward was a young man with a keen eye to his future: he was first offered a post in Demerara at a salary of £900 per annum, which he initially accepted, but later changed his mind when offered the position in New South Wales, at a lower salary, £600 per annum,[57] but with better prospects and a more agreeable climate. Before he left for New South Wales, young Deas Thomson consulted a couple of members of the Peninsular network on conditions there, Colonel Henry Dumaresq and Lieutenant-Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass. Snodgrass was also well known to General Blunt,[58] Sir Thomas Mitchell's influential father-in-law, who wrote to Mitchell:

> Remember us to Colonel and Mrs. Snodgrass. … It has always been to me a source of satisfaction that you had near you a friend of such sterling merit. I never heard his name mentioned by those who knew him but with united esteem and respect.[59]

Mitchell was fully alert to the influence of Blunt, as he wrote to his patron, Sir George Murray from Lisbon, 'General Blunt, my future father-in-law, may assist my advancement in society'.[60] As indeed he did: Blunt made representations to the Colonial Office to allow Mitchell to return to England for 12 months, after his third journey into the interior.[61] An influential father-in-law also helped the career of Archibald Innes in New South Wales; his was the Colonial Secretary.

Similarly, some of the offspring of Peninsular War veterans directly benefited from access to the network. Edmund Du Cane, whose father was an officer in the 20th Light Dragoons in the Peninsular War, was sent to Western Australia in 1851 to superintend works in a convict establishment. There, he mixed socially with Richard Meares (a Waterloo veteran) and Captain John Molloy (formerly of 95th Regiment) where

he met his wife: Molloy's daughter Mary Dorothea.[62] After he returned to England in 1854, he went to Spain and painted scenes of the battlefields, and these were exhibited at the Royal Military Exhibition at Chelsea in 1890, as well as publishing his father-in-law's reminiscences of the Peninsular War in *The Cornhill Magazine* in 1897.

Caithness, in the north of Scotland, produced a particularly influential group of Scots Peninsular veterans. They all came from the town of Wick, or nearby: Alexander Macleay, the Colonial Secretary, was born at Wick, as was Archibald Innes, later of Port Macquarie (New South Wales). Commissary Stewart Ryrie was born at Bower, and Major-General William Stewart was born at Reay. Archibald Innes married Margaret Macleay, while his sister married George Macleay. As well, Stewart Ryrie married William Stewart's sister. The Macleays certainly knew the Inneses, and some of the Macleays: Fanny, Christiana, Margaret and another sister spent the summer of 1817 at Wick. Their uncle, Kenneth Macleay, lived at Keiss Castle, near Wick.[63] These Scots family networks also had an effect on public, and social, life in the colony of New South Wales.

As we saw with the Cape Colony, those in the Peninsular network found themselves in many parts of the British Empire, and there were some in Mauritius who were later appointed to positions in the various Australian colonies. The island of Mauritius, taken from the French in December 1810, was a strategic toehold for the British in the Indian Ocean. Darling expressed interest in an appointment there, and was appointed commandant and later, acting governor. For these appointments, Darling had to thank the Duke of York and probably Earl Bathurst, who had the responsibility for such appointments.[64] Yet when the position of governor became vacant, it was offered to one with a still more influential network: General Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, Member of Parliament and son-in-law to the Earl of Malmesbury.[65] Darling's military secretary at Mauritius was his brother-in-law, Henry Dumaresq, who had served as aide-de-camp to Cole during part of the Peninsula campaign. When Darling and his sister returned to England, Dumaresq stayed on at Mauritius as private secretary to Cole.[66] Also in Mauritius was Captain Foster Fyans, aide-de-camp to the Governor of Mauritius in 1825/6, later at Moreton Bay and Norfolk Island, and the first magistrate at Geelong. William Lithgow was in charge of the Commissariat accounts there, and Francis Rossi, was Police Superintendent.[67] Rossi had several positions in Mauritius: aide-de-camp to the acting governor, Deputy Secretary, and General Superintendent of the convict department but he was also accused of turning a blind eye to the slave trading activities

in Mauritius.[68] Darling created the position of Police Superintendent specifically for Rossi in New South Wales, at £600 per annum.[69] Boyle Travers Finniss, a former army officer and later Deputy Surveyor General of South Australia, was the son and grandson of successive police chiefs in Mauritius; and Frederic Holt Robe was firstly secretary to the Governor of Mauritius in the 1830s, before taking up the position of Acting Governor of South Australia from 1845 to 1848.[70]

Some within the Peninsular network induced family members to settle in the Australian colonies, and thus they became part of a chain migration. Having some members of one's family together strengthened one's connections with a native place in the United Kingdom, and some perhaps sought to rebuild kinship networks in the colonies. One example of this was the Snodgrass family, and there were others too. Captain Lachlan McAlister, of the 17th Regiment, encouraged a kinsman to come and work on *Strathaird*, at Goulburn, as general superintendent and manager of the estate. His son, Charles McAlister, who arrived as a small child, later wrote his memoirs, in which he recalled their southward journey. He also commented on the chief magistrates of his early days in the Goulburn area: Dr Gibson, Lachlan McAlister, Captain Rossi and Captain Allman – all Peninsular veterans.[71] Major William Elrington was another who encouraged an older son, Lieutenant Clement Elrington, to come and settle in the Australian colonies. Major General William Stewart attracted several cousins to New South Wales, including Neil Stewart, in the 1830s.[72] Terence Murray's cousin, John Murray, a rank and file soldier in the British army who served in the Peninsula in the 50th Regiment, came to New South Wales and lived in a cottage on Murray's grant of land near Lake George.[73]

Marriages that connected Peninsular veterans created vast kinship networks, similar to those uncovered by David Denholm. Marriage was an important strategy in extending and consolidating the social networks of these veterans. The network surrounding the Darling and Dumaresq families – Governor Ralph Darling and his wife Eliza (nee Dumaresq), Colonel Henry Dumaresq and his wife Sophy (nee Butler-Danvers), Captain William Dumaresq and his wife Christiana (nee Macleay), Captain Edward Dumaresq, Archibald Innes and his wife Margaret (nee Macleay) – was a large one. It became larger with the marriage of Henry Dumaresq into the Butler-Danvers clan, which included the explorer, Charles Sturt. Another Macleay daughter married an Onslow, thus making a connection with the influential Macarthur-Onslow family. And Susan, the daughter of William and Christiana Dumaresq, married the Hon. Louis Hope, a brother of the Earl of Hopetoun.[74] This network largely revolved around Ann Dumaresq,

mother of Eliza, William, Henry and Edward. She kept a journal, and the letters she wrote were passed around the family: in this way, each member kept in touch with the doings of the others. This method provided an avenue for discussion of matters of common concern and the exchange of ideas on a variety of issues. Thus, the sense of belonging within this family network was preserved to a remarkable degree.[75] Two of Governor Darling's nephews also came to the colony during his term of office: Charles Henry, the future Governor of Victoria, who came as an army officer in 1827, and William, who also came as an army officer in 1829.

The Ryrie family social network also connected other Peninsular veterans, and resulted in another vast kinship network. The children of Commissary Stewart Ryrie numbered nine in all, and the significance of this network for settlement patterns on the Monaro has already been noted. The network of kinship revolving around this one family begins with two of Stewart Ryrie's sons who married two sisters: Donald married Jane Salmon, daughter of the Rev. John Salmon, and John married Mary Salmon, whom he met when she was staying with her sister Jane in Cooma. William Ryrie married his stepmother's sister, Marianne Cassels. Stewart Ryrie Junior married Janet, daughter of Lieutenant–Colonel J. K. Mackenzie of the 4th (or King's Own) Regiment. And again, another two sons married sisters: Alexander Ryrie married Charlotte, daughter of Captain A. T. Faunce, of the same regiment, the 4th, and David Ryrie married Ellen, Charlotte's sister. Of the daughters, Elizabeth married Affleck Moodie, a Commissariat colleague of her father's, and Jane married Dr Wallace.[76] Thus of the nine children of Stewart Ryrie, four married within the Pensinula network of their father, while others sought to extend and complement the Ryrie social network. Likewise, the offspring of Peninsular veterans inter-married with the offspring of other Peninsular veterans. In the family of Lieutenant-Colonel J. K. Mackenzie of the 4th Regiment, other than the daughter who married Stewart Ryrie Junior, one daughter married Captain A. T. Faunce of the same regiment as her father, and another daughter married Arthur Blomfield (a son of T. V. Blomfield).[77] Many of the children born to the younger generation bear the names of members of the Peninsula network.

There is no question that social networks were advantageous, and the geographic location was often crucial. Jane Ryrie wrote along these lines to her brother, James, at Port Phillip in August of 1838: 'Those who you do meet with in town you can derive advantage from, which could not be said of most of those who frequented Arnprior'.[78] Furthermore, having a close connection, or even better, a family member, in London, was certainly advantageous. Two governors of New South Wales chose

family members as their envoy in London, since a close family relationship meant that more than ordinary trust could be placed in them. Governor Darling chose his brother-in-law Henry Dumaresq, who was seen in London walking arm in arm with the man himself, Wellington,[79] and Governor Bourke chose his son, Richard. When Bourke's two daughters married Dudley Perceval and Edward Deas Thomson, he had access to Tory circles to add to his Whig connections. These connections proved important, as, among other things, Perceval was responsible for passing on important information to Bourke. And in what appears a unique situation, James Stephen invited Mary Jane Perceval, Bourke's daughter, to the Colonial Office to read her father's despatches.[80]

The Peninsular network proved the most advantageous of all social networks for Peninsular veterans. The years spent on the Iberian Peninsula had often been formative ones, and the bonds created amid the ever-present threat of death were life long. The social networks created in the new Australian colonies closely mirrored those in which they had interacted as British army officers during the Peninsular War, and included the chain migration of family members. The Peninsular network played a part in many colonial appointments, and had an impact on the public, and social, life of the colony of New South Wales. The vast kinship networks of the Dumaresq family, through their proximity to government, show a pronounced effect on settlement patterns in the north of New South Wales; while the Ryrie family's social networks reveal a significant impact on the settlement patterns of the Monaro district of New South Wales. Similarly, settlement patterns in the Hunter River and Braidwood areas of New South Wales indicate Peninsular War influence. Within Peninsular networks, the inter-marriage between families is noteworthy, as is the Scots influence. If one was a member of the Peninsular network, then, one's chances in life were vastly enhanced; but to have the bonds strengthened by multiple connections was to multiply the benefit. Because of the strong presence of Peninsular veterans within the Horse Guards of the British army and their influence around the British Empire, the imperial dimension of these networks has been shown to be of the utmost importance. It illustrates how charting lives in terms of movement and settlement across the Empire is a powerful way to use the networked approach.

4

'attached to the Protestant succession': The Religious Influence of Veterans

Ideal British army officers have traditionally been viewed as 'men of high social position, holding large possessions and attached to the Protestant succession'.[1] As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the first two criteria were not always observed when granting commissions during the Peninsular War. There remained one unassailable part of that trinity, however: British army officers had to be Protestant and a look at the career of one army officer, Frederick Chidley Irwin, influential in the development of the Swan River colony,[2] illustrates this point. Given a commission in the British army in 1808, Irwin served in the Peninsula for the entire six years of the war, from 1808 until 1814. Later, he was sent to Canada and Ceylon. He first came to the Australian colonies in command of a detachment of the 13th Regiment to provide military protection for the colony at Swan River, and spent four years in the colony. In 1834, when he was posted back to England, Irwin took the opportunity to make enquiries about sending Evangelical missionaries to the Swan River colony. Irwin, the son of a minister of the Church of Ireland, was himself an Evangelical. He sought assistance from St John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London, a particularly Evangelical church: the foundation of the Church Missionary Society had been planned at St John's. There, in 1835 with support from the 'Clapham Sect', Irwin organised a meeting to form the Western Australian Missionary Society,[3] and the first missionaries of that organisation sailed to the Swan River in January 1836.[4] The next year, Irwin returned to the Australian colonies as commandant of the military forces in the Swan River colony, and twice acted as head of the government, before his retirement to Cheltenham, in England, in 1852. In the Swan River colony, Irwin devoted much of his energy to sponsoring the Church of England, and clashed violently with Bishop Brady, a Catholic bishop, who had founded schools that Protestant children attended,

which infuriated Irwin. In response, Irwin created a General Board of Education consisting of prominent Anglicans.[5] As head of government, Irwin opposed Bishop Brady on numerous issues: a proposed marriage bill, a Catholic cemetery, and the prelate's title of address on official correspondence. Irwin's prominence as an Evangelical in the Australian colonies has led to his reputation as a great Evangelical layman: 'it is doubtful that any other Australian layman has been an equal contributor to Anglican Evangelicalism worldwide'.[6]

This chapter will demonstrate the pervasiveness of Anglicanism and Protestantism generally, in their mainstream and Evangelical forms, in Britain, and in the British army, and will show how that influence was a fundamental part of the impact of Peninsular War veterans on the Australian colonies. The links between Evangelical Protestant Christianity and the growth of the British Empire, exemplified by people such as Frederick Chidley Irwin and his missionary endeavours in the Swan River colony, are highlighted, as are other imperial links. Also shown is the link between Protestantism, British national identity and the British army, and how that link was transferred to the Australian colonies. As British army officers, Peninsular War veterans brought with them the anti-Catholic sentiments prevalent in Britain, particularly if they were involved in the extremely powerful Evangelical movement, whose defining element was its anti-Catholic attitude.

* * * *

As Evangelical Christianity changed Britain in the decades before and after the Napoleonic Wars, so also was it a major factor in the growth of the Empire. Historians of the British Empire, among them Bayly and Porter, have recognised the role of religion in British imperialism, and the symbiotic connection between the expansion of Christianity after the Napoleonic Wars and the growth of the Empire: the Empire was part of God's work. Bayly has seen the link between Evangelical Protestantism, nationalism and Empire become stronger in these years,[7] and the role of Frederick Chidley Irwin is evidence of that link.

That Protestantism was central to British national identity tends to be overlooked, historian Linda Colley has argued. From the Act of Union in 1707 to the battle of Waterloo in 1815, the enemy of Great Britain was always Catholic France.[8] Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Britain's culture was overwhelmingly Protestant. Colley's influential work on the making of Britain as a nation focuses on the contribution of war and, as a corollary, that of the British army

to British national identity. It was Protestantism that was the unifying bond among the British. According to Colley,

> Protestantism was the dominant component of British religious life. Protestantism coloured the way that Britons approached and interpreted their material life. Protestantism determined how most Britons viewed their politics. And an uncompromising Protestantism was the foundation on which their state was explicitly and unapologetically based.[9]

It is worthy of note that 'God Save the King' came to be called the national anthem for the first time during the Napoleonic Wars, although it had been sung publicly since 1745. In the words of the original version of this anthem, as in the later one, one can clearly see the relationship between religion and British national identity:

> God save our noble King
> God save great George our King
> God save the King.
> Send him victorious
> Happy and glorious,
> Long to reign over us,
> God save the King.[10]

The most striking feature of the religious landscape in Britain in this period was the gulf between Protestant and Catholic; yet historians have tended to examine the divisions within the Protestant community in Britain, rather than focus on the absolute centrality of Protestantism.[11] Ian Breward has also emphasised what may seem commonplace: that most British subjects were 'resolutely hostile' to Roman Catholicism and, similarly, that Protestants were regarded with deep distrust by Catholics.[12] Anti-Catholicism was rife: Catholics were physically abused, particularly when Britain was at war with Catholic France; for example, anti-Catholic riots broke out in the Scottish Lowlands in 1778. The well-known anti-Catholic Gordon Riots in London, probably the most destructive of all British riots, came just two years later. The treatment meted out to Catholics often consisted of ducking in a river until they came close to drowning, the same treatment given to witches in earlier centuries.[13] Protestants stressed the point that William of Orange had defeated James II in 1688, and that the Hanoverian dynasty had succeeded to the British throne in 1714. This new dynasty, and its

continued success, was conditional on the monarch being attached to the Protestant succession. There were various Jacobite invasion scares in the eighteenth century, which all came to nothing but, nonetheless, were unsettling. If these had succeeded, a Stuart restoration would have replaced the Protestant monarchy with a Roman Catholic dynasty.[14] Colley's work on the importance of Protestantism to British national identity is not without its critics, however, particularly in the past decade. Ditchfield, for example, argues for three categories of national identity, rather than a fixed Protestant one. Ditchfield's categories are: the Protestant image, the Anglican image, and the libertarian image, all sharing a strong anti-Catholic intensity.[15]

Yet the deepest religious cultural division in Britain – that between Protestantism and Catholicism – was not always clear-cut, and the case of liberal Irish Catholics is a good illustration: they were able to negotiate the area between Protestantism and Catholicism. A case in point was Maurice O'Connell (1768–1848), who belonged to the distinguished gentry O'Connell clan from County Kerry in Ireland. His kinsman was Daniel O'Connell, commonly known as the Liberator of Ireland for his role in obtaining Catholic emancipation in 1829. Maurice O'Connell first studied for the priesthood in Rome, but then decided on a military career in the British army. Catholics could not hold a commission in the British army, and O'Connell chose to convert to Protestantism: a wise course, as it turned out. He was first posted to the West Indies, where he distinguished himself in a battle against the French at Dominica in 1805, for which he was presented with a sword. As well, the committee of the Patriotic Fund presented him with another sword, and plate, for the same battle. In October 1806, he transferred to the 73rd Regiment and came with that regiment to Sydney in 1810, where he promptly married Mary, the daughter of Governor Bligh. Governor Macquarie granted him land, but he left in 1814 for Ceylon. O'Connell continued his notable army career, and was appointed Major General in 1830, knighted in 1834, made a Lieutenant General in 1841, and Colonel of the 80th Foot in 1844. He returned to Sydney in 1838 to command the forces in New South Wales, and spent the last ten years of his life there. During that period, he was a nominated member of the partly elected Legislative Council, and for a short time in July and August 1846 he was Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales.[16]

Similarly, Sir Terence Aubrey Murray, son of Captain Terence Murray, paymaster of the 48th Regiment, was born a Catholic in 1810 in Ireland, and appears to have moved between Catholicism and Anglicanism as it suited. He was an outstanding figure in colonial society: a parliamentarian

and Speaker of the House as well as a magistrate, and a police superintendent. Murray was first married in 1843 at St James's Anglican Church in Sydney; his second marriage was solemnized in both the Anglican and the Catholic churches; and the two children of his second marriage were baptised in both churches. In his public life, Murray made his first public speech from the steps of St Mary's Cathedral at Sydney in 1835, yet he was buried at St Jude's Anglican Church, Randwick.[17]

During the Napoleonic Wars, it was almost impossible for a Catholic to hold a commission in the British army. A young man seeking a commission was obliged, under the Act of 1689, to swear an oath of allegiance to the Protestant succession, and to make a declaration against transubstantiation.[18] Yet in Ireland it was possible, by an Act of 1793, for Catholics to hold military commissions in the British army while serving there; but that meant that Irish Catholic officers coming to Britain with their regiments must either break the law, convert or resign.[19] This left little choice for an ambitious young man, and many converted, as did Maurice O'Connell.

For Peninsular War veterans, their experiences in Spain and Portugal helped to reinforce ingrained anti-Catholic prejudice. Many of them commented on the dirt and filth of these countries, compared to England, and the only explanation they could find for it was the influence of the Catholic Church and its superstitious practices. Indeed, some British officers saw the Napoleonic invasion of Spain as a blessing to the inhabitants of Spain and Portugal because it dealt a blow to the clerical domination of the Catholic Church.[20] As Charles Esdaile has noted, the memoirs and diaries of Peninsular War veterans are 'redolent with a malicious anti-papism'.[21] Their Protestant philosophy was strengthened by their contact with the Catholic monastic ideal, and by the idea of nuns confined in convents. Captain Thomas Browne's journal described the common sight of many nuns and monks on the roads in Spain, as the French had looted their monasteries and convents. The appearance of the nuns and monks was squalid; but Browne felt no sympathy for the monks, whom he described as 'fat and idle vagabonds'.[22]

Among the diaries and memoirs of Peninsular War veterans that I have examined, those of Edward Close[23] and Thomas Bunbury[24] stand out for their hostile anti-Catholic comments. Close recorded his comments on the Angelus, bells rung at midday and at 6.00 p.m. in Catholic countries, calling for Catholics to stop and pray. He wrote, 'when the Church bell tolled everyone muttered prayers – but none quitted their occupation. I have seen the maid scouring a kettle or a dish on her knees – muttering

Pater Nosters'.[25] Bunbury thought that 'the most ridiculous feature in the conduct of the Spaniards was their religious practices' and that, in fact, these amounted to a perversion of religion.[26] Bunbury, like others, imagined the repressed sexuality of the nuns, likening it to a bursting flame with uncontrollable energy.[27] Esdaile also relates one episode from George Bell's memoirs, wherein Bell described how a group of his friends were drunk and decided to liberate the nuns in one of the convents of Trujillo. Unwilling to be liberated, the nuns drove the soldiers off.[28] There are also varied comments on the perceived superstition and idolatry of the inhabitants of Spain and Portugal. These memoirs of Peninsular War veterans both reflected and nourished the intense anti-popish feeling prevalent in Britain in the eighteenth century.[29] In fact, this anti-Catholicism reinforced British national identity and promoted national cohesion, doubtless contributing to the demand for Peninsular War publications.

General histories of the Peninsular War and the British army also perpetuated this Protestant, anti-Catholic world view, and the influence and audience for these publications was enormous. Colonel Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France* was published in six volumes between 1828 and 1840, running to 39 editions over the next century.[30] In it, Napier portrayed the Spaniards as ruled by 'the despotism springing from the union of a superstitious court and a sanguinary priesthood, a despotism which suppressed knowledge, contracted the public mind, sapped the foundation of a military and civil virtue, and prepared the way for invasion'.[31] Fortescue, in his well-known history of the British army, noted the general loathing of the British for the Spanish and Portuguese alike and the British preference for the French, the enemy, who were also Catholics.[32] The French officers were seen as more gentlemanly than the Spanish and Portuguese, and thus their word could be replied upon. Val Blomfield, of the 48th Regiment, wrote from Spain in 1813 explicitly stating his preference for the French:

> A great many of the inhabitants are very uncivil to British officers, instead of receiving us as the deliverers of their country, they treat us as lawless unprincipled ruffians; I had rather we were fighting against them than the French.[33]

In all, the Peninsular War was the subject of some three hundred published British personal memoirs and diaries, as well as a flood of travel narratives evoking the Spanish landscape, people, culture and history. Novels of the Peninsular War were also popular and sufficiently numerous to

form a sub-genre of nineteenth-century British fiction. Their comments on Spanish customs and religion conveyed not only general information about Spain, but also reiterated and confirmed the national prejudices of the British authors. One novel is remarkable for the extent of its hostility to Catholicism: *Ned Clinton: or, The Commissary*, published in 1825. As a group, these novels played an important part in the portrayal of a Protestant British national identity.[34]

The British army had a particularly close association with a couple of overtly Protestant organisations in the period under review. One was Freemasonry, established in England during the early eighteenth century; and this organisation has been described as 'the strongest social institution of the eighteenth-century moral world'.[35] Freemasonry used the emphasis on family as a model – an individual member was identified as 'brother', the institution was described as a 'fraternity', and Grand Lodges were always known as 'mother grand lodges'[36] – to reinforce links within the British Empire. Membership in Freemasonry quickly spread throughout the Empire: there were lodges in Bengal and Gibraltar by 1730, and in Africa, South America and the West Indies soon after.[37] But while the early brotherhood welcomed men of various religions, by the early nineteenth century there was a discernible shift towards Protestantism.[38] From then on, Freemasonry became more closely identified with the Low Church movement of the Church of England, the section of the Church to which Evangelicals belonged.

Most British infantry regiments had their own Masonic Lodges and, with warrants for travelling lodges, it was the army that broadened the base of Freemasonry around the British Empire. As the elements of Freemasonry – secret practices, fraternal bonding, feasting, speech making, solidarity and conviviality[39] – mimicked the features of an officer's life, it was appealing to army and navy officers alike. A Masonic Lodge, with its uniforms and decorations, recreated the very masculine world of the officers' mess. Freemasonry provided a sense of belonging to a universal family, as well as community and mutual obligation in distant parts of the British Empire where British army officers had no blood ties. Membership proved useful for William Brooke, who was captured by the French at Albuera. Brooke recounted:

> We had been but a few days in the prison when the Grand Master of the French Freemason's Lodge discovered that Captain Allman and I were fellow masons. He waited on me and took me to his own quarters. He introduced me to his lady and her sister, who gave me cake, wine and French liqueur. He requested his wife to bring me half

a dozen of his shirts and as many pairs of stockings, which he wished to give me as a brother mason.[40]

The other overtly Protestant organisation with links to the British army was the Orange Order, which borrowed much of its terminology from the Masonic Lodge: lodges, masters, oaths, signs, degrees, warrants and brethren. Founded in Ireland in 1795, this organisation gained momentum after the 1798 rebellion, and was associated closely with the maintenance of 'the protestant ascendancy' in Ireland.[41] Its function was the defence of the British nation as Protestant. 'Popery' became an enemy of the King's Sacred Majesty,[42] and fanatical anti-Catholicism 'gave a kind of moral sanction to the subjugation of Catholics'.[43] This organisation had particular appeal to those in Ulster, where it flourished, but it also took root overseas: in Montreal in 1825, in Ontario in 1830 and in New South Wales in 1835. These two organisations shared a similar anti-Catholic belief system. The rules of the Orange Society of 1798 read, in part:

I … do solemnly and sincerely swear of my own free will and accord, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support and defend the present King, George III, and all the heirs of the crown, so long as he or they support the Protestant ascendancy, the constitution, and laws of these kingdoms; and I do further swear that I am not, nor was ever a Roman Catholic or papist.[44]

Despite the fact that Orange Lodges in the British army were illegal,[45] many British army regiments held Orange warrants, as they did Masonic warrants. During the hearings for a British Parliamentary Select Committee enquiry into Orange Lodges in Ireland in 1835, one interviewee explained that '[t]here are various warrants under the Orange Institution, which are held by persons attached to the army; and therefore communications are of course held between the persons acting under those warrants and the grand lodge'.[46] The Select Committee heard evidence of the general effect of Orangeism on the administration of justice in Ireland: the interference of magistrates in certain cases, their refusal to carry out certain acts, and the effect that Orangeism had on the character of magistrates and the conduct of their office. There were rumours of an Orange conspiracy in the 1830s and though, with hindsight, these may have lacked substance, the internal threat posted by an illegal organisation with political influence within the British army was very real.[47]

Evangelicalism was another major influence in this Protestant, anti-Catholic world view. Those of Evangelical persuasion opposed what

they perceived as the rituals and superstition of the Catholic Church, a position encapsulated in Nathaniel Cheever's letter to his sister from Spain:

> There is but little ever here to show one that the Sabbath is at all observed as it should be. The influence of the Roman Catholic religion tends most inevitably to its most flagrant desecration – O that the time may soon come when this soul-ruining, degrading system of idolatry superstition and ignorance shall come to an end, here and throughout the world, and the Gospel with all its light and purity and elevating influence be established in its stead.[48]

Here can be seen the close connection between anti-Catholicism and other Evangelical concerns, notably Sabbath observance and missionary zeal to spread the word of the gospel. Anti-Catholicism was certainly 'the essence of Evangelicalism' and it shaped and defined Evangelical identity.[49]

During the eighteenth century, the religious landscape of Britain was transformed. People had new and intense religious experiences, and these formed part of the evolution of Evangelicalism. In Britain and its colonies, Evangelicalism was characterised by a reliance on the Bible as the only religious authority, a stress on being converted, or reborn, into the new religion, an active and energetic approach to religious duties and good works, and a focus on redemption.[50] The importance of sermons was emphasised among Evangelicals, along with hymn singing during services, as these practices focused on the individual's commitment. The movement was extraordinarily popular, and it has been estimated that there were somewhere between two to three million Anglican Evangelicals, among a total population in England and Wales of eighteen million. More importantly, one-third of all Anglican clergymen were designated Evangelical.[51] But these figures belie the true influence of Evangelicalism where it mattered most: among those who made decisions, the members of Parliament. During the Napoleonic Wars and the years following, there were altogether over 100 Evangelicals in the House of Commons and an equal number in the House of Lords: the Prime Minister, Spencer Perceval, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nicholas Vansittart and Henry Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, were all Evangelical.[52] Within the Colonial Office, too, there prevailed an Evangelical outlook with a staunch Evangelical, James Stephen, in charge from 1836. The civil service was one of four careers that particularly appealed to lay Evangelicals in the early nineteenth century; the others were commerce, the armed forces and politics. The influence

of Evangelicalism on English society was enormous. This has been commented on by various historians, among them David Newsome, who represented it in his book on Victorian public schools, *Godliness and Good Learning*, as 'perhaps the most formative power behind the eminence of eminent Victorians'.[53]

A particularly influential group was known as the 'Clapham Sect', because a community of like-minded souls met in Holy Trinity Church, on the north side of Clapham Common, in London.[54] This group was also known as the 'Saints', and they counted among their number the well-known Member of Parliament, William Wilberforce, who combined evangelical fervour and political know-how to mobilise a generation of Englishmen and women in the campaign to abolish slavery within the British Empire. The 'Saints' were the carriers of a new Evangelical imperialism, and were enormously influential. Another lesser-known, but still leading group of Evangelicals, was the Elland Clerical Society,[55] a group of north country clerics whose major work was to sponsor the education of 'suitable young men of narrow circumstances' to become Evangelical ministers. The Society believed that 'regeneration of the church would come from men uncorrupted by wealth and high social position'.[56] One of the main supporters of this group was Wilberforce, who was an intimate friend of the then Prime Minister, William Pitt the Younger. Wilberforce was a north-country man, from Yorkshire, as was Samuel Marsden. Marsden, accepted in 1786 as a protégé of the Society,[57] would later be a leading figure in early New South Wales.

This is the background that many settlers, among them Peninsular War veterans, brought to the Australian colonies. As Porter has argued, a crucial part of British expansion worldwide was the export of Christianity, in the shape of Anglicanism and of Protestantism generally:

> Where possible the Anglican church, when necessary its closest equivalent, was relied on to underpin the Imperial connection, to provide moral leadership, social cohesion, and education on a scale suited to the colony in question. This pattern of church-state relations, framed for British North America between 1784 and 1793, was applied and adapted throughout the colonial Empire until the 1830s.[58]

This pattern of church-state relations was adopted in the Australian colonies, where the most common expression of Protestantism was its Evangelical form.[59]

Rev. Samuel Marsden, principal chaplain of the colony of New South Wales from 1794, brought with him the fervent Evangelicalism of the Elland Clerical Society by which he was educated. Marsden provides an outstanding example of the link between patriotism and Protestantism in his remark of 1807: 'If the Catholic religion was ever allowed to be celebrated by authority … the colony would be lost to the British empire in less than a year'.[60] For Marsden, Catholicism was a threat; his ideal colony was a Protestant one, but thanks to the large numbers of Irish convicts, New South Wales had a substantial Catholic element. In 1812, Marsden felt victorious and wrote that the colony had been cleared of all the Catholic priests 'so that a rising generation could be brought up in the principles of the Protestant religion'.[61] Marsden continued his hostility to Catholic priests, because of the increasing numbers of Irish Catholic convicts arriving in the colony, and the arrival of the first official Catholic chaplains, Fathers Therry and Conolly in 1820.[62]

When Peninsular War veterans arrived in the Australian colonies, they might well have expected that the Church of England was the Established Church, as in Britain. The Church of England was legally defined as the official religion when Captain Arthur Phillip took an oath at the proclamation of settlement to uphold the Protestant succession, and to reject popery and transubstantiation.[63] But there is a continuing debate among historians as to whether establishment was actually achieved. Certainly, the term 'established' was commonly used by governors and officials, and in the Colonial Secretary's annual statistical returns. Ross Border, an Anglican minister and author of a church history, has concluded that it was established. In a case held before the full Court of the High Court of Australia in 1948, Mr Justice Roper agreed that the Church of England, as it was established in England, was the Established Church in New South Wales.[64] By contrast, Kelvin Grose has argued that, although 'not established … in either fact or theory', the church at least until 1831 possessed 'status as the Established Church'.[65] At the time, those in authority saw the Church of England as the established church, as it had a voice in government, replicating the combination of church and state in Britain.

Thomas Hobbes Scott, appointed Archdeacon to New South Wales in 1824 on a salary of £2000 a year, was the church's voice in government. He was a man with influential connections: son of King George III's chaplain, and brother-in-law of J. T. Bigge who had earlier reported on conditions in New South Wales.[66] Scott had a seat on the Legislative Council and his position was ranked second to that of the governor. A High Churchman who believed in order and rank, Scott caused a rift

between the Church of England and other Protestant churches with his insistence that it be treated as the Established Church in the colony of New South Wales. Scott was unpopular, and so took up residence at Parramatta, away from Sydney. To support Archdeacon Scott's ambitious programme for a complete church establishment, of the kind already operating in Canada, a new source of funding was required. One seventh of land in each county was to be a reserve for the church, to be administered by a Church and School Lands Corporation, headed by Scott. The instructions issued by the British government read in part, 'it is necessary that effectual provision should be made for the establishment and support … of the Protestant reformed Religion, as by Law established in England and Ireland.'[67] This corporation strengthened the hold of the Church of England over the entire educational system in New South Wales. But the corporation functioned for only a few years, from 1826 until 1829, and was dissolved in 1833. Its ultimate failure was largely due to the inability of the colonial powers to provide the necessary land grants to the corporation.

Religious life in the Australian colonies was not by any means exactly the same as in Britain. There were differences, and one was that Protestants found they had to live side by side with Catholics, something largely unknown in Britain. There, the major religious groups lived more or less in their own geographic isolation: the Presbyterians in Scotland, the Catholics in Ireland, the Anglicans and Methodists in England and Wales.[68] Bayly has argued that to overcome these differences in the Australian colonies, Protestants formed a more cohesive unit than they had done in Britain, and that this was the norm in the colonial context. Using the examples of India and Ceylon, Bayly proposes that local communities provided internal cohesion in times of religious stress.[69] And this is exactly what happened in New South Wales in 1836. There, Protestants, representing the Episcopalians, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans, formed themselves into a committee. This was a reflection of the particular anxiety in that colony with its large Irish Catholic population, as well as the introduction of the Church Act by Governor Bourke in that year. Under this act, financial assistance was made available to all denominations, rather than just the Church of England. Significantly, this Act ended any hopes of the Church of England to achieve establishment status.[70]

The aim of this Protestant committee was to keep alive 'the great interests of Protestant Christianity' and its members objected to Bourke's proposed education system, based on the Irish national schools.[71] This system was, they believed, 'subversive to the fundamental principle of

Protestantism'.[72] Bishop Broughton, the publisher of many anti-Catholic pamphlets, delivered a speech to this Committee on 3 August 1836.[73] Sub-committees were formed in various districts of New South Wales, and the list of their members is peppered with names of Peninsular War veterans: at Liverpool, Colonel Mackenzie; at Campbelltown, William Cordeaux and Val Blomfield; at Goulburn, Dr Andrew Gibson and Francis Rossi; at St Vincent (Braidwood), James Ryrie (son of Stewart); at Bathurst, Major-General Stewart; at Port Macquarie, Stewart's former brother-in-law, Major A. Innes; at Port Stephens, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dumaresq; and at St. Aubin (near Scone), Captain William Dumaresq. Other army men who had not been to the Peninsula were also on the list: at Parramatta, Major J. P. Lockyer; at Sutton Forest, Captain Charles Sturt; and there were some relations of Peninsular War veterans – Sir Thomas Mitchell's son, Houston, at Maitland, and Dr James Mitchell's brother-in-law, Robert Scott, at Darlington. The rest of the names are a veritable 'who's who' of clergymen and ex-naval officers.

British army officers who were Peninsular War veterans also brought to the Australian colonies the Protestant stance of the British army, through the introduction of Masonic Lodges and Orange Lodges. Regiments going abroad on service were authorised by warrants, usu-ally from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, to take with them travelling lodges, and it was by this means that the Masonic Lodge in Australia was first established. The first documented public Masonic ceremony was in 1816 for the laying of the cornerstone of a new house being constructed for Captain John Piper, a Mason.[74] The Lodge of Social and Military Values No. 227, attached to the 46th Regiment, took part. All the office bearers of the lodge were officers or non-commissioned officers of the 46th Regiment. This particular lodge faced a dilemma when Samuel Clayton presented himself for admission. Clayton car-ried letters of introduction from the Grand Lodge of Ireland as a Past Master of Lodge No. 6 in Dublin, but he was also a convict. As it was so closely linked to the army, the lodge of the 46th had the same stan-dards as the regimental officers' mess, and would not admit Clayton, as he was a convict. However, Lodge No. 218, the travelling lodge of the 48th Regiment, was more tolerant and admitted Clayton, by then an emancipist.[75]

As with Masonic Lodges, some Peninsular War veterans fostered the foundation of Orange Lodges in the Australian colonies. For example, John Morgan, who settled in Van Diemen's Land and became a journal-ist and writer, founded Hobart's Orange Lodge.[76] Morgan also wrote and published at least one anti-Catholic pamphlet: *Give us light: being*

an exposition of the power and influence of the Romish priesthood and their effects upon civil and religious liberty.[77]

Anglicanism was more respectable than other varieties of Protestantism in New South Wales, and to attend Anglican services was a sign of gentility.[78] It also furnished a means to distance oneself from the taint of convictism. Sir Thomas Mitchell was Presbyterian, yet he and his family frequently attended services at St Mark's Church of England at Darling Point. Mitchell's funeral service was held at this church, and he was buried at St Stephen's Church of England, Camperdown.[79] Likewise, Commissary Stewart Ryrie's family was Presbyterian, from Caithness in Scotland, yet by 1838 they were attending St James's Church in King Street on a regular basis. Yet another Scot, Dr James Mitchell, was an active member of the Anglican Holy Trinity Church in Sydney, otherwise known as the Garrison Church, as well as a member of the building committee. When the chancel of this church was completed, Mitchell offered to put in the magnificent east window on behalf of his wife, as a memorial to her parents.[80] This window is regarded as the 'jewel in the crown' of the church.[81]

As noted earlier, the Evangelical version of Protestantism was the most prominent one in the Australian colonies. Governor Ralph Darling and his three Dumaresq brothers-in-law, as well as Edward Close, Val Blomfield, Frederick Irwin, Dr H. G. Douglass and William Wemyss were all Evangelical. Some of their wives were too, among these, Margaret Innes (nee Macleay), wife of Major Archibald Innes, and Georgiana Molloy, wife of Captain John Molloy of the Swan River colony. The particularly strong influence of Eliza Darling and the Macleay women is also noteworthy. While this may appear a small number, these were particularly influential people, and I suspect there are probably more.[82]

Sir Ralph Darling's private opinion was that the Catholic Church was composed 'of the lowest class of Irish Catholics, ignorant in the extreme and in proportion bigoted and under the domination of their Priest'; but Fletcher has argued that these beliefs did not colour his administration.[83] Darling's concern for 'moral improvement' certainly reflects his Evangelical beliefs. To encourage marriage among the free and freed elements of society, he allowed young ladies 'of the better classes' to receive land grants of 1280 acres as marriage portions. Marriage, he thought, 'was of the greatest consequence as tending to the prevention of evils of the most serious nature'.[84] Darling also interested himself in philanthropic causes, equally an Evangelical principle: he supported a proposal to establish a dispensary in Sydney to provide medical treatment for the poor.

Darling's wife, Eliza, came from a staunch Evangelical family in England. They were a very close family and her three Dumaresq brothers all settled in the Australian colonies: Henry and William in New South Wales and Edward in Van Diemen's Land. The Darlings and the families of Dumaresqs in New South Wales made a close-knit family circle, to the exclusion of others. In 1830 Captain William Dumaresq married Christiana Susan Macleay, daughter of the Colonial Secretary, and two years earlier Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dumaresq had married Sophy Butler-Danvers in London. The Macleays were Evangelical, and it appears Sophy could well have been also: her cousin was Charles Sturt (the explorer), a well-known Evangelical, who ended his days in Cheltenham, one of the well-known abodes of Evangelicals.[85] The younger Dumaresq brother, Edward, who settled in Van Diemen's Land, was also a staunch Anglican of Evangelical persuasion, and he made generous contributions towards the cathedral in Hobart and to the Church of England in Victoria.[86]

Eliza Darling's philanthropic interests were many, and they extended well beyond the normal role of a governor's wife. She took particular interest in the Female Orphan School and, more importantly, created the Female School of Industry, a voluntary organisation to help the children of poor parents. It was the first organisation to be devoted to this cause, but it was discriminatory, as it rejected Catholic applicants.[87] It was criticised by contemporaries for, among other things, being exclusively Protestant.[88] The inspiration for the school was believed to have come from a similar one established at Cheltenham by a Mrs Williams.[89] Eliza Darling appointed Fanny Macleay as secretary and treasurer of the Female School of Industry. The Macleay sisters held the positions of treasurer and secretary for the school's first ten years. Christiana Macleay (later married to William Dumaresq) was treasurer until 1829 and was then replaced by her sister, Kennethina. At most meetings, there was at least one Macleay present, and usually two or three.[90] The Macleay women continued working for the Female School of Industry until at least 1847, when Annabella Boswell, niece of Margaret Innes (nee Macleay), recorded in her journal that the remaining Macleay sisters were still busy raising money.[91] Margaret and Archibald Innes's daughter, Gordina, brought up in an Evangelical household, continued the tradition when she married the Rev. Thomas O'Reilly, an Evangelical minister.[92]

The Macleay family had known both the Darling family and the Dumaresq family in England: in fact, it was this connection that helped Alexander Macleay secure his appointment as Colonial Secretary to Darling in New South Wales.[93] These three families shared the same

Evangelical beliefs, and the Macleays lived near Clapham, in London, the centre of a community of like-minded middle and upper class Evangelicals. In New South Wales, the Macleay household held many books by Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More, two leading female English Evangelicals, whose writings were inspirational to many women and encouraged practical philanthropic works.[94]

Captain Edward Close of the 48th Regiment, educated in England with a view to taking Holy Orders,[95] was Evangelical.[96] When he settled at Morpeth, in New South Wales, he continued this strong religious focus: he took services in the absence of a clergyman, and opened a Sunday school for children. He also erected a schoolhouse, and this building was used to conduct services, until St. James's was built. His greatest monument in Morpeth is surely St. James's Church, which he had built in redemption of a vow made during the battle of Albuera in the Peninsular War: if spared, he would build a church in thanksgiving to God for his life. Close laid the foundation stone of St. James in 1837 and he had donated the land, and built the church and parsonage at his own cost.[97] In his history of Morpeth, Elkin has provided a record of the money Close spent on the church, a substantial total of £1441.[98] As well, Close's own house later became 'Bishopscourt', the seat of the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Newcastle. Close lived in it until 1848, when he sold it to the Bishop, and he and his wife then resided in 'The Cottage'.[99] The east window in St. James's Church, erected by the inhabitants of the district, is a memorial to Close.

Thomas V. Blomfield was also Evangelical. There was quite a community of Evangelicals around the Maitland and Morpeth area during the 1820s and 1830s. Mrs Christiana Blomfield, corresponding with her sister-in-law in England, wrote of her struggle against worldly affairs, selfish feelings and evil passions. She saw the religious instruction of her children as paramount and encouraged them in inner spiritual examination.[100] One of her sons was ordained a Church of England minister in the Evangelical tradition.

William Wemyss, Deputy Assistant Commissary General in Sydney from 1821 until 1827, was another Evangelical. He employed young George Lang in the Commissariat in Sydney, and when Lang's brother, the Presbyterian Rev. J. D. Lang, arrived in Sydney in 1822, George Lang paved the way for him to stay with the Wemyss family. The Presbyterians were anxious to erect a Scots church, but there were rival ecclesiastical opinions. Lang sought to create in the colony a Church as close as possible to the Established Church in Scotland, and insisted that the minister of the Scots church should be a licentiate of the Church of Scotland.

Wemyss, an influential figure in Sydney society, objected and insisted that the Scots church be open to ministers from among the Scottish dissenters, resulting in a more evangelical ministry.[101] Lang's proposed constitution was accepted, and arrangements began for the building of the church. Wemyss then openly opposed Lang in all his endeavours and arranged for one of his Evangelical friends, James Elder, to represent the building of the Scots church to Lang's congregation as an ill advised and impracticable undertaking.[102] Wemyss also threatened to use his influence to have Lang's salary stopped and to have him removed from the colony. Wemyss tried everything in his power to subvert Lang, and even told his employees in the Commissariat that, if they attended the Scots church, they would lose their jobs.[103]

Georgiana Molloy, wife of Captain John Molloy of the 95th Regiment and an emigrant to the Swan River colony, had been an enthusiastic Evangelical in Britain. The foremost influence in her religiosity was that of Robert Story, an assistant minister at Rosneath, in Scotland, the parish adjoining that of Edward Irving.[104] When Robert Story married Georgiana's best friend, she herself went to live with the Storys. There, she led an austere, almost monastic, life in Rosneath, a centre of religious fervour. After she and her husband emigrated to the Swan River colony, Georgiana's Evangelical beliefs continued and flourished. She found herself repelled by the sinful world she found there: for instance, the military garrison and their wives, who refused to take Captain Molloy's Sunday sermons seriously.[105] Georgiana Molloy's interest in the natural world was a result of her religious belief, as the study of natural history was thought to bring man nearer to God.[106] Women, in particular, were urged to become involved in the study of natural history. The highly influential publication of William Paley, *Natural Theology*, was originally published in 1802 and reprinted almost annually well into the nineteenth century. According to Paley, the examination of plants revealed the ways and means by which they survived, and these must surely be the work of God.[107]

Dr Henry Grattan Douglass, surgeon to the 18th Regiment, was a member of the Church of Ireland and Evangelical. Governor Brisbane reported that the 'Saints' had sent him to Sydney:

> An opinion has got abroad that Dr Douglass was forced upon your Lordship by the interest of a certain party in England, vulgarly termed the 'Saints'.[108]

Dr Douglass arrived in 1821 with a private letter of recommendation from Earl Bathurst to Governor Macquarie, and was immediately

appointed in charge of the hospital at Parramatta and as a magistrate. When Governor Brisbane replaced Macquarie, Douglass became a friend of his. Douglass was frequently consulted by the Colonial Office on the affairs of the colony, and returned to Sydney with the tentative appointment of clerk of the Council at a salary of £800 per annum.[109] All this points to considerable influence in London in the Evangelical circles of power. As Douglass was Evangelical, his philanthropic works in Sydney, discussed in Chapter 3, were numerous. Douglass and his family returned to Sydney in 1848 on the *Earl Grey*, with Douglas acting as surgeon-superintendent on the voyage. This ship was the first vessel to bring female Irish orphans to Australia under Earl Grey's pauper immigration scheme. There was an official enquiry into the selection of the girls on the *Earl Grey*, and Dr Douglass heavily influenced this investigation, so much so that the scheme came to an end in 1850. There is no doubt that the testimony of Dr Douglass to the enquiry played a large part in the decision to wind up the scheme, and in his letter of 1850 to the Committee, Douglass used highly emotive language calculated to appeal to those with anti-Irish, and hence anti-Catholic, prejudice. Douglass warned of the 'contamination and racial depravity' likely to be transmitted by the orphan girls.[110]

Other Peninsular War veterans were active in Anglican communities and aided in the construction of new churches. In Victoria, Captain Foster Fyans was active in the building of two Church of England churches at Geelong, St. Peters and the Church of Christ.[111] Edward Dumaresq built a stone church and rectory on his land in Van Diemen's Land, and Dr James Mitchell planned to build an Anglican church on his land at Stockton, near Newcastle. The foundation stone for this church was laid in 1845 and the church was to be called St. Andrew's. The church was never built, and the foundation stone was rediscovered in 1890, during the erection of another church on the same site.

The strength of Anglicanism and Protestantism generally throughout the British Empire, in Britain, and in the British army, is clear. Both Anglicanism and Protestantism, with their associated anti-popish sentiments, were at the core of British national identity, and it was in the British army that all three elements coalesced. Peninsular War veterans were 'throne and altar men': in other words, their national and religious identities were closely linked. A fundamental part of their national identity was being Protestant and, if they happened to be Evangelical also, their anti-Catholicism was particularly intense: this is reflected in the passionate anti-papism of the memoirs and diaries of the Peninsular War. When Peninsular War veterans came to the Australian colonies,

they were some of the leading identities in colonial life – for example, governors and military commanders – and their conduct was influential. In New South Wales, the Darling, Dumaresq and Macleay families were notable as Evangelicals, as was Frederick Irwin in the Swan River colony. The example, too, of some of their wives in spreading Evangelical zeal is significant. Peninsular War veterans brought with them to the Australian colonies the overt Protestantism of the British army, with organisations such as the Masonic Lodge and the Orange Lodge, and they were prominent in the building of Anglican churches. In response to the introduction of the Church Act in 1836, these British army officers united with other Protestants in a more cohesive form of Protestantism than had previously been found in New South Wales, and that had echoes in other colonial contexts. Peninsular War veterans pledged allegiance to the Protestant succession and were also influential in the export of Anglicanism, Protestantism and anti-Catholicism to the British Empire.

5

'an art which owes its perfection to War': Skills of Veterans

Thomas Mitchell had many skills when he arrived in New South Wales in 1827, those of a surveyor, geologist, geographer, explorer, naturalist, botanist and anthropologist; though it was his expertise as a surveyor that qualified him for appointment as Deputy Surveyor General. Mitchell acknowledged this in a letter to his patron, Sir George Murray, and commented that it was his long experience in 'an art which owes its perfection to War' that qualified him for his new appointment.[1] Mitchell and other British army officers had proved themselves resilient under adversity, and had developed the ability to 'rough it' in the Australian environment, similar in some respects to that of the Iberian Peninsula. Both officers and men alike had learnt the art of adapting themselves to new and unexpected conditions and tasks. The skills Peninsular War veterans put to use in the Australian colonies were a consequence of their previous experience in Spain and Portugal. Of the variety of these skills, more than half were directly involved with British colonisation of Australia. These were technical skills and mainly related to land and mapping: exploring, surveying, map making, draughting, town planning, engineering, building fortifications and road making. Among other things, maps were an aid in managing a population, especially one where a great number were convicts or ex-convicts. Besides, the geographical features on these maps were often named in memory of Wellington's campaign in the Peninsula.

Other veterans also brought with them modern professional skills acquired in the British army and the newly organised Commissariat. Some brought medical skills and experience gained on the battlefields as part of the new British army Medical Department, and became leaders in colonial surgery and medicine. While it is true that the skills acquired by these men could have been acquired elsewhere in the

British army, and some in the medical service were, the battles fought in Spain and Portugal occupied the vast majority of the British army from 1808 until 1814. Those medical skills proved crucial to the expansion of the British Empire.

The absolute centrality of the new science of survey and mapping is explained, alongside its development in other parts of the world. The British government's aim was to survey and map the Nineteen Counties of New South Wales, or what was known as the settled areas. From a study of the military and subsequent careers of two men, Thomas Mitchell and William Light, appointed Surveyors General of New South Wales and South Australia respectively, the importance of their technical skills is apparent. Both saw service in the Peninsular War and had gained experience there in topographical reconnaissance. A later appointment as Surveyor General of New South Wales, George Barney, also a Peninsular War veteran, was a brilliant engineer, but had no surveying experience. The nascent bureaucracy in New South Wales and other colonies – particularly the Commissariat and the Audit Office – owed much to the skills of Peninsular War veterans who, significantly, had the benefit of being more economical to employ than civilians. Most were on half pay with the British army, so employing military men represented a large saving on the half-pay bill.

The British government's ignorance of its own country at the end of the eighteenth century is astonishing, for had the French landed, as they might have done in 1797, there were no dependable maps of any counties other than Sussex and Kent.[2] In this day and age we take scientific mapping as a given, but in the early nineteenth century, it was in its infancy. Certainly, there had been maps before then, for instance, Christopher Saxton's *Survey of the English Counties*, published in 1579, and John Speed's *Atlas*, published in 1611.[3] Early maps were often inaccurate, but they did provide a basis for later scientific surveying, following the introduction of the theodolite and chronometer. What gave the impetus for the need for a geometrical survey, at public expense, was the 1745 Jacobite rebellion in Scotland. Following this rebellion, a military man proposed the idea of a survey and the Highlands, the area of perceived threat, were surveyed and mapped. At the same time the Lowlands were also surveyed and mapped.[4] Sadly, this map was considered a 'magnificent military sketch' rather than an accurate map. Once again, the prospect of war emphasised the need for full-scale mapping of the British Isles and, when the war with France began in 1793, the process was hastened.

The British Ordnance Survey was begun a few years earlier, in 1791, and the object was the production of a one-inch map of the whole of the UK.[5] At that time, surveying was suddenly big business in England:

canals were being dug, common lands enclosed, and farmers were having their fields measured for the first time.[6] By the mid nineteenth century, the entire British Isles had been surveyed trigonometrically and mapped, on both a one-inch and a six-inch scale.[7] Much the same thing happened elsewhere: Napoleon recognised the importance of mapping France and the cadastral[8] mapping of that country commenced in 1807.[9] Where maps of Spain and Portugal were concerned, the situation was worse than that for Britain. Before Wellington marched into Spain, he wrote to the British minister in Seville, asking for any topographical or geographical information about Spain. He also requested two copies of Lopez's map, used by both sides during the war and reasonably accurate for Spain, though not so for Portugal.[10] It was only because of the exigencies of the war that a British map of the Peninsula was produced by 1810, under the auspices of Sir George Murray, who sent out sketching officers, one of whom was Thomas Mitchell.

A map is not only a device for finding one's way to an unfamiliar place or a representation of a tract of land; it is also a scientific abstraction of reality.[11] It represents, in a certain manner, what is already there. Maps had the effect of shaping the imagination of early settlers in the Australian colonies, as they enabled the land to be viewed in the way the British wanted it: in a series of lines delineating land grants of one, two, three or four square miles, and in knowable portions: parishes, counties, and the like. Maps are therefore a crucial part of colonisation, as they not only define boundaries but *creat*e them. Ownership of land can be also be created by maps.[12]

The symbol of British ownership of the Australian colonies was the surveyor, as the surveyor had the power to draw maps. Those who had the means to control, grant, sell and survey it, were those in authority. By measuring out the bush, it became possible, for the first time, for someone to buy and own it. For millennia, the Aborigines, for whom the concept of private property was unknown, occupied Australia, and then came the British surveyors with their measuring chain,[13] to transform the bush into property. Consequently, as a part of the colonisation process in the Australian colonies, parcels of land had to be measured and mapped, towns had to be planned, county divisions made, lines of road laid down. In other words, the land would be 'magically transported from wilderness to property by the act of measurement and mapping'.[14]

Changes to land administration in New South Wales were outlined by Earl Bathurst to Governor Brisbane in 1825: the need to map the colony; the establishment of a commission to make a general valuation

of the land and to make reservations of land for public purposes; and, thirdly, the establishment of a body to control lands, to be known as the Clergy and School Estates, and to comprise one-seventh of the land in each county.[15] This was not an isolated piece of policy, but rather the extension of a survey review that had begun in Britain. The need for an accurate survey and mapping of the colony was for defence planning, to raise government revenue from the land, to advance scientific and statistical knowledge and to enable efficient control of the population. The first three were explicit, the last implicit: maps were partly about surveillance and control of the population. Brisbane did nothing about these regulations, and it was not until after Governor Darling's arrival, in December of that year, that greater emphasis was placed on efficient surveying and mapping.

In Ireland, the British government outlined similar needs for mapping:

> An accurate map … was required for the purpose of making a valuation which would form the basis of the fiscal arrangements and other improvements *which the social evils and anomalies of Ireland urgently demand*.[16] [my emphasis]

During the Ordnance Survey project in Ireland, the men in the field were instructed to take note of the following features of Irish life:

> Habits of the people. Note the general style of cottages. … Food, fuel, dress, longevity, usual number in a family, early marriages. … What are their amusements and recreations? … What local customs prevail? … Driving the cattle through fire, and through water? Peculiar games?[17]

In other words, surveillance is called for to seek evidence of the personal lives of the Irish and their perceived superstitious practices. Also with this project, Irish place names were anglicised, and the end result was an Ordnance Survey map of Ireland that created an English-speaking place, a coloniser's view of Ireland.

In New South Wales too, the land and its mapping had high priority, both for the British government and for the bureaucracy of the colony. To carry out this work, the British government needed men of experience and skill, as more emphasis was now being placed on administrative efficiency. Those who had the necessary skills were Peninsular War veterans, men who had done topographical reconnaissance and surveying during

the war, and William Light and Thomas Mitchell were two such men. Both are well-known names as explorers in the Australian colonies, but Mitchell is also well known for his surveying and map-making abilities, both of which he acquired on the Iberian Peninsula. Those who worked with Spanish guerillas gained valuable experience in reconnaissance. William Light spent some time with Spanish units, both regular and irregular. From October 1812, for instance, he was with Julian Sanchez[18] for some months, and then again the following year. Also in 1813, Light spent some time with Pablo Morillo.[19] Light was chosen to serve with Spanish units, both regular and irregular, not only for his fluency in Spanish but also for his 'great spirit of adventure'.[20] Light, of course, used this experience to advantage when engaged in exploring, mapping, survey and town-planning tasks in South Australia.

Another well-known Australian explorer, Charles Sturt, related to the influential Napier family, served in the Pyrenees late in the Peninsular War. Soon after his arrival in New South Wales, Sturt was appointed military secretary to the governor and major of brigade to the garrison, but he preferred exploration. His first expedition was in 1828, and his second in 1829, in which he came across 'a broad and noble river' which he named in honour of Sir George Murray.[21]

William Light's war service began in the Royal navy. Afterwards, in 1808, he obtained a commission, with purchase, in the 4th Dragoons of the British army. The following year, the regiment embarked for Portugal. Light served in both Portugal and Spain until April 1811, when he was appointed liaison and intelligence officer with the Spanish cavalry.[22] His duties involved providing accurate information about enemy movements, with sketches. General Beresford's chief-of-staff, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, said that Light was 'peculiarly fitted' for this sort of work.[23] Wellington relied heavily on exploring officers such as Light; he was attempting to cover two routes into Portugal from invasion by two or three French armies, so intelligence and communication was paramount.[24] Light had an added advantage in that he spoke Spanish and even kept his diary in that language, and so he was attached to various Spanish units, regular and guerilla. A great deal of his time was spent exploring the countryside, sketching, mapping and sending in reports. During the early months of 1813, he explored and prepared maps of roads of possible use by Wellington in his advance to the Ebro. Wellington used this knowledge of northern Spain to his advantage at the battle of Vittoria, where the French were completely routed.[25]

In 1836, William Light was appointed surveyor general of the British colony of South Australia with a salary of £400 a year,[26] a recognition

that Light possessed the skills, the topographical expertise and experience required for this position. These skills were to serve him well, as South Australia was probably the least explored of the Australian colonies and a good deal of exploration was left to Light, whose instructions from the Colonisation Commission set the impossible task of minutely examining 1500 miles of coast, selecting the site for the new town and surveying that site, as well as dividing an area of 150 square miles of country into sections.[27] All this they expected to be completed within two months. Light drew on his experience in a similar climate in Spain when choosing the location for the site of Adelaide. With the prospect of hot dry summers, he believed that the Mount Lofty ranges would help to bring rain to the area.[28] Light made several expeditions of exploration and survey before resigning in July 1838. Light's resignation was due to the inadequacy of his staff and equipment, and to the likelihood of his being unable to complete the task set by the commission. As Light immediately formed Light, Finnis & Co., Land Agents and Surveyors, with a former assistant and most of the staff from his department,[29] he may also have had an eye to profits from the business enterprise larger than the amount of his salary. There is no question that business was brisk at the new firm, whose office was at Light's residence. Despite spending only three years in South Australia before his early death in 1839, Light was known then, and still is, as 'the founder of Adelaide'.

Thomas Mitchell was perhaps not as daring or dashing a young officer in the Peninsular War as was William Light; but, nonetheless, the two did similar reconnaissance and survey work. Mitchell and Light knew each other and Light joined Mitchell, on at least one occasion, when reconnoitring (see Chapter 3). Mitchell spent some time with the Quartermaster-General's Department as a military surveyor, working in forward positions, often alone. He moved between the 95th Regiment and the Quartermaster-General's Department. Possessed of very good sketching skills and mathematical knowledge, Mitchell was the ideal surveyor. There is no evidence of any other training for a military surveyor during the Peninsular War, other than a manual issued in 1810, *Instructions for the Officers in the Department of the Quartermaster-General*.[30] The Survey Section, attached to the Quartermaster-General's Department, was a vital part of the British army, and it was here that Mitchell learnt the skills required for his later exploration and surveying expeditions in the Australian colonies. In this section, he had to quickly survey and sketch features of importance that could determine future operations, and he had to take note of elevations and their heights, of roads and bridges, waterways and their depths, etc.[31] The Iberian

Peninsula was where Mitchell gained his capacity for physical endur-
ance: he could go for three days without food, wet through the whole
time, in a bitterly cold wind. In his published journal, Mitchell's assist-
ant surveyor, Granville Stapylton, commented on Mitchell's remarkable
physical endurance.[32]

Mitchell remained in Spain and Portugal for five years from 1814 as
a solitary surveyor in the field, to prepare the plans of the principal
battlefields of the war. Remarkably, he was just 22 years of age when he
began, and he completed this task alone. Young as he was, Mitchell was
by now a well-skilled surveyor and draftsman: Sir George Murray, under
whose instructions he undertook this assignment, would not otherwise
have entrusted him with a work of such magnitude.[33] On his return
to England in 1819, Mitchell worked further on these maps until his
departure for Sydney in 1827. The fruit of many years' work, the maps
of the battlefields were surely Mitchell's *magnum opus*, and the mag-
nificent plans were finally published in 1841 as *Maps and Plans show-
ing the Principal Movements, Battles, and Sieges, in which the British army
was engaged during the War from 1808 to 1814, in the Spanish Peninsula
and the South of France*. Now extremely rare, this work still provides
the most accurate description of the terrain of the battlefields.[34] It has
been described as more like a piece of furniture than a book, measur-
ing 865mm by 700mm, and containing some 50 maps and plans of the
actions in which the British, Portuguese and Spanish armies engaged on
the Iberian Peninsula.[35] The maps reveal Mitchell's skills as a surveyor,
draftsman and lithographic artist. Mitchell also published a book on
surveying. His *Outline of a System of Surveying for geographical and military
purposes comprising The Principles on which The Surface of the Earth may be
Represented on Plans* was published in London in 1827. It was favourably
reviewed, and recommended for all military men.

In Australia, Mitchell is probably better known as an explorer than
a surveyor. He led four major expeditions into the interior, and is best
remembered for his 1836 Australian Felix expedition where he explored
large areas of Victoria, and for his charting of the Murray-Darling
system. It was on the 1836 expedition that Mitchell named many geo-
graphical features in memory of his fellow soldiers in the Peninsular
War. Squatters followed Mitchell's line to the new Port Phillip district
and grazed their sheep where they could. New country was needed for
the quickly expanding wool export industry: from just over 1 million
lbs. exported in 1830, there were 12 million lbs. of wool exported by
1841.[36] An important point about Mitchell's explorations is that he sur-
veyed at the same time, thereby saving the cost of another expedition.

Every evening, as his men were making camp, he rode away towards a hill or mountain, sometimes five or six miles distant, and took angles for the trigonometrical survey of the colony. He remained there as long as light permitted, then rode back to the camp and wrote the daily journal.[37] As his biographer, W. C. Foster, points out, the skills Mitchell had acquired during his years in Spain and Portugal were to be drawn upon time and time again in the planning and the day-to-day activities of each of his four inland expeditions. During his exploration journeys, Mitchell even set his camp in the same layout that he had been used to in the Peninsular War.[38]

When the Colonial Office recognised the need for a proper survey, Mitchell was appointed Deputy Surveyor General in 1827, under the ailing John Oxley. Oxley died the following year and Mitchell became Surveyor General, a post he held until 1855. The next Surveyor General, George Barney, was also a Peninsular War veteran, so for 30-odd years these two men ran the Surveyor General's Department in New South Wales. South Australia had William Light as its Surveyor General, Victoria had Robert Hoddle and the Cape had Major Mitchell. In New South Wales, the Deputy Surveyor General, one who acted occasionally as Surveyor General, was Captain Samuel Perry, also a Peninsular War veteran. During Mitchell's term as Surveyor General, the basic exploration of New South Wales was completed, the Department of Lands was created, a trigonometric network was introduced to New South Wales and he began a cadastral survey of Sydney and its environs. Mitchell produced the first large-scale printed geological map, *Geological Sketch of Wellington Valley*, and his trigonometrical survey was the basis of the first true topographical map of Australia, the 1834 *Map of Nineteen Counties*. While Mitchell was untiring in his efforts in his department, his other interests often intruded. An 1855 Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Survey Department condemned the methods and results of Mitchell's surveying and his administration; but this has been called an unfair summation.[39] Mitchell had complained time and again about the lack of surveying instruments, and that most people failed to realise the difference between surveying in England, on occupied land with villages, farms and roads, and surveying and mapping vast areas of a largely unexplored and unsettled country. In an analogy with William Light's treatment in South Australia, the commissioners failed to allow for the inadequate and often primitive means at Mitchell's disposal and the magnitude of the tasks given to him. In my view, Mitchell's greatest cartographic achievements were his maps of the Peninsular War battlefields and his 1834 *Map of the Nineteen Counties*

of New South Wales.[40] I am not the first to make this assessment: over the years, many others have praised both, and the War Office used his Peninsula maps for over 80 years.

After Mitchell's death in 1855, George Barney was appointed surveyor general of New South Wales. Barney was born at Wolverhampton, near Birmingham, the son of the eminent painter, Joseph Barney. The four Barney sons were all in the British army, and two were artists of some note: Joseph Barney Junior and William Barney. George Barney served in the Peninsular War from 1810 at Gibraltar, where he took part in the planning and construction of fortifications. From December 1811 to January 1812, he was a member of the team of engineers who played a part in the successful defence of Tarifa[41] in Spain, during the siege by the French.[42] Barney then served in the West Indies until 1830, in Jamaica as Resident Engineer, and in Grenada, where he held the position of Commanding Royal Engineer. Back in England, Barney was employed at Chatham, and later at Portsmouth, working on improvements to the fortifications.[43] When Governor Bourke in New South Wales requested a civil engineer to be sent to the colony, George Barney was appointed both to command the Royal Engineers and be Colonial Engineer; thus his duties were a mixture of both military and civil. Lieutenant-Colonel Barney was replaced as head of the Royal Engineers Department in Sydney in 1843, though retained as Colonial Engineer by Governor Gipps. For the first time, the decision was made to create two positions: one in charge of the Royal Engineers and the other in charge of civil works. Barney concentrated on colonial works such as roads and bridges, and water supply and drainage for Sydney. Among other things, he supervised the construction of the Darlinghurst Gaol, before returning to England in 1844.[44] Unhappy in England, and anxious to return to Sydney, Barney went on half pay, sold his commission and returned to Australia with the position of Lieutenant Governor Designate of North Australia, with orders to establish a convict colony in North Australia.[45] His next appointment was as Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands from 1849 until 1855, and then Surveyor General from 1855 to 1859. George Barney was a competent engineer, and his engineering expertise was vital in the new colony. There are many other monuments to his ability in this field, apart from the well-known sea wall at Circular Quay: military fortifications at Middle, South, Bradleys and Georges Heads, Dawes Point Battery and Fort Denison.[46] However, Barney was a poor successor to Mitchell as Surveyor General: evidence given before a Select Committee on the Management of the Survey Department in 1858 revealed that Barney had never been out in the

field.[47] He had no experience as a surveyor and had never carried out a trigonometrical survey.

Another lesser-known, though still important, staff member of the office of the Surveyor General was Captain Samuel Augustus Perry, Deputy Surveyor General of New South Wales from 1830 (when Mitchell moved to the senior position on Oxley's death) until 1853. Born in Wales, Perry was appointed an ensign in the Royal Staff Corps in 1809 and served in the Peninsular War under Sir George Murray, Mitchell's patron. Perry fought in the battles at Badajoz, Nivelle and Nive. The latter two are in the Pyrenees, and while in that area, he had some dealings with guerillas. In August 1813, Perry was ordered to carry a despatch to the guerilla General Longa[48] who was in the Pyrenees, near Maya Pass. Perry's commanding officer had told him they were without any communication, and needed to know the location of the French. Needless to say Longa knew it, and gave the reply immediately.[49]

Prior to his appointment in New South Wales, Perry was professor of topographical drawing at the Royal Military College, a position he held until 1823. From there, he went to Dominica as private secretary and then aide-de-camp to the governor, before returning to England because of ill health, where he lived on half pay. By 1828 Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, Sir George Murray, appointed Perry as Deputy Surveyor General in New South Wales at a salary of £500 per annum with allowances.[50] Perry arrived in Sydney in 1829, but, unfortunately for him, he was friendly with William Dumaresq, Governor Darling's brother-in-law, and was thus seen by Mitchell as a friend of the Darling coterie.[51] Earlier, Governor Darling had attempted to have Dumaresq appointed his Surveyor General; this failed, and created tension between Darling and Mitchell. Dumaresq, like Perry and Mitchell, had served under Sir George Murray in the Quartermaster-General's Department during the war, but there the parallels ended. Mitchell even went as far as adopting John Thompson, the chief draftsman, as unofficial deputy surveyor general, rather than the hapless Perry. Nonetheless Perry surveyed and produced maps for the North Shore, where he sought land for suitable whaling establishments, and for the Hawkesbury River area, St. Leonards, Rushcutter's Bay and Windsor.[52]

Naming of geographical locations represents a significant aspect of colonisation and, in the Australian colonies, it was mainly Peninsular War veterans who did the naming, simply because they were the explorers who tamed the bush and gave it European names. Men like Sir Thomas Mitchell and Captain William Light, with Euro-centric naming, expressed the subordination of colonised places to Britain and the

British Empire. In commemoration of a battle at Barrosa near Cadiz in the south of Spain in 1811, William Light named the Lynedoch Valley and the Barrosa Range after his friend, Lord Lynedoch and the battle he had won. Both the township of Lyndoch and the Barossa Valley remain in South Australia, with slightly corrupted versions of the original names.[53] William Light and Thomas Mitchell had the task of preparing the land for colonisation; with maps and names, the land could be located by others, and settled. Even at the time, there was criticism of this type of naming. *Blackwood's Magazine*, in a review of the publication of Mitchell's second and third expedition journals, found fault:

> A discoverer may certainly be granted some allowance in distributing his new-found realm among his friends; but we wish that the custom were altogether laid aside of giving the names of insignificant officials, however high their stations, and in some instances, of officials equally insignificant in station and person. We do not make the remark especially with reference to this able man, but to all; and the future masters of these great provinces of British discovery will have to reform their maps, or to bear the stigma of offering their countries to be burdened with the names of individuals wholly trifling in their own generation, and forgotten by every other.[54]

Sir Thomas Mitchell was one of Wellington's exploring officers during the Peninsular War, and his later naming of geographical features in the Australian colonies is a roll call of influential friends, patrons and Peninsular War colleagues, as well as a commemoration of Wellington's campaign in the Peninsula. On 22 July 1836 Mitchell named Mt. Arapiles in Victoria: 'I ascended this hill on the anniversary of the battle of Salamanca, and hence the name'.[55] Mt. Arapiles was named after the Arapiles, two stony features on the battlefield of Salamanca; although Mt. Arapiles rises 700 feet, whereas the Greater and Lesser Arapiles rise only 150 feet above the Salamanca plain.[56] From there, Mitchell peppered the landscape with the names of those who had fought in the Peninsular War. The Stokes River was named after Lieutenant James Marshall Stokes of the 95th Regiment (Mitchell's regiment) who was killed in the storming of Badajoz in April 1812.[57] On 18 August 1836 Mitchell named a hill Fort O'Hare in memory of his commanding officer, who also fell at Badajoz while leading the forlorn hope.[58] From Fort O'Hare, Mitchell's party crossed a river, which he named the Crawford. This was a misspelling of the name of Major General Robert Crauford, Commander of the Light Division until his death at the siege of Ciudad

Rodrigo in 1812. Near the Stokes River lies a range of hills that Mitchell named the Rifle Range, after his own regiment, the 95th Foot or Rifle Brigade.[59] On the southwest end of the Rifle Range, Mitchell called a hill Mount Kincaid after John Kincaid, the author of *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade* and *Random Shots of a Rifleman*, both valuable accounts of the life of an officer of the 95th Regiment. On 28 August 1836, Mitchell found a river, which he named the Fitzroy. Sargent notes that it is believed, though not definitely proven, that this river was named for Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who served as Wellington's military secretary throughout most of the Peninsular War, and who married Wellington's niece.[60] Mount Napier, also named on 28 August, was named for either the whole Napier family or one of its famous members. Rather than other better-known members of the Napier family, such as Sir George Napier (later governor of the Cape), Sargent has proposed that Mount Napier was named after a brother, William Napier. William Napier was the historian of the Peninsular War and the first volumes of that history were in the hands of most veterans from 1828 onwards.[61] Other features are Mount Surgeon, Mount Pierrepoint, Mount Bainbrigge and Mount Stavely, named after two Staff Corps officers and two officers of the Quartermaster General's Department in Portugal and Spain, all of whom were engaged on reconnaissance, mapping and sketching of routes and battlefields.[62] There are others, but a final example is Mount Cole, named by Mitchell on 22 September 1836 after Lieutenant-General Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole,[63] commander of the 4th Division at the battle of the Pyrenees in 1813, for which Mitchell was awarded the Military General Service Medal bar, proof of his participation.[64]

Street names in New South Wales towns also reflect the importance of veterans of the Peninsular War when they were laid out. Just one example is that of Campbelltown, south of Sydney, with the street names of Stewart, Lindesay, Innes, Sturt, Cordeaux, Condamine, Lithgow and Dumaresq.

Peninsular War veterans also dominated the economic management of both New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land during the 1820s and 1830s in the Commissariat and Audit Office. The Colonial Office favoured service officers to fill administrative posts in various parts of the empire, not only because of their experience in England and abroad but because they were economical: they could be had for the difference between their half pay and full pay.[65] Of those who served in the commissariat of the British army during the Peninsular War, some later came to these two Australian colonies to fill positions; full details are provided in Appendix II. The appointment of these experienced and

competent commissaries reflected the growing needs of the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and the demand for reliable staff.

In Sydney, Wemyss was senior by rank and experience, followed by Ryrie, Boyes (for a short time) and Clements. As new centres developed outside Sydney, each had its commissary store and staff, and by 1817, commissary stores had been established at Parramatta, Windsor, Liverpool, Newcastle and Bathurst in New South Wales, and at Hobart and Port Dalrymple (Launceston) in Van Diemen's Land.[66] Radford was posted to Parramatta, Howarth to Bathurst, and later Bowerman went to Port Macquarie. In Van Diemen's Land, Moodie, Boyes, Roberts and Fletcher were at Hobart, and Hull at Port Dalrymple.[67] The majority of these commissaries held the rank of Deputy Assistant Commissary General, equal in rank to a lieutenant, though Moodie and Lithgow held the rank of Assistant Commissary, equal to a captain, and Wemyss held the rank of Deputy Commissary General, equal to that of Lieutenant Colonel.[68] When Wemyss retired from office in 1827, the *Sydney Gazette* loudly praised his conduct in the Commissariat.[69] A number of these men settled in the colonies and became leading members of society.

It was on the Iberian Peninsula that these men had learnt to be men of business. In fact, it was during the war that the Commissariat was thoroughly reorganised and, consequently, became a fully efficient body, capable of organising the food for the British army, and transporting it to the troops. Wellington, in acknowledgement of their contribution, wrote: 'Much of the success of this army has been owing to its being well supplied with provisions.'[70] In the words of one Commissary-General, a Commissariat officer needed the skills to purchase, negotiate and transact business 'with persons of every nation and character' and to be able to 'call into action the most varied attainments and powers of mind'.[71] The vast distances in Spain and Portugal made the movement of troops and supplies very difficult indeed. The northern and southern gateways from Portugal into Spain were the strategic towns of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, 174 miles apart, and both these fortified towns were intensely fought over between 1810 and 1812. Each man was entitled to a daily ration of one pound each of meat and biscuit (or one and a half pound of bread or rice) and one pint of wine or one-third of a pint of spirits.[72] The *daily* demands of the entire British army in the Peninsula during 1813 ran to 100,000 lbs. of biscuit, 200,000 lbs. of forage corn (for the horses) and 300 head of cattle (on the hoof).[73] The Royal Commissariat Corps was the section of the British army charged with organising the provision of food. Wellington drew food from

Britain, but also from Ireland, the US and the southern shores of the Mediterranean.[74] The British Commissariat played a vital part in winning the war as the British army had reliable lines of supply, with food, munitions and other goods landed in Portuguese ports from English naval vessels and then transported by a vast network of transport systems to inland depots.[75] In contrast, the French foraged for food as they moved and this proved part of their undoing: in Spain and Portugal the countryside was poor, and food shortages common. In other parts of Europe, however, where farmland and crops were good, the speed of the Napoleonic army was astonishing.

The Commissariat was a sub-department of the British Government controlled by the Commissary General in London. Its role in both war and peacetime amounted to the same thing: the supply of stores and provisions. It is true that there is a general perception that Commissariat officials in the British army were fond of making money on the side, and their positions aided them. Recently, though, there has been a revision of this general view with the work of military historian, S. G. P. Ward, on the Peninsula Commissary. While this practice was commonplace in the late eighteenth century, by the 1850s it was non-existent.[76] Old habits died hard though, and Ward points to at least one instance of a senior commissary during the retreat to Corunna boasting, 'I have just done a good day's work, I've just put £50 in my pocket.'[77] On the whole, Ward allows that there were some rogues, and some commissaries who made money on the side, but that most of them were honest men and 'that among their number there were men of great ability, enterprise and business acumen'.[78] Boyes was surely one of these men. In his diaries, his anxiety about being on half pay is evident. He was forced to live cheaply in France, before he was appointed to New South Wales on full pay once more.

Sir Robert Kennedy was the Commissary General under the direction of Wellington during the Peninsular War, and one official who served during the Peninsular campaign in Kennedy's office was Stewart Ryrie. Another Commissariat officer, William Lithgow, had been in Mauritius with Governor Darling, where he was in charge of the accounts branch of the Commissariat. His career had begun in Heligoland, a small island off the coast of Germany that was seized by the British during the Napoleonic Wars. Soon after his arrival in Sydney in 1824, he introduced a more efficient system in the commissariat. Both Governors, Brisbane and Darling, were impressed with Lithgow's capabilities and Darling appointed him to the Board of General Purposes.[79] On his resignation as Assistant Commissary-General, Lithgow was appointed

Auditor-General. Lithgow was a man of influence: he ranked just below the Colonial Secretary, the most important civil servant in the colony. In the same way, G. W. T. B. Boyes proved influential in colonial Van Diemen's Land where he was Colonial Auditor from 1826 until 1853, and Colonial Secretary from 1842 to 1843.[80]

It was not only the Commissariat that made major advances during the Napoleonic wars, British military medicine did likewise. Professor Richard Blanco has argued that it was during this period that British military medicine emerged as a formal body of knowledge.[81] They learnt some valuable lessons: the West Indian campaigns of the 1790s cost Britain the lives of 20,000 soldiers and twice that number who were invalided, and the expedition to Egypt in 1801 where British surgeons were faced with the problem of ophthalmia for the first time.[82] But the most disastrous expedition in military medicine was the one in 1809 to Holland. Here, the epidemic of Walcheren[83] fever among the troops incapacitated nearly half the entire force of 40,000 troops. It had repercussions too, because the debilitated troops who were later sent to fight in Spain were the first to succumb to disease during the rigorous campaigns of the Peninsular War.[84] During the Peninsular War, Wellington, more than any other British general of the era, grasped not only the importance but also the strategic implications of having healthy troops in his army.[85] Thus, as a result of the British army's global campaigning, the Medical Department of the British army was efficient and up to date, and there was seldom a shortage of surgeons or medicine in the later campaigns in the Peninsula.[86] But, of course, after the end of the war, there was much less call for the services of these surgeons. Those medicos who came to New South Wales and the other Australian colonies were among the most influential of men, and played an important part in the establishment of a medical culture; full details are provided in Appendix II. Those ex-army doctors who had prosperous private practices in what was the nerve centre of the Australian colonies, Sydney, were in the forefront of the establishment of the New South Wales Medical Board and other important institutions.[87]

Dr Andrew Gibson had a somewhat chequered professional career. He first studied medicine at the University of Glasgow, then joined the British army and was a hospital assistant at the battle of Waterloo in 1815. The fact that he returned to his medical studies in London from 1818 to 1819 would seem to indicate that his medical training had been incomplete when he joined the army.[88] Dismissed from service by a court martial at Halifax in 1821, he was readmitted as a hospital assistant and then appointed to New South Wales as the Assistant Surgeon

NSW Royal Veteran Company. While in Sydney in 1826 as assistant surgeon at the Military Hospital, Gibson displayed extraordinary skill by successfully ligating an aneurysm of the femoral artery in the right leg of Captain Archibald Innes, of the 3rd Regiment in 1827; it was concluded that Innes died 43 days later as a result of the operation.[89] Nothing could be further from the truth: Innes survived to have an eventful life and career, discussed in Chapter 2. Gibson's final medical appointment was as Assistant Colonial Surgeon from 1828 to 1830, after which he retired to his grant of land and never practised medicine again.

Dr Henry Douglass, born in Ireland, was first apprenticed as a surgeon in the British army in 1809 and, in 1811, was appointed assistant surgeon in 18th Regiment. In this regiment, he saw service in the Peninsula and in the West Indies. After retiring on half pay, he obtained his membership of the Royal College of Surgeons in England in 1815 and, a few years later, was admitted as a licentiate of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland. Soon after, he obtained his degree of doctor of medicine from Trinity College, Dublin.[90] Douglass arrived highly recommended, and he was immediately appointed by Governor Macquarie to be in charge of the hospital and Female Factory at Parramatta, and he also had a substantial private practice.[91] Unfortunately, Douglass was involved in the maelstrom of colonial politics and fell foul of Governor Darling, with the result that Douglass was forced to leave the colony for England. After he left, his grant of land of 2000 acres on the Shoalhaven River near Nerriga NSW (between Braidwood and Nowra) was taken away from him and granted to Colonel Mackenzie, another Peninsular War veteran. Douglass spent the next 20 years practising medicine, with some distinction, in France, and returned to Sydney in 1848 as surgeon-superintendent on an emigrant ship, the *Earl Grey*. Douglass' contribution to the practice of medicine in New South Wales is certainly more evident during the latter period of his life, on his return from France. He was appointed honorary physician at the Sydney Infirmary, a position he held for eight years and was elected a member of the Medical Board of New South Wales. His other great medical and philanthropic interests were the Benevolent Society, where he was honorary medical officer for some years, and the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children.[92]

Likewise, Dr James Mitchell had very good medical qualifications. He joined the Army Medical Corps in 1810 and, in 1813, qualified as a licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh. He saw service in the Peninsular War, as well as America and the Netherlands, and, during the battle of Waterloo, was stationed at the British military hospital in

Brussels.[93] He remained in the army as a military surgeon after 1815 and, in 1817, made the first of his three voyages to New South Wales as assistant surgeon to the 48th Regiment.[94] For the next few years he remained with the 48th Regiment and must have, at this stage, decided to settle in New South Wales as, in 1823 he went onto half pay with the army, and transferred to the Colonial Medical Department as an assistant surgeon. While Mitchell always claimed he was Superintendent of the General Hospital in Sydney from 1825 to 1837, he was not officially appointed surgeon until 1 January 1829. Nonetheless the knowledge of medicine he acquired during the Peninsular War and his other military postings served him very well for his position at the General Hospital, as well as for his substantial private practice, run from his house in Cumberland Place. As well, Mitchell was for many years president of the Medical Board of New South Wales.[95] Reminiscent of Dr Douglass, Mitchell also fell foul of colonial politics. Mitchell was suspended from the Colonial Medical Department in 1837 after a long dispute with Dr Thompson, in charge of the Colonial Medical Department, for refusing to attend a flogging. Mitchell spent the next few years attempting to clear his name until, finally, in 1841, Governor Gipps recommended that Mitchell be reinstated for one day and then allowed to resign, an action later approved by the Colonial Office.[96] In a comparable way to other Peninsular War veterans, Dr Mitchell obtained grants of land, both in the County of Camden and in the Hunter Valley; but, unlike most others, his business interests did not lie only in the land. Mitchell had many other business ventures: a salt works, a tweed factory and a very successful smelting works. Still single when he made his third landfall in 1821, he married in Sydney in 1833, and his only son was David Scott Mitchell, benefactor of the Mitchell Library in Sydney.[97]

Two other early surgeons of note are Edward Pilkington and William Milligan. Pilkington spent the Peninsula years in Ireland before going to Canada for seven years, Corfu for four years and Sierra Leone for a few years before being posted to New South Wales. He remained there for six years with the 29th Foot, besides having a substantial private practice.[98] Similarly, Milligan was ordered to the fledgling Swan River colony (now Perth) with the 63rd Regiment in 1829. He had hopes of settling there, but when the regiment was posted to Madras, he went with them. His name is well known in Perth as the founder of a colonial hospital, later to become the Royal Perth Hospital.[99]

If one was a medical man who lacked the right family connections to go immediately into private practice in the years 1793–1815, the army medical service provided an ideal opportunity. It offered good pay and, more importantly, the chance to meet like-minded people. During the

Napoleonic years, some 2850 surgeons were recruited,[100] mainly from the aspiring middle class, as has been pointed out by Ackroyd et al., who argue this group made a significant contribution to the professionalisation of medicine in the nineteenth century as they were better educated and more widely experienced than their civilian counterparts. This argument is borne out when the New South Wales Colonial Medical Service is examined.

In 1835 the Colonial Medical Service in New South Wales faced an abrupt reorganisation: from then on, it was placed under direct military rule by the director-general of Army Hospitals, Sir James McGrigor, himself a veteran of the Peninsular Wars and appointed by the duke of Wellington to the top post in 1815.[101] Economy may have been the determining factor in the reorganisation, but it appears that the personal standards and 'professional competence' of the Colonial Medical Service, with some notable exceptions, compared unfavourably with the military surgeons. Using the skills learnt during war time, military surgeons were also found to be better at understanding malingering among convicts. After the cessation of convict transportation to New South Wales in 1841, the obvious need for separate convict and civilian establishments diminished and, in 1848, military rule of the service came to an end. Interestingly, in providing separate military medical establishments for New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, McGrigor was asked to select the two heads from the half-pay list,[102] echoing other appointments in the Australian colonies from the half-pay list.

I would like to return now to other achievements. To those Peninsular War veterans with surveying experiences fell the duty of the planning of towns in New South Wales: Thomas Mitchell, William Dumaresq and Samuel Perry. In South Australia, William Light did the planning and in Brisbane, George Barney. Colonel William Dumaresq, a man with influence as a near relative of Darling, was the chairman of a Board of Enquiry set up in 1829 to provide planning regulations. By this time, there had been a few towns planned, but Governor Darling set out to regularise planning regulations. One of the controversies during the board's hearings was the dispute about 'the Spanish solution' or 'the Indian solution'. Both Darling and Dumaresq had been in India where the streets were wide, but Mitchell's knowledge of heat and dust had been acquired in service in Spain. The argument for 'the Indian solution' was to admit the free flow of air to alleviate the prevailing high temperatures, whereas Mitchell maintained that 'a narrow street in a country subject to hot winds, dust, and a scorching sun, is rather desirable than otherwise'.[103] Because of his influence, it is not surprising that

Dumaresq's Indian model prevailed. Undeterred, Mitchell continued to plan towns, and Maitland and Goulburn were probably his most elaborate efforts in town planning.

Mitchell was keen to create public spaces, and at Maitland he had a vision for an elaborate area, dominated by the Anglican church on a hilltop, as the high point of several vistas.[104] With too many irons in the fire, Mitchell's enthusiasm for town planning waned and his deputy, Perry, showed little of Mitchell's flair. On the other hand, William Light's plan of Adelaide was unique. Light's instructions were to create public space, and provide wide streets, as had been adopted in New South Wales, and his plan has been admired ever since. As the Adelaide historian, Hugh Stretton, has written:

> We live in a famously planned town. William Light designed it in one hot Christmas week of 1836; generations later his planning is still blessed, and used as he intended. From a city neighbourhood we step into his versatile parklands to play various sports and games.[105]

George Barney's village plan for the penal colony of Moreton Bay, completed in 1839, may not have been as attractive as Light's. However, only three years later, the town was thrown open for free settlement and Barney's town planing became the basis of planning for the new town of Brisbane.[106]

Military men were also the road makers in the Australian colonies, and the names of Lieutenant Jonathan Warner and Lieutenant Percy Simpson, both Peninsular War veterans, appear in this field. Warner's appointment and short career in road making was undistinguished, before he obtained a land grant and settled at what is known as Warner's Bay, on Lake Macquarie in New South Wales. Simpson's influence on road making, however, was more pronounced. He arrived in New South Wales in 1822, and was first appointed as commandant of the convict agricultural station at Wellington Valley. This was abandoned after a couple of years, though in that time, 300 acres had been cultivated and 40 buildings erected. His next appointment was as assistant surveyor of the Great North Road, built to link Sydney with the expanding Hunter Valley. Simpson was a capable and efficient administrator of public works, with experience gained on the Island of Paxos,[107] as well as experience in the new techniques of road making. He was in charge of up to 700 convicts, and built the road's most difficult sections, including the steep descent from the ridgeline to the Hawkesbury River at Wiseman's Ferry.[108] A new technology of road making, recently adopted in England,

appeared in New South Wales very quickly. A mere five years after John Loudon MacAdam wrote *Remarks on the Present System of Road Making*, Simpson was using the new system on the Great North Road, as he explained to Governor Darling:

> The improved system of road making in England has been by Your Memorialist adopted and carried out successfully in this district [Wiseman's Ferry] which has gained the unanimous approbation of all who pass on it.[109]

The 'Great Roads' of New South Wales were thus built according to MacAdam's recommendations.

Major George Druitt, of the 48th, the first of the Peninsular regiments to arrive in the Australian colonies, was appointed Acting Chief Engineer and Inspector of Public Works soon after his arrival.[110] His duties included, among other things, supervision of convict gangs constructing roads and bridges. Later appointed Chief Civil and Military Engineer, he remained in that position until early in 1822, just before Governor Macquarie left. During that time, nine new roads were completed with a collective length of 80 miles, and a total of 187 bridges.[111] Druitt, however, left the position in disgrace and Governor Brisbane wrote in a despatch, 'Major Druitt's whole conduct in the Engineer Department is highly disgraceful to his character as a British Officer.'[112] Apparently, Druitt had used government convicts on his private property and put his cattle on crown pastures, all without permission. Colonel William Dumaresq was then temporarily appointed as Civil Engineer and Inspector of Roads and Bridges from May 1826 until his retirement in 1828. In this position, Dumaresq was responsible for the design of all buildings in the penal colony of Moreton Bay.[113] But, again, it was the indefatigable Thomas Mitchell who did the lion's share of road building, as well as supervising bridge construction in New South Wales. The three major roads emanating from Sydney: the Great North Road, the Great South Road and the Great West Road are part of the network of 'Great Roads' radiating from Sydney, and were named after the 'Great Roads' of England. These roads played an important role in opening up large areas for free settlement. What we know today as the Hume Highway, linking the great cities of Sydney and Melbourne, is still substantially on the line of Thomas Mitchell's Great South Road.

Besides the surveyors and engineers, there were other Peninsular War veterans with extensive professional and administrative skills. The first

Peninsular War veteran to head the colonial administration in New South Wales was Sir Thomas Brisbane, a governor from 1821, and the last veteran was Sir George Gipps, who governed until 1846. Elsewhere, I remark on the importance of Peninsular War veterans who were appointed to the position of Governor in various parts of the British Empire, so I shall limit my comments here to the specific administrative skills of Sir Ralph Darling, the next incumbent after Brisbane. Darling had gained extensive bureaucratic expertise in military positions in the West Indies: customs official in Grenada, adjutant to the 15th Regiment and military secretary to Sir Ralph Abercromby, to his military successors, and finally to the headquarters staff. Back in London for a short time, he was Temporary Assistant Quartermaster-General, an appointment that gave him more experience and introduced him to another aspect of military life. In 1804, Darling returned to take command of his regiment, the 69th, which was then ordered to India. Unable to complete his posting, Darling was invalided back to England, where he recovered his health. In some ways, this was a lucky move for Darling, since there were plenty of opportunities in London for experienced and talented officers.[114] In 1806, Darling was appointed Principal Assistant Adjutant-General at the Horse Guards. It was the Adjutant-General's Department, under the Duke of York, that largely assisted in the Duke's reform of army administration. Darling's duties involved the discipline, arming and clothing of the army, both at home and abroad and, with the increase in numbers in the army from 42,668 men in 1793 at the beginning of the war to 291,867 in 1808, those duties were arduous.[115] As well, from 1810 until 1817, Darling worked for the recruiting department. After a posting to Mauritius, where he was in charge of the military and acting governor for a couple of years, Darling was sent to New South Wales also in 1824 to reform colonial administration, much as he had done in the Horse Guards and recruiting department. By the time he reached Sydney, he knew what he wanted to do: 'I shall begin and reorganise the whole.'[116] In 1825 Darling reorganised the Commissariat, which was responsible for the provision and issuing of goods for the troops, convicts and colonists in Sydney and other places. Darling then oversaw a revamping of the entire civil service as well as its growth to accommodate the needs and demands of new free settlers.

Peninsular War veterans had skills that were vital in the British Empire, and in the Australian colonies. Of particular importance was the need for survey and mapping, and here Thomas Mitchell, William Light and Samuel Perry were at a distinct advantage, having recently acquired experience when no official training was available. Mitchell's successor

as Surveyor-General in New South Wales, George Barney, had no survey-
ing experience at all, but was, on the other hand, a proficient engineer
and builder. There were so many officers on half pay after Waterloo,
that those who came to the Australian colonies thought of themselves
as fortunate. Men with certain skills were sought during the 1820s and
1830s: they were there at the creation of the reorganised civil service
under Governor Darling, and were among the few who had the neces-
sary technical, bureaucratic and management skills. Those employed in
the Commissariat and the Audit Office in New South Wales and Van
Diemen's Land had acquired their business skills in the newly organised
Commissariat in Spain and Portugal. The doctors among their number
were among the first in private medical practice, drawing on the skills
learnt in the newly modernised Medical Department of the British
army. The reorganisation of the Colonial Medical Service in New South
Wales into a military establishment under the control of the Director-
General of Army Hospitals in London, as well as an examination of the
colonial careers of Thomas Mitchell, William Light and others highlight
the military character of the civil service in the Australian colonies from
the 1820s until the 1840s, and show how skills acquired during the
exigencies of the Peninsular War were fundamental to the British colo-
nisation of Australia. The correlation between this and the economical
aspect of employing half-pay officers in these capacities was surely not
lost on the British government.

6

'with all the authority of Eastern despots': Veterans as Men of Authority

The office of justice of the peace, or magistrate, was well known in England. Originally established in the fourteenth century to keep 'the king's peace', by the nineteenth century it had wide-ranging powers: court duties, supervision of the police, maintaining the roads, bridges and gaols, setting the price of bread, administering the poor laws, and the master and servant laws, and other local government functions.[1] Magistrates were the virtual rulers of the countryside, especially as a magistrate was rarely dismissed from office. Those who occupied the position of magistrate in England were large landowners, appointed because of their local influence and power, and with the leisure to fulfil their duties. However, magistrates in New South Wales did not have the leisure their counterparts in England enjoyed, as they often held military and civil posts simultaneously, as well as establishing livestock on their grants of land. Consequently, the criticisms of the power of the magistracy in New South Wales were many. The *Atlas*, founded by Robert Lowe with the support of the Pastoral Association,[2] fulminated:

> In this colony the Commission of the peace is filled with persons in every respect unfitted to perform the duties of Magistrate. Among the number military officers … In some parts of the interior they rule *with all the authority of Eastern despots* and this they do with impunity, in consequence of the immense obstacles which distance from the metropolis throws in the way of redress.[3]

E. S. Hall, editor of the *Sydney Monitor* and bête noire of Governor Darling, also complained about the power of magistrates. Magistrates

and civil officers 'formed a strong chain of political power', he said. They were wealthy, interested and greedy men

> who are on terms of friendship with the members of our close Council who are the makers of those laws by which the poor of this Country are now being every day sacrificed to the rich.[4]

Peninsular War veterans were uniquely positioned to take advantage of opportunities because their recently acquired skills and attitudes were relevant to the new British Empire, one that was in the first instance dominated by military structures, especially in New South Wales. This chapter will demonstrate that Peninsular War veterans were a major component of the ruling class in New South Wales and other Australian colonies, were at the heart of colonial political power and considerably reinforced the military character of colonial administration. Had they remained in Britain, Peninsular War veterans would likely have lapsed back into provincial or urban obscurity, but in the Australian colonies they emerged as community leaders of note with historical significance, as they occupied most of the positions of authority: as governors, magistrates, in garrison regiments and law courts, as Crown Lands Commissioners, politicians and leading businessmen.

The Duke of Wellington is the supreme example of the transformation of a military hero into a successful political leader. The Peninsular War veterans who came to the Australian colonies, and who became men of power and authority, were Wellington's men, and thought of themselves as such. They were appointed as governors in settler colonies, and governed both New South Wales and the Cape Colony for about 25 years. In the Australian colonies, the appointment of magistrates was in the gift of these governors, reflecting an overlap between military and colonial patronage. In the 1820s and 1830s, military men in the Australian colonies were at the peak of their influence and authority both as governors and magistrates, and this in turn encouraged the militarisation of colonial structures, particularly the magistracy. Governors Darling and Bourke, for instance, pointedly chose military men as magistrates in New South Wales, and Darling chose military men when he combined the roles of commandant of penal stations and magistrate. Other roles of authority will be examined to illustrate how these men acted as transmitters of British colonial power and authority.

* * * *

Census taking was part of the British government's creation of a tech-nique of social control, and classification, in the Australian colonies. Australians in the nineteenth century were among the most counted people in the world: before 1911, a total of 55 censuses had been held by the six colonies.[5] The first census in New South Wales, taken in 1828, created categories unknown in Britain: CF, came free; BC, born in the colony; FS, free by servitude; GS, government servant; and TL, ticket of leave. And, of course, it was only Europeans who were counted, not Aborigines. As Rob Watts has noted in an article on the Port Phillip census, 'colonial censuses did not count people, rather they first consti-tuted and then counted certain *categories* of people'.[6] Similar work on the census in British India has shown that the Indian census was not just used for data gathering but new categories of identity were also created.[7] The British government used census taking as an instrument in the colonisation process by not counting aborigines as residents, and by measuring the spread of white settlement on land now identified by European names and classified into counties. Thus it can be seen that the colonial census worked in tandem with the process of survey-ing and mapping that was discussed in Chapter 5. As John Weaver has pointed out, the purpose of census collecting was social control and revenue collection.[8] Among the instructions issued to magistrates was this one:

> You will report the names of all parties who may occupy lands without a license, representing according to the Best Information to be obtained of the situation in life, habits, and Characters of those persons and those with them.[9]

After 1815, many Peninsular War veterans were appointed as governor in settler colonies, and this position was often combined with that of com-mander-in-chief of the colony's military, thus military responsibilities and civil administration were one and the same.[10] For this reason, there were fewer naval governors than military. There was a line of Peninsular War veterans who were successive governors of both New South Wales and the Cape Colony, as there was in other locations. Sir John Colborne, was Lieutenant-Governor Upper Canada from 1828 until 1836, later Governor-General of Canada. Prior to his appointment in Canada, Colborne (Baron Seaton), of whom it was said that he was 'a little like the Duke of Wellington in face'[11] had been Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey from 1821 until 1828. After Canada, Colborne was appointed Governor of the Ionian Islands from 1843 until 1849, and then Commander of the Forces in Ireland from 1855 until 1863.[12] And in India, following

the First Afghan war and approaching hostilities in the Punjab, Henry Hardinge (who commanded a Portuguese brigade in the Peninsula) was Governor-General from 1844 until 1847.[13] Prior to Hardinge, Lord William Bentinck (who commanded a brigade at Corunna in Spain) had been appointed Governor-General in 1833.

Mark Francis argues that the 30 years from 1820 to 1850 were the decisive years for British governors in settler colonies: before then the populations were too small to pose a challenge to the authority of governors and, after 1850, self-government became the norm and the power of governors was diminished.[14] This 30-year period neatly coincided with a search for appointments, colonial or other, by many of the commanding officers of the Peninsular War. The fact that so many governors were veterans of the Peninsular War has evaded many historians. Francis claimed many colonial governors were not from a military background, citing as his source the work John Cell did on colonial governors for this period.[15] Yet if one examines the governors in the various colonies with an eye to their background, the opposite is true.

A recent doctoral thesis has documented the governors in the various colonies who were Peninsular War veterans, though Brisbane is omitted in New South Wales.[16] As a brigadier-general, Brisbane was involved in the latter battles of the Peninsular War, from Vittoria to Toulouse, and then commanded a division in the army of occupation in France. Nonetheless Laidlaw recorded the governors of other colonies: Sir Colin Campbell (Tobago, Nova Scotia, Ceylon), Sir James Lyon (Windward Islands), Sir James Smyth (Bahamas, British Guinea), Sir Alexander Woodford (Malta, Corfu, Gibraltar), Sir William Nicolay (Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis and Antigua, Mauritius), Sir William Gomm (Jamaica, Mauritius, India), Sir Howard Douglas (New Brunswick, Ionian Islands), Sir James Kempt (Nova Scotia, Lower Canada), Sir John Keane (Jamaica, Bombay) and Sir Frederick Adam (Malta, Ionian Islands, Madras).[17] All these men were Peninsular War veterans. There were, of course, governors who were not military men, and their backgrounds were various: Poor Law Commissioners, Oxford dons, explorers, magistrates and Members of Parliament.[18]

Others of note who were Peninsular War veterans and governors in various parts of the British Empire were: George Ramsay (ninth Earl of Dalhousie) who was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia from 1816 until 1820, and Governor-General of Canada from 1820 until 1828,[19] also John Sherbrooke who was Governor of Nova Scotia from 1811 to 1816 and Governor-General of Canada from 1816 until 1818[20] and Matthew Whitworth-Aylmer (fifth Baron Aylmer) who was Governor of Canada from 1831 to 1835.[21] The ability with which these men

were able to move between colonies says much for their administrative abilities, and their ability to wield authority.

The Cape Colony had a succession of Peninsular War veterans as governors, beginning with Sir Richard Bourke's arrival in 1826, and concluding with Sir Harry Smith's departure in 1852, a period of 26 years. Between Bourke and Smith at the Cape, there were Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole from 1828 to 1833 (Wellington said that 'Cole gives the best dinners going'),[22] Sir Benjamin D'Urban (who gave his name to Durban) from 1834 to 1838, Sir George Napier from 1838 to 1844 and Sir Peregrine Maitland from 1844 to 1847. Cole was also Governor of Mauritius from 1823 to 1828, where Sir Ralph Darling had been Acting Governor before his appointment to New South Wales. In Ireland, Lord Henry Paget was Lord Lieutenant from 1828 until 1829, and again from 1830 until 1833.[23]

Likewise, in New South Wales, there was a succession of governors and lieutenant governors who were Peninsular War veterans: Brisbane, Stewart, Darling, Lindsay, Bourke, Snodgrass and Gipps. The era of Peninsular War veterans as governors began with Sir Thomas Brisbane, who arrived in Sydney in November 1821, and who was appointed to the position on Wellington's advice.[24] Sir George Gipps, who departed in July 1846, was the last. Thus Peninsular War veterans governed New South Wales for 25 years. The situation was similar in some of the other Australian colonies. In the Swan River colony, the evangelical Frederick Irwin, as senior military officer in the Swan River settlement, was twice acting governor: from September 1832 to September 1833, and from the death of Governor Clark in February 1847 until the new Governor, Captain FitzGerald, arrived in August 1848.[25] In South Australia, Lieutenant-Colonel George Gawler, who had been in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, was Governor from 1838 to 1841. Gawler's successor was Sir George Grey, the son of a Peninsular War hero who had been killed at Badajoz. As already noted, some governors moved between colonies: Sir Richard Bourke was Lieutenant Governor of the Eastern District of the Cape of Good Hope from 1826 until 1828, and Governor of New South Wales from 1831 until 1837.

Government House in any British colony was the embodiment of the authority of the governor. By 1837, New South Wales was so prosperous that the British government was prepared to put up £25,000 for a new government house. A London architect was commissioned, and visitors to the new Government House were left in no doubt 'that this was a community in which British sovereignty, and all it stood for, must be taken very seriously'.[26] The architecture of the building gave the same

message, with tower, battlements, parapets and turrets. On approach to the house, a great archway topped by the royal coat of arms confronted visitors. Once inside the building, visitors found a great central hall, to the left of which was the waiting room, one of five rooms devoted to business. Two other offices were provided for the aide-de-camp and the governor's private secretary, the latter being responsible for bringing gentlemen into the presence of the governor.[27]

Next to the governor, the most powerful position in the colony of New South Wales was that of magistrate. There were two sorts of magistrates: honorary magistrates, drawn from the ranks of substantial landholders in their respective districts, and salaried or stipendiary magistrates, usually referred to as police magistrates. In New South Wales magistrates were given the same powers as those in England and, in addition, they had duties in the administration of the convict system: assignment to private masters, the granting of tickets-of-leave and discipline. In fact, Neal suggests that the whole burden of administering New South Wales and the convict system fell entirely on magistrates.[28] Their duties were a mix of law, politics and administration. In the 1820s and 1830s, most of the vacancies for magistrates went to military men, and in particular to those who had fought in the Peninsular War. This of course was the period when Peninsular War veterans were thick on the ground, ever on the look out for a well-paid civil position, and it was Peninsular War veterans who did the appointing. A magistracy, of course, was not only about status and power, it was also sought as a means of approval of one's sometimes dubious ancestors.[29]

During the 1820s and 1830s, Governors Darling and Bourke appointed many military men as magistrates, a fact often commented on. Mr. Justice Therry observed:

> General Darling and Sir R. Bourke had opportunities of making very good selections from the many experienced military officers who were scattered in detachments over the colony. These advantages subsequent Governors did not possess.[30]

The military officers appointed by both Darling and Bourke were of course mostly Peninsular War veterans, and this comment of Therry's shows that they were considered good magistrates. One appointment of Darling's was that of Samuel North, a fellow Peninsular War veteran and serving army officer, as police magistrate for Maitland. North had originally been appointed to a position in the Customs department, but the Colonial Office revoked the appointment.[31] Thus North's appointment

to the police magistracy was seen as a consolation prize, and an instance of patronage. As the governor held the sole power of appointment and dismissal to the magistracy, it was sometimes used as patronage. Not surprisingly, there was much press speculation about who would be appointed or who would be dropped, because with prestige came power.[32]

Peninsular War veterans may have been good magistrates, but not everyone agreed with Therry, and James Mudie[33] was one. He complained that in 1837 there were more than 60 police magistrates in New South Wales who were nearly all, 'and most improperly so', officers of garrison regiments. He continued:

> Worse than all: as they are appointed by the governor, and their magisterial posts are, to most military men, of great pecuniary importance, of which the governor can at pleasure deprive them without his being even expected than he should assign a reason, they are of course the paid and ready instruments and tools of any system which for the time being may have the ascendancy at government house … they receive, as military men, their cue from the head of the government and commander of the forces.[34]

Mudie also made the point that military men were often birds of passage, on their way to their next posting in India: no sooner did they acquire some knowledge of the intricacies of the convict system, than they were replaced.

In New South Wales, the peculiar nature of a penal colony presented problems for magistrates. According to the Legislative Council's report in 1828, the magistrates had great difficulty in distinguishing between convict and free and in determining punishment accordingly:

> The magistrates were here placed in circumstances of much risk and hardship to which no parallel existed in England, because of the great multitudes of crimes and misdemeanours brought under their cognizance through the vicious character of the population. Their summary jurisdiction being applicable to one part of the community and to none besides became in its administration a subject of much perplexity. In discriminating between the persons who were amenable to that jurisdiction and those who were within the ordinary jurisdiction of the law, the most careful and experienced judgment was liable to err. Cut off from the possibility of mutual consultation in consequence of the thinly peopled state of the country, few of

them enjoyed the advantage of being able to rectify their own first impressions by reference to the opinions of others.[35]

The Rev. Samuel Marsden described the position and authority of magistrates as sacred.[36] Magistrates, then, were men with sacrosanct political power and authority. The case of Frederick Roper,[37] assistant police magistrate at Brighton, some 25 kilometres northwest of Hobart Town, is illustrative of the extent of power and authority right down to the local level. One winter evening in 1837, Roper had arranged a meeting at Mrs. Burnip's public house, where he proceeded to get well and truly drunk. Roper attempted, unsuccessfully, to chase the publican's young daughter, and then took revenge on Mrs. Burnip and harassed her for a year. In the end, she had to leave the district to escape him, so strong were the tentacles of his power.[38] Roper was eventually dismissed. The dismissal of a police magistrate, as he received a salary, was somewhat easier than the dismissal of an honorary magistrate, but not a course often taken. Major Benjamin Sullivan, Peninsular War veteran and brother-in-law of Snodgrass, was the police magistrate at Butterwick in the lower Hunter River in New South Wales. Sullivan handed down excessively severe, and sometimes illegal, sentences on convicts, yet Governor Gipps did not dismiss him, though he was the subject of many complaints, but instead gave him a severe reprimand.[39]

Full details of the colonial careers of Peninsular War veterans and their ilk is contained in Appendix II, including those who held the positions of magistrate (honorary and stipendary) and Justice of the Peace. The largest colony, New South Wales, had the highest numbers, followed by Van Diemen's Land, and then the Swan River colony (now Western Australia).

To be a Justice of the Peace was considered a decisive test of belonging to the rank of a gentleman;[40] it acknowledged respectability. Hence, many aspired to this high office, and were proud of their appointments; one such man was Major James Crummer. When he listed his military service, he also noted his appointment as a Justice of the Peace. He wrote that his military service began in 1807 and continued until 1827, and also: 'Arrived in this colony [New South Wales] in October 1835 and held the Commission of Peace from 1st November 1835 to the present period, 1856.'[41] Crummer's descendants maintain that he was a Justice of the Peace in Ireland in the early 1830s,[42] but there is no mention of this in his papers in the Mitchell Library. Most Peninsular War veterans in New South Wales (excepting perhaps Crummer, Morisset and William Dumaresq) would not have had any claim to this office in

the UK, but in New South Wales, their appointment to the office was recognition of their status as both landholders and military officers.

At the local level, magistrates were the symbolic representation of law and authority, and thus were very touchy about any questioning of their authority. When Governor Gipps had occasion to rebuke John Coghill, a magistrate on the Braidwood bench in New South Wales, on a convict matter what wounded Coghill most was that the 'bare assertion of a convict' took precedence over his character 'as a magistrate of old standing in this colony'.[43]

The office of magistrate was different in the Swan River colony (Western Australia) and in the Port Phillip district (now Victoria). By the time Port Phillip was settled, there was more debate about the magistracy: should it be an honorary office staffed by gentlemen, or a salaried office of the government? Darren Palmer has argued that, in the Port Phillip district, stipendiary magistrates, rather than honorary magistrates, played a more important part in the exercise of power and authority.[44] It appears that this was the situation in the Swan River colony also. There, Captain John Molloy, formerly of the 95th Regiment, was the salaried magistrate at Augusta in 1830 when supplies of food at the settlement ran low. Molloy ordered the settlers on to half rations of bread. He lamented: 'I have been placed in circumstances which my former life supplies no example to guide me.'[45] Also in the Swan River colony at York, Richard Meares, besides being resident magistrate, was also registrar, statistician, collector of land fees and dog taxes, organiser of road repairs and bridge building.[46]

In New South Wales during the 1820s and the 1830s, there were difficulties in getting honorary magistrates to attend to their numerous duties, and this led to the creation of the post of stipendiary magistrate. The numbers of police magistrates were never great: in 1834, only 29 out of 238 magistrates in New South Wales were salaried.[47] Although they were not numerous, police magistrates in country areas may have enjoyed greater public esteem than did the unpaid country magistrates. James Crummer, on his retirement as police magistrate at Newcastle, was presented with a portrait of Mrs. Crummer and, on leaving Maitland, received a purse of £163.[48] The appointment of stipendiary, or police magistrates as they were known, also allowed for more control by government. For example, William Lonsdale's instructions on his appointment as first police magistrate for the Port Phillip district included the following passage:

I am, however, to desire that on the last day of every month you prepare a Report, in which you are to narrate every important transaction

occurring in that month, with which you may think it is advisable this Government should be made acquainted. This Report is to be marked *confidential* and addressed to the Governor himself.[49]

Lonsdale was to be the eyes and ears of the governor in the Port Phillip district, remote from Sydney. Lonsdale was not a Peninsular War veteran – he entered the British army in 1819 – but was part of the same cohort.

As well as honorary and salaried magistrates, serving army officers were employed in the dual roles of commandant of a penal settlement, and as a magistrate. By deploying serving army officers in this way, Governor Darling in New South Wales was accused of trying to militarise the magistracy.[50] Major James Morriset was appointed both commandant of the penal settlement at Newcastle, and a magistrate for the Newcastle area.[51] Major James Crummer, still serving as a member of the 28th Regiment, the garrison regiment in New South Wales from 1835 until 1842, was appointed assistant police magistrate at Newcastle, and Commander of the Iron Gang at the same place. Within the same year, he was removed from Newcastle to take charge of the Iron Gangs in Sydney, and to fulfil the duty of Police Magistrate at the Hyde Park Bench. The normal rate of pay for serving officers as magistrate was five shillings per day for special duties, but Crummer's pay was higher – 9/6d. a day 'with a cottage and garden and allowance for forage for one horse'[52] probably because he had two official positions. William Lonsdale's salary as police magistrate for Port Phillip was £250 while he was on half pay, but when he sold his commission it was raised to £300.[53] Another pluralist was Lieutenant James Butler, again a Peninsular War veteran, a magistrate who was stationed in the Illawarra region with soldiers of the 39th Regiment. A letter in the *Australian* complained that Butler was scarcely more than 20 years old, had little experience of colonial conditions and had no knowledge of the law.[54] The latter statement is doubtless correct, as none of the magistrates had much prior knowledge of the law; but the statement regarding Butler's age is not accurate. Butler's commission in the British army dated from 1807, when he was probably 15, thus in 1829 when he was appointed to the Illawarra,[55] he was surely a man of 37 or so. The reference to Butler's age brings to mind James Mudie's exaggerated reference to police magistrates as 'mere boys'.[56] Certainly, some Peninsular War veterans were boys when they joined the army: James Crummer was 12, and promoted to Lieutenant at 15, and Archibald Innes 13 when granted a commission, James Morisset was 15, but by the time they arrived in the Australian colonies, they were boys no longer.

Some Peninsular War veterans moved between the positions of honorary magistrate and police, or stipendary, magistrate. Allman and Innes, for instance, had been honorary magistrates but later sought paid employment when their finances were at a low ebb. Others, like Captain Samuel Wright, remained on full army pay while police magistrate at Newcastle, New South Wales. In the Swan River area, Richard Meares was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1839, and then held the salaried position of government resident from 1849 until 1859.[57] Foster Fyans wrote in his memoirs of the circumstances of his appointment as police magistrate to the Port Phillip district. As his regiment was about to leave for Madras, he sold his commission and made a loss of £500, but he was determined not to go to India. He wrote: 'It is no easy matter for a tolerably old soldier to know what to do with himself after spending so many years in the army, left on his own resources.'[58] Happily, his wait for employment was not long. He received the offer of the position of police magistrate at Geelong at £250 per annum from Governor Richard Bourke, a fellow Irishman. Bourke asked him: 'Are you willing to go to a place almost unknown, where you will have no society, and about 700 miles away from all your friends?'[59] Fyans jumped at the offer, and spent the remainder of his days at Geelong.

Fyans was also Commissioner for Crown Lands. The Crown Lands Occupation Bill, more commonly known as the 'Squatting Bill' was passed in 1836. Under the terms of this bill, Commissioners (who were also magistrates) were appointed to act as representatives of the Crown in order to retain some control over Crown land. Control of such land had been eroded by squatters, who squatted on Crown land both within, and without, the Limits of Location. Governor Bourke, drawing on his experience at the Cape of Good Hope, sought to protect Crown lands from encroachment. Bourke's biographer, Hazel King, has drawn attention to the similarity between the system introduced into New South Wales, and the one at the Cape. In both places land that was unsurveyed was being occupied, and the annual licence fee in New South Wales was based on a similar scheme at the Cape.[60] As well as issuing licences and settling ever-present boundary disputes among the squatters, Crown Lands Commissioners were also the visible representatives of the law. Robert Lowe lampooned the power of these Commissioners:

> The Commissioner bet me a pony – I won-
> So he cut off exactly two-thirds of my run;
> For he said that I was making a fortune too fast,
> And profit gained slower the longer would last.

> The Commissioner fined me because I forgot
> To report an old ewe that was ill of the rot;
> And a poor, wry-necked lamb that we kept for a pet,
> And he said it was treason such things to forget.
>
> The Commissioner pounded my cattle, because
> They had mumbled the scrub with their famishing jaws
> On the part of the run he had taken away,
> And he sold them by auction the cost to defray.[61]

Another function of the Commissioners was to prepare a census and check licences, something of a policing role. Commissioners could also refuse licence renewals and this led to squatters describing the Commissioners as judge and jury.

It was these treacherous legal swamps that Foster Fyans attempted to traverse. Fyans recalled that he was forced to accept the appointment of Commissioner in 1839: 'I kicked hard against it', he wrote.[62] He was right to resist, as the appointment was a source of frustration:

> For almost the first time I had the sad experience to find in my colonial service that I had no friends. I was now entering on a distinct duty to any of my former appointments, with little or nothing to guide me.[63]

Fyans has attracted criticism for his time as Crown Lands Commissioner. Geoffrey Dutton calls him 'the irascible and generally detested Foster Fyans',[64] and de Serville comments that Fyans was the most unpopular of Crown Lands Commissioners in the Port Phillip district.[65] But Margaret Kiddle is more even-handed, and elaborates on the difficulties of the job: 'natural boundaries [of the squatting runs] were vague and human nature deceitful'.[66] Kiddle also notes the military bearing and presence Fyans brought to the role of Crown Lands Commissioner. A. G. L. Shaw, while noting the general criticism of Fyans, believes much of it goes too far. Already 50 when appointed, Fyans himself acknowledged that it was a job for a younger man. The amount of work he undertook would certainly have tested even that younger man: on his first tour in 1840 Fyans visited 41 stations, and on his second tour in 1841 he visited 88,[67] as well as attempting to resolve boundary disputes along the way. In 1849, the Chief Commissioner for Crown Lands was George Barney, another Peninsular War veteran, and he held the position for six years.[68]

The power and authority of the Commissioners was absolute, and this was reflected in their appearance. The following description of a Crown

Lands Commissioner in the Port Phillip district, given by the squatter Edward Curr, could well be that of Foster Fyans, although he is nameless:

> The cortege turned out to be that of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, who led the way on a magnificent chestnut horse, followed by his orderly, a sergeant, three troopers and a man in charge of the cart. The Commissioner's horse was accoutred much in the manner of the charger of a cavalry officer, and his dark green costume, fixed spurs, Hessian boots, blue cap with braided band etc. were decidedly military in their effect.[69]

Edward Curr also commented on other functions of a Crown Lands Commissioner, other than combined judicial and military ones: he renewed licences for public houses and set the rates for refreshment and fodder at these places, as well as sometimes carrying newspapers to outlying stations. Indeed, as Curr observed, 'they did not eat the bread of idleness'.[70]

These other roles aside, the main role of the British army was to garrison the Australian colonies. The garrison formed the core of the colonial establishment, and was dominated by Peninsular War veterans. Altogether, there were nine regiments that had served on the Iberian Peninsula and later garrisoned the Australian colonies:

> 48th Foot Northamptonshire Regiment, from 1817 to 1824
> 3rd Foot, The East Kent Regiment (The Buffs), from 1823 to 1827
> 40th Foot Second Somersetshire Regiment, from 1824 to 1828
> 57th Foot West Middlesex Regiment, from 1825 to 1831
> 39th Foot Dorsetshire Regiment, from 1827 to 1832
> 4th Foot Lancaster Regiment (King's Own), from 1832 to 1837
> 50th West Kent Regiment (Queen's Own), from 1834 to1841
> 28th The North Gloucestershire Regiment, from 1835 to 1842
> 51st Second Yorkshire, West Riding or The King's Own Light Infantry Regiment, from 1838 to 1846.[71]

Three other British regiments served in the Australian colonies at the same time, but they had not taken part in the Peninsular War: 1st/63rd Foot West Suffolk from 1829 to 1833, 1st/17th Foot Leicestershire from 1830 to 1836 and 1st/80th Foot Staffordshire Volunteers from 1827 to 1836.[72]

The majority of Peninsular War veterans came to the Australian colonies with garrison regiments, then later sold their commissions

to obtain the capital necessary to fulfil the requirements for a grant of land, and became settlers. A few examples are: Lieutenant Edward Close of the 48th Regiment and the 3rd Regiment, who arrived in 1817, married in 1821 and sold out in 1822; Captain William Neilley of the 40th Regiment and 63rd Regiment, who arrived in 1824 with his new wife, sold out in 1834; Lieutenant Val Blomfield of the 48th Regiment, arrived in 1817, married in 1820, sold out in 1824; Captain Samuel Wright of the 3rd Regiment, who arrived in 1825, sold out in 1827; Major John Mackenzie of 4th Regiment, married at Halifax Nova Scotia in 1815, arrived in 1832, sold out 1834; Major James Thomas Morriset, arrived 1817, returned to England and married in 1826, sold out 1834. Both Close and Neilley were eager to remain in New South Wales and exchanged into another regiment, as their regiment was posted to India, always the next posting after New South Wales.[73] In order to stay, Captain Wright did not exchange, but sold out instead. Others exchanged too, either unfit for service in India, or about to sell out, or, for other ranks, anticipating their discharge. India was an unpopular destination after the healthy climate of New South Wales. There, cholera claimed many British army lives: in 1828, the 3rd Regiment lost 200 men and several officers from a total strength of 900.[74] Similarly, Lieutenant-Colonel James Erskine of the 48th Regiment, in New South Wales from 1817 until 1823, died of cholera in 1825 just four days after arriving in India.

The duties undertaken as part of a garrison regiment varied with rank and location. In the garrison towns of Sydney, Parramatta, Windsor and Hobart, the regimental commander was in charge. One of the commanders – and it was normally the one based in Sydney as he was the chief military officer in the colony – filled the role of lieutenant governor in the hiatus between governors. During the period under review, three Peninsular War veterans acted as lieutenant governor for a short time: Colonel William Stewart in 1825, Colonel Patrick Lindesay in 1831 and Lieutenant-Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass in 1837. Other duties of a garrison regiment were to act as escorts aboard convict transports on the voyage to New South Wales, and as part of detachments to various outposts. For instance, the officers and other ranks of the 3rd Regiment of Foot, The Buffs, were dispersed almost immediately on arrival in Sydney: Parramatta, Liverpool, Newcastle, Emu Plains, Windsor, Bathurst, Cox's River, Botany Bay Head and South Head, with the largest detachment going to Port Dalrymple in Van Diemen's Land.[75] By June 1824, there were four companies of the 3rd Regiment in Van Diemen's Land, a total of 230 men. In the north of Van Diemen's

Land, there were troops at Launceston, George Town, and Macquarie Harbour. There was also a small party at the South Esk ferry crossing, and from Hobart parties were detached to New Norfolk, Ross and Jericho.[76] During Lieutenant Wright's command at Macquarie Harbour, 14 convicts escaped, of whom the most well known was Matthew Brady. Brady and his gang of bushrangers evaded capture from June 1824 until October 1825,[77] and their pursuit provided ample employment for various detachments of the Buffs, including Captain Archibald Innes who was notably active therein. It appears that the escapees took advantage of the changeover in guard from the 48th to the 3rd Regiment. The various companies of the 48th regiment had a prodigious reputation for seeking out runaways, due perhaps to the large number of Peninsular War veterans in that Regiment: 250 to the 3rd Regiment's 96.[78] They were, after all, veterans of many battles in the difficult terrain of Spain and Portugal and thus brought with them an ability to contend with rough conditions.

As well as replacing the 48th Regiment in Van Diemen's Land, the 3rd Regiment replaced the 48th at Port Macquarie in New South Wales. From there, a party under the control of Captain Maurice Barlow formed a settlement on the Coburg Peninsula, in what is now the Northern Territory. A suitable site could not be found on the mainland, so the western end of Melville Island was chosen. A fort, named Fort Dundas, was constructed there to gain a British foothold in the far north of the continent, and also to provide a victualling base for ships passing through Torres Strait on the route to India. In the event, the settlement was abandoned in early 1829 and some personnel were transferred to a new settlement, Fort Wellington, in Raffles Bay. This too would later be abandoned.[79] The Buffs were not involved in the establishment of penal stations; that fell to the officers of the 40th Regiment, who followed the Buffs to New South Wales. The Moreton Bay settlement was established by Lieutenant Henry Miller of the 40th Regiment in September 1824 and, in June 1825, Captain Turton, of the same regiment, reopened the penal station of Norfolk Island.[80] Peninsular War veterans were also commandants of other penal outposts, and this is discussed further in Chapter 8.

Officers of the garrison in New South Wales were also required to sit on Courts Martial, and on the Criminal Court until 1839. There were two tiers in the criminal system until 1824: in the first tier, the magistrate's benches heard all convict offences and minor offences of free persons; in the second, the Court of Criminal Jurisdiction heard all other cases.[81] The Court of Criminal Jurisdiction consisted of six naval

or military officers and the Judge Advocate, and thus resembled a military court martial in composition. This of course aroused much disquiet among the growing free population of the colony, the emancipists, who sought trial by jury. The campaign for trial by jury became emblematic of the power struggles between 'exclusives' and emancipists, yet the British government consistently refused the demand for trial by jury, citing 'the penal nature of the colony and the composition of the population'.[82]

Peninsular War veterans were also well represented in the various legislative councils of the Australian colonies for over 40 years, reflecting their social status. In New South Wales the members of the first nominated legislative council in the 1820s included William Stewart and Edward Close. In later years there were others, culminating in Dr James Mitchell's term from 1856–69. In Van Diemen's Land, there was G. T. W. B. Boyes, from 1840 for several years and in Victoria, Joseph Anderson from 1852 to 1856.[83] These men often brought useful experience to their legislative roles, as was the case with George Barney in New South Wales, who served as a member of various parliamentary select committees investigating technical matters.[84]

As leading businessmen, some Peninsular War veterans were involved in the formation of joint stock companies in Sydney during the latter 1830s. From 1836, there was a flurry of interest in joint stock companies, and this led the editor of the *Sydney Herald* to comment: 'there seems to be a mania for the promotion of companies at present'.[85] Joint stock companies were unincorporated and were partnerships in law, but had some of the advantages of a company. The disadvantage, however, was unlimited liability, so a shareholder was liable for a company's debts.[86] Obviously, those who were attracted to investing in these companies were men of wealth, because of the risk involved in such ventures. Among the more well-known companies floated during these years were The Australian Gaslight Co., the Hunter River Steam Navigation Co. and the Sydney Banking Co. Dr James Mitchell was a director of all of these, and for sometime chairman of the Australian Gaslight Company, as was George Barney. The Australian Gaslight Co. was formed in 1836, when provisional directors were elected to investigate the feasibility of introducing gaslight to Sydney. After a few problems, the company progressed and was able to mark Queen Victoria's birthday in 1841 by illuminating Sydney streets with gaslight for the first time.[87]

Wellington's men formed a major component of the ruling class in New South Wales and other Australian colonies by virtue of their

positions and authority. Peninsular War veterans were the marked choice for the role of governor of various British colonies: they governed New South Wales for 25 years and the Cape for 26 years, and at least one was appointed on Wellington's advice. Their power and authority extended from the high offices of Governor and magistrate to that of Commissioner of Crown Lands. As magistrates, some moved between the two positions of honorary and stipendiary magistrate, usually as former military officers in need of paid employment. Besides that, Peninsular War veterans garrisoned the colony, upheld British law in the Criminal Court and were some of the leading politicians and businessmen. The 1820s and 1830s were the peak period of the authority of military men in New South Wales and it was in this period, in particular in the terms of Governors Darling and Bourke who chose military men as magistrates, that there was a militarisation of colonial political and legal structures. Darling's appointment of magistrates stands out as an example, as does his habit of combining the roles of commandant of penal stations and magistrate. In the Australian colonies, then, Peninsular War veterans were the embodiment of the power and authority of the British Empire, the strongest military power in the world.

7

'in the midst of the Goths': The Artistic, Literary and Cultural Legacy of Veterans

G. T. W. B. Boyes, to his contemporaries 'Alphabet' Boyes, was a Commissariat officer during the Peninsular War who later served in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. He was both a well-educated man and an intellectual snob. His closest friend was a fellow Commissariat officer, whom he described to his wife as a great acquisition 'in the midst of the Goths'.[1] With finely developed sensibilities in art and literature, unlike many others during those years, Boyes considered himself culturally superior to his fellow colonists: the 'Goths' as he called them in letters home to his wife. Bernard Smith has argued that Boyes cultivated the arts 'not as a means towards a better understanding of an unfamiliar part of the world but as a manifestation of taste, culture and sensibility'.[2] His wife would remain in England for nine years before eventually joining him. During that time, he had only a few cultured friends, mostly fellow colonial officials, with whom he socialised. Forced to live in what he considered a vulgar world obsessed with commercialism and political intrigue, Boyes found an outlet in his diary and in long letters to his wife. In one letter, he wrote 'Bye, the bye, do you wear a bustle? This article of female attire excited considerable surprise and speculation among the Goths and Vandals of Van Diemen's Land.'[3] Yet, despite the vulgarity of colonial society, Boyes found his prospects improving in the Australian colonies and diminishing further in England. Having planned to make his fortune and return to England, Boyes had a change of heart and decided to stay in Van Diemen's Land. As more educated men, in the form of Peninsular War veterans, chose to settle in the Australian colonies, life slowly became more congenial for George Boyes.

Befitting a man of such taste and sensibility, 'Alphabet' Boyes was both a noteworthy writer and a minor, but notable, watercolour artist.[4] The origins of his artistic talent lay in his early youth spent in the

Hampshire landscape, but it was his time on the sunny Iberian Peninsula, with its brilliant light, that was Boyes' foremost aesthetic experience. In particular, it was the mountains of Spain and Portugal that particularly captured Boyes' imagination. The influence of Romanticism raised not only British awareness of these countries[5] but made the Peninsula journeys of these soldier artists more lively. Both Boyes and William Light (discussed later in this chapter) painted watercolours in Spain and Portugal, and some of these are extant. Spain, its landscape and its art, was quite unknown to British artists in this period; in fact it was not a couple of decades after the Peninsular War that artists began to visit.

Boyes's influences came from J. C. Schetsky (1778–1874), later Marine Painter to the King and friend of J. M. W. Turner; William Shayer (1788–1879) a noted English watercolour painter who lived in Hampshire; and the Claude Lorrain (1600–82), in fashion during the early nineteenth century as part of the Romantic revival.[6] When back in England, after the Peninsular War, Boyes continued his sketching and painting and sought out Turner as a teacher of watercolour technique.

Consequently, it was with the eye of a mature artist that Boyes approached Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales. Other early colonial painters had been trained in the soft light of Britain, but Peninsular War veterans such as Boyes had worked in similar light, and a similar landscape, to that of Australia. This important element in a significant body of work depicting early colonial society has generally not been recognised.[7] Later, while in Van Diemen's Land, he commented that the landscape was evocative of that of the Iberian Peninsula.[8] The landscape of Sydney itself Boyes found less interesting, but he was entranced by the country on the banks of the Nepean River, where he stayed with Juan D'Arrieta who, during the Peninsular War, was a translator and liaison between the British Commissariat and the Spanish. After transferring to Van Diemen's Land, Boyes was overjoyed by the arrival of a painter with a European reputation for landscapes: John Glover, a President of the Society of Painters in Watercolours. Glover had heard of the reputation of the countryside of Van Diemen's Land, and set about creating a series of famous landscapes. Published in 1945, Bernard Smith's was the first study of art in Australia to point to the relationship between art in the colonies and the European movements from which that art drew substantially.[9] Smith has argued that it was not only Glover but also Boyes who promoted the spread of Romanticism in art to the Australian colonies after 1820.[10]

Thus it was Van Diemen's Land and not the larger colony, New South Wales, which led the way in colonial art. Boyes was one of five

well-known amateur artists working there, and critics have recognised his work as being of distinction.[11] As well, Boyes helped organise Van Diemen's Land's first art exhibition in January 1845. Most of the surviving artwork of G. T. W. B. 'Alphabet' Boyes is located there, both in public and private collections, though mostly public. It includes sketches of Spain and Portugal, the area around Southwick in Hampshire, France, Sydney and St. Helena (including Napoleon's tomb); but the majority of items are landscapes of Tasmania, and it is for these works that he is best known. There are also two works, a pencil sketch and a pen and ink and watercolour drawing, held by the Dixson Gallery of the Mitchell Library in Sydney.[12]

As well as Boyes, there are another 16 veterans whose artistic legacy is notable: George Barney, Thomas Bunbury, Edward Close, Henry Dumaresq, Foster Fyans, George Gawler, Robert Hoddle, William Light, Edmund Lockyer, William Lyttleton, Richard Meares, Thomas Mitchell, Samuel Perry, Charles Sturt, James Taylor and James Wallis. In addition, a number of wives and daughters of these men were also artists of note; the most gifted and sophisticated watercolourist of them was Fanny Macleay, daughter of Alexander Macleay, Colonial Secretary of New South Wales.

It was a similar situation in Canada, where a curator of the Royal Ontario Museum has noted that most of the artists working in Canada in the early nineteenth century were army officers.[13] This curator, however, makes the incorrect assumption that these early artists in Canada were graduates of the Royal Military Academy. This institution was for members of the Ordnance Corps only, and it taught skills of a practical nature: how to build fortifications, the construction of artillery, chemistry and mathematics in its various forms (geometry, algebra, trigonometry, etc.). Some drawing was taught there, but it was a very small part of the curriculum, as was French, fencing and dancing.[14] The main training for officers was at the Royal Military College, now known as Sandhurst, founded in 1801. During the Peninsular War, however, the Royal Military College generally only accepted officers of some experience, not raw beginners, with the aim of qualifying them for employment in the Quarter-Master General's and Adjutant-General's Departments. As ever, there were some exceptions: Samuel Perry, Henry Dumaresq and William Dumaresq, two of whom went into the Royal Staff Corps. Thus, during the Peninsular War, there was very little military training, artistic training or education for newly commissioned officers, other than for the Ordnance Corps.

Of the Peninsular War veteran artists discussed here, George Barney was the only one who received any training at the Royal Military

Academy. Barney entered the Academy on 1 October 1805 as a gentle-man cadet where his father, Joseph Barney, was Drawing Master for 27 years, as well as an eminent painter himself.[15] Barney senior was a some-time exhibitor at the Royal Academy and Flower Painter to the Prince Regent, later King George IV.[16] The two sons, Joseph Barney junior and William Barney were also artists of some note. Joseph Barney junior exhibited his work from 1815 to 1851 and was Fruit and Flower Painter to Queen Victoria in 1838, while William Barney was both an artist and engraver, working in mezzotint.[17] Not surprisingly, given the fam-ily artistic talents, Barney did have some repute in Sydney as an artist, and his sketch *Camp at Port Curtis 1847* is in the Dixson Gallery of the Mitchell Library in Sydney.[18]

Major James Taylor, who arrived in Sydney in 1817 with the 48th Regiment, was in the colony for only six years, but still made a contribu-tion to the art of early colonial Sydney. His panorama, usually referred to as Major Taylor's Panorama of Sydney, consists of four watercolours that together present a 360-degree view of Sydney. This was published in 1823 by the eminent English engravers, R. Havell and Sons.[19] Colonial images are useful in themselves as historic documents, but there are some flaws in this panorama, as Taylor took some liberties to show as much as possible of the upper reaches of the harbour. Despite this, however, the panorama gives a comprehensive view and is full of detail.[20] Likewise, of historical interest is Taylor's watercolour sketch of Erskine Park, the residence of Colonel James Erskine, the command-ing officer of the 48th Regiment, Taylor's regiment.[21] Other prints of Taylor's drawings were produced in England and in France.

Leading this group in terms of reputation was Colonel William Light, of the 4th Dragoons, a prestigious regiment. Light was born at Penang, in Malaya, and educated privately in England with £1200 provided by his father for that purpose.[22] During his education, Light showed early signs of aptitude for languages and for sketching, and he developed a love of reading. Light first joined the navy in 1799 and was unfortunate enough to be in France when Napoleon, after the resumption of fight-ing between Britain and France in 1803, ordered the detention of every male Briton, aged between 18 and 60. By then, Light was a civilian and was detained as a gentleman, rather than an officer. He was held at Verdun, in northern France, from where he made an audacious escape early one cold January morning in 1804.[23]

Of the artists discussed in this chapter, Light is the only one with a wider artistic reputation than in Australia. He is mentioned in *A Dictionary of British Landscape Painters: from the 16th century to the early*

20th century, and he published two books of sketches in London, *Sicilian Scenery* in 1823 and *Views of Pompeii, drawn on stone by J. D. Harding after the Drawings of William Light* in 1828. Harding was well known in the art world.[24] Light favoured romantic, ruinous scenes and, ever the soldier, in his *Sicilian Scenery* he included a redoubt perched above the pass between Messina and Taormina, and the remains of Norman fortification at Alicata.[25] Light honed his skills as an artist while serving in the British Navy for a few years. In the Navy, he was able to observe John Serres[26] at work, and it may have been that influence which explains Light's extraordinary ability to sketch terrain. As mentioned earlier, Light became one of Wellington's exploring officers during the Peninsular War, working ahead of the troops sketching the countryside and sending back intelligence.

There was a good market for colonial art in London, both as works of art and to convey information about places. Some of Light's sketches of early South Australia were published as lithographs,[27] and the newly formed South Australian Company in London bought some of Light's watercolours to promote the potential of South Australia.[28] David Elder, the indefatigable student of the life of Colonel William Light, published the *Art of William Light* in 1987, and this publication includes a wide selection of his work, with 64 coloured plates. There are sketches of India, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Egypt, as well as many of early South Australia. In 1962, Light's extraordinary and well-known self-portrait, showing evidence of his tuberculosis, was included in the Antipodean Vision Exhibition, shown in Australia and the Tate Gallery in London.[29] Colonel William Light deserves to be remembered for many extraordinary accomplishments, and his art is prominent among the list. Light is one of five veterans who have entries in the *Encyclopedia of Australian Art*, for which the listing criteria included purchase of an artist's work for an Australian public collection, and reference in an existing book on Australian art history, or in a state gallery catalogue.[30] The others are: 'Alphabet' Boyes, Sir Thomas Mitchell, Colonel Barney and Major Taylor. While I do not propose that Peninsular War veterans led the way in pictorial art, they did make a significant contribution in an impressive field. Surprisingly, much more information on their work has come to light in recent years, for example, Robert Hoddle's prodigious artistic output was brought to public attention with the publication of a biography in 2004.

Likewise, the extent of Edward Close's artistic work has only recently been discovered. In 2009, a sketchbook of watercolours and sketches of early Newcastle and Sydney dated 1817–18 was sold at auction by

Sothebys for $A915,000. After much detective work, the sketchbook was attributed to Edward Close. There was great interest in the book, as it had been with the Campbell family in Scotland for many generations (Close's daughter Marianne married a Campbell), and thus unknown in Australia. The purchaser, the State Library of New South Wales described the sketchbook as 'depicting extraordinarily rare watercolours of colonial New South Wales and its people'.[31] The Mitchell librarian, Richard Neville, says that the most unique and historically significant of Close's drawings is *Costumes of the Australasians*, a striking illustration of the dress of typical colonists, from officers to convicts. The sketchbook is the centrepiece of the Mitchell Library's 2010 bicentennial celebrations.

Similarly, the work of Samuel Perry has only recently come to light with the publication of a biography in 2009, showing his extensive artistic output still held in family hands.[32] After a couple of years at the Royal Military College, Perry joined the Royal Staff Corps and served in the Peninsular War. He began sketching while in Spain and Portugal, and his skills as an artist were recognised with his appointment as Military Drawing Master of the Royal Military College from 1819–23. As with other Peninsular War veterans, Perry was not a professional artist, nonetheless he continued to sketch and paint in West Indies and later in New South Wales, where he was appointed as Deputy Surveyor General in 1829. Perry was on the Committee for the Promotion of Fine Arts and exhibited 16 paintings in its second exhibition in 1849.[33]

A number of Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, left a significant literary legacy. Like many other officers on half pay, Boyes had great difficulty making ends meet after peace was declared in 1815, so he moved to France, where it was considerably cheaper to live, and where he began his diary.[34] Had events turned out differently, the diary might not have amounted to anything at all, but ten days after commencing it, Boyes was ordered to New South Wales, and it was during the long sea voyage that his diary writing flourished. The diaries were donated to the Royal Society of Tasmania in 1844, but it was 140 years before they were published, one reason being the gossip, scandal and caustic comments they contained on many well-known public officials and governors. The first volume contains many descriptions of colonial people and social occasions, in both New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Recording a fancy dress party, Boyes provides a wonderful image of the participants:

> There were Scottish Chiefs, and Hungarian Brothers, and, by way of experiment, a few had attempted the disguise of *Gentlemen*, in which it is clear they failed, since they were invariably known at a glance.

Of one of the young men of Hobart Town, he wrote:

> One of the W-----s dined with us – a conceited, empty-headed young man – all shining in silk stock, with silk lining to his coat, satin waistcoat, and oily hair, together with a liberal sprinkling of gold pins and chains.[35]

Tasmania was, and mostly still remains, a close-knit community and, as late as the 1950s, the Royal Society of Tasmania believed that publication of the diaries would only be possible when the names of individuals were deleted who had descendants still living in Tasmania.[36] Yet the diary had been recognised as unrivalled social commentary of Van Diemen's Land[37] and there were several earlier attempts at transcriptions. Many have called him 'The Samuel Pepys of Van Diemen's Land', as his diaries paint an extraordinarily vivid picture of colonial life, and contain rare insights into the personalities and characters of Van Diemen's Land and its visitors in the early years.[38] Boyes referred to Thomas Archer, for instance, as 'a full and ample representative of the Landed Interests'.[39]

However, this portrayal of Boyes as a colonial Pepys has been questioned by the author of Boyes's entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Margriet Roe, who thought his 'extreme and often misleading bias severely limits the historical value of the diaries'.[40] This was written, of course, before Peter Chapman's superbly edited and annotated 1985 edition of Boyes's diaries and letters, in which he not only questions Roe's assumptions on the lack of literary merit of Boyes's work but also points out the many errors in that entry.[41] Chapman's work on Boyes's diaries has proved, once and for all, that these diaries are important not only for their contribution to the early history of Tasmania but also because their author was indeed a colonial Pepys. *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* agrees.[42]

Born in 1787, Boyes had an erratic education. His mother died just after his birth and his father appears to have taken little interest in the education of his second son. Consequently, Boyes moved continually, from relative to relative, and from boarding school to boarding school. In fact, in seven years he attended almost as many schools.[43] In later life Boyes developed a voracious appetite for reading, and read Gibbon, Macaulay, Voltaire, Milton, Byron, Shakespeare, and many others. While in France in 1822 and 1823, Boyes became proficient in French; in Spain during the Peninsular War he had achieved a literary fluency in Spanish that enabled him to read and critically annotate Don Antonio de Solis's *Historia de la conquista de Mexico*.[44]

As well as an artist, William Light was also a diarist, and his diaries have played a role in the history of colonial South Australia, as Light sought to explain and defend his actions over the siting of the city of Adelaide. He also set out his reasons for preferring the Gulf of St. Vincent as a safe harbour over Spencer Gulf, and the problems he faced with the Colonisation Commissioners. Light wrote:

> The reasons that led to fix Adelaide where it is I do not expect to be generally understood or calmly judged of at present. My enemies, however, by disrupting their validity in every particular, have done me the good service of fixing the whole responsibility upon me. I am perfectly willing to bear it; and I leave it to posterity, and not to them, to decide whether I am entitled to praise or to blame.[45]

These precious diaries of Light's early years in South Australia are all that remain of a collection of diaries, letters, drawing and maps lost in a fire at Light's house in 1839. First published that same year, they were reprinted in 1911 by the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, and then again in 1984.

Furthermore, Light kept a personal diary during the Peninsular War, and these diaries were used for a new edition of Light's biography, *Colonel William Light: founder of a city*, by Geoffrey Dutton and David Elder, published in 1991. The war diaries extant are those from 1809 to the end of 1812, January 1813 to April 1813, April 1813 to April 1814, and August 1815. The original diaries are in Adelaide, at the Mortlock Library and in the City of Adelaide Civic Collection.[46]

John Morgan, another Peninsular War veteran, became a public servant, journalist and publicist in the Australian colonies. Recognising the need to emigrate – he was on half pay like so many others – he wrote a guide advocating emigration to Canada, published in London. His plans to emigrate there came to nothing, and eventually he was appointed as store-keeper in the original establishment at Swan River. After a few years in this position, besides being a magistrate, justice of the peace, and barracks master, he took up the offer of the police magistracy at Richmond, Van Diemen's Land, in 1834. However, he resigned after three years, following a dispute about a deficit in his accounts at Perth, and thereafter was rejected for many government positions. Morgan turned once again to writing, and became foundation editor of the *Hobart Town Advertiser* (1839), worked briefly on the *Tasmanian* and began the *Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch* (1839–41). Morgan was an influential journalist with firm ideas: he was an advocate of colonial self-government, was an opponent of

transportation and urged reform of the British legal system and the treatment of criminals. Beyond Tasmania, however, Morgan is best known for his book, *The Life and Adventures of William Buckley*, published in Hobart in 1852.[47] The book tells the tale of William Buckley, a former soldier sentenced to transportation, who escaped and lived for 32 years with the Aborigines of the Watourong tribe in the Port Phillip district. Buckley has been the subject of legend, and referred to as 'the wild white man'; but a careful investigation of the book has shown that this account is a fairly accurate one.[48] In 2010, the Australian Broadcasting Commission produced a documentary on the life of William Buckley.

Peninsular War veterans were men of the British Empire, and they recorded their role in that war as part of Britain's victory against the French. The Peninsular War was the subject of some 300 published British personal memoirs and diaries, as well as a flood of travel narratives evoking the Spanish landscape, people, culture and history. Then there was the enormously popular six-volume history of the war by William Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the south of France, from the year 1807 to the year 1814*. Published between 1828 and 1840, this history ran to 39 editions over the next century. Novels of the Peninsular War were also popular and sufficiently numerous to form a sub-genre of nineteenth-century British fiction. Their comments on Spanish customs and religion conveyed not only general information about Spain but also the national prejudices of their British authors. Professor Charles Esdaile has commented that this Anglo-centric view of the Peninsular War is prevalent in most British histories of that war,[49] and it is manifest in the marked prejudice against the Spanish allies. Not surprisingly, I have found the same views expressed in the memoirs of the Peninsular War veterans who came to the Australian colonies.

Both the Iberian Peninsula itself, and the war fought there between 1808 and 1814, provided the motivation for many literary and artistic endeavours by British Army officers. They inspired hundreds of diaries, journals and recollections, and among these were the works of many Peninsular War veterans who later settled in the Australian colonies. During wartime generally, many a man will keep a diary, or later recount his experiences, although he may never have done so before. Indeed, a review of English diaries has noted that, if a count of diary keepers were taken, soldiers would probably head the list.[50] Those who fought in the Peninsular War took part in events that deeply affected not only themselves, and their nation as a whole, but also the rest of Europe. It was often the defining episode in their lives. Of those

who later settled in the Australian colonies, six made a contribution to the large body of work on that war. The original Peninsular War diaries of Colonel William Light and Captain Edward Close are now housed in libraries in Adelaide and Sydney respectively. Those whose reminiscences were published include Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Anderson, Captain Foster Fyans, Captain Val Blomfield, and Captain John Molloy.

The reminiscences of Captain Molloy, *The Peninsula and Waterloo: Memories of an Old Rifleman*, were recorded and published in 1897 by his son-in-law, Edmund Du Cane. In the introduction, Du Cane outlined his reason for publication: there had been 'a remarkable revival of curiosity in the events of the time of Napoleon'.[51] Molloy's reminiscences, recorded in later years, consist mainly of anecdotes. For instance, Molloy recalls fraternisation between English and French officers and the exchange of food,[52] as well as some plundering by the British soldiers. He recounts the reasonably well-known story of the capture of a French military chest at Vittoria, in northern Spain, containing over five million dollars. His reminiscences also detail the extensive social networks of the 95th Regiment, or Rifle Brigade: Molloy continued to correspond with Sir Harry Smith, later Governor at the Cape of Good Hope, for many years. In the distant outpost of Western Australia, Molloy also read the recently published *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia* by another former member of his regiment, Thomas Mitchell.[53] It is probable that some Peninsular War veterans were encouraged to write autobiographies, or memoirs, because others had done the same thing. In any case, it afforded them the opportunity to record personal participation in important events in British history, but their memoirs may perhaps also contain embellishments that crept in from other men's accounts. For instance, Molloy certainly read Jonathan Leach's *Rough Notes of the Life of an Old Soldier* and John Kincaid's *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*.

Joseph Anderson's *Recollections of a Peninsular Veteran*, with an introduction by his grandson, Acland Anderson (Captain, late 3rd Dragoon Guards) was published in London in 1913. Despite the title, the Peninsular War occupied only eight of Anderson's 43 years in the Army; he also served in Sicily, Egypt, Barbados, St. Vincent, Dominica, Jamaica, New South Wales, Norfolk Island and then India, before returning to England for two years' leave. Subsequently, he served again in both Australia and India and, when he finally retired from the Army in 1848, he decided to settle in Victoria. Nevertheless the title does express the significance and status that the Peninsular War enjoyed in popular memory until at least the First World War: it was known as the Great War until then. In his

recollections, Anderson provides a lively account of his experiences on the Iberian Peninsula in the battles of Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes D'Onoro and the famous Lines of Torres Vedras. Anderson's reminiscences are also notable for what they say about various aspects of colonial society. Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Anderson was, among other things, one of the commandants of the penal settlement at Norfolk Island. Eight chapters of Anderson's reminiscences contain his memories of his arrival in New South Wales, his life at Norfolk Island, securing a sheep and cattle station in the Port Phillip district, selecting land for a house near Melbourne and his decision to retire from the army and settle in Australia. The chapters devoted to his five years on Norfolk Island are important historically as, of the five Peninsular War veterans who were commandants at that penal station, only Anderson's memoirs have been published.

Also on Norfolk Island was Captain Foster Fyans, though as captain of the guard, not commandant. Fyans left a manuscript of his memoirs for publication, but it was not published until 1986. The memoirs are notable for their insight into the early years of the Port Phillip district, where Fyans was appointed in 1837 as the first magistrate in Geelong, and later Commissioner for Crown Lands for the Portland Bay pastoral district. Fyans received the education of a gentleman in his native Ireland. He was educated in the classical manner, privately by two clergymen in Dublin, and was preparing to be admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, but changed his mind and decided to join the army during the Peninsular War. He was given a commission without purchase.[54] Roughly three-quarters of Fyans' memoirs are devoted to his time in Australia, from his arrival in Sydney in 1833 until his death in 1870. Fyans spent about 18 months on Norfolk Island, and was then appointed commandant of the penal settlement at Moreton Bay for a further two years. These appointments offered him the opportunity to comment on and compare the two penal settlements, as well as recording how Ben Cross, his servant from Norfolk Island who stayed with him faithfully for many years, finally absconded to Adelaide with many of Fyans' belongings. Appointed to the Port Phillip district in 1837, Fyans was a major figure in early Geelong, as his positions as Commissioner of Crown Lands and magistrate made him virtually the law in that area. Fyans' memoirs unfortunately contribute very little to knowledge of the Peninsular War. They begin with a march from Basingstoke, Hampshire to Portsmouth, when Fyans was a new recruit; but thereafter they consist chiefly of a series of anecdotes. Fyans does, however, record an interesting case of a soldier in New South Wales who, when referring to his service in Portugal, falsely implied that he

had served in the Peninsular War. After all, to be a Peninsula man was a great source of pride among soldiers, but, according to Fyans, the man served in Portugal much later, in 1826.[55] This instance of pretending to be a Peninsular War veteran was not unheard of, and is a reminder of the fervent British nationalistic attitude towards the Peninsular War.

Lieutenant Thomas V. Blomfield (known as Val) of the 48th Regiment wrote a series of letters to his family from New South Wales, dating from 1820 to about 1845 and are published as *Memoirs of the Blomfield Family*.[56] The letters were never intended for publication; nonetheless they give a clear impression of a young army officer's life in the colony: his marriage, his decision to take advantage of the regulations that allowed captains who had served 12 years to sell out, whether they had purchased or not and his subsequent farming enterprises in the Hunter Valley, together with comments on convict labour and aboriginal unrest west of the Blue Mountains. The letters themselves are not unique, but are important for their contribution to knowledge of the subsequent lives of Peninsular War army officers, and the networks that bound them together, and to the early history of the Hunter River district in particular and of New South Wales in general.

Val Blomfield's published letters to his family include seven letters written from the Peninsula. These letters capture the immediacy of the battles, and his feelings thereon, and thus are the better for having been written on the spot, rather than as memoirs later in life. One dated 24 September 1811 to his brother-in-law in England concludes:

> This is the headquarters of our army, about three leagues from Ciudad Rodrigo, where the whole French army are now at and about 50 or 60 thousand strong. I suppose they are coming on. They had better mind what they are about, or they will get a thrashing. I cannot say any more now, as I am in haste to great ready. Farewell, I hope I shall not get the leaden fever.[57]

Blomfield wrote to his father on 6 May 1812 after the fall of Badajoz, on the conduct of his fellow British soldiers:

> Then the town was given up to plunder for 24 hours, and such a scene I never before saw. Every door that was fastened was immediately opened by firing into the keyhole. … The soldiers very soon got drunk and things were carried to a pretty pitch, committing rapes, murder and plunder – in fact every sort of devastation was going on. They even shot one another, and it was impossible for any officer to

interfere. It was four or five days before we could get the men into any kind of order at all.[58]

Edward Close, an only child, was born in India and sent to England for his education. Close kept a diary from 1809, when he first embarked with his regiment for Portugal until 1814, on his return to barracks in England.[59] Close's diary resembles a travel journal, with comments on the landscape, the inhabitants, aqueducts and Moorish towns. It could almost be the account of a young gentleman's grand tour, and Close was just 19 when he went to the Iberian Peninsula. But there is a darker side: his diary also records the horrors of war, including a description of the battle of Talavera in 1809. After the battle, Close lay down to sleep alongside Lieutenant Duke and another soldier. In the morning, he and Duke awoke to find they had been sleeping with a corpse almost touching them. Although the diary concludes with Close's return to England in 1814, there are a few extra notations: for 1817 when he sailed from Cork with his regiment for New South Wales, for 1821 when he was promised his first grant of land and for 1849 when he received his General Service Medal for Peninsular War service.

Captain Collet Barker, of 39th Regiment, also kept two journals: one at Raffles Bay for about a year from September 1828 and the other at King George's Sound from 1830 to 1831. These journals have now been meticulously edited and annotated by John Mulvaney and Neville Green, and were published in 1992. *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* has commented on the value of these journals for their consideration of relations between Aborigines and white settlers.[60] They are also important for what they say about the British settlement at Port Essington on the Cobourg Peninsula, at that time the most remote outpost in Australia. The King George's Sound journal records the last days of the Albany settlement before it was proclaimed part of the Swan River settlement. Both journals reveal the tensions of a remote military outpost, as well as recording Barker's interest in ethnography, in the form of mythology, linguistics, material culture, kinship, burial customs and place and personal names.[61] Barker understood the Aboriginal taboo against mentioning the name of a deceased person, and ordered those at the settlement to observe this taboo, rare indeed for a military establishment. Both journals are also noteworthy because they give a detailed early record of the environmental consequences of the introduction of domestic animals and their feral descendants. Perhaps Barker intended to publish the journals; after all, journal publication was certainly in vogue. Sadly though, not long after he wrote them and

before any publication, he was killed, speared by hostile Aborigines at the mouth of the Murray River.

As to Barker's education, the editors of his journals could but guess where he was educated. Since Barker's family was Nonconformist, and given that his two sisters were thought to have been educated in London, they speculated that Barker also completed his education at a small boarding school in London.[62] Barker was commissioned in the British Army in 1806 as an ensign, with purchase, when he was 22, older than most of his contemporaries. During the Peninsular War, the average age for commissions was between 16 and 18 years. Barker's first posting with his regiment was to Sicily for garrison duty from 1807 until 1811 and thence to the Iberian Peninsula until 1814, when the war ended. His regiment then went directly to Canada, returning too late for the battle of Waterloo in 1815, and then became part of the army of occupation in France. From France, the 39th Regiment was posted to garrison duty in Ireland from 1818 until 1825, when the regiment was ordered to New South Wales. However, Barker remained in England on administrative duties until 1828. Very soon after his arrival in New South Wales, Barker was appointed commandant at Raffles Bay.[63]

Peninsular War veterans also made a significant contribution to the scientific and cultural life of the Australian colonies, although the leader in this field was surely Sir Thomas Mitchell. He was a surveyor and mapmaker, inventor, author of military textbooks and texts on wine-growing, translator and an artist and writer of ability. Mitchell's skills as a surveyor and mapmaker are discussed elsewhere. As far as his writing skills are concerned, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* has called him the best literary stylist of the Australian explorers.[64] Although he lived in reduced circumstances after the death of his father, Mitchell nevertheless obtained a very good education at the University of Edinburgh, where he was first enrolled at the age of 13. Scottish universities then required no qualifications for entry other than the ability to pay fees, and a wealthy relative paid for Mitchell.[65] Mitchell's published exploration journals are *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia* (1838) and *Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia* (1848). The former, in three volumes, was very favourably reviewed in *Blackwood's Magazine* and *The Athenaeum*,[66] and the latter received five good reviews, the most complimentary being in the *Literary Gazette*.[67] Mitchell also wrote poetry and published an English translation of the Portuguese epic, *The Lusiads*. Written in verse by Luis Camoens (1524–80), *The Lusiads* records the courage and enterprise of Portuguese explorers, woven into the history of Portugal. Obviously

calling to mind his own exploration adventures and the subsequent publication of his journals, Mitchell's translation was published in London in 1854 as *The Lusiads of Luis de Camoens, closely translated from the Portuguese by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir T. Livingston Mitchell*.

Mitchell's surveying guide was published in London shortly before he embarked for Australia: *Outline of a System of Surveying for geographical and military purposes comprising The Principles on which The Surface of the Earth may be Represented on plans*, based on his many years' experience surveying in the mountains of Spain and Portugal. One section of this book details the construction of field sketches according to the principles of surveying, and it is this section that promoted an interest in landscape painting among surveyors. It has been argued that the link between surveying and the practice of landscape painting during the second quarter of the nineteenth century was a particularly close one, for the most part where land was being opened up for settlement.[68] Mitchell's other publications were 'Additional Information Illustrative of the Natural History of the Australian Bone-Caves and Osseous Breccia', published in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* in 1830; *Manual and Platoon Exercises*, published in 1825, 1830 and 1842; *Notes on the Cultivation of the Vine and the Olive and the Methods of Making Wine and Oil in the Southern Parts of Spain*, published in Sydney in 1849, which described the various kinds of Spanish wines, methods of pressing and the cultivation of the soil, as well as notes on the production of figs, raisins, almonds, lemons, grapes, cherries, olives and sugar cane;[69] a school text book, *The Australian Geography with the Shores of the Pacific and Those of the Indian Ocean*, published in Sydney in 1850, and *Report upon the progress made in Roads and in the construction of Public Works in New South Wales from the year 1827 to June 1855 by Colonel Sir T. L. Mitchell*, published in Sydney in 1856.

Sir Thomas Mitchell is perhaps less well known for his artistic endeavours, a by-product of his scientific work. At this time, it was common for scientists to do their own illustrations, and such was the case with Mitchell.[70] The purpose was to convey topographical, geological and botanical information. One of his works is in the Art Gallery of South Australia: *Tombs of a Tribe* (c. 1835: pencil, watercolour) and another is in the Ballarat Fine Art Gallery: *Large Cavern at Wellington Valley, New South Wales* (c. 1836: sepia wash on paper).[71] Both were published as lithographs in the journals of his explorations. As Ann Moyal has pointed out, the history of science in Australia is both visual and verbal, with Mitchell contributing through his art as well as his journals. Science and exploration went hand in hand, and some of the earliest

recordings of fauna, flora, rocks and climate are found in the journals of explorers.[72] Mitchell's art was representative of the great interest in the new fauna, flora and geology of the Australian colonies and the resultant eagerness to portray natural curiosities, especially geological curiosities. It would be wrong, however, to dismiss Mitchell as just a man of science conveying information by his art. Bernard Smith has seen a 'man of sensibility', and gives the example of Mitchell's *Flood Coming Down the Macquarie* that not only conveys geological information but also combines the romantic and the topographical. Mitchell presented it as a moonlit scene by a waterfall.[73]

The Australian colonies were founded in the midst of a great age of scientific advancement. Darwin's theory of evolution was developed, and the sciences of astronomy and geography made remarkable headway. These advances relied on information sent back to Britain from various parts of the world. In all of this, Australia played a central role.[74] The number of botanical and zoological specimens sent back to Britain, for example, was immense. There were many participants in this natural history collecting and information gathering, including Captain Patrick Logan. Before an inland journey of exploration in 1827, Logan received a request from the Colonial Secretary, Alexander Macleay, for specific information on geography and geology to be transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.[75] Sir Thomas Mitchell was one of the better-known transmitters of new scientific information to Britain. The science of palaeontology generated intense public interest at this time, and many of the discoveries proved that Australia was different from other countries and continents. When Mitchell discovered a large cache of fossil bones in the Breccia Caves of Wellington, New South Wales, he sent specimens to London's Hunterian Museum. There, Richard Owen and William Clift examined the bones and identified both living and extinct species of wombats, koalas and kangaroos. That collection, together with bones collected by George Ranken in the same area, contained bones of the Diprotodon, one of the most remarkable of the post-tertiary marsupials of Australia.[76] News of these finds reached the geologist Lyell, whose writing in turn influenced Charles Darwin and helped to reinforce his own observations. Thus the early evidence provided by Mitchell and others left its imprint on 'the first important stirrings of Darwin's evolutionary thought'.[77]

Mitchell was also an unofficial botanist, one of an international network created by Sir Joseph Banks,[78] sending seeds to the Royal Gardens at Kew in London. It was during this period that Kew Gardens became the headquarters of an imperial botanical exchange, and under Banks's supervision, collectors sent in thousands of exotic bulbs, seeds and plants.

Mitchell also sent seeds to the Horticultural Society in London, to Oxford Botanical Gardens, and to the Royal Botanical Garden, Dublin,[79] and aided in the despatch of Australian products to the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. He was Vice-President of the Australasian Botanic and Horticultural Society, founded in 1848. The object of this organisation was the study and discussion of new plants, and it held exhibitions in the Botanic Gardens in Sydney. Mitchell's contribution to scientific knowledge in general was recognised both in Sydney and in London. When in London, Mitchell regularly attended the lectures of both the Geological Society and the Royal Geographical Society. He was widely respected in Sydney for his extensive knowledge of plant life gained during his exploration journeys, and in both places for his close circle of friends among the eminent scientists in England. While in London in 1839 on leave from his position in New South Wales, within the space of a heady few weeks, he was knighted at St. James's Palace, presented with a testimonial and a piece of plate in recognition of his journeys to Australia Felix and awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law by the University of Oxford.[80]

As Sydney developed, Peninsular War veterans were among the founders and supporters of societies to encourage cultural life and scientific discussion. In this field, Sir Thomas Mitchell was again prominent. In 1835, Mitchell became foundation President of the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, whose object was 'the diffusion of scientific and other useful knowledge as extensively as possible throughout the colony of New South Wales'.[81] A later President was Major George Barney, mentioned earlier. For many years, this institution was the only library for most people in Sydney. It was very successful: by 1838 it had its own lecture room, museum and library of over 1700 volumes, and had 600 members.[82] As New South Wales was a convict colony, the importance of the moral value of disseminating knowledge was emphasised.

As in other cultural matters, Van Diemen's Land had led the way with the establishment of the first Mechanics' Institute in 1827. The first of these institutes was established in Edinburgh in 1821, and in London in 1823.[83] John Morgan, mentioned earlier, was secretary of the Hobart Mechanics' Institute, and also secretary of the Hobart School of Arts.[84] Hobart also had its own library, known as the Hobart Town Book Society, and 'Alphabet' Boyes was a member of the committee of management. This library was founded in 1826 and, just four years later, contained more than 1200 volumes.[85]

The Australian Subscription Library, founded in Sydney at the same time, had both Sir Thomas Mitchell and his namesake, Dr. James Mitchell, on the committee. Membership of this library was exclusive,

restricted to the 'most respectable of gentlemen'.[86] It had lofty aims: the first order for periodicals and books sent to London included the great quarterlies of the time, *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Quarterly Review* and *The British Review*, as well as standard works of history, theology, biography, science and travel.[87] Dr James Mitchell, Peninsular War veteran and later colonial surgeon in New South Wales, was an original member of The Australian Subscription Library, and of its successor. As well, he managed the library's affairs for some years.[88] Dr Mitchell, a member of the New South Wales Medical Board since 1844, became its President in 1852 and in this capacity, *ex officio* Trustee of the Australian Museum, and remained so until his death.[89] Dr Mitchell was also involved in the founding of Sydney University, as was Dr H. G. Douglass.

Dr Douglass, who saw service as an assistant surgeon with the 18th Regiment in the Peninsular War, was a member of the Sydney University Senate. In Sydney in 1821 Dr Douglass, a member of the Royal Irish Academy, also became honorary secretary and treasurer of the newly formed Philosophical Society of Australasia, the first scientific society in the colony.[90] Douglass, unfortunately, became involved in the maelstrom of colonial politics, and was forced to leave the colony in 1828. On his return 20 years later, Douglass sought to resuscitate the Philosophical Society and this he did in conjunction with Charles Nicholson. The new organisation was known as the Australian Philosophical Society, with the same object as the earlier organisation: the encouragement of scientific research and discussion. The Australian Society, founded on 19 January 1850, had similar aims to the above society: 'the encouragement of Arts, Science, Commerce and Agriculture in Australia'.[91] Sir Thomas Mitchell was a leading member, and delivered various lectures.

In London, there was much interest in the new southern skies, and the work of the Philosophical Society of Australasia contributed greatly to knowledge of astronomy in the southern hemisphere, with a series of astronomical observations published in the *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society* and the *Transactions of the Royal Society of London*.[92] Sir Thomas Brisbane, Peninsular War veteran and newly appointed governor, arrived in Sydney in 1821, and continued his great interest in astronomy. He became President of the Philosophical Society, and built an observatory at Parramatta (where Government House was located), and under his leadership many original observations were made. This observatory was the first to rediscover Encke's comet in 1822, and discover a new comet in 1824.[93] When he returned to Scotland, Brisbane left his astronomical instruments and 349 volumes of his scientific library to the colony of New South Wales.[94]

Peninsular War veterans contributed significant aspects of British culture to the Australian colonies and played an important role in their cultural and scientific lives. 'Alphabet' Boyes and William Light are notable for their artistic and literary legacy. Boyes, something of a colonial Pepys, is recognised both for his published diaries and for his artistic work. The artwork of Peninsular War veterans, often still held by the families, continues to come to light and make a profound impact in art circles. The writings and drawings of Peninsular War veterans and their ilk are important culturally, as well as being historical documents in themselves. Sadly, historians have largely ignored the impact of both the terrain and the strong sunlight of the Iberian Peninsula on their drawing, but the latest discoveries have proved them wrong. William Light's art, in particular, is very fine and is known in Britain as well as nationally. Among them, Peninsular War veterans contributed a significant body of artistic and literary work depicting early colonial society and their role in the creation of that society, and these men are among the better-known chroniclers of colonial society. Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Anderson's memoirs are an important source of colonial history, as they are the only published account of a military commandant of the penal settlement on Norfolk Island. The published and unpublished literary works of Peninsular War veterans also contribute to the large body of British writing on the Peninsular war itself. So far as scientific endeavours are concerned, a governor of New South Wales, Sir Thomas Brisbane, and a Surveyor General of New South Wales, Sir Thomas Mitchell, stand out for their significant contributions. These veterans and others were active in the foundation of societies to encourage cultural life and stimulate scientific discussion; one society made a noteworthy contribution to astronomy. Australian colonies were made to play a vital role in the advancement of science with the support of these men. Thus Peninsular War veterans were some of colonial Australia's most educated and cultivated men, and this is reflected in their literature, and as well as in their artistic and scientific work.

8

'to pave the way for the free settler': British Soldiers on the Frontier

In New South Wales, Peninsular War veterans were often the frontiers-men of the British Empire: they formed the Mounted Police, the Border Police and were appointed as commandants of penal stations. In later life, when they wrote their memoirs – and these made a major contribution to how Britons at home perceived the Empire[1] – they recorded their exploits on the frontier in terms of their contribution to the creation of the Empire. In the telling of these stories, the military nature of these bodies in New South Wales, and how they tied in with increasing militarisation of prison and police systems in England, is explained. Major James Morisset is a good example of this militarisation at work with his responsibilities as commandant of the Mounted Police at Bathurst, and as commandant of the penal stations at Newcastle and at Norfolk Island. While this chapter is concerned with the impact of Peninsular War veterans on the frontier generally, their impact as Mounted Police is particularly pertinent, as a court case in Sydney in 1827 brought disrepute on the British army and came to the attention of the duke of Wellington and the King.

Before delving into these roles, however, the concept of frontier needs brief comment. For instance, the word 'frontier' in terms of the history of frontier violence against Aboriginals in the Australian colonies was largely unrecognised until the 1970s. Since the 1980s, however, this frontier history has become increasingly politicised, erupting in the recent 'history wars'. While there has been much recent scholarship on frontier wars, including Attwood and Foster, *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*[2] and John Connor's *The Australian Frontier Wars 1788–1838*,[3] these do not interrogate the concept of *frontier*, or provide a definition.[4] Inga Clendinnen, who sees varying experiences in different places, prefers to use 'contact zone' rather than frontier.[5]

So also does Mary Louise Pratt, whose concept of a contact zone is a place where 'people geographically and culturally separate come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict'.[6] Similarly, when Ann McGrath published her work on the Northern Territory Aborigines of the twentieth century, she too reflected on the notion of the frontier there. The frontier in the Northern Territory, she argued, was not as clear cut as in other regions, because the Aborigines moved freely to and fro between the worlds of station and bush.[7] As well, Ann McGrath has challenged the concept of the frontier as merely a place of conflict. For other groups, the frontier meant something different: missionaries, for instance, saw it in an entirely different way.[8]

For the frontier in New South Wales, this definition usefully refers to the role of settlement: 'the edge of the settled area of a country'.[9] Settlement meant dispossession of the original inhabitants, and the frontier was the boundary between black and white, as settlement slowly radiated from Sydney, northwards, westwards, and to the Port Phillip district in the south. This was not a continuous movement but a series of movements, and almost every one of these phases was begun before the previous one was complete.[10] As Perry has argued, the frontier in New South Wales during the 1820s was not a homogeneous entity: there were regional differentiations in land use. In 1829, for example, there were three major frontiers in existence: the 'big man's' sheep frontier in County Westmoreland (west of Sydney), the 'small man's' cattle frontier in County Argyle (south-west of Sydney), and the immigrant's mixed-farming frontier in the Hunter Valley (north-west).[11] Each was in an entirely different district, and represented different economic interests. By 1838, the frontier line had progressed much further, and Governor Gipps pointed out that

> I should not perhaps very much err, if I were to say that nearly half the Cattle and sheep of the Colony are thus depastured beyond what are called the Limits of Location; and any attempt to reduce the number of these Licences would be considered fatal to the prosperity of the Colony.[12]

The frontier was a strategic boundary, a defensive line, and the front line of colonial order. The military saw it as the shifting boundary of British civilisation that had to be defended.

* * * *

Peninsular War veterans dealt with Aborigines and convicts on a range of levels in their various roles as explorers, magistrates and as Mounted Police, Border Police and as military commandants of penal stations, but firstly I will focus on their duties as Mounted Police, carrying out punitive expeditions against Aborigines on the frontier. This is a highly contested part of Australian history, and I do not intend to deal generally with the 'history wars' on this topic, other than to examine the various interpretations of what happened at Waterloo Creek in 1838. My focus will be on the role of Peninsular War veterans in the Mounted Police from 1824 to 1838 on various frontiers in New South Wales, and the impact of that role. The origins and the military composition of that force are emphasised. The examples of areas where frontier violence occurred that I shall use illustrate the progress of settlement away from Sydney over a 14-year period: northwards towards Bathurst and then the Hunter Valley in the period from 1824, and then in 1838 to the northern frontier at Waterloo Creek, and the southern frontier in the Port Phillip district. 1838 was a pivotal year: there were some major 'collisions' in the first half of the year between the British army and Aborigines, and the British army ceased fighting on the frontier in New South Wales altogether in the latter half. The 'collisions' between Aborigines and the British army show that the British soldiers reacted to violent confrontations in the way they had always done, drawing on their experience on another frontier, on another continent. It was these soldiers, in their role as members of the New South Wales Mounted Police, who had to choose a course of action as crises arose.

In New South Wales, the Mounted Police force was created in 1825. It consisted entirely of soldiers, and it was first organised by a Peninsular War veteran, Colonel William Stewart of the 3rd Regiment, known as the Buffs. The life of the New South Wales Mounted Police was relatively short, from 1825 to 1850, and the four Commandants during this time were Captain John Forbes of the 39th Regiment, Captain Thomas Williams of the 4th, Brevet Major James Nunn of the 80th, and Captain Jeffrey Nicholson of the 96th Regiment.[13] During the first half of its existence, the British army controlled the force, and thereafter its upkeep fell to the colonial authorities. The day-to-day control of mounted police was divided between the military and civil powers, and this led to problems associated with mixing the two. In Britain, the provision of military power to civil authorities had always been a traditional military function, during the Luddite riots for instance,[14] and the New South Wales Mounted Police was a continuation of this practice. The commanding officers of the regiments selected men from among

volunteers and these men placed themselves at the disposal of local magistrates.[15] One trooper, Samuel Caldwell of the 17th Regiment, has left this ill-spelt account of his entry to the mounted police in 1830:

> The day after our arrival, a Captain Forbus[16] in cavelry uniform came on Bord, and he came to seek Soldier Volantees, and as we stood before him all drown up in line, he opened to us his Mission he told us he wanted valunteers to join the mounted police.[17]

Neither the officers nor the rank and file of the Mounted Police wished to be subordinate to civil authority. Likewise, the magistrates were unsure of the boundaries of their authority over the Mounted Police;[18] and therein lay the seeds of future discontent on both sides.

The New South Wales Mounted Police was the first unit of mounted infantry in the Australian colonies and, significantly, was the model for the famous Light Horsemen, or mounted infantry, who rode to fame in the First World War.[19] Consisting of officers, sergeants and rank and file of the Buffs, one half was initially deployed in the Bathurst area, and the other half in the Hunter region. Though on deployment to the Mounted Police, these men remained on the strength of their regiment. All the garrison regiments in New South Wales were infantry regiments, so horses had to be supplied to the mounted police by settlers. The Mounted Police responded to attacks by Aborigines and threats from bushrangers: they reinforced civil power. Mobility gave them success in areas beyond the official limits of settlement, where there was no magistrate.

From what began as a 46-man temporary force in 1825, the mounted police grew to 144 in 1839,[20] when it became a permanent force. In 1830, when Caldwell volunteered, the Mounted Police were broken up into four divisions: the first at Bathurst, the second at Goulburn, the third at Wallis Plains (Maitland) in the Hunter Valley and the fourth based in Sydney.[21] In 1834, reflecting an increased demand for mounted police, there was another augmentation of 20 privates to act as dismounted troopers; their duties were to take charge of the Barracks, thereby ensuring Mounted Police were always available for service.[22] In 1836, the strength of the Mounted Police in the Bathurst division was 29, in the Hunter River division 28 and in the Goulburn division 29, providing a total of 86 outside Sydney.[23] The Mounted Police wore a military uniform – blue jacket with red facings, yellow ball buttons and shoulder brasses, black trousers with red stripes, white and scarlet girdle and Wellington boots[24] – and retained their military pay and status.

Two members of the Mounted Police were John Lee and Lewis Moore from the 48th Regiment. Both joined the Mounted Police as privates in 1825, with Lee being promoted to Sergeant and Moore to Sergeant Major. They both served for an extended time: Moore for 14 years, and Lee for 19.[25] Although they remained on the strength of the 48th Regiment when it left for India, they transferred to the 40th Regiment, and to successive garrison regiments, in order to remain in the Mounted Police.[26] These two soldiers of the British army have since achieved some notoriety among historians for their part in hostile campaigns against Aborigines. At the time, though, their services were highly praised.[27]

The first example of New South Wales Mounted Police activities is in the early to mid-1820s, when the northern frontier was Bathurst, and beyond to the Hunter Valley. Major James Morisset, a Peninsular War veteran, was appointed commandant at Bathurst in 1824 and attempted, with his small garrison, to stop Wiradjuri attacks on properties around that area. William Lawson Jnr. dared not graze his animals beyond the frontier line, and he believed that the Wiradjuri 'may now be called at war with the Europeans'.[28] In one attack in May 1824 the Wiradjuri killed seven stockmen in a series of attacks that shocked the settlers in outlying areas. Revenge killings were probably inevitable, and the workmates of one of the victims – John Johnston, William Clark, John Nicholson, Henry Castles and John Crear – asked for, and received, muskets and headed into the bush. They returned later that same evening claiming they had not seen any Aborigines. However, after the discovery of three bodies, the men admitted having killed Aborigines. Ultimately, they were charged with assault on an Aboriginal woman, which terminated in her death. At their trial in the Supreme Court of New South Wales, the Attorney General remarked that 'no difference existed between individuals, whether black or white, but that the same laws, now in force, equally extended to each'.[29] Despite this admonition, the five men were found not guilty.

In the month following the Wiradjuri attacks, Morisset sent out Sergeant John Baker, also a Peninsular War veteran, and some soldiers of the 40th Regiment, to find a Wiradjuri camp and arrest certain men for raiding settlers' cattle and huts.[30] The expedition was a failure, but that failure showed that something more than the army was needed and, as a consequence, the Mounted Police was formed. Yet their deployment to the Hunter Valley led to an escalation in frontier violence, as the new mobility of the soldiers was used to pursue and attack raiding parties of Aboriginals. The initial impact of men on horseback should not be underestimated: Aborigines were intimidated at the sight of a man on

horseback, and it gave the soldiers not only a decided advantage but also greater vision. In response to the increased violence, Governor Brisbane proclaimed martial law in the country west of the Blue Mountains 'in order to restore tranquillity'. Brisbane declared:

> Martial Law to be in force in all the country westward of Mount York, and All soldiers are hereby ordered to assist and obey their lawful Superiors in suppressing the Violences aforesaid … and being always mindful that the Shedding of Blood is only just, where all other Means of Defence or of Peace are exhausted.[31]

As John Connor has noted, soldiers who shot British subjects could be charged with murder, unless their action had been sanctioned by a magistrate or by the declaration of martial law. This declaration of martial law, he argued, was made to prevent soldiers or settlers who killed Wiradjuri from being charged with murder.[32] Four months later, Brisbane perceived the immediate problem to have been solved and, as tranquillity had been restored, he revoked martial law.[33]

The northern frontier remained relatively peaceful until late 1825. In June 1826, after the Wiradjuri had murdered two stockmen at Dr Bowman's station, Lieutenant Nathaniel Lowe of the 40th Regiment and the entire Hunter Valley Mounted Police detachment were sent to the frontier. As luck would have it, by the time the Mounted Police arrived, the Aboriginal raiders had left. Lieutenant Lowe then returned to Wallis Plains (Maitland) almost immediately, but left Sergeant Lewis Moore, mentioned earlier, and four privates on the frontier.[34] An Aborigine named 'Jackey Jackey' was arrested, brought down to Wallis Plains and held on suspicion of being the killer of Dr Bowman's stockmen. Lieutenant Lowe, however, ordered his men to shoot 'Jackey Jackey' and this they did. Lowe developed a fearsome reputation for his campaign of terror on the Upper Hunter: for instance, another three Aboriginal men were shot, apparently while trying to escape.[35] Sergeant Lewis Moore and Private John Lee, also mentioned earlier, were two of the three troopers involved in this atrocity.

Governor Darling ordered an enquiry into the murder of 'Jackey Jackey' and recalled Lieutenant Lowe. There were some in the Upper Hunter area who approved of Lowe's behaviour and who sought to obstruct justice, but finally Darling collected enough evidence to put Lowe on trial for murder. The subsequent court case drew press and public attention because it brought the British army into disrepute: for the first time in the 40-year history of the colony of New South Wales, a British army

officer was being tried for the murder of an Aborigine.[36] Lowe's defence was that 'Jackey Jackey' was shot while attempting to escape. Dr Wardell, counsel for Lowe in conjunction with W. C. Wentworth, brought the status of an Aborigine into question:

> Is he an alien enemy? He is not, because his tribe is not in hostilities with the British Sovereign. Is he an alien friend? He is not, because his tribe may be, and in fact is in a state of public hostility with individual subjects of the British Sovereign, and because no friendly alliance has ever been entered into. He is not a subject of the British King, because his tribe has not been reduced under his Majesty's subjection.[37]

William Salisbury, in giving his evidence, stated that he lived at Wallis's Plains and remembered a 'blackfellow' being brought into custody. Mr Lowe was present, Salisbury claimed, and Lee was one of the soldiers who killed 'Jackey Jackey' in a hollow behind 'government house'. Other people gave similar evidence. William Constantine also remembered the incident. He recalled seeing Lieutenant Lowe and Sergeant Moore standing together talking, and recounted that he went to his hut and on his return saw 'Jackey Jackey' lying dead between two saplings, and he was bruised on his face and head. Others gave similar evidence; in fact, the case seemed clear. The Chief Justice, in his summing up of the case, reminded the military jury that the defendant was a military man, as they themselves were. This jury retired for only about five minutes before returning a verdict of Not Guilty. This verdict was greeted with applause, and Lowe's friends congratulated him on the favourable termination of the court case. A second burst of applause was given as he triumphantly left the court.[38] This case, however, created ripples further afield and appears to have disturbed the British army so much that the Duke of Wellington, then Commander-in-Chief, requested a report on the case. Apparently, Wellington had already notified the King of the circumstances of this case, and he then requested a report from the Chief Justice.[39] It does appear that Lowe got away with murder: that there was a general cover-up in the Wallis Plains district, and that his fellow military men on the jury believed his account.

The second example of Mounted Police activities is again on the northern frontier, though, by 1838, it had moved northward to the Gwydir River, almost to what is now the border between Queensland and New South Wales. From 1836 pastoralists had reached this area,

in which the town of Moree now stands, and violence between them and the Kamilaroi had become commonplace. The New South Wales Mounted Police first came to this frontier in 1837, when Lieutenant George Cobban of the 50th Regiment, in charge of the Hunter River division of the Mounted Police, was ordered to look for the Kamilaroi who killed Frederick Harrington at Charles Purcell's station.[40] Cobban enlisted as an ensign in the British army in 1833, and his first taste of foreign service came with the posting of the 50th Regiment to New South Wales in January 1835.[41] The excursion to the outlying northern stations was probably his first in this area: it took him north-west from Cassilis, along the dray track supplying the distant runs past Coolah and Binnaway, and beside the southern fringes of the Warrumbungles, which he would have crossed beyond Coonabarabran. By the time Cobban found himself about 400 kilometres from Jerry's Plains (the Hunter River), probably near Walgett or Collarenebri, he admitted defeat and returned, though keen to go again off in pursuit of the Kamilaroi.[42] Logistically, Cobban's trip was important, as it showed that the Mounted Police could quickly reach the frontier, and stay there for some time.

Meanwhile, acting on a report made by the Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Liverpool Plains district, Lieutenant-Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass, a Peninsular War veteran and interim governor in the lull between Governors Bourke and Gipps, decided that a large detachment of Mounted Police should be sent north to investigate the Commissioner's claims of atrocities committed by the Kamilaroi, but more particularly to search for Harrington's killers. Snodgrass sent for Major James Nunn of the 80th Regiment, commandant of the Mounted Police,[43] and gave him the following orders:

> You must lose no time in proceeding; you are to act according to your own judgment, and use your utmost exertion to suppress these outrages. There are a thousand Blacks there and if they are not stopped, we may have them presently within the boundaries.[44]

Thus Nunn got together a detachment consisting of himself, one subaltern (Lieutenant Cobban), two Sergeants (including the trusty Sergeant Lewis Moore) and 20 troopers. However, the number was more likely to be around 30, as Sergeant (formerly Private) John Lee and several other mounted police joined the party as it passed through what is now Scone.[45]

What happened on this journey is the subject of debate. Roger Millis calls it 'The Australia Day massacre of 1838'. Lyndall Ryan judges that

it was not a legitimate police action but 'an act of mass revenge by the mounted police in retaliation for the wounding of one of their comrades'.[46] The first edition of the *Oxford Companion to Australian History* tells us that these were 'atrocious retaliatory measures' against the group of Aborigines that Nunn's party encountered at Snodgrass Swamp (Waterloo Creek) on 26 January 1838.[47] John Connor has surmised that Aborigines were certainly killed by Nunn's expedition, but that the tally of the dead was 40 or 50, rather than about 300.[48] Keith Windschuttle has claimed that the purpose of the expedition was basically the apprehension of the murderers of Frederick Harrington.[49] After a careful reading of all these accounts, I believe Connor's is the most balanced. The principal primary source to be consulted is the enquiry held in June 1839, some 18 months after the event, even though Governor Gipps had decided in April 1838 that an inquest should be held into any violent and sudden death, be the victim a white man or an Aborigine.[50] This enquiry, however, took evidence from only eight men: four officers, two Mounted Police troopers (including Sergeant John Lee) and two pastoralists from the district, although there were 30-odd members of the expedition.

The only contemporary individual who mentioned a figure of 300 deaths was the Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld, who in any case heard of the incident at third hand: he was informed by John Cobb, who heard it from public boasts made by the expedition leader, Major Nunn.[51] Significantly, the Waterloo Creek entry in the 2001 edition of *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* has been completely rewritten by Bain Attwood: 'Milliss's claims regarding Waterloo Creek [300 deaths], however, are not supported by the patchy historical record, and we might never know what happened there.'[52]

To return to Nunn's expedition, he passed by the Australian Agricultural Company's property on the Peel River and arrived on 4 January 1838 at a station just south of the Namoi River. There, the horses and men rested while Nunn sent Sergeant James McNally on a reconnaissance mission. McNally returned with news of a large number of Aborigines nearby on the Namoi. Nunn made the decision to confront the Kamilaroi in their camp, and ordered the men to use their swords rather than firearms. Nunn and his men initially captured 15 men but let 13 of them go, with two remaining in custody as murder suspects. Both of these men attempted to escape, and one was shot and killed in the attempt. Nunn's journey then took him to Cobb's station from where reports had been received of outrages committed by the Aborigines. Everything there was in great confusion when Nunn arrived, as the shepherds and people

were afraid to leave the vicinity of their huts and, consequently, all the sheep needed to be moved to new pasture but there was not a man who would do it. Two white men had recently been murdered at this station, and the Aborigines had taken 28 sheep and various other articles. In their search for the culprits, the Mounted Police came across a group of Aborigines who promised to lead them to those responsible. About noon on the second day, they encountered another group of Aborigines and Corporal Hannan was speared in the leg; and it was after this act that the Mounted Police opened fire. Nunn recalled seeing about five bodies.[53] Sergeant John Lee, however, estimated 40 or 50 were killed and commented that Major Nunn was not with the men who fired. Lee stressed that it was the spearing of Hannan that set off the devastating chain of events: 'I do not think a shot would have been fired but for that circumstance', he said.[54]

One of the reasons for the long delay before an enquiry was held into this affair was that the New South Wales Executive Council warned Gipps that, if he charged any member of the Mounted Police, they would all resign their police duties and return to their Regiment, in effect leaving the frontier defenceless.[55] The decision made after the enquiry was not to pursue charges. Gipps justified the actions of Major Nunn, in that Nunn was a military man since he was

> acting under Military orders, and that he knew there was still assembled before him a large body of People, whose aggressions he had been sent 300 miles to repel, it may not be deemed extraordinary that he should have considered it his duty to disperse them, or that he should have thought, if he had failed to do so, that the object of his expedition would not have been accomplished.[56]

The last example of Mounted Police activities is that of the Port Phillip district of New South Wales (now Victoria), as this was the last major British army deployment to the frontier. By 1838, British pastoralists were encroaching on the land of the Warthaurong, west of Geelong, and the Woiworung, north of Melbourne. For the white settlers, the position was desperate, and four pastoral runs on the Ovens River had to be abandoned because of repeated Aboriginal attacks.[57] After this, the Port Phillip district settlers demanded military assistance from Governor Gipps, which he refused, though he did order the Mounted Police to the Ovens River, and they also investigated the creation of military outposts along the Melbourne Road. Major James Nunn supervised the construction of these barracks on the Murray, Ovens and Goulburn Rivers. Nonetheless

frontier warfare continued in this area for many years beyond 1838, and George Faithfull wrote that his station on the Ovens was 'in a perpetual state of alarm' for years on end.[58] The same violence continued in other areas of the Port Phillip district, such as Port Fairy. There, settlers, in a petition to the government, listed their losses over a two-month period in 1842: ten settlers killed or wounded; eight huts or stations attacked; 3600 sheep, 176 cattle and ten horses killed or driven away.[59]

In 1838, the British government decided to withdraw the British army from frontier warfare. Their policy on the matter is evident in the following:

> The Settlers must not be led to depend on a Military Force for internal protection. It is the desire of H. M. Govt. to encourage the establishment of local Corps in the different Colonies and to induce the Colonists to provide as much as possible for their own defence. In cases where it is unfortunately necessary to adopt active measures for restraining the aggressions of the Natives, military aid though indispensable in support of the Civil Force, the latter ought to be the principal means on which reliance is habitually to be placed for internal security. I cannot too strongly deprecate the habitual employment of the Military on such a Service.[60]

Similarly, Governor Gipps outlined the government's inability to provide protection for the graziers:

> [I]t is quite out of the power of this Government to give to the proprietors of their Flocks the protection they desire; even if we were restrained by no sense of humanity towards the Blacks, the resources of the Government would be quite insufficient to keep Military parties always in advance of persons, who are migrating in search of pasturage, advancing often 50 miles in a single season, and in the case of Port Phillip have stretched to a distance beyond our former limits of between three and four hundred miles in the last thee years.[61]

John Connor has noted that the way the British army fought on the frontier after 1838 changed in several ways.[62] However, while he sees some major changes, my own view is that there was one – the British army ceased fighting on the frontier in the latter half of 1838 – and the other events were a corollary of that. Fighting on the frontier was then left to the settlers, who turned out to be more violent than the British army.

One consequence of the withdrawal of the British army from the frontier was the altered status of the Mounted Police. The Secretary at War, Viscount Howick, wrote to Lord Glenelg, who in turn wrote to Sir George Gipps, outlining new instructions for the employment of soldiers as mounted police. In future, soldiers transferred to the mounted police would no longer be considered part of their respective regiments: rather, they would be supernumeraries and would receive no military pay. As soon as soldiers were appointed to the mounted police, they were to be considered as having been discharged from the army. This came about following Lieutenant Colonel Breton's evidence before the select committee of the House of Commons on Transportation. He stated that

> the best men of each Regiment are selected for this service; that they continue to be so employed until the regiment embarks for India, being a period of four or five years; that, by that time, the soldier becomes his own Master, his duty when he rejoins the Regiment is irksome to him, and he is no longer amenable to discipline.[63]

These new regulations meant that the regiments would not be weakened by the withdrawal of a considerable number of men from their ranks to serve in the Mounted Police. What had been an expedient measure in New South Wales to use soldiers as mounted police had become untenable from the British army's perspective.

Another consequence was the creation of a small force of Border Police to operate permanently on the frontier beyond the Limits of Location in September 1838. That the Border Police retained the same military discipline of the mounted police is evident from the Standing Orders issued by Sir George Gipps to the Border Police of the Port Phillip district:

> Every individual employed in the Border Police is expected to pay implicit obedience to the commands of the Commission in the same way as Troopers or Mounted Police or Soldiers in any Regiment of the Line are bound to obey the orders of their Commanding Officer.[64]

Yet the most significant consequence of the British army's withdrawal was that settlers and stockmen were now left to protect their own property, and the violence towards Aborigines increased as settlers set up vigilante parties solely to attack Aborigines, in the same way as the men at Myall Creek station had done. Arguably the best-known

example of frontier violence between the British and Aborigines in New South Wales occurred at Myall Creek station, near the Gwydir River in the north of the state, in June 1838, before the British army left the frontier. The incident is an example of what settlers could get up to. A group of 12 stockmen came together with the specific aim of killing Aborigines: some were ticket-of-leave men and some were assigned convicts, yet all were armed, and the assigned men were not under supervision on the properties of their respective masters. This group also contained one master of assigned convicts, John Fleming and, with him in charge, the group set off into the bush, moving from station to station, until they finally located a group of Aborigines at Henry Dangar's Myall Creek station. There, about 30 men, women and children were tied to a long rope normally used for tethering horses at night. About 15 minutes later, the massacre commenced. All were killed, except for one young woman, for whom they had another fate. Although these men later claimed they did not know it was against the law to kill Aborigines, that was surely a lie, as they had tried to remove evidence of the killings. They decapitated the bodies and then burnt them, removed the charred bones, and swept the area clean.[65] The perpetrators of this crime were pursued and captured by the mounted police, under the leadership of a stipendiary magistrate.[66] Eleven of them stood trial in the Supreme Court on 15 November 1838 for murder, but the jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty, after only a quarter of hour's deliberation.[67] The Crown was dissatisfied with the verdict, however, and another trial was held on 26 November 1838; this time seven men were charged with murder. When the jury returned with their verdict, the foreman delivered a verdict of Not Guilty as the names were called out. Apparently the excitement of the moment had upset the foreman, who called Not Guilty by mistake: the jury had in fact found the seven men Guilty of murder, but Not Guilty on other counts. These seven men were hanged.[68] Three men were tried again for murder a couple of months later, on 14 February 1839, but the case lapsed as a material witness, an Aborigine named Davey, was deemed unable to be instructed as a competent witness.[69] This may have been an excuse to drop the prosecutions because of the public hostility at the execution of the seven Myall Creek murderers.

Conflict between black and white continued for almost another century as settlers,[70] stockmen and civil police carried on the 'frontier wars', and rather more violently than the British army had done. It was the settlers, rather than the British army, who did most of the fighting on the New South Wales frontier. Settlers made up the majority of

those on the frontier, though as Mark McKenna has shown, sealers on the far south coast of New South Wales were also responsible for many atrocities against Aborigines.[71]

For those British army officers in the Mounted Police and Border Police, and seemingly for the general public in New South Wales, this was their version of the frontier. But there were different visions of frontier, depending on one's geographic location. If one was at the heart of the Empire, there was greater concern for the protection of Aboriginal people, particularly during the period of the anti-slavery campaign begun in the previous century, and largely run by people of evangelical religious persuasion. In 1823, William Wilberforce and other like-minded individuals formed the Anti-Slavery Society, and that campaign persisted for the next ten years until the Slavery Abolition Act was passed. But humanitarian impulses from London had little influence on what actually happened on the frontier: that was the responsibility of those there, the Mounted Police.

Next I would like to turn to discipline in prisons, both in Britain and in New South Wales. In Britain, after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, a new type of prison officer emerged, a more professional one. The earlier prison staff had been composed mostly of petty tradesmen, but the new regime of tighter prison discipline required a man with an aptitude for the exercise of authority, and it was among the large number of half-pay army officers that he was to be found. As Ignatieff has pointed out:

> In the 1820s and 1830s they took positions in the Metropolitan Police, the prison, the prison inspectorate, the poor law administration, and later the rural constabulary, bringing with them the habits of command that they had learned in the forces. This infusion of trained disciplinarians provided the personnel necessary for the centralization and rationalization of the machinery of public order in the 1830s.[72]

Peninsular War veterans headed the list of those chosen for the new disciplinary roles in prisons and other places. Typical of these were George Chesterton, the governor of Coldbath Fields prison in London and a veteran of the Peninsula campaign, and Colonel Rowan, the newly appointed police commissioner who used the regimental drill manual used by Sir John Moore in the peninsula as the basis for his disciplinary programme.[73] Together with this change in the social composition of prison officers, a language of discipline began to emerge

that was increasingly military in derivation. For instance, in 1837, a former army officer, William J. Williams, argued that the government of prisons:

> Should be made as analogous as possible to that of a battalion; with the same graduated responsibility among the officers, the same inflexible regularity extended even to trivialities, the same promptitude in punishments, the same nice divisions of time.[74]

Prisons in the convict colony of New South Wales took the form of penal settlements, where convicts who were twice convicted could be sent for further punishment. Newcastle, on the coast north of Sydney, was the first penal settlement on the mainland, and the model for later ones. In 1804, there had been a rebellion of Irish convicts at Castle Hill and, in the aftermath, those rebels were considered too dangerous to remain in Sydney. At this time, the British government also sought to develop the coal resources of the colony, so Governor King decided to resettle the Hunter River. An earlier attempt to establish settlement with a small party of convicts had failed. Thus one warm April day in 1804, Lieutenant C. A. Menzies, with a few soldiers, a couple of civil officials and 22 convicts established the penal settlement at the mouth of the Hunter River,[75] and so it remained until 1823, when it was abandoned as a penal settlement in favour of Port Macquarie. In the meantime, convicts worked in the coalmines, burnt lime, cut timber and constructed a breakwater: all hard, physical labour. It is important to bear in mind that the majority of these were convicts who had committed a second offence, either on the way to the colony or after their arrival. Often, after serving their sentence in Newcastle, they were returned to Sydney as ordinary convicts. Among the commandants at Newcastle, there was one Peninsular War veteran, Brevet Major Morisset, appointed in 1819, whom we will meet later in this chapter at Norfolk Island. A unique aspect of Newcastle as a penal outstation was that martial law was in force until 1822, or almost to the end of its usefulness as a penal settlement.[76] This underlines the military nature of these settlements and hence of their punishment.

After the life of the penal settlement at Newcastle had ended, military authority lingered on, causing considerable tension over the rights of free settlers and the authority of the civil magistrate, who was also a military man. Captain Henry Gillman, later a military commandant at the penal settlement at Port Macquarie, seemed

unsure as to whether military or civil law prevailed. Gillman was the defendant in a case in the Supreme Court in Sydney in October 1824, in which Vicars Jacob attempted to prosecute Gillman for misuse of a search warrant and for attempting to initiate a duel.[77] But beyond this dispute was a conflict over the rights of free settlers in an area that had previously been run by the military as a penal settlement. *The Australian* had the answer:

> So long as those settlements continued mere receptacles for persons convicted of offences in the Colonial Courts, and therefore deserving to be subjected to a rigorous system of discipline, this unnatural combination of the civil and military functions might have been requisite and in such places may be requisite still. But, the instant a settlement loses its penal complexion, the instant it becomes inhabited by a free population, that instant the military authorities should become subject to the civil power, and not superior to it, as is obviously the case at Newcastle.[78]

As Newcastle became unsuitable as a penal settlement because of its proximity to encroaching free settlement and its problems, a penal settlement at Port Macquarie was begun in 1821. The forward party sent to commence the Port Macquarie penal settlement was larger than the initial party for Newcastle: Captain Francis Allman, of the 48th Regiment, headed a party of men of his regiment and 60 convicts. Allman planted sugar cane at the new settlement, and a Negro convict named James Williams, a native of Antigua, who had experience with growing sugar cane, was in charge of it. Eventually, the climate proved to be less than ideal, but the settlement did produce good sugar crops for some years.[79] There was no doubt that these penal settlements were military operations, and the commandant had power over both the military and civil officers. One who had some doubts about this situation was William Parker, appointed Superintendent of Agriculture at Port Macquarie. Everybody else understood implicitly that the commandant had supreme command, and Parker was soon made aware of this.[80] The dual role of penal settlements is clear: they were to avoid settlement and, at the same time, open the country for free settlement:

> You perceive if the Australian Agricultural Company selected their Lands in the neighbourhood of the Hastings, there is an end of Port Macquarie as a penal Settlement. I have always considered it would

be necessary to abandon that for such purpose, as soon as the tide of free settlers extended that far, in the Same way I acted in regard to Newcastle; and I consider it always the preferable mode to form a penal settlement, in the first instance, in order to pave the way for the free settler, who could never venture so far among savage tribes until Government has preceded them.[81]

When the penal settlement closed at Port Macquarie in 1832, there were echoes of the earlier problems at Newcastle. At Port Macquarie, the military was reluctant to hand over command to a civilian, after eleven years and three months of military rule.[82]

The 12 military commandants who ruled Port Macquarie were as follows

Captain Francis Allman, 48th Regiment	March 1821 to April 1824
Captain John Rolland, 3rd Regiment	April 1824 to November 1824
Lieut. G.R. Carmac, 3rd Regiment	November 1824 to December 1824
Captain Henry Gillman, 3rd Regiment	January 1825 to February 1826
Captain Samuel Wright, 3rd Regiment	February 1826 to Nov. 1826
Captain Archibald Innes, 3rd Regiment	November 1826 to April 1827
Lieut. Thomas Owen, 3rd Regiment	April 1827 to October 1827
Captain F.C. Crotty, 39th Regiment	October 1827 to June 1828
Lieut. Thomas Meyrick, 39th Regiment	June 1828 to August 1828
Captain Philip Aubin, 57th Regiment	August 1828 to October 1828
Captain Robert Hunt, 57th Regiment	October 1828 to November 1828
Captain Henry Smyth, 39th Regiment	November 1828 to June 1832[83]

Of these twelve, ten were Peninsular War veterans.[84] The two who were not – Captain John Rolland and Lieutenant G. R. Carmac, there for short periods in 1824 – were part of the same cohort.

As the tide of settlement was progressing northward, Governor Brisbane decided to open another, farther north than Port Macquarie, so remote that its prisoners might give up all hope of escape. This was the penal settlement at Moreton Bay, and the first commandant was Lieutenant Henry Miller, from September 1824 to August 1825. Miller was Anglo-Irish, and had joined the 40th Regiment of the British army in 1799. He was present at many of the brutal battles of the Peninsular War, and was severely wounded. After the fall of Napoleon, Miller went to America, and was back in Europe again for the battle of Waterloo. He was given the Waterloo medal and the Peninsula medal with clasps for Busaco, Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo.[85] The next couple

of commandants were also Peninsular War veterans: Captain Peter Bishop of the 40th Regiment (from August 1825 to March 1826) and Captain Patrick Logan of the 57th Regiment (March 1826 to October 1830). Like Miller, Bishop also served both in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, while Logan fought in the latter battles of the Peninsular War: Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes and Toulouse. Logan then sailed for America, arriving back in Europe too late for Waterloo, and was part of the army of occupation of France. Captain James Clunie came next at Moreton Bay (from October 1830 to November 1835) and it seems unlikely that he served in the Peninsular War, as he was appointed to an ensigncy in the 17th Regiment in 1813 and served in the American war.[86] From November 1835 until July 1837, Captain Foster Fyans of the 4th Regiment was commandant, and his impressions of his time at Moreton Bay are contained in his memoirs.[87] The last three commandants, Major Sydney Cotton of 28th Regiment (from July 1837 to May 1839), Lieutenant George Gravatt of 28th Regiment (May 1839 to July 1839) and Lieutenant Owen Gorman of 58th Regiment (July 1839 to May 1842) did not serve in the Peninsula. In May 1842, the penal colony was abandoned and the district opened to free settlers.

On Norfolk Island, as at Newcastle, it was intended that martial law should operate. The original penal settlement was abandoned in 1814; but, by 1825, orders were given by the British government to resume possession of the island. In a dispatch to Under Secretary Horton in March 1825, Governor Brisbane wrote, *inter alia*:

> However extensive the numbers may be who are sent to penal Settlements, I consider, I am fully persuaded, that, by a judicious application of their labors, they can, in some employment or other, be made to earn their own livelihood, and if it were not too repugnant to the Laws of England, I should consider it very fitting to have Norfolk Island completely under Martial Law.[88]

Brisbane was unsuccessful in his attempt to have martial law declared at Norfolk Island; in practice, though, commandants certainly did have sweeping powers. Interestingly, the same despatch also records the hierarchy of the penal settlements:

> Port Macquarie for first grave offences, Moreton Bay, for runaways from the former, and Norfolk Island, as the *ne plus ultra* of Convict degradation.[89]

The second settlement of Norfolk Island operated from 1825, when Captain Richard Turton of the 40th Regiment, arrived with the first party of convicts and soldiers. A full list of commandants follows:

Captain Richard Turton	June 1825 to March 1826
Captain Vance Donaldson	March 1826 to August 1827
Captain Thomas Wright	August 1827 to November 1828
Captain Robert Hunt	November 1828 to February 1829
Captain Joseph Wakefield	February to May 1829
Brevet Major James Morisset	May 1829 to April 1834
Major Joseph Anderson	March 1834 to April 1839
Major Thomas Bunbury	April to September 1839
Major Thomas Ryan	September 1839 to March 1840
Captain Alexander Maconochie R. N.	March 1840 to February 1844
Major Joseph Childs	February 1844 to August 1846
John Price	August 1846 to January 1853
Major H. B. Deering	January to November 1853
J. H. Day	November 1853 to June 1856[90]

Of these, Day, the last commandant, supervised the transfer of the remainder of the convicts from Norfolk Island to Van Diemen's Land and the settlement of New Norfolk.

The first long-term commandant on Norfolk Island was Morisset. Officially appointed as Military Commandant,[91] Morisset was 49 when appointed, and had spent the past 30 years as a soldier. He was of slender build, elegantly dressed by one of the more fashionable London military tailors, although his face marred this elegant image. According to Captain Fyans:

> The Commandant, a gruff old gentleman with a strange face, on one side considerably longer than the other, with a stationary eye as if sealed on his forehead: his mouth was large, running diagonal to his eye, filled with a mass of useless bones; I liked the old gentleman, he was friendly and affable, and thought time might wear off his face affliction, which was most revolting: the one side I could only compare to a large yellow over-ripe melon.[92]

Besides being physically disfigured, Morisset was in poor health, as he suffered continual pain from another head wound. He became ill on Norfolk Island early in 1833, and from then on until he received official leave of absence, almost a year, his second in command, Captain Fyans, was acting commandant.[93] Fyans commented that Morisset had 'degenerated to imbecility'.[94] Morisset then went back to the mainland, sold

his army commission and invested the proceeds, unwisely as it turned out, in the Bank of Australia. He was appointed police magistrate at Bathurst in 1838, and remained in that position until his death in 1852, although for the previous ten years his ill health and age hampered his conduct of the Bathurst bench.[95]

Both Morisset and Captain Patrick Logan have been immortalised as tyrants by the convict poet, Frank McNamara: Morisset in *A Convict's Tour to Hell* and Logan in *The Convict's Lament on the Unfortunate death of Patrick Logan*, more commonly known as *Moreton Bay.* But is this description of McNamara's a just one? What of the punishment under Morisset at Newcastle and Norfolk Island, and Logan at Moreton Bay? Morisset first gained a name for cruelty at the Newcastle penal station.[96] However, Commissioner Bigge's report on the Newcastle penal settlement finds an altogether different man, a much more humane one. Indeed, Bigge found that Captain Wallis of the 46th Regiment, Morisset's predecessor, appears more brutal than Morisset as he inflicted severe punishment on convicts and, during the period of his command, the overseers were allowed to strike the convicts with sticks; this was not allowed in Morisset's time.[97] Morisset was appointed to Newcastle in 1819 and the number of prisoners punished that year amounted to 91, about a third of them for attempting to escape. A surviving list of prisoners punished at Newcastle from 1818 to 1821 shows that Morisset inflicted no greater number of lashes than did his predecessor.[98] Sergeant John Evans confirmed this pattern in his evidence to Bigge.[99] Bigge concluded his report on the Newcastle penal settlement by commenting on the 'great attention' paid by Major Morriset to 'every part of his difficult and disagreeable duty':

[H]is vigilance and constant superintendence of the works, his attention to the complaints of the convicts, his patient investigation of them, and his efforts to maintain discipline, are equally conspicuous and successful: although aware of the necessity of inflicting severe punishments, he has always accompanied them with admonitions, calculated to impress upon the minds of other convicts his reluctance to resort to severity, except upon occasions where it was obviously required; these occasions have entirely arisen from the imperfect security against escape that the situation of the place afforded, weakened as it was by the connivance of the constables, and the daily increasing knowledge of the country that separates Hunter's River from the settled districts of New South Wales.[100]

So far as Morisset's time in Norfolk Island is concerned, who can be relied on as a witness? Captain Mason of the 4th Regiment was there for a time, and did not mention Morisset's cruelty in his journal.[101] Ensign Best was on Norfolk Island in 1837 and 1838, when Major Anderson was commandant. This was only a few years after the supposedly cruel command of Morisset, and yet there is no mention whatsoever of Morisset in Best's lengthy account of his time on Norfolk Island.[102] As noted earlier, Captain Foster Fyans of the 4th Regiment was acting commandant on Norfolk Island in Morisset's time. The most telling remarks about Morisset are not in Fyans' memoirs, but contained in the evidence he gave to a later Committee on Penal Discipline:

> Colonel Morisset was a great disciplinarian. … I must say that, for about a year and a half, I never saw anything equal to the beautiful discipline of that place. There was not as many punishments as people imagine and, perhaps the same fellows punished, over and over again, when other men were always well-behaved quite different characters.[103]

The only convict to leave an account of life under Morisset on Norfolk Island was Laurence Frayne.[104] An Irishman, convicted of theft in Dublin, he arrived in Sydney in 1826, and was then reconvicted for repeatedly absconding, and sent to Moreton Bay. There, he kept trying to escape: nothing could keep him tethered. He was sent to Sydney in 1830, reconvicted by the Supreme Court, sentenced to death, had his sentence commuted and was put on a hulk, awaiting transportation to Norfolk Island. Once more, he tried to escape from the hulk, was caught and given 50 lashes; then he cursed the overseer and received 150 more.[105] On Norfolk, Frayne was brought before Morisset on numerous occasions, and he insulted Morisset on each of them. Frayne resisted the discipline on Norfolk Island in a most determined manner, and he certainly called Morisset a tyrant. Perhaps he had reason to do so, as he was flogged repeatedly. His last flogging was for breaking into Morisset's residence and sleeping with two female assigned convicts there. He had told these two women that

> they might expect me to pay them a visit at all Hazard, and I would put up with the consequences if it was 300.[106]

Prisoners at some penal settlements were allowed to keep gardens. Major Morisset, for instance, allowed prisoners to have their own gardens

in the penal settlements at Newcastle and Norfolk Island. When he took command of the Newcastle penal settlement, allowing prisoners to cultivate their own gardens and to keep pigs and poultry was official policy, and he was instructed to encourage it.[107] Likewise, convicts at the penal settlement at Port Macquarie were allowed the same indulgences.[108] The situation on Norfolk Island was similar as prisoners were allowed gardens, but so also were the rank and file of the garrison regiment. The latter practice led to discontent, and the possibility of liaisons between prisoners and soldiers. The custom of allowing soldiers' gardens, and huts to store produce and tools, dated from before Anderson's service as commandant. On their arrival on Norfolk Island in 1839 the new garrison, the 50th Regiment, purchased the huts and gardens of the departing regiment, the 80th, despite an order issued in 1835 that this was not to be done: that the gardens should pass to the next garrison regiment without payment.[109] Major Bunbury, the new commandant and tougher disciplinarian of the two, ordered the removal of the huts around the gardens. As both convicts and soldiers kept gardens, Bunbury considered there were opportunities for fraternisation between the two groups. As word got out of Bunbury's order, a large number of soldiers assembled to resist its implementation. Bunbury attempted to compromise by suggesting that a government garden be established, with the men paying for vegetables. The soldiers, facing Bunbury on a verandah, were fully armed. They claimed they had bought the garden plots, and tools and stock, from the departing troops and insisted on what they saw as their right to keep the gardens. In the end, the huts and gardens remained. A few months later, Major Ryan, the next commandant, arrived with 180 men of the 50th Regiment and, with the advent of this new broom, the huts and gardens were destroyed. Upon their return to Sydney, eight soldiers were sentenced to be transported to Van Diemen's Land for their part in the mutiny.[110]

There are no records of any gardens at the penal settlement of Moreton Bay, where there remains a frightening portrait of the military commandant there, Captain Patrick Logan. He was an ogre, according to the convicts, a grotesque monster, according to his subordinates, and was known generally as the infamous Beast of Brisbane. Logan was reasonably young when appointed as commandant of Moreton Bay: just 35, with several years' experience in command of a company in the army. A portrait survives, which depicts Logan as stern and austere, with the air of a disciplinarian: very much the military man. The numbers of convicts in the period of Logan's command were larger than at any other

time. Logan was above all a soldier, a man of action, and revelled in his new role: he drew his own plans for the erection of a hospital and gaol and set about building them. Though occupied with the construction of these and other buildings, and with the increasing population of convicts, Logan nonetheless took up the case of some convicts. One was his overseer, Owen, whose wife died on the passage out from England, and whose two children were being detained in Sydney. Logan at once granted Owen leave to proceed to Sydney, and then forwarded to Macleay Owen's petition for a ticket-of-leave. This action of Logan's enabled Owen to get a job at Carter's barracks in Sydney and to look after his children.[111] In another instance, Logan questioned the legality of the sentences of a number of prisoners, and he appears to have acted on his own initiative in this. The case was referred to law officers, who upheld Logan's stand and reported that all but one of the men had been illegally sentenced. Logan was instructed to send the men to Sydney.[112] Both of these cases illustrate that there could at times be another side to Logan, a more compassionate one.

At the same time, Logan himself ordered prisoners to work in irons when the court had not so sentenced them. Colonial Secretary Macleay had reminded Logan that care must be taken 'that prisoners be actually subjected to the punishment ordered for them, no discretion being left with the Commandant in such cases'.[113] Under Logan, the number of absconders also grew. It is true that the convict population increased dramatically in this period, but the absconders were proportionately more numerous in this period than any other. The punishments they incurred were savage: Logan's minimum sentence for absconding was 50 lashes, but others received 100 lashes and there are instances of three who received 150 lashes and one of 200 lashes.[114] Unfortunately, there is no official record extant of the punishments Logan imposed at Moreton Bay, other than the journal of Peter Spicer, Superintendent of Convicts, for the period 11 February to 16 October 1828. This journal shows that, between these dates, Logan bestowed 72 sentences of 25 lashes, 97 of 50 lashes, 17 of 100 lashes, three of 150 lashes, ten of 200 lashes and one of 300 lashes.[115] With only eight months of records of punishments at Moreton Bay, it is difficult to judge whether Logan continued this pattern, but it seems likely he did.

Logan's flogging record at Moreton Bay contrasts unfavourably with that of the other commandant accused of brutality, Morisset. At Newcastle, the largest number of lashes ordered by Morisset was 100 lashes for absconding into the bush. Those who were given 100 lashes were absconding for the second, or even third, time. Lesser penalties of

25 lashes were given for gambling, smuggling rum on shore, disobedience of the Commandant's orders, refusing to work and fighting.[116]

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The impact of the Mounted Police in New South Wales was a mixed one: for contemporaries, it was positive as they were assisting settlers in keeping Aboriginal attacks on sheep and outlying stations to a minimum. That no charge was laid against Major James Nunn of the 80th Regiment for the incident at Waterloo Creek, and that a military jury dismissed the charge of murder against Lieutenant Nathaniel Lowe of the 40th Regiment, is indicative of the acceptance of violence against Aborigines by the Mounted Police and by some of the population. These people cheered Lieutenant Lowe as a brave man as he left the court. Yet these actions represent only the colonial vision of frontier. For the British army headquarters in London, the impact of the Mounted Police was negative. That the dismissal of the charge against Lowe troubled both the duke of Wellington and the King indicates that the British army viewed the happenings in New South Wales with alarm because they brought the British army, and those who were part of it, into disrepute. Some of the British army – those in the Mounted Police – had sided with settlers, rather than uphold authority, and although the Mounted Police pursued and captured the Myall Creek murderers, overall their discipline and obedience were questionable. While the British government wanted settlers to occupy the land in New South Wales to make it a part of the British Empire, the conditions under which this happened became untenable, for the army at any rate. Consequently, the British Government resolved to withdraw the army from the frontier in New South Wales in 1838.

So far as penal stations are concerned, the influence and experience of the military officers who commanded them is evident. As the penal settlements functioned during the 1820s and 1830s when penal discipline in the British Empire was particularly militaristic in nature, the punishment in these places should be placed in the context of punishments in the British army generally, where flogging was the accepted method of discipline. The use of British army officers in the roles of Mounted Police, Border Police and as commandants of penal settlements was an ineluctable consequence of the new British penal ideology. The tension between military and civil power in New South Wales is particularly important as it highlights the role of the British army in bridging the gap from a penal colony to a free society, in other words, paving the way for free settlers to occupy the land.

Conclusion

Those British army officers who were Peninsular War veterans, and their cohort, had a physical presence in the Australian colonies for over 60 years: the first wave came with the 48th Regiment in 1817, and the last survivor was George Hull, who died in Hobart in 1879. Likewise, their descendants were a physical memento: George Hull and Stewart Ryrie had 50 grandchildren; Samuel Perry had 44 grandchildren and 100 great-grandchildren, although Edmund Lockyer's family appear to hold the longevity record. Born in Devon in 1784, he died in New South Wales in 1860, a year after his youngest daughter was born; she lived until 1946.

There are geographical reminders of the Peninsular War too: George Hull spent most of his life in Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) on the land grant he named 'Tolosa' in fond memory of the northern Spanish town. The landscape of New South Wales and Victoria, too, are peppered with names of Peninsular War battlefields.

The years of their greatest impact – the 1820s and the 1830s – were years of critical importance to Peninsular War veterans. In that period they set themselves up: they consolidated their military and civil positions, they used their networks, and they obtained large grants of land complete with cheap convict labour. This was also the period of large-scale expansion of the early Australian colonies: New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, and, to a lesser extent, the Swan River colony (now Western Australia). New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were becoming increasingly attractive to free settlers, and it was in these two colonies that the impact of Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, was most marked. In New South Wales, by the 1840s, the transition from penal colony to free society was almost complete: in 1838 the British army withdrew from fighting on the frontier of New South Wales, in 1839 trial by jury was introduced, marking an end to

military juries; convict transportation ceased in 1840, and representative government was introduced in 1843.

The British government had a general policy of planting ex-army and ex-navy officers in the colonies, but following the end of the Napoleonic wars, the government most particularly encouraged Peninsular War veterans to settle in the colonies, with advantages on both sides. The government was anxious to cut the cost of the numbers on the half-pay list, the need for colonial law and order was evident and the veterans would be good and respectable settlers in what had become a strategic location. For the veterans, the military grant regulations held the promise of a large land grant as well as the status that accompanied being a landowner, something unavailable to them in Britain.

It was the Napoleonic wars that offered an opportunity to become British army officers to men of limited means, who otherwise could not have obtained their first commission and consequent upward mobility within the army. At war's end, however, that counted for little. Many officers were placed on the half-pay list, and they competed with each other for the few civil positions available. This book confirms the finding of an early study that the majority of British army commissions during the Peninsular War were obtained without purchase, and it was precisely this class of middling gentry officer who sought to secure the future of his family in the Australian colonies. In effect the war had given them a double opportunity, making them firstly army officers and then landowners with the concomitant status that comes with the ownership of land. Not all led successful lives in the Australian colonies though: there were some financial disasters, two were speared by aborigines and one was murdered by convicts.

Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, aided in the emergence of the 'second' British Empire, with changes to the British army under Wellington, and Britain's subsequent emergence as what some historians have viewed as a military state. These veterans, whether in garrison regiments, or as free settlers who had sold their commissions, fitted neatly into the military structures of early New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. They, in their own transition from military to civil life, assisted these colonies in the same transition. This book firmly places Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, at the centre of colonial power structures: they held the majority of the military and civil positions and were a major component of the ruling elite in New South Wales and other Australian colonies. These colonies required men with military skills, and they were uniquely situated to take advantage of such opportunities.

The influence and strength of the social networks of Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, has proved to be of major significance. These were networks of knowledge, patronage and power. Veterans used these networks to gain important footholds in the Australian colonies as a direct result of their experiences in the Peninsular War. This happened to an extent in Britain itself, but the expanded British Empire provided many more opportunities. Many families of these veterans had outstanding financial success in the Australian colonies: the Ryrie family is one example, aided by its multiple connections with the families of other veterans.

It is clear that this Peninsular network should not be overlooked either in British imperial history or in Australian history. An extremely influential settler in New South Wales as well as a former British army officer, John Macarthur, proposed the concept of 'really respectable settlers' to a commission in 1821, having in mind this group of potential emigrants. His son, Edward, was a Peninsular War veteran himself, one of only a handful from New South Wales. Certainly, the British government's military grants encouraged the veterans to settle in the Australian colonies, but it was their social networks that helped to make that concept a reality. As a result, the social, political and familial connections of Peninsular War veterans, and the dynamics of such connections, had a profound impact on the Australian colonies at a time of large-scale expansion.

Their artistic legacy is only now being reassessed, and the purchase of Edward Close's sketchbook at auction in 2009 for over $900,000 by the State Library of New South Wales is a superb example. Amateur works were often seen as insignificant or perhaps lacking talent, but the artistic and historical value of the artwork of these veterans is now being recognised. Individually, many were important but, as a group, they are even more so. Altogether, there were 17 artists of note and a further 13 of their wives and daughters who made a very significant contribution to early Australian colonial art.

When one examines the many positions they occupied, and the significance of their skills, it is apparent how fundamentally important Peninsular War veterans, and their ilk, were to the entire economy and society of the Australian colonies in general, and to New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and South Australia in particular. The ideas of leadership, responsibility and public service acquired on the Iberian Peninsula fitted these men superbly for their later lives in the Australian colonies. They left an indelible mark on the nature of migration processes around the British Empire, on patterns of settlement in New South Wales, and

on the colonial administration of justice. In their roles as Mounted Police and as commandants of penal stations, they helped pave the way for free settlers to occupy the land. They were crucial to the management of the economic and financial systems of the Australian colonies. It was they who had the latest experience in surveying, mapping, town planning and road making and, using these skills, they reinforced the military character of colonial administration. As well the contribution of veterans to other facets of life in the Australian colonies was considerable: they brought a strong Protestant influence, and left a considerable scientific and literary legacy.

In the Australian colonies, Peninsular War veterans and their cohort were in the right place at the right time and, consequently, their impact is immeasurable.

Appendix I: Database of Influential British Army Officers in the Australian Colonies who were Veterans of the Peninsular War, and their Cohort

Name	Regiment	Date Arrival	Where	Comment	Death
Allman, Francis	48th	April 1818	Sydney		1860 Yass NSW
Anderson, Joseph	78th, 24th, 50th	1834	Sydney	sold £6,000	1877 Melb.
Anderson, Matthew	Surgeon	1819	Sydney		1850 Sydney
Antill, Henry C.	73rd	1810	Sydney		1852 Sydney
Balfour, William	40th	1825, 1826	Sydney, VDL		1838 London
Barker, Collett	39th	Feb. 1828	Sydney		1831 South Aust.
Barney, George	Royal Engineers	1835, 1846	Sydney	sold 1846	1862 Sydney
Bayly, Benjamin	21st	1824	VDL	1840	1850 Maria Island
Bell, Thomas	48th	1817	Sydney		1866 England
Bishop, Peter	5th, 40th	1824	Sydney		Ireland
Blomfield, Thos. V.	48th	1817	Sydney	sold 1825	1857 Sydney
Bourke, Richard	2ndQM General; 64th	1831	Sydney	General 1851	1855 Ireland
Boyd, Edward	Royal Staff Corps	1829	VDL		1871 UK
Boyes, G.T.W.B.	Commissariat	1824	Sydney	DACG 1813	1853 Tasmania

(*continued*)

Name	Regiment	Date Arrival	Where	Comment	Death
Brisbane, Sir Thomas	38th, 69th	Nov. 1821	Sydney	General 1841	1860 Edinburgh
Brotheridge, Thomas	48th Reg.	1817		Sold in India	1827 NSW
Bunbury, Thomas	90th, 80th	1837	Sydney		England
Butler, James	40th Ens.07 Lt.09	1824	Sydney		1840 Tasmania
Cameron, Charles	92nd, 3rd	1821	Hobart	Comm. Port Dalrymple	1827 India
Cheyne, Alexander	Royal Eng.	1834	W.A.	Sold 1833	1858 VDL
Childs, Joseph	Royal Marines	1843	Norfolk Island		1870 Cornwall UK
Cimitiere, Gilbert	48th Cp04 BMaj11	Sept. 1817	Sydney	GM Albuera	1842 Jersey UK
Close, Edward Charles	48th	Aug. 1817	Sydney		1866 NSW
Clunie, James	17th Reg.	1830	Sydney	American War	1851 Edinburgh
Cordeaux, William	Commissariat	Jan. 1818	Sydney		1839 Sydney
Cotton, Sir Sydney John	22nd Light Drag. 3rd Reg.	1824	Sydney	not PW	Left 1842, died 1874 London
Cotton, Hugh (brother of above)	Dep. Surveyor General	1842	Hobart	not PW	Left 1859, died 1881 India
Crummer, James Henry	28th	1835	Sydney	sold 1840	1867 Port Macquarie
Cutherbtson, John	48th	1817	Sydney		1824 VDL
D'Arcy, George	39th Cap03Bmaj13	Sept. 1826	Sydney	sold 1828	1849 Sydney
Darling, Ralph	45th, 51st	1824	Sydney	General 1841	1858 England
D'Arrieta, Juan	Comm. Contractor	Apr. 1821	Sydney		1838 Sydney

Name	Regiment	Date Arrival	Where	Comment	Death
De la Condamine, Thomas	57th Reg.	1825	Sydney		Left 1831, died 1873 England
Douglas, Sholto	50th, 63rd	1828	Hobart	Left 1831, returned 1832, left 1835 and returned 1837, finally left 1838	Died 1838 UK
Douglass, H.G.	18th Asst. Surgeon	1825, 1848	Sydney		1865 Sydney
Druitt, Major George	58th, 48th	Nov. 1817	Sydney	sold 1822	1842 Sydney
Dumaresq, Henry	9th	Oct. 1825	Sydney		1838 NSW
Dumaresq, William (brother to above)	Royal Staff Corps	1824	Sydney		1868 Sydney
Ellis, Theopilus	14th Dragoons	1830	W.A.		1834 W.A.
Elrington, William S.	6th, 11th, 4th	1827	Sydney		1868 England
Erskine, James	48th	Aug. 1817	Sydney		1825 India
Faunce, Alured	4th	1832	Sydney		1856 Sydney
Fitzgerald, John	39th	1826	Sydney		1841 India
Fletcher, William	Commissariat	Jan. 1824	VDL		1872 VDL
Florance, Thomas	Royal Engineers	1817	Sydney	American war	1867 NZ
Forster, Matthew	46th, 85th	1831	VDL	1822 sold	1836 VDL
Fyans, Foster	67th, 20th, 4th	1833	Sydney	sold, loss £500	1870 Vic.
Gawler, George	52nd	1838	South Aust.	Sold 1834	1869 Eng.
Geils, Andrew	19th Light Drag., 6th	1811	Sydney	1814 Ceylon	1843 UK

(continued)

Name	Regiment	Date Arrival	Where	Comment	Death
Gibbes, John George	40th, 55th	1833	Sydney	Not PW	1873 NSW
Gibson, Andrew	Asst. Surg. NSWRVC	1825		sold	Goulburn NSW
Gillman, Henry	27th, 3rd	1822	Sydney	in army 1832	1832 England
Gipps, George Sir	2nd Eng. 1809	1838	Sydney	Major 1837	1847 England
Goulburn, Frederick	23rd & 13th Dragoons, 104th Reg.	Dec. 1820	Sydney		1837 Ireland
Gregory, Joshua	78th	1829	W.A.		1838 W.A.
Hoddle, Robert	Survey and Drafting Corps	1823	Sydney		1881 Victoria
Howard, Charles	40th, Commissariat	1824	Sydney		1852 Victoria
Howe, William	1st Royal Scots	1816	Sydney		1855 Sydney
Hull, George	Commissariat	1819	VDL		1879 Hobart
Innes, Archibald Clunes	3rd	1822	Sydney	sold 1829	1857 NSW
Irwin, Frederick Chidley	13th	1829	Swan River		1860 Cheltenham UK
Irwin, William	28th		Sydney		1840 Sydney
Kelsall, Roger	Royal Eng.	1835	Hobart	Left 1843, sold 1845, ret.1853	1861 Victoria
Laidley, James	Commissariat	1827	Sydney		1835 Sydney
Light, William	Navy, 4th Dragoons	1836	South Aust.		1839 SA
Lindesay, Patrick	39th	1827	Sydney		1839 Edinburgh
Lithgow, William	Commissariat	1827	Sydney		1864 Sydney
Lockyer, Edmund	19th, 57th	1825	Sydney	sold 1827 Not PW	1860 Sydney
Logan, Patrick	57th	1825	Sydney		1830 Qld.
Lonsdale, William	4th	1831	Sydney		1864 London

(*continued*)

Name	Regiment	Date Arrival	Where	Comment	Death
Lyttleton, William Thomas	73rd	1809 1825	Sydney Hobart	Not PW	1839 London
Macarthur, Sir Edward	60th, 39th	1790	Sydney	b.1789, to UK 1799, ret. Sydney 1806, UK 1808, army	1872 London
Mackenzie, John Kenneth	4th (King's Own)	1832	Sydney	sold out 1834	1857
Maclaine, Peter	65th		VDL		1840 Hobart
Maclean, John	43rd	1837	Sydney		England
Macleay, Alexander	Colonial Sec.	1826	Sydney		1848 Sydney
Maddox, George Thomas	Commissariat		Hobart		1832 Hobart
McAlister, Lachlan	48th	1817	Sydney	sold 1822	1855 NSW
McDonald, Hugh	46th	1814	Sydney	Not PW, served West Indies	1819 Sydney
Meares, Richard G.	Roy.Fus., Life Guards	1829	W.A.		1862 WA
Meredith, George	Royal Marines	1821	Hobart		1856 Tasmania
Miller, Henry	40th	1823	Sydney		1866 Hobart
Milligan, William	63rd Surgeon	1829	Perth	India 1834	1846 London
Mitchell, James	48th Asst. Surgeon	1821	Sydney	1822	1869 Sydney
Mitchell, Sir Thomas	95th	1827	Sydney		1855 Sydney
Molle, George James	94th	1814	Sydney	Left 1817	1823 India
Montagu, John	52nd, 64th, 40th	1824	Hobart	Left 1839, returned 1841, to the Cape 1843 At Waterloo	1853 London
Moodie, Affleck	Commissariat	1821	VDL		1838 Hobart

(continued)

Name	Regiment	Date Arrival	Where	Comment	Death
Moore, Samuel	28th	1835	Sydney	sold 1839	1866 Sydney
Morgan, John	Royal Marines	1828	Swan River		1866 Hobart
Morisset, James Thomas	48th	1817	Sydney		1852 NSW
Murray, Robert William	2nd Manx, 7th, 1st, Commissariat	1821	Hobart		1850 England
Murray, Terence	48th	1817	Sydney	disch.1827	1839 NSW
Nairn, William	46th Reg.	1814	Hobart	not PW	1853 WA
Neilley, William	40th, 63rd	1826	Sydney	sold 1833	1864 Tasmania
Nickle, Sir Robert	88th	1853	Sydney	C-in-C military forces Aust. Colonies	1855 Victoria
North, Samuel	27th, NSW RV Co.	1825			1864 Sydney
O'Connell, Maurice	73rd	1809	Sydney		1848 Sydney
Ovens, John	73rd, 74th	1810	Sydney		1825 NSW
Palmer, John	Commissariat	1791	Sydney		1833 Sydney
Perry, Samuel Augustus	Royal Staff Corps	1829	Sydney		1854 Sydney
Phelps, James Henry	51st, 4th	1831	Sydney	sold 1838	1841 Sydney
Pilkington, Edward	29th Surgeon	1833	Sydney	India 1839	1851 U.K.
Rawlings, Edward	4th				1849 Tasmania
Roe, John Septimus	Navy	1817	Sydney	Surveyor	1878 W.A.
Robe, Frederick Holt	84th, 87th	1845	Adelaide	Born Canada Not PW	1871 London
Rossi, Francis Nicholas	Royal Corsican Rangers, 69th	1825	Sydney	Not PW	1851 NSW

Name	Regiment	Date Arrival	Where	Comment	Death
Russell, William	20th, 31st	1837	NSW		1853 NSW
Ryan, Thomas	104th, 50th	1835	VDL		1846 India
Ryrie, Stewart	Commissariat	Nov. 1825	Sydney		1852 NSW
Schaw, Charles	60th, 85th, 21st	1833	VDL	sold out 1835	1874 England
Shadforth, Thomas	47th, 57th	1826	Sydney		1862 Sydney
Sheaffe, William	50th	1834	Sydney	sold 1841	1860 NSW
Simpson, Percy	Royal Corsican Rangers	1822	Sydney	sold £700 1832; Not PW	1877 Sydney
Snodgrass, Kenneth	90th, 52nd	1828	Sydney		1853 NSW
Spotswood, John	98th	1828	VDL		1859 Hobart
Steel, Henry	56th, 86th, NSW Corps	1823	Sydney	War 1812 America	1852 Sydney
Steel, Watson (brother of above)	67th, 89th, 34th	1829	Sydney		1876 NSW
Stewart, William	101st, 3rd	1825	Sydney		1854 NSW
Sullivan, Benjamin	10th, 84th, 33rd	1828	Sydney		
Sturt, Charles	39th	1827	Sydney		1869 UK
Victor, James Conway	Royal Engineers	1842	Hobart		1864 Edinburgh
Waldron, Charles	39th	1831	Sydney		1834 Sydney
Walker, Thomas	Commissariat	1818	Sydney		1861 VDL
Wallis, James	46th	1814	Sydney		1858 U.K.
Ward, William Gordon	Commissariat	1820	NSW		1820 NSW
Warner, Jonathan	Royal NSW Veterans Co.	1825	Sydney		1842 NSW

(*continued*)

Name	Regiment	Date Arrival	Where	Comment	Death
Wauch, Robert Andrew	48th	1836	Sydney	1/2 pay 1817	1866 NSW
Wemyss, William	Commissariat	1821	Sydney		1862 Edinburgh
Wild, John	48th	1817	Sydney	sold 1822	1834 NSW
Williams, William	11th Light Dragoons, 40th	1826	VDL		1834 India
Wilson, Thomas B.	Surgeon	1822	VDL		1836 NSW
Wilson, William	71st, 48th, 63rd	1818	Sydney	in army 1835	1835 Madras
Wright, Samuel	3rd	1822	VDL	sold 1827	1852 NSW
Wynyard, Edward	58th	1848	Sydney		1864 London
Total 135					

Note: Among the Peninsular War veterans and their cohort, only those of influence have been included. Many others came to the Australian colonies in the 1820s and 1830s but made little impact, for example, four Commissariat officers: Thomas Arnold, William Baldry, William Hayward and George Hibbert, all of whom served in Sydney.

Sources: A card index of Peninsular War veterans donated by Dr. Judith Keene, Sydney University; private papers and edited journals of the veterans; obituaries in newspapers. This information was then checked against the Challis Index, approximately 9200 names in alphabetical order compiled by Captain L. S. Challis and presented to the Royal United Services Institute in 1949. National Library, Canberra. Mfm G7310. Additional entries located in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, P. C. Mowle, *A Genealogical History of the Pioneer Families of Australia*, John Sands, Sydney, 1939. Surgeons – *Advancing with the Army: Medicine, the Professions, and Social Mobility in the British Isles 1790–1850*, Oxford, 2006.

Appendix II: Colonial Careers of Peninsular War Veterans and their Cohort

Allman, Francis. (1780–1860)
Commandant Port Macquarie NSW penal settlement NSW 1821–4, Commandant Newcastle NSW penal settlement 1824–6, Justice of the Peace 1822 Police Magistrate at Goulburn NSW 1834, Campbelltown NSW 1836, Berrima NSW 1843-–4, Commission of the Court of Requests. Landowner.

Anderson, Joseph. (1790–1877)
Commandant Norfolk Island penal settlement NSW 1834–9, member Legislative Council of Victoria 1852–6. Landowner.

Anderson, Matthew. (1789–1850)
Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Sydney General Hospital 1825–27. Colonial Surgeon 1827–39. Landowner.

Antill, Henry. (1779–1852)
Aide-de-camp to the NSW governor 1810, Major of Brigade 1811, Director of the Bank of New South Wales 1819–21, Justice of the Peace NSW 1821, Resident Magistrate and Superintendent of Police NSW 1829. Landowner.

Balfour, William. (1785–1838)
Civil and Military Commandant Port Dalrymple VDL 1825, Commander of military districts VDL 1826, President of the Committee of the Board for General Purposes 1826. Landowner.

Barker, Collet. (1784–1831)
Commandant Raffles Bay 1828–9, Commandant King George Sound 1829–31, Appointed as first Resident in New Zealand 1831, but killed by aborigines before he took up the appointment.

Barney, George. (1792–1862)
In command of the Royal Engineers Department New South Wales 1835–43, Colonial Engineer NSW 1843–4, Superintendent Civil Works NSW, Superintendent new convict colony Port Curtis 1846–7, Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands NSW 1849, member Legislative Council NSW 1851, Surveyor-General of New South Wales 1855.

Bell, Thomas. (1783–1866)
Senior Military Officer, Acting Engineer and Inspector of Public Works, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, Hobart VDL. Landowner VDL.

Bayly, Benjamin. (1795–1850)
Visiting Magistrate Richmond VDL 1833, Assistant Police Magistrate Great Swan Port VDL 1838, Visiting Magistrate Maria Island VDL 1850.

Bishop, Peter. (c. 1787–1829)
Commandant Moreton Bay penal settlement 1825–6, Justice of the Peace 1825–6, Magistrate Illawarra NSW 1826. Landowner.

Blomfield, Thomas V. (1793–1857)
Justice of the Peace in various localities in New South Wales. Landowner.

Brisbane, Sir Thomas. (1773–1860)
Governor of NSW 1821–5.

Bourke, Sir Richard. (1777–1855)
Lieutenant-Governor Eastern district of the Cape Colony 1825, Acting Governor Cape Colony 1826–8, Governor of New South Wales 1831–7.

Boyes, G. T. W. B. (1786–1853)
Commissariat NSW 1823–6, Commissariat VDL 1826+, Legislative Council 1840, Acting Colonial Secretary VDL 1842–3. Artist and Diarist.

Bunbury, Thomas. (1791–1861)
Commandant of the Norfolk Island penal settlement 1839, Proclaimed British sovereignty over New Zealand 1840, Magistrate and Senior Military Officer New Zealand 1840, Deputy Governor of New Zealand 1844.

Cameron, Charles. (1779–1827)
Commandant Port Dalrymple VDL 1822–5, Justice of the Peace VDL 1823.

Cheyne, Alexander. (1785–1858)
Royal Engineers Peninsular War 1806, captain 1811. Retired on half-pay in 1817. Swan River colony (now Western Australia) 1834, and became a Justice of the Peace and was appointed Superintendent of the Mounted Corps. Went to VDL 1835 and was appointed Director-General of Roads and Bridges. Later town surveyor of Hobart and director of waterworks. Elected alderman of the City of Hobart 1858. Landowner.

Childs, Joseph. (1787–1870)
Commandant Norfolk Island penal settlement 1844–6.

Close, Edward Charles. (1790–1866)
Engineer of Public Works Newcastle NSW 1821–3. Honorary Magistrate NSW 1824–7, Member first Legislative Council NSW 1829–38, Warden Maitland District Council NSW 1843–52. Landowner.

Clunie, James. (1795–1851)
Commandant Moreton Bay penal settlement 1830–5, Magistrate Sydney 1836.

Cordeaux, William. (1792–1839)
Commissariat NSW 1818–33, Justice of the Peace 1825, Land Commissioner 1825–30. Landowner.

Cotton, Sir Sydney John. (1792–1874)
Acting engineer and architect at Hobart Town VDL 1824, Commandant Moreton Bay NSW penal settlement NSW 1837–9, Magistrate Liverpool NSW 1839–1840.

Cotton, Hugh. (1798–1881)
Deputy Surveyor General VDL 1842,1847, Irrigation Engineer VDL 1842, Assistant Police Magistrate Hamilton and Bothwell VDL, Inspector of Schools VDL.

Crummer, James Henry. (1792–1867)
Justice of the Peace NSW 1835–56, Commissioner Court of Requests Newcastle NSW 1841, Police Magistrate Newcastle, Maitland and Port Macquarie NSW 1836–64. Landowner.

Cuthbertson, John. (1785–1824)
Commandant and Magistrate Macquarie Harbour penal settlement VDL. Accidentally drowned at Macquarie Harbour.

D'Arcy, George. (d. 1849)
Police Magistrate Wollongong NSW 1828, Resident Magistrate Illawarra NSW 1828–9.

Darling, Ralph. (1772–1858)
Governor of Mauritius 1819–20, Commander of the Garrison Mauritius 1820–3, Governor of New South Wales 1825–31.

Douglas, Sholto. (1795–1838)
Leading role in 'black war' against aborigines VDL 1828, Chairman of Magistrates for Oatlands and Campbell Town VDL. Landowner.

Douglass, Henry Grattan. (1790–1865)
Surgeon in charge of the Colonial General Hospital at Parramatta NSW, surgeon in private practice and medical attendant at the Female Orphan School Parramatta NSW. Commissioner of the Court of Requests 1824, 1826, 1827, Clerk of the Legislative Council NSW 1825, 1827 and Director of the Bank of New South Wales 1825. Returned to NSW after an absence of 20 years in 1848: Honorary Physician Sydney Infirmary and Dispensary (later Sydney Hospital) 1849–55, member of the Medical Board of New South Wales 1849+, Director of Sydney Hospital 1855–6 and Member Legislative Council NSW 1856. Assisted in the founding of the Australian Philosophical Society, The Benevolent Society of NSW, The Asylum for Destitute Children and Sydney University. Sydney suburb named after him.

De la Condamine, Thomas. (1797–1873)
Aide-de-camp to the NSW governor 1825, Military Secretary NSW 1825, Private Secretary to NSW governor 1827–9, Clerk of the Legislative and Executive Councils NSW 1827–8.

Druitt, George. (1775–1842)
Civil Engineer NSW 1817–21, Justice of the Peace. Landowner.

Dumaresq, Henry. (1792–1838)
Military secretary to Governor Darling, Mauritius 1818–25, Private secretary to Governor Darling NSW 1825–31, Clerk to the Executive Council NSW. Large landowner.

Dumaresq, William. (1793–1868)
Civil Engineer New South Wales, Magistrate Scone NSW, member Legislative Council NSW 1843–8 and 1851–6. Large landowner.

Ellis, Theophilus. (1782–1834)
First man to be appointed to commissioned rank in a Western Australian police establishment, and the first to lose his life in the line of duty. Appointed in 1832 as Superintendent of Native Tribes, he was hit in the head by a spear and knocked from his horse at Pinjarra; he died soon afterwards.

Elrington, William. (1780–1860)
Justice of the Peace. Landowner.

Erskine, James. (1765–1825)
Lieutenant-Governor NSW 1817. Landowner. Sydney suburbs of Erskineville and Erskine Park named after him.

Faunce, Alured Tasker. (1808–56)
Son of Alured Dodsworth Faunce, Peninsular War veteran. Police Magistrate of Brisbane Water NSW 1836, Magistrate Queanbeyan NSW 1838. Landowner.

Fletcher, William. (1796–1872)
Commissariat VDL 1824+.

Florance, Thomas. (1783?–1867)
Surveyor NSW and VDL. Appointed Assistant Surveyor 1827 in NSW at salary of £200. Applied for a post in the Survey Department in New Zealand in 1840, but was rejected. Landowner.

Forster, Matthew. (1796–1846)
Appointed Chief Police Magistrate VDL at salary of £600 in 1831, and to the Legislative Council. Acting Colonial Secretary VDL 1839–41. Appointed Controller-General of Convicts VDL in 1842 at salary of £1200, with status equal to that of the Colonial Secretary.

Fyans, Foster. (1790–1870)
Captain of the Guard Norfolk Island penal settlement 1833, Commandant Moreton Bay penal settlement 1835-37, Police Magistrate Geelong, Victoria 1837+, 1849, Commissioner of Crown Lands for Portland Bay pastoral district, Victoria 1840 (half the size of England), Mayor Geelong Town Council, Victoria 1849. Landowner.

Gawler, George. (1795–1869)
Governor of South Australia 1838–41.

Geils, Andrew. (d. 1843)
Commandant Hobart Town settlement 1812. Landowner.

Gibbes, John George Nathaniel. (1787–1873)
Collector of Customs Jamaica 1819–27, Collector of Customs Great Yarmouth UK 1827–33, New South Wales 1833, member Legislative Council New South Wales 1834–55. Landowner.

Gibson, Andrew. (1796–1840)
Hospital Assistant Waterloo 1815, dismissed from service by court martial Halifax 1821, re-admitted hospital assistant 1825, Assistant Surgeon NSW Royal Veteran Company 1827, Assistant Colonial Surgeon New South Wales 1828-30. Large Landowner.

Gillman, Henry. (1793–1832)
Commandant Port Macquarie penal settlement NSW 1825–6, Major of Brigade 1827.

Gipps, Sir George. (1791–1847)
Governor of New South Wales 1838–46.

Goulburn, Frederick. (1788–1837)
Colonial Secretary, New South Wales 1821–6.

Gregory, Joshua. (1790–1838)
Appointed Justice of the Peace in Western Australia. Landowner.

Hoddle, Robert. (1794–1881)
Assistant engineer military survey Stellenbosch, Cape Colony 1822, Assistant Surveyor-General New South Wales 1823–36, Surveyor in charge of the survey of Port Phillip district NSW 1837–51, first Surveyor-General of Victoria 1851.

Howard, Charles. (1796–1852)
Commissariat NSW 1824–37, Commissariat Port Phillip district NSW 1837–41.

Hull, George. (1786–1879)
Commissariat Parramatta NSW 1819, Commissariat VDL 1819–31, Justice of the Peace VDL 1832, Assistant to the Director General of Roads VDL 1837, Magistrate VDL 1839. Landowner.

Innes, Archibald Clunes. (1800–57)
Aide-de-camp to the Acting Governor New South Wales 1825, Commandant Port Macquarie Penal settlement NSW 1826–7, Police Magistrate and Superintendent of Police at Parramatta NSW 1827–30. One of the largest landowners in NSW.

Irwin, Frederick Chidley. (1788–1860)
In charge of troops Swan River colony (Western Australia) 1829–33, Commandant of the Military Forces Swan River colony 1837–52, twice acted as head of government Swan River colony.

Irwin, William. (1786–1840)
Police Magistrate Parramatta NSW 1835+.

Kelsall, Roger. (c. 1793–1861)
In charge of the Ordnance Department VDL 1835, Clerk of Works VDL 1835, responsible for the design, construction and maintenance of all convict and military buildings in VDL.

Laidley, James. (1786–1835)
Commissariat West Indies, Canada, Mauritius, Sydney 1827+. Prominent member of Sydney colonial society.

Light, William. (1786–1839)
Surveyor-General of South Australia 1836+.

Lindesay, Patrick. (1778–1839)
Commander garrison force New South Wales 1827, Member Legislative Council New South Wales 1827–32, member Executive Council 1829–32, Acting Governor New South Wales 1831.

Lithgow, William. (1784–1864)
Commissariat Heligoland, Accounts branch of the Commissariat, Mauritius, early 1820s, Auditor-General NSW 1827–52. Town of Lithgow, NSW named after him. Landowner.

Lockyer, Edmund. (1784–1860)
Explorer NSW 1825+, appointed to establish a settlement at King George Sound (now Western Australia) 1826–7, Police Magistrate Parramatta NSW 1827,1829, Principal Surveyor of Roads and Bridges 1828–9, Serjeant-at-arms to the Legislative Council NSW 1852, Usher of the Black Rod 1856. Landowner.

Logan, Patrick. (1791–1830)
Commandant Moreton Bay penal settlement 1826–30, inland explorer 1830; killed by convicts 1830.

Lonsdale, William. (1799–1864)
Assistant Police Magistrate NSW 1835, Justice of the Peace NSW 1836, first Police Magistrate Port Phillip district NSW (later Victoria) 1836–40, Sub-Treasurer of

Port Phillip district NSW 1840, President of the Melbourne Mechanics' Institute, Acting Mayor of Melbourne 1842, Superintendent of Port Phillip district 1846–7, first Colonial Secretary of Victoria 1851–3, Colonial Treasurer Victoria 1853–4.

Lyttleton, William Thomas. (c. 1786–1839)
Commissariat VDL 1810, Naval Office at Port Dalrymple VDL 1812, Police Magistrate and Deputy Chairman of Quarter Sessions at Launceston, VDL 1829–35. Landowner.

McAlister, Lachlan. (1797–1855)
Magistrate NSW 1826, Commandant Mounted Police at Bathurst NSW 1833. Landowner.

Macarthur, Sir Edward. (1789–1872)
Born in England, to Sydney with parents 1790, fought in Peninsular War, represented Australian interests in London, Deputy Adjutant General Sydney 1851, Commander of the Forces in the Australian colonies 1855–6.

Macdonald, Hugh. (1779–1819)
Quartermaster West Indies 1813, Quartermaster New South Wales 1814–17.

Mackenzie, John Kenneth. (1793–1857)
Large landowner New South Wales.

Maclean, John Leyburn. (1794–c. 1865)
Principal Superintendent of Convicts in New South Wales 1837–51.

Macleay, Alexander. (1767–1838)
Colonial Secretary New South Wales 1826–37. Speaker, first elected Legislative Council of New South Wales 1843–6.

Meares, Richard Goldsmith. (1780–1862)
Justice of the Peace Swan River colony 1837, Government Resident for the Murray district in the Swan River colony 1840–1, Government Resident York district Swan River colony 1843–59. Landowner.

Meredith, George. (1777–1856)
Landowner VDL. Leading colonist VDL, sons prominent in public life VDL.

Miller, Henry. (1785–1866)
Moreton Bay penal settlement 1824–5. Landowner in VDL.

Milligan, William. (1795–1851)
Ass. Surgeon 82nd Regiment Mauritius 1809, Ass. Surgeon 82nd Regiment VDL 1814, Founded hospital Swan River colony, later to become the Royal Perth Hospital, (W.A.) 1830, published papers on cholera, climate and diseases

Swan River settlement, climate and diseases of Van Diemen's Land, climate and diseases of Calcutta. Landowner W.A.

Mitchell, James. (1792–1869)
Surgeon to 48th Regiment Sydney 1817–20, Assistant surgeon Colonial Medical Department 1823, Surgeon Colonial Medical Department 1829, private practice in Sydney as surgeon, Director Bank of Australia, Chairman of the Australian Gaslight Co., Chairman of the Mutual Provident Society 1860–5, member of the Legislative Council NSW 1856–69. Owner of coal mines, landowner.

Mitchell, T. L. (1792–1855)
Deputy Surveyor-General New South Wales 1827–8, Surveyor-General New South Wales 1828–55, Acting Director of Public Works. Landowner.

Molle, George. (1773–1823)
Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales 1814. Landowner.

Molloy, John. (1780–1867)
Justice of the Peace Swan River Settlement (Western Australia) 1830, Resident Magistrate Augusta (W.A.) 1830, Resident Magistrate Vasse River (W.A.) 1839. Landowner.

Montagu, John. (1797–1853)
Clerk of Executive and Legislative Councils, Van Diemen's Land 1823–9, Treasurer VDL 1831–4, Colonial Secretary VDL 1834–42, Colonial Secretary, Cape Colony 1843–53.

Moodie, Affleck. (d. 1838)
Commissariat VDL 1821–38.

Morgan, John. (c. 1792–1866)
Store-keeper Swan River colony 1828, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace and Barracks Master in Swan River colony, Police Magistrate Richmond VDL 1834–7, Journalist and editor VDL. Landowner.

Morisset, James Thomas. (1780–1852)
Commandant and magistrate Newcastle New South Wales 1818–23, Commandant at Bathurst NSW 1823, Superintendent of Police Sydney, 1827, Commandant Norfolk Island penal settlement 1829–34, Police Magistrate Bathurst 1835–8. Landowner.

Murray, Terence. (d. 1839)
Landowner.

Nairn, William. (1767–1853)
Inspector of Works NSW 1815. Landowner Swan River (Western Australia).

Nickle, Sir Robert. (1786–1855)
Commanded 30th Regiment in West Indies 1830, administered the government at St. Kitts 1832–3, Commander-in-chief of the military forces in the Australian colonies 1853.

North, Samuel. (1791–1864)
Keeper of the Bonded Stores New South Wales 1827–8, Keeper of Police 1829. Landowner.

O'Connell, Maurice. (1768–1848)
Lieutenant-Governor New South Wales 1809–14, Commander of the Forces New South Wales 1838–47.

Ovens, John. (1788–1825)
Engineer in charge of Public Works New South Wales 1810, Aide-de-camp to Governor New South Wales 1821, Acting Chief Engineer NSW 1821, inland explorer 1823+, private secretary to Governor NSW. Landowner.

Palmer, John. (1760–1833)
Commissary Norfolk Island 1791, Magistrate NSW 1793, Commissary New South Wales 1793-1811,1814+, Magistrate Parramatta NSW 1825–32. Ship owner, coal mine owner and large landowner.

Perry, Samuel. (c. 1792–1854)
Professor of topographical drawing at the Royal Military College until 1823, Private secretary and aide-de-camp to the Governor of Dominica 1824, Deputy Surveyor General NSW 1829–53, in charge of the Surveyor General's Department NSW during the long absences in England of the Surveyor General, T. L. Mitchell.

Pilkington, Edward. (1785–1851)
Surgeon. Canada 1813–17, Corfu 1824–8, Sierra Leone 1828–9, New South Wales 1833–9, India 1839–41.

Roe, John Septimus. (1797–1878)
Surveyor and Explorer. Took part in naval coastal survey in Australia. Saw action in the war against Burma, prepared charts of portions of the Arabian and African coasts, and was appointed to the Hydrographic Office in London in 1827. Appointed Surveyor General of the Swan River colony (now Western Australia) 1829 and was influential in the development of that state. He was active in the founding the Swan River Mechanics' Institute and the Perth Museum. There are numerous place names in Western Australia in his honour.

Robe, Frederick Holt. (1802–71)
Assistant Military Secretary Gibraltar 1845, Lieutenant-Governor South Australia 1845–8.

Rossi, Francis Nicholas. (1776–1851)
Aide-de-camp to Governor of Mauritius 1811, Deputy Secretary to the Government at Mauritius 1811, General Superintendent of the Convict Department Mauritius 1817, Superintendent of Police New South Wales 1824–34, Justice of the Peace NSW 1825. Landowner.

Russell, William. (d. 1853)
Magistrate NSW 1844+. Landowner.

Ryan, Thomas. (1790–1846)
Command of troops northern VDL 1835–9, Commandant Norfolk Island penal settlement 1839–40.

Ryrie, Stewart. (1777–1852)
Deputy Commissary General, Sydney 1825. Large landowner.

Schaw, Charles. (1785–1874)
Major of Brigade Honduras 1824, Coroner and Deputy Chairman of the Quarter Sessions VDL 1833, Assistant Police Magistrate Bothwell VDL 1833–43, Police Magistrate Richmond VDL 1841–56. Landowner.

Shadforth, Thomas. (1771–1862)
Settled New South Wales. Director of the Bank of Australia 1833, President of the Australian Wheat and Flour Co. 1835, Deputy Chairman of the Australian Gaslight Co. 1836, Director of the Fire and Life Assurance Co. 1836, Trustee of the Illawarra Steam Co. 1839, Trustee of the Savings Bank of New South Wales 1841. Landowner.

Simpson, Percy. (1789–1877)
Judge Advocate and Local Governor of Greek island of Paxos, Commandant of penal settlement at Wellington Valley NSW 1823, Police Magistrate NSW 1830–42.

Snodgrass, Kenneth. (1784–1853)
Major of Brigade 1829+, Mounted Police, Acting Governor Van Diemen's Land, 1836–7, Acting Governor of New South Wales December 1837–February 1838, Member Legislative Council New South Wales 1848–50.

Stewart, William. (1769–1854)
Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales 1825–7, member Legislative Council New South Wales 1825–7. Landowner.

Sturt, Charles. (1795–1869)
Military Secretary to the governor and Major of Brigade NSW 1827, inland explorer 1828+, Justice of the Peace, Colonial Treasurer of South Australia 1846–7, Colonial Secretary of South Australia 1849–51.

Sullivan, Benjamin. (c. 1785–?)
Police Magistrate Port Macquarie 1832–5, Police Magistrate Raymond Terrace 1837+, Police Magistrate Wollombi 1847+, Coroner Wollombi 1848 (all New South Wales towns). On behalf of the Eastern Australia Co., author of prospectus for colony in New Caledonia.

Victor, James Conway. (1792–1864)
Board of Public Works VDL 1842, Director Department of Public Works VDL 1843. Designed and built many fine public buildings in Hobart.

Waldron, Charles. (1781–1834)
Magistrate Illawarra New South Wales 1831–4. Landowner. Murdered by two female convicts.

Walker, Thomas. (1791–1861)
Commissariat New South Wales 1818, Commissariat Port Dalrymple VDL 1818–19, in charge Commissariat Parramatta and Windsor New South Wales 1820–5, Magistrate VDL 1837+. Large landowner, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

Ward, William Gordon. (d. 1820)
Commissariat NSW 1820.

Wallis, James. (1785–1858)
Commandant penal settlement Newcastle 1816–19.

Warner, Jonathan. (1786–1843)
Assistant Surveyor of roads and bridges in charge of the Great North Road New South Wales, Police Magistrate Newcastle NSW, Police Magistrate Brisbane Waters NSW 1833. Landowner. Warner's Bay in NSW named after him.

Wauch, Andrew. (1776–1866)
Landowner. Town of Wauchope NSW named after him.

Wemyss, William. (d. 1862)
In charge of Commissariat NSW 1822–7.

Wild, John. (1782–1834)
Principal Overseer of Government Stock at Cawdor NSW 1822. Landowner.

Wilson,Thomas B. (1792–1843)
Surgeon and explorer. Twice shipwrecked. Landowner.

Wright, Samuel. (1785–1852)
Commandant Macquarie Harbour penal settlement VDL 1822, Commandant Port Macquarie penal settlement NSW 1826, Police Magistrate and Superintendent of Police Newcastle NSW 1827–31, Magistrate Parramatta 1831, Magistrate Hunter Region NSW until his death in 1852. Landowner.

Wynyard, Edward. (1788–1864)
Major-General in charge of the troops in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand 1847–53. His named is remembered in Wynyard Square, Sydney.

Abbreviations: NSW New South Wales; VDL Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania)

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Notes

Introduction: 'war was our trade'

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6 'with all the authority of Eastern despots': Veterans as Men of Authority

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7 'in the midst of the Goths': The Artistic, Literary and Cultural Legacy of Veterans

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