

**The Enrolled Pensioner Force in Van Diemen's Land with
special reference to the settlement at Spring Hill Bottom**

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With my wife Helen Osbourne, I co-authored a book about the history of the Rhyndaston – Tiberias area and the pioneer families who settled there. The Delaneys from Ireland were one such family and reputedly Michael Delaney was a military pensioner who settled at Yarlington, near Colebrook. After he died in 1897, his widow Margaret moved to Rhyndaston where she ran a store, established an orchard and went by train every day to sell fruit at the Parattah station.¹ She did this from about 1898 until her death in 1919 and her powers of repartee and wit were legendary. T.M.Hogan and Hal Gye recalled an encounter in their travelogue – tourist guide to Tasmania.²

At Rhyndaston station we met Mrs Delaney, the famous old Irish fruit seller, who is known to everybody who travels in Tasmania. The old lady's native wit has stood her in good stead in dealing with a varied assortment of would-be jokers.

During the course of the book launch at Colebrook on 7 March 2007, I had a query from Martine Delaney. She said that her great grand father, Richard Ambrose Delaney who lived in Hobart, used to visit relatives in Rhyndaston and wondered what the connection was with the Delaneys mentioned in our book. Using the Tasmanian Pioneer Index, I discovered that Richard Ambrose had been born in Hobart on 22 October 1850 to Richard Delaney and Susan White. His father's rank or profession was registered as 'Enrolled Pensioner Service'. The same description was used for the children of Michael Donahoe and James Brett, registered there the next day. Six years later the family was living at Spring Hill Bottom, a little settlement to the south-west of Jerusalem (Colebrook). Mary Ann was born to the couple on 1 April 1856 and this time Richard's occupation was shown as 'shoemaker'. However, the term 'pensioner' was used to describe the rank of Hugh Polan and Michael Fynes when their children were born at the settlement later that year. While I was unable to find a family connection with Michael Delaney, I had inadvertently discovered the military pensioner settlement at Spring Hill Bottom, numbering

¹ H.J.Osbourne and R.J.Gould, *From Flat Top to Rhyndaston: A history of the Rhyndaston – Tiberias area and its pioneers* (Shearwater, Tasmania, 2007) pp.110-114.

² T.M.Hogan and H.Gye, *The Tight Little Island* (Hobart, 1914) pp. 53-54.

some two dozen families. With a book about the Colebrook area planned, I was curious to find out more about the Enrolled Pensioner Force (EPF) and why it was in Tasmania. The aims of this thesis are sevenfold. First, a brief description of the EPF, the general principles of military recruitment in nineteenth century Britain, and the operation of the pension system for discharged soldiers will be given. Second, the use of enrolled pensioners in Britain and four colonies other than Van Diemen's Land, will be outlined. Third, the composition and background of the Vandemonian EPF will be given in detail. Fourth, a comparison will be made between the causes of death for pensioners and a matched sample of non-pensioners. Fifth, the overall experiences of the EPF in Van Diemen's Land will be described. Sixth, the activities of the force during temporary deployment in Victoria will be outlined. Seventh, the nineteenth century development of the pensioner settlement at Spring Hill Bottom will be described, including the employment of convicts and pensioners. My conclusions will be based on the main points of each section.

Military pensioners, who had been discharged from active service in the British army, the East India Company military and the Royal Marines, came to Van Diemen's Land from 1850 to 1852 as guards on convict transports. Prior to 1850, detachments of infantry regiments en route for garrison duties in the Australian colonies would act as convict guards. After Lord John Russell's Whig government came to office in 1846, there were moves to cut military expenditure, with the government advising 'To this effect at the end of 1849, the Australian Command has received instructions to reduce the strength of most regiments in the colonies [and] to enrol military pensioners for use as convict guards'.³ The former soldiers made up the EPF and were enrolled for a period of six months from the time of their departure. They were mostly married men who brought their families with them. On arrival in Hobart they were allocated land by the government (usually a 5 acre lot) near the major towns, which would enable them to be available for service in aid of the civil authorities at short notice, if required. A two-roomed cottage would be provided and as an incentive to stay in the colony, they would receive freehold title to their land provided they remained on it for seven years.

³ J.Grey, *A Military History of Australia* (Cambridge, 1990) p. 16.

There was a long tradition in Britain of antipathy to a standing army that dated back to the Cromwellian era and in some quarters a peace-time army was seen as an instrument of repression.⁴ Consequently Britain never had a system of universal conscription for the army during the nineteenth century, unlike her continental neighbours. Instead, she relied on voluntary recruits who were drawn almost entirely from the British and Irish working class in competition with other working class occupations. In times of war though, the army was forced to enlist paupers, criminals and debtors to make up the numbers. Often the bounty offered to encourage voluntary enlistment at such times was increased substantially. During the Waterloo campaign, the recruits received 7 guineas for unlimited service and 4 guineas for seven years service. By January 1816 this had fallen to 5 pounds and 3 pounds 14 shillings, respectively.⁵ Casual unemployment or underemployment was an endemic feature of nineteenth century Britain, particularly among unskilled workers, so enlistment offered a positive alternative to a life of poverty.⁶ It comes as no surprise that the 1861 Royal Commission on Recruiting found 'Few enlist from any real inclination for military life, and that enlistment is, for the most part, occasioned by want of work [and] by pecuniary embarrassment'.⁷ Regardless of his background though, there was no doubting the fighting qualities of the common soldier, with Napoleon's General Foy observing 'The English soldier is stupid and intemperate but an iron discipline exploits some of these faults and blunts the others'.⁸

Charles II set up the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham (Dublin), in 1679, and the Royal Hospital, Chelsea (London), in 1681. Both were established to cater for the needs of discharged soldiers from the British army who required institutional care, the so-called in-pensioners. The Chelsea Hospital Board of Commissioners decided who might be admitted to the hospitals and who might receive a pension in lieu of residence there. The latter were the more

⁴ S.H.Myerley, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996) p. 14.

⁵ R.Floud, K.Wachter and A.Gregory, *Height, health and history: Nutritional status in the United Kingdom, 1750-1980* (Cambridge, 1990) pp. 30-32, 40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸ A.Barbero, *The Battle: A New History of the Battle of Waterloo*, translated from the Italian by John Cullen. (London, 2003) p. 25.

numerous out-pensioners who were resident in the general community and collected their pensions where they lived, either in the United Kingdom or one of the colonies.⁹ The Chelsea Board administered pension payments to both discharged soldiers and Royal Marines, a system that finally ended in 1955. The Act of 1806 gave discharged soldiers a legal right to institutional care or a pension, with the amount determined by length of service, nature of wounds, disabling injury or illness. In 1826 this Act was repealed after the cost of pensions had blown out to some 1.4 million pounds annually.¹⁰ The basis for being given a pension reverted to disability in 1833 and length of service became less important. A Private discharged after 21 years of service received 6 pence a day, which could rise to 1 shilling a day because of disability, or if he served for an additional six years. The requirement to serve for 27 years to receive a bigger pension was most unpopular and very few made it. A typical soldier was worn out after 21 years and according to Raugh, he 'often limped through his last years of service, drank or otherwise induced disability'. In 1847, the basic pension of 1 shilling for 21 years of service was restored.¹¹

Before 1842, out-pensioners were paid locally by tax collectors in mainland Britain and by Post Masters elsewhere. The War Office established a network of pension payment districts throughout the United Kingdom in 1842, each administered by a Staff Officer of Pensions, who was usually an officer on half pay. He made the payments on a fixed day each month to pensioners living within his district and kept a record of men leaving or entering it.¹² A similar system operated in the colonies, with the pensioner having to produce a certificate confirming his identity to the Staff Officer. On the back of the certificate there were warnings that any pensioner convicted of felony or fraud would be struck off the Pension List.¹³ The value of each

⁹ Military Records Information 6. 'British Army: Soldiers' Pensions 1702 – 1913' (National Archives, Kew, 2008) pp. 1-2.

¹⁰ G. Thom, 'Chelsea Pensioners in nineteenth century Australia', in *Bridging the Generations: Fourth Congress on Genealogy and Heraldry* (Canberra, 1986) p. 358.

¹¹ H.E. Raugh Jr., *The Victorians at War, 1815-1914: An Encyclopedia of British Military History* (Santa Barbara, Ca., 2004) pp. 276-277.

¹² E.A. Gray, 'The Returns of Staff Officers for Pensions', *Kent Family History Journal*, 7, no. 3 (June 1993) pp. 90-91.

¹³ F.H. Broomhall, *The Veterans: A History of the Enrolled Pensioner Force in Western Australia, 1850-1880* (Perth, W.A., 1989) pp. 154-155.

pension was calculated on a daily basis for soldiers and on an annual basis for marines (Greenwich Naval Pensioners). The average rates for soldiers in the Vandemonian EPF were 9 pence halfpenny for Privates, 1 shilling for Corporals and 1 shilling and 6 pence for Sergeants.¹⁴ The pension ceased on the death of a pensioner, with no benefits for his surviving widow or children. Usually they were left in dire straits financially, and so many widows remarried rather quickly, often to one of their late husband's fellow soldiers.¹⁵

Britain's use of military settlers to control the turbulent frontiers of newly acquired colonies followed a practice that had been pioneered by imperial Rome and China.¹⁶ In Australia the marines who came with the First Fleet as volunteers had the option of re-enlisting or settling in New South Wales after they had completed their three year term of engagement.¹⁷ For several decades, discharged soldiers and marines who became pensioners in the Colony were entitled to receive land grants of 100 acres if they were non-commissioned officers and 50 acres in the case of privates.¹⁸

The Westminster government introduced a new scheme in 1830 to help stem the flow of pension payments. For out-pensioners who were willing to commute their pension for an advance of four years payment, they would be given free passage and a land grant in one of the colonies. In practice, the land grants were only offered in 1831 after objections were raised by the colonial authorities. Consequently some 4,500 pensioners surrendered their pensions between 1831 and 1839 in exchange for a lump sum and a life in the colonies, including Van Diemen's Land.¹⁹ James Backhouse, the Quaker missionary, travelled to Hobart on the *Science* in 1831. His fellow passengers included 46 military pensioners who had commuted their pensions in return for passage to Hobart with their families. Three years later he met some of them again and observed that many had difficulty finding work and some had

¹⁴ R.J.Gould, 'Was Your Ancestor a Convict Guard on the *William Jardine*? [In press], *Tasmanian Ancestry*

¹⁵ Holmes, *Sahib*, p. 491.

¹⁶ S.Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 2004) p. 37.

¹⁷ R.Montague, *Dress and Insignia of the British Army in Australia and New Zealand 1770 - 1870* (North Sydney, 1981) p. 115.

¹⁸ M.Johnson, *Trials and Tribulation: A Social History of Europeans in Australia 1788 - 1960* (South Launceston, 2007) p. 14.

¹⁹ N.K.Crowder, *British Army Pensioners Abroad, 1772 - 1899* (Baltimore, 1995) p.x.

become degraded by drink.²⁰ A number of the pensioners in Hobart had squandered all their commutation money on drink by 1832 and become 'objects of public charity'. Robson notes that similar complaints came from the other colonies.²¹ However, the following return for 26 pensioners employed by the government in 1837 demonstrates that they were not all hopeless cases:-

<u>Numbers employed</u>	<u>Government agency</u>
1	Colonial Secretary's Dept.
5	Sheriff's Department
10	Convict Department
5	Police Department
3	Colonial Hospital
2	Queen's Orphan Asylum ²²

Costly errors had been made with the commuted pension scheme and it was abandoned in 1839.²³

In 1843 the Whig government passed an Act allowing 10,000 out-pensioners to become enrolled in an auxiliary security force to assist the police and army in Britain. While on duty the Enrolled Pensioners were provided with a uniform and armed with a musket and bayonet. They were required to undergo eight days training each year and could be put under the commander of a military district in times of crisis. They received regular army pay while aiding the civil authorities but reverted to the pension at other times.²⁴ The government's move was prompted by the social unrest the previous year, resulting from demonstrations by the Chartists and the possibility of them joining forces with the Irish nationalists. During the Chartist disturbances of 1848, the Enrolled Pensioners were mostly based in London and the industrial towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The part-time nature of their service meant the Enrolled Pensioners were highly cost effective, averaging 50 shillings a head during a normal year, exclusive of uniform

²⁰ E.Jones, *Richmond – Tasmania: A Crossing Place* (Richmond, Tasmania, 1973) p. 28.

²¹ L.Robson, *A History of Tasmania, Volume 1: Van Diemen's Land from the Earliest Times to 1855* (Oxford, 1983) p. 165.

²² CO 280/279 Return for pensioners resident in Hobart employed in public departments, 12 Sept. 1837

²³ G.K.Raudzens, 'A Successful Military Settlement: Earl Grey's Enrolled Pensioners of 1846 in Canada', *The Canadian Historical Review*, 52, no. 4 (1971) p. 392.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

expenses.²⁵ The authorities were well pleased with their performance in helping to suppress public disturbances and they were retained into the 1860s as part of Britain's military force.²⁶

Colonial Secretary Earl Grey was determined to reduce the burden of colonial defence costs and foresaw the possibility of substituting Enrolled Pensioners for garrison troops overseas. Such a move would save money in two ways; troops from colonial garrisons could be maintained more cheaply in the United Kingdom and the pensioners would provide a security force at a lower cost than the regular army. He recommended that soldiers leaving the army be encouraged to take their discharge in the colonies, thereby saving the expense of transport home.²⁷ Crowder records that 27 men from the 51st Regiment and 16 from the 96th Regiment followed this recommendation and were discharged in Van Diemen's Land between 1840 and 1850.²⁸ In addition, their numbers were to be boosted by pensioners sent out from the United Kingdom who would continue to receive their pensions and become settlers in proximity to the larger towns. They could be mustered at short notice and enrolled for service to assist the colonial authorities in the event of a civil or military emergency. The government was supportive of Earl Grey's proposals, particularly as they offered a means of assisting Irish pensioners suffering from the effects of the Great Famine at home.²⁹

In 1846 Governor George Grey requested that the Colonial Office send troops to New Zealand in view of possible unrest between the Maoris and settlers of North Auckland. This provided Earl Grey with an opportunity to send a force of pensioners instead. The Royal New Zealand Fencible Corps was formed from volunteer pensioners under 41 years of age who were of good character, at least 5 feet 5 inches in height, robust and medically fit. They would be enrolled to serve for seven years, in return for which they were offered free passage to New Zealand for themselves and their families and an allotment of land on which to settle. The pensioners embarked for New Zealand on ten ships between 1847 and 1852. In all, 2,581 settlers arrived,

²⁵ J.Saville, *1848: The British State and the Chartist Movement* (Cambridge, 1987) pp.26-27, 110.

²⁶ Anon., 'The Military Force of Great Britain', *New York Times* 3 Jan. 1862

²⁷ Raudzens, *A Successful Military Settlement*, pp. 392-394.

²⁸ Crowder, *British Army Pensioners Abroad*, pp. 165, 222.

²⁹ Raudzens, *A Successful Military Settlement*, pp. 394.-395.

comprising 721 pensioners, 632 wives and 1,228 children. They established the villages of Onehunga, Howick, Panmure and Otahuhu on the outskirts of Auckland, the colony's principal town. Each pensioner received an allotment of one acre on which a two-roomed cottage would be erected. As a condition of their service, they were required to undertake twelve days military training each year and turn out for church parade every Sunday. Unlike most of the pensioner settlements in Van Diemen's Land, the land around the villages was suitable for agriculture and many of the newcomers became successful farmers. Another important difference was that the pensioner settlements in New Zealand were located near a relatively large town, unlike the position in Van Diemen's Land. This provided farmers with a ready market for their produce, increased the likelihood of employment and allowed pensioners with a trade to follow their calling.³⁰ Governor Grey pronounced the pensioner settlements a success, which encouraged the Westminster government to extend the scheme and send pensioners to the Falklands, Canada, Western Australia, Van Diemen's Land and, during the Crimean War, the Cape of Good Hope.³¹

Pensioners were sent to the Falkland Islands after British authority was established in 1841 following the arrival of Governor Richard Moody and 12 soldiers from the Corps of Sappers and Miners, plus their families. Prior to this, the Islands had been used mainly as a base for whalers and sealers. The Corps provided the garrison until 1849 when it was replaced by 30 pensioners who came with their families, and 30 kit houses originally intended for the Crimea. They undertook garrison and police duties until 1857 when civilian police were recruited. A year later, the Falkland Islands Garrison Company was formed using detachments of marines.³²

Earl Grey encountered opposition in parliament when he proposed sending Enrolled Pensioners to Canada as replacements for some of the regular army units. His critics noted that earlier schemes which involved pensioners as settlers in Canada, had been largely unsuccessful.³³ Captain J.D.G. Tulloch was sent out in 1849 to report on the current position of the

³⁰ <http://www.nzfenciblesociety.org.nz>; accessed 10-10-2008

³¹ Raudzens, *A Successful Military Settlement*, p. 395.

³² <http://www.falklands.info/history/history4.html>; accessed 27-12-2008

³³ Raudzens, *A Successful Military Settlement*, p. 395.

pensioners. He found that some had prospered in agriculture and made recommendations to improve future schemes. They included selecting more able-bodied veterans and making enrolment conditional on annual military training, the provision of free land and the liability to be called out to help quell civil disobedience. In 1851 the first detachment of 600 Enrolled Pensioners was sent to Canada; by July 1852 their numbers had grown to 820. Unlike Australia and New Zealand, crown land in Canada suitable for pensioners was in short supply. Earl Grey and Fox Maule of the War Office, wanted to use military land reserved for fortifications. In this they were opposed by the Board of Ordnance and Treasury. The interdepartmental wrangle dragged on for over two years until a compromise was reached whereby some of the military reserves would be allocated to the pensioners, while those who missed out would receive monetary compensation.³⁴ The previous mistake of locating pensioners on large blocks of uncleared land was avoided, a consideration that was overlooked in Van Diemen's Land. In 1853 a force of Enrolled Pensioners helped control riots in Montreal and Toronto, for which it was publicly commended. The following year the province of Ontario employed 150 pensioners as garrison troops, which enabled Britain to withdraw some of the regular army units and bolster its military strength in Europe. Many pensioners who were not making a living on the land joined the provincial military and police forces from 1858 onwards.³⁵

In the late 1840s, the colonists of Western Australia lobbied the Westminster government for more migrants to overcome a chronic labour shortage.³⁶ Apart from the penal colony of Van Diemen's Land which had no choice in the matter, Western Australia was the only other colony prepared to accept Earl Grey's 'exiles'. They were convicts who had undergone 'reformatory discipline' in British prisons prior to transportation and were seen as a potential source of labour.³⁷ Enrolled Pensioners were to be used as guards on the convict transports, subject to similar conditions to those applicable to the Vandemonian EPF (free passage for families, enrolment for

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 396-400.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 401-403.

³⁶ Broomhall, *The Veterans*, p. 1.

³⁷ A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies: A Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and other parts of the British Empire* (London, 1966) pp. 334-335.

six months on military pay, supply of a basic cottage, a land grant after seven years occupation). Following the arrival of the *Scindian* with the first convicts in June 1850, a public meeting in Perth passed a resolution 'thanking Her Majesty's government for their prompt compliance and acquiescence with the Colonists' applications for labour'.³⁸ This was in total contrast to Van Diemen's Land where the anti-transportation movement was growing in strength. Convicts were dispatched to Western Australia from 1850 to 1868 on 37 ships, most of which carried detachments of the EPF as guards. In all, 3,463 settlers arrived, comprising 1,191 pensioners, 803 wives and 1,469 children.³⁹ The pensioners' six months term of engagement was taken up mostly by the voyage, resulting in a shortage of men available to guard the convicts on arrival. To overcome this problem, they could volunteer to be re-enrolled for a further period until they were relieved by the next detachment of guards. Later, they were given the option of becoming permanently enrolled for 12 months on garrison duties.⁴⁰ In 1853 small detachments of the EPF were stationed at the main country towns. This enabled them to assist the civil authorities in controlling the movement of ticket-of-leave convicts and protect the settlements against possible attack by hostile Aborigines.⁴¹ Other pensioners found employment with the Convict Department. Those who chose not to be employed by the government, merged with the general community and eked out a living on their land, with varying degrees of success. In 1880 the EPF was disbanded, to be replaced by a 49 man Enrolled Guard, under police command. Its main duties were to provide a Guard for Government House, the Fremantle Prison and the Fremantle Magazine. In 1887, it too was disbanded.⁴²

The EPF in Van Diemen's Land was under the command of their Staff Officer of Pensions, Hobart-based Major Frederick Russell. He reported to the House of Assembly in 1859 that 1620 settlers had arrived in the colony, comprising 526 pensioners, 426 wives and 662 children. A list of ships carrying pensioner guards with dates of arrival, is shown on page 11. It was

³⁸ Broomhall, *The Veterans*, p. 17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

used to calculate when the seven year period of occupancy was up, thereby

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of arrival</u>	<u>Guards on Board</u>	<u>Number Sampled</u>
Eliza	15 / 04 / 1850	72	21
Blenheim (1)	31 / 07 / 1850	30	11
Maria Somes	16 / 08 / 1850	30	9
Nile	15 / 10 / 1850	30	10
William Jardine	21 / 11 / 1850	30	11
Rodney (1)	10 / 12 / 1850	30	12
Hyderabad	21 / 12 / 1850	30	0
London (2)	28 / 03 / 1851	30	8
Lady Kennaway	06 / 06 / 1851	30	5
Cornwall	20 / 06 / 1851	30	3
Blenheim (2)	15 / 11 / 1851	30	1
Rodney (2)	31 / 12 / 1851	30	0
Aboukir	30 / 03 / 1852	30	0
Fairlie	12 / 07 / 1852	30	0
Prestongee Bonangee	06 / 08 / 1852	30	0
Lord Dalhousie	21 / 08 / 1852	30	0
Bangalore	07 / 01 / 1851	2	0
Ex-Western Australia	22 / 05 / 1856	3	0
Unknown			4

enabling the allotments to be made free-hold.⁴³ A sample of 95 pensioners was taken from 10 ships, covering as many units as possible, to investigate their military history. Eight ships were not sampled because regimental details were unrecorded. The background of each soldier is outlined in Appendix 1. It was prepared using records relating to military pensions held by the British National Archives at Kew; WO 97 for soldiers in the British army and ADM 157 for the Royal Marines. Records for soldiers of the East India Company (EIC) came from Registers of Recruits held by the British Library in central London. The three elements of the EPF shown in Appendix 1 comprise 86.0% from the army, 7.7% from the marines and 6.3% from the EIC. The army units include 51 infantry regiments, 3 cavalry regiments, the Royal Artillery and the Corps of Sappers and Miners. Between 1817 and 1849, 15 of the infantry regiments and the Royal Marines had been stationed in the Australian colonies. Of these, 12 regiments had served in Van Diemen's Land.⁴⁴ The proportion of each nationality in the EPF was 63% Irish, 25% English, 10%

⁴³ F.B.Russell, 'Pensioner Returns', *House of Assembly Journal*, Paper 43 (Hobart, 1859)

⁴⁴ R.Montague, *Dress and Insignia of the British Army in Australia and New Zealand 1770-1870* (North Sydney, 1981) pp. 115-116.

Scottish, 1% Welsh and 1% foreign. The Irish component rises to 72% if the 14 marines are excluded. This is understandable given that 86% of the Irish soldiers had enlisted at home, whereas joining the marines would have entailed a journey to a depot in England.

Declining economic conditions in rural Ireland following the Act of Union with Britain in 1801, saw increasing numbers of Irishmen joining the British army and the regiments of the EIC. In 1830 for example, 42% of army recruits were Irish, 44% were English and 14% were Scottish. Following the Great Famine of the late 1840s, the Irish component declined as people increasingly emigrated to the USA.⁴⁵ In the 1820s when most of the pensioners joined up, the rural poor had two legal ways of escaping poverty; move to the city and work in a factory or enlist in the armed forces.

Recruits with a rural background were preferred, with a Sergeant Major of the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment reporting to a Royal Commission in 1835 that 'There are no men so good soldiers as the man who comes from the plough. We would never take a weaver when they were there'.⁴⁶ Most of the Irish soldiers in Appendix 1 joined up in small country towns and thus fitted the preferred category of recruits. Soldiers were poorly paid, led a hard life and were subject to harsh discipline, so enlistment was usually the last resort of the destitute. An infantry private in the 1820s was paid 7 shillings and 7 pence a week, from which 'stoppages' (deductions) for food, tailoring, laundry, haircuts and medical treatment were made. This compares with a weekly wage of 12 shillings for an agricultural labourer and 33 shillings for an artisan in 1832.⁴⁷ Discipline was enforced by liberal use of the lash, as demonstrated by the case of a private in the 1st (Royal Scots) Regiment in 1820. He received 275 lashes for 'insubordinate conduct and disrespect for the officer commanding the detachment' while a guard on the convict ship *Lord Sidmouth*.⁴⁸ However, becoming a soldier did have two advantages over civilian life; he had security of tenure and could look forward to a small pension on discharge from the army.

⁴⁵ R.Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London, 2001) pp. 55-56.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴⁷ Raugh Jr., *The Victorians at War*, pp. 277-276.

⁴⁸ C.Bateson, *The Convict Ships 1787-1868* (Sydney, 1974) p.36.

Before the Cardwell reforms of the 1860s, regiments had no county or regional affiliation and so they had to cast a wide net in their recruitment campaigns. During the period 1840 to 1841, the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment recruited in Kent, Sussex, Berkshire and Scotland. Between 1842 and 1844 it concentrated on Ireland, but also had smaller parties operating in London, Somerset, Wiltshire and Yorkshire.⁴⁹ The parties included a recruiting sergeant, a drummer and sometimes a musician as well. They concentrated their efforts on places such as fairs, markets and public houses where late-teenagers were liable to congregate, assuming they were more likely to be impressed by the display of martial ardour than older men.⁵⁰ As a result, the average enlistment age for the army was just 18.3 years (see Appendix 1). Royal Marine recruits were slightly older on average, at 20.4 years. Army recruits in Appendix 1 aged 16 years or more received a bounty of 3 or 4 pounds, while thirteen and fourteen year olds like John Wall and Thomas Campion, who were enlisted as drummer boys, received a bounty of 2 guineas.

Not only did regiments within the British army have to compete with each other for recruits, but they were also in competition with the EIC. Regions controlled by the Company were divided into the Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Presidencies, each of which had its own military force. They included regiments of Indian soldiers (sepoys) commanded by European officers, and other regiments comprising British and Irish troops recruited in the United Kingdom. This arrangement changed following the Indian Mutiny when Company regiments were absorbed into the British army in 1858, and became known as 'The Queen's Army for Service in India'.⁵¹ EIC soldiers are under represented in Appendix 1 and owing to time constraints, it was only possible to obtain detailed information for three of them. This was based on the Depot Registers of Recruits held by the British Library (L/MIL/9/41-42). In addition, one hundred names were chosen at random from the registers to provide information about nationality, occupation and enlistment age. They were selected for the years 1824, 1826, 1827 when many recruits of the

⁴⁹ M.Barthorp, *To Face the Daring Maoris: Soldiers' Impressions of the First Maori War, 1845-47* (London, 1979) p. 24.

⁵⁰ Myerley, *British Military Spectacle*, pp. 56-57.

⁵¹ Anon., 'The Military Force of Great Britain', *New York Times*, 3 Jan. 1862.

British army joined up and are shown in Appendix 2. The proportions of each nationality were similar to those given by Holmes on page 12 (Irish 43%, English 49%, Scottish 8%). Overall, greater numbers of EIC recruits were skilled or semi-skilled compared with British army recruits (62% compared to 35%). For each nationality the percentages were Irish 37% v. 24%, English 82% v. 77%, Scottish 75% v. 50%. Of the skilled EIC recruits, 31% had worked in the textile industry compared to 2% of the skilled British army recruits. EIC recruits were generally older on enlistment than their British army counterparts (average age 20.3 v. 18.3 years). Joining the EIC military offered several advantages over HM's army. The daily pay of 2 shillings was almost double and enlistment was for 21 years rather than for life. Service for life operated in the British army from 1829 to 1847 but in practice meant about 25 years maximum. An added attraction was that money went much further in India. When campaigning there, the Company's British and Indian troops were also entitled to *batta*, an allowance that supplemented their pay.⁵² Any benefits though had to be weighed against the higher mortality rate for service in India caused by diseases like cholera and malaria, and the rigours of a tropical climate. Comparative mortality rates were 1.7% for troops in Britain and 5.8% for those in India.⁵³

The Royal Marines are one of Britain's oldest military units. They were formed in 1664 during the reign of Charles II for service in the fleet and were paid by the Admiralty. Not only were they soldiers but also seamen who were part of the complement of HM's warships up to and during the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ They also provided convict guards on ships of the First Fleet and carried out garrison duties in Sydney and Norfolk Island between 1788 and 1791.⁵⁵ Of the 14 marines in Appendix 1, 2 were Irish, 11 were English and 1 was a Scot. Recruits were attested at one of the four Marine Divisions located at Chatham, Plymouth, Portsmouth and Woolwich. In common with soldiers, the marines were paid a bounty which varied in value depending on the need for recruits. While their rates of pay were similar to those of the army, they were better off financially because they were not subject to 'stoppages'

⁵² R. Holmes, *Sahib: The British Soldier in India* (London, 2005) pp. 236, 266, 272.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁵⁴ <http://www.royalmarines.mod.uk/server/show/nav.6916> ; accessed 8/2/2009

⁵⁵ J. Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars 1788-1838* (Sydney, 2002) p. 10.

for food while on board ship.⁵⁶ Like soldiers of the EIC, enlistment was for 21 years.

After a new army recruit had accepted the symbolic 'king's shilling' from the recruiting officer, he would be taken before a justice of the peace for the formal process of attestation. A medical examination then followed, conducted by a civilian doctor if enlistment came about through the activities of a roving recruitment party. This would be repeated later by an army medical officer at the regimental head-quarters.⁵⁷ Doctors were instructed to reject recruits 'having the least appearance of sore legs, scurvy, scald head (a scalp disease caused by several micro-organisms including *Tinea capitis*), or other infirmity that may render him unfit for His Majesty's service'.⁵⁸ Recruits had to be over a minimum height which varied, depending on the unit he was joining and the regulations in force at the time. From 1802 to 1806 for example, infantry of the line had to be 5 feet 6 inches while infantry (general service) could be 1 inch shorter. The requirements of the Guards regiments were for taller men. For those enlisting in the Royal Marines and the EIC forces, even lower limits applied. Height was taken as an indicator of general health, an important consideration when a soldier had to be capable of withstanding long marches carrying a heavy pack, often under adverse weather conditions. In theory, recruits were supposed to be at least 18 years old during the 1820s when most of the pensioners enlisted. However, younger recruits were accepted if they were physically well developed and met the height requirements.⁵⁹ After the recruits had overcome the hurdle of a medical examination, they were marched off to the town where their regiment was stationed. At the barracks, they would receive their uniform and kit, ready for a new life in the army.

Most towns of any consequence in nineteenth century Britain and Ireland had barracks where troops were garrisoned. The army could be called on to aid the local authorities in quelling civil unrest, a role that gradually diminished with the establishment in Britain of borough police forces in 1839

⁵⁶ Floud, Wachter and Gregory, *Height, health and history*, p. 54.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 114.

and county police in 1855.⁶⁰ A typical situation where the military became involved arose in 1839 when a detachment of the 45th Regiment helped put down the Newport Rising in Wales, which resulted in the deaths of twenty people and the arrest of 500 or more Chartist leaders.⁶¹

A regiment only stayed at a particular location for a maximum of two years because the authorities were concerned that otherwise, the soldiers might become too friendly with the people they were expected to control.⁶² Its next posting could be elsewhere in the United Kingdom or the regiment might join a garrison in one of Britain's many overseas possessions. Based on Appendix 1, the numbers of pensioners from the British army who served at particular locations overseas are listed below. Except for France and Portugal,

<u>Number</u>	<u>Location of Service</u>
11	British North America (Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland)
14	West Indies (Jamaica, Bermuda)
3	St. Helena
1	France
3	Portugal
13	Mediterranean (Ionian Isles of Corfu, Zante, Vido; Malta, Gibraltar)
4	Cape of Good Hope
2	Mauritius
34	East Indies (India, Ceylon, Burma, Afghanistan)
4	China (Chusan, Hong Kong)
10	Australia (NSW, Pt. Phillip, VDL, West. Aust., North. Aust., Norf. Isle)
1	New Zealand

all were British possessions; of these, Malta, Mauritius, Ceylon and the Ionian Islands were the fruits of conquest following the Napoleonic wars. The latter islands were a British Protectorate, ceded to Greece in 1864 to boost the popularity of pro-British King George I.⁶³

The only pensioner who fought at Waterloo was Joseph Hooper of the 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment. Three soldiers served in Portugal after Britain intervened in the civil war of 1827/28 on behalf of King Pedro IV.⁶⁴

⁶⁰C.Barnett, *Britain and Her Army 1509 – 1970: A Military, Political and Social Survey* (London, 1970) p. 279.

⁶¹W.L.Arnstein, *Britain Yesterday and Today: 1830 to the Present*. 8th edition (New York, 2001) p. 37.

⁶²T.May, *Military Barracks* (Princes Risborough, 2002) p. 11.

⁶³J.F.Fairchild, 'Ionian Islands' in *Collier's Encyclopedia* vol. 13 (New York, 1968) p. 205.

⁶⁴E.Guerra Da Cal, 'Portugal' in *Collier's Encyclopedia*, vol. 19 (New York, 1968) p. 284.

During the 1830s, rebellions in Jamaica and Canada were put down and troops were engaged in the Sixth Kaffir War, the Indian Coorg campaign and the First Afghan War. During the 1840s, they fought in the Seventh Kaffir War, First Maori War and the Scinde, Gwalior, Sutlej and Punjab campaigns in India.⁶⁵

The army's chief role in colonial defence during the long period of European peace between Waterloo and the Crimean War, was to protect British trade. This applied particularly to Britain's richest possession, India, where almost one third of her overseas troops were stationed in 1840.⁶⁶ The role of the military in the Australian colonies was somewhat different, on account of the penal origins of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Soldiers provided the guards on convict transports until the EPF assumed that role, and also guarded convict work parties on shore.

Along with crime control and the suppression of civil disorder, control of the frontier lands was an important element of policing in colonial Australia.⁶⁷ Garrison troops took on this role in 1825 with formation of the New South Wales Mounted Police using volunteers from the 3rd (East Kent) Regiment, to counter an outbreak of bushranging. The Police were also used on punitive expeditions against troublesome Aboriginal tribes. A similar unit was formed in Van Diemen's Land the following year from the 40th Regiment, which was used against Aboriginal raiding parties between 1826 and 1830.⁶⁸ Governor Arthur devised a scheme in 1830 to cordon off the Aborigines from the settled areas (the Black Line) and drive them into the Tasman Peninsula using some 2200 civilians, soldiers from the 17th, 57th and 63rd Regiments and field police. It proved an expensive failure.⁶⁹

Units of mounted infantry were not civilian police but remained on the pay list of their regiment until 1838 when this arrangement ceased. The Westminster government had earlier advised Governor Stirling in Western Australia that 'The Settlers must not be led to depend on a Military Force for

⁶⁵ Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars*, pp. 8-10.

⁶⁶ Holmes, *Sahib*, p. 217.

⁶⁷ M.Finnane, *Police and Government: Histories of Policing in Australia* (Oxford, 1994) p. 93.

⁶⁸ Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars*, pp. 62, 90.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-98.

internal protection. It is the desire of H.M. Govt. to encourage the establishment of local Corps in the different Colonies to provide as much as possible for their own defence'.⁷⁰

For much of the nineteenth century and beyond, protecting the lines of communication between the Mother Country and India was the key to Britain's foreign policy. As a result, most regiments could expect several postings to India, thereby bolstering the forces of the EIC. Sometimes the postings might last decades.⁷¹ The rigours of a tropical climate could take its toll on the soldiers, with 39 members of the 28th Regiment dying from sunstroke in 1843, for example. Outbreaks of diseases like cholera and malaria were a regular occurrence and in 1836, 1,400 out of almost 17,000 British troops were invalids, mostly the result of venereal disease and chronic alcoholism.⁷² While alcohol abuse by soldiers was not peculiar to India, it was more widespread there for two reasons; spirits were much cheaper and more readily available than in the United Kingdom, and the army believed that strong drink helped protect the men against tropical diseases. In 1848, Private Wakefield of the 32nd Regiment wrote 'I always draw my two drams of ration rum which I find does one good'.⁷³

The West Indies were another problem area for disease, with yellow fever being the main culprit.⁷⁴ While disease did not pose a problem for service in the Cape of Good Hope, poor living conditions and the climate caused hardship to many soldiers stationed there.⁷⁵

In the event of a man requesting a discharge, a panel of three officers would be convened to examine his service record and provide a medical report. The reasons for discharge could include injuries from accidents, wounds incurred in battle, and disability caused by ill health or general debility. The examining doctor was given the following instructions to follow:-

In cases of Men to be discharged as unfit for service, the R.M.O. is to state here the nature and origin of the Disability and whether the same

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁷¹ Barnett, *Britain and Her Army*, pp. 274, 278.

⁷² L.James, *RAJ; The Making and Unmaking of British India* (London, 1997) pp. 85, 104, 139.

⁷³ Holmes, *Redcoat*, p. 363.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁷⁵ B.Harvey, *The Rifle Brigade* (London, 1975) p. 45.

has been caused by the Man's Military Service, by Climate, by Constitutional Infirmary, or Predisposition, or is the result of indulgence in the use of intoxicating liquors, or other vices. If from an Accident, under what circumstances the Accident occurred, and whether on or off Duty. In Ophthalmic Cases, or other Disorders of the Eyes, it must be stated how the disease was contracted and whether the same was, or was not, present at the time in the Regiment or at the Station.⁷⁶

For soldiers of the British army listed in Appendix 1, their average age at discharge was 38.4 years and they had served on average for 20.1 years. Their main categories of disability were 'general debility/worn out', 31%, 'rheumatism', 27%, 'lung/liver/heart disease', 16%, 'injuries/wounds', 13%, and other causes, 13%. The latter included asthma, chronic catarrh, corns on the foot, chronic dysentery, dyspnea (laboured breathing), leg infection, malaria, paralytic spasms, rupture, severe ophthalmia and varicose veins. At the time, chronic catarrh was the way of recording bronchitis.⁷⁷ There was little relationship between the disability and the eventual cause of death, although those identified with a lung problem tended to expire from tuberculosis. Rheumatism was the second most common cause of disability. While the term is no longer used to describe a medical condition (except by laymen), it is usually taken to mean pain and swelling associated with the musculo-skeletal system, particularly joint pain caused by osteo-arthritis. This results in degeneration of the joints, particularly those that receive the most use or stress over time.⁷⁸ This would very likely apply in the case of soldiers who have spent a great deal of their time marching long distances. Men frequently went on parade wearing damp trousers after using pipe-clay as a whitening agent. This was believed by some authorities to have caused rheumatism, since reputedly, it is aggravated by cold and damp conditions.⁷⁹

Accidental injuries were suffered by S.Allard (shoulder injury), T.Garrigan (dislocated collarbone), T.Hudson (thigh injury), L.Jennings (head

⁷⁶ WO 97/382/51 Denis Moynahan, 17th Regiment.

⁷⁷ J.Padiac, 'Diachronic Analysis of Cause-of-Death Terminology: The Case of Tuberculosis', *Social Science History*, 33, no. 3 (Fall 2009) p. 347.

⁷⁸ B.F.Miller and C.B.Keane, *Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Medicine, Nursing and Allied Health*, 2nd edition (Philadelphia, 1978) pp. 71, 88.

⁷⁹ Montague, *Dress and Insignia of the British Army*, p. 4.

injury), W.Knowles (knee injury), and J.Woodhead (fractured leg). Injuries or wounds incurred on campaign affected D.Quinn, who was kicked while unloading a camel during the First Afghan War, W.Holmes who suffered an arm injury at the battle of Miani, and at the battle of Maharajapur, J.Ryan who was wounded in the right side, and T.Campion whose fingers on his left hand were fractured. Although he is not listed in Appendix 1, first prize for the unluckiest pensioner must go to John Phibbs who was struck by lightning while engaged on ordnance survey work in Ireland. He fell backwards causing cuts and bruises to his head and remained unconscious for 45 minutes. Thereafter, he had 'great inconvenience in wearing his military cap'. Nevertheless, he soldiered on for 14 years and was discharged in 1847 suffering from 'rheumatic pains in the shoulders, loins and thighs'.

The Regimental Medical Officer's report on a soldier could be brief, as demonstrated by the following examples based on the WO 97 series archive:-

Robert Hume, R. Artillery, served 1 year Portugal, 9 years St Helena

Enquiry held at Woolwich

Unfit from chronic rheumatism.

John McDermott, 28th Regiment, served 7 years NSW, 4 years India

Enquiry held at Agra

Suffered severely at Scindi from fever. Is debilitated from age and length of service.

Other reports, however, provided more by way of detail:-

John Halloran, 10th Regiment, served 12 years Mauritius

Enquiry held at Newport

This man appears worn out by years of service in a tropical climate and has suffered at various times from chronic rheumatism. He is unable to carry his pack now or take long marches from constitutional debility.

Samuel Westicott, 60th Rifle Corps, served 10 yrs Medit'n., 2 yrs India

Enquiry held at Karachi

Sergt. Samuel Westicott of the second battalion, 60th Rifles, has large corns on the sole of his right foot which prevent him from marching & performing active duty. He is also debilitated by long military service & an irregular lifestyle in the use of intoxicating liquors.

Alexander Whitson, 72nd Regiment, served 12 yrs Cape of Good Hope
Enquiry held at Sheerness

This man is rendered unfit for further service in consequence of his liability to suffer attacks of jaundice and fits of indigestion after any unusual fatigue brought on it is supposed, from exposure to lots of moisture whilst in service at the Cape of Good Hope in 1830. The debility has not been aggravated by vice or intemperance.

Daniel Freeman, 39th Regiment, served 6 yrs NSW, 12 yrs East Indies
Enquiry held at Agra

He is much impaired by frequent attacks of fever and hepatic disease during the last 4 years which, combined with habits of intemperance and length of service, have destroyed his efficiency as a soldier.

Regimental reports from infantry and cavalry units in mainland Britain and overseas were forwarded for review by the Chief Medical Officer, based at St. Mary's Barracks, Chatham. Invariably they would be endorsed 'This soldier is unfit for future military duties'. Reports for members of the Royal Artillery and the Corps of Sappers and Miners went for review by the Master-General's Office, Woolwich. The Adjutant-General's Office, Dublin, reviewed reports from regiments in Ireland. Eventually the reports found their way to the Chelsea Board where the amount of pension payable would be determined.

Soldiers on garrison duty in nineteenth century Britain spent a great deal of time in their barracks, where they ate, carried out domestic chores, and slept in the same room. Most barracks had been built in the 1790s and typically, they were small, poorly ventilated and heated, ill-lit and insanitary.⁸⁰ Overcrowding was rife, which helped promote the spread of infectious

⁸⁰ Holmes, *Redcoat*, pp. 268-269, 279.

diseases like tuberculosis, a major cause of death in the Victorian era.⁸¹ An 1861 Royal Commission on Sanitary Conditions of Barracks reported that the death rate for soldiers in barracks was 1.71% compared with 0.98% for male civilians aged twenty to forty, a direct consequence of the poor living conditions suffered by soldiers.⁸²

The occupations, ages and causes of death for 120 pensioners were compared with those of a matched random sample of non-pensioner males to determine whether the conditions of service life had impacted detrimentally on longevity. The results are shown in Appendix 3. Their ages ranged from 37 year old pensioner Roger Carey of Launceston, to 102 year old labourer Henry Watson of Westbury and cover the period from 1850 to 1897. Non-pensioner males aged 35 years or more were chosen as a match. To ensure that the selections were carried out randomly, 10 was added to the deaths registration number for a pensioner. If the new number was for an infant or female, the next number was chosen, and so on until an acceptable match was found. For example, pensioner William Cornish died on 28 April 1882, aged 78 (Registration No. 630, Richmond). His match should have been Number 640 but this was not used because it recorded the death of 4 year old Charlotte Dickson. Number 641 was accepted instead as this recorded the death of 62 year old labourer, John Morgan. The results are summarised in Table 1 on page 23, where a modified version of McKeown's system of classifying the causes of mortality has been used.⁸³ The leading specific causes of death were attributable to:-

	<u>Infectious diseases</u>	<u>Heart disease</u>	<u>Old age</u>
Pensioners	20.8%	11.7%	32.5%
Non-Pensioners	25.8%	6.7%	23.3%

The differences between the two groups for these causes were not statistically significant. Surprisingly, the pensioners averaged a slightly longer lifespan than the non-pensioners (63.6 years v. 62.5 years). A possible

⁸¹ Floud, Wachter and Gregory, *Height, health and history*, p. 312.

⁸² May, *Military Barracks*, p. 19.

⁸³ Floud, Wachter and Gregory, *Height, health and history*, p. 311.

Table 1 Classification of the causes of mortality for military pensioners
and male civilians aged 35 years or more, 1850 – 1897

<u>I Conditions attributable to micro-organisms</u>	<u>Pensioners</u>	<u>Matches</u>
(1) <u>Air-borne diseases</u>		
Respiratory tuberculosis	11	8
Other lung diseases	10	15
(2) <u>Water & food-borne diseases</u>		
Diarrhoea, dysentery	0	3
(3) <u>Other conditions</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	<u>25</u>	<u>31</u>
<u>II Conditions not attributable to micro-organisms</u>		
Heart disease	14	8
Cancer	6	6
Other bowel diseases	2	1
Other liver diseases	3	6
Stroke	7	11
Other diseases of nervous system	2	1
Alcoholism	3	2
Other conditions	16	20
Old age	39	28
Accidents	3	5
Suicide	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>95</u>	<u>89</u>

explanation is that in some cases, the officers conducting an enquiry into the discharge of a soldier were sympathetic to his discharge after 21 years of service and declared him 'unfit for further military duty', without providing details of his disability. This happened when long-lived Patrick McDonald and James Murtagh were discharged; they died aged 85 and 90, respectively

Myerley claims that guard duty in cold, wet conditions and drill in full kit, aggravated diseases of the heart and lungs.⁸⁴ However, the data do not support this theory. Barnett notes that the death rate from tuberculosis for soldiers in the 1850s was five times that of civilians.⁸⁵ Thus the incidence of pensioner deaths through tuberculosis was lower than expected, although it did exceed that of the non-pensioners. While tuberculosis was one of the main causes of death in mid-nineteenth century Britain, the highest death rates occurred among younger people aged below 35 years. It is probable that many soldiers suffering from the disease would have passed away before they had an opportunity to join the EPF. Alcoholism was added as a separate

⁸⁴ Myerley, *British Military Spectacle*, p. 27.

⁸⁵ C. Barnett, *Britain and Her Army*, p. 280.

category in Table 1 because 'strong drink is now and has in all ages been the bane of the British soldier', according to Captain Charles Griffiths of the 61st Regiment.⁸⁶ Of the seven accidents where a specific cause was given, three involved overturned drays or wagons and four involved drowning. Two of these were of pensioners who were heavily intoxicated at the time.

The ages of death for the two groups were put in one of seven age ranges, each of ten years, commencing with 35 – 44 years. This was done to compare the frequency of deaths within each age range; the results are tabulated below. Pensioners aged 35 to 44 had a significantly lower rate

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Pensioners</u>	<u>Non-Pensioners</u>
35 – 44 yrs	7	18
45 – 54 yrs	29	24
55 – 64 yrs	25	23
65 – 74 yrs	31	24
75 – 84 yrs	20	22
85 – 94 yrs	8	8
95 – 104 yrs	0	1
Total	<u>120</u>	<u>120</u>

of death than their non-pensioner counterparts. Their deaths resulted from dropsy, fever, heart disease, inflammation of the lungs, liver disease, and tuberculosis (2). In four cases the cause of death was common to both groups. The exceptions were fever and heart disease. The other causes of death for non-pensioners were varied and included brain disease, burns, cancer, drowning, erysipelas, paralysis, purpura, scurvy and stroke. A likely explanation for the lower death rate of the youngest pensioner group, is that the volunteers underwent a medical examination prior to embarkation. Any showing signs of ill health or disease would have been rejected then.

In November 1849, Earl Grey advised Governor Denison that a company of military pensioners would be dispatched to Van Diemen's Land to boost the numbers of free settlers. Other than undertaking their annual twelve days of military training, they were expected to 'merge in the general working population and live by their own industry'. He also stressed the importance of 'placing these Old Soldiers in a position where they are likely to prosper and

⁸⁶ Holmes, *Sahib*, p. 415.

become contented and useful members of the community'. To reduce the risk of them leaving the Colony in search of higher wages in New South Wales, Earl Grey advised 'it is very desirable to endeavour to attach the Pensioners to the spot'. With this in mind, they were to be given small allotments which they would own after seven years occupancy. Meanwhile, they were forbidden to sub-lease or sell their land. He qualified his suggestion, stating that 'these pieces of ground should be of limited extent, calculated to occupy [a pensioner's] spare time....without constituting his whole source of livelihood'.⁸⁷

As part of the settlement process, police magistrates were asked to provide information about potential locations for the pensioners before their arrival. John Peyton-Jones, Police Magistrate at Westbury, reported that 'there is an abundance of crown land....in this district, well adapted for the settlement of the pensioners'. Land was worth about 2 pounds an acre, with ample room for 60 families, and comfortable two-roomed cottages could be built for 15 pounds each. There were government schools for boys and girls, churches for Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Wesleyans, and a resident doctor. While he predicted that some families might gain employment as farm labourers, he cast doubt 'if there is any opening for mechanics'.⁸⁸

In all 19 pensioner settlements were established, varying in size from one allotment at New Norfolk to 150 allotments at Westbury. They were scattered throughout the island from Port Cygnet in the south, to Perth and Westbury in the north and north-west. Their locations are shown in Appendix 4; none was close to Hobart or Launceston where about one third of the population resided. The allotments were typically 5 acres in area but varied between 8 and 10 acres at Port Cygnet. In February 1852 the employment situation of the 327 pensioners was reviewed by Major Russell, with the following results:-⁸⁹

<u>In public</u> <u>employment</u>	<u>In private</u> <u>employment</u>	<u>Unknown or</u> <u>unemployed</u>	<u>Located on</u> <u>their land</u>	<u>Following</u> <u>their trade</u>
71	24	12	207	13

⁸⁷ CSD 1/144/3994, Grey to Denison, 13 Dec. 1849.

⁸⁸ LSD 1/1/54, Jones to Survey Department, 24 July 1850.

⁸⁹ GO 1/83/270, Russell to Colonial Secretary, 6 Feb. 1852.

Those following their trade or calling included 3 schoolmasters, 1 tailor, 2 shoemakers, 1 blacksmith, 1 cabinet maker, 1 painter, 1 haulier, 1 basket maker, 1 farrier and 1 trade unknown. Most of those in public employment worked for the Convict Department. Nearly two thirds of the pensioners were living on their land which, with the exception of Westbury and Port Cygnet, 'is of the most inferior quality', according to Major Russell.⁹⁰ At Oatlands for example, the land was level but the soils were shallow, infertile and underlain by sandstone, totally unsuitable for cultivation. This aspect of the pensioners' plight had been picked up by the *Hobart Town Courier* which observed:-

The mode in which these men have been treated, we are sorry to say, reflects great discredit upon the local authorities. They came out under printed regulations from the Horse Guards, many of them with wives and children, with orders for land and allowances for houses....A *show* of providing them with land....from two to five acres of barren land in the interior townships! ⁹¹

Major Russell raised the issue of the pensioners' inability to undertake their required twelve days of military training a year. He pointed out that 'in the anxiety of the Governor to obtain land for them without being obliged to purchase it, the important object of their military organisation has been entirely lost sight of'.⁹² The settlements were so widely dispersed that it was virtually impossible to bring the pensioners together for their annual training. In any case, 11 of the 19 settlements were occupied by fewer than 10 men so it is difficult to see how the EPF could have managed to successfully assist the civil authorities in an emergency. The generally poor quality of the allotments granted to the pensioners was a further consequence of the Governor's decision to only allocate crown land. The early settlers had selected the best of it for their farming activities, leaving the less desirable land for those who came later.

⁹⁰ Russell, 'Pensioner Returns', Paper 43.

⁹¹ M. Ring, 'Oatlands Military Pensioners', *Oatlands District Historical Society Chronicle*, no. 4 (October 2006) pp. 33-34.

⁹² GO 1/83/270, Russell to Colonial Secretary, 6 Feb. 1852.

Governor Denison soon identified the problems the pensioners would face trying to meet Earl Grey's optimistic hopes they would 'live by their own industry' and not become totally reliant on their allotments. He informed the Colonial Secretary that 'The settlers will prefer to employ single convicts at low wages in preference to pensioners. The opening for pensioner employment will be much restricted because the demand for labour will probably be met fully by the supply of convicts sent out. The pensioners will be forced to rely on their pensions, eked out by cultivation of their allotments'.⁹³ The Governor's predictions were soon borne out. Those living on their allotments struggled to support their families because of the poor quality of the land in many cases, inexperience with local conditions, and competition with the convicts for employment. Of the 81 ex-soldiers in Appendix 1, 65% were classified as labourers (rural or urban) on enlistment; of these 83% were Irish. Spiers describes the Irish recruits as 'overwhelmingly rural in composition' so it is probable that at least some would have worked as farm labourers.⁹⁴ However, as Dyster points out, the job skills of settlers (or convicts) were not necessarily the ones most apt for farming in a new colony. Ideally they would include skills in preparing the land by felling, clearing and burning the native vegetation, all of which would have been foreign to farm labourers from Britain and Ireland.⁹⁵ The economy of Van Diemen's Land was based on agriculture, so many of the skills possessed by the pensioners could not be used in the country owing to lack of demand. Appendix 3 demonstrates that skilled pensioners were much fewer in number than their skilled non-pensioner counterparts (17 compared to 62). This slightly underestimates the skills of the former group though. Sometimes a person described on their death certificate as a pensioner did have a skilled occupation. This was the case for John Tapp, Chief Clerk and Accountant at Port Arthur, Thomas Wroe, a Sub-Inspector of Police, shoemakers Richard Delaney, Samuel Brown and Thomas Hudson, Philip Aylward, a tailor, and Luke McCormick, a weaver.

By 1859, of the 526 members of the EPF who had arrived in Van Diemen's Land with their families, 91 had died and 103 had left for Victoria

⁹³ CO 280/267, Denison to Grey, 13 Dec. 1850.

⁹⁴ E.M.Spiers, *The Army and Society 1815 – 1914* (London, 1980) p. 48.

⁹⁵ B.Dyster, 'Public Employment and Assignment to Private Masters, 1788 – 1821', in S.Nicholas, ed., *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past* (Cambridge, 1988) pp. 148-149.

and the other colonies in search of work.⁹⁶ The exodus continued during the 1860s after the Colony went into an economic decline following the loss of commissariat expenditure and a downturn in exports of wheat and wool.⁹⁷ Examination of death records in the Pioneer Index for 210 pensioners listed in Appendix 1 and those living at Westbury and Port Cygnet, showed that at least 68 (32%) had left Tasmania permanently.

The discovery of gold in 1851 at Ballarat caused widespread disruption in Victoria. Desertions from the workplace became common as hundreds left to seek their fortune at the diggings. Many police followed suit and by 1 January 1852, only five constables were left in Melbourne after fifty had resigned *en masse*.⁹⁸ The authorities were desperate to recruit more police and accepted almost any applicant, including former convicts and criminals. The police were poorly paid and soon earned a well deserved reputation for corruption and indiscipline.⁹⁹ A new goldfield opened at Mount Alexander (Castlemaine) in October 1851 and by the end of the year, its population had grown to about 25,000. Governor La Trobe wrote of the diggings:-

The field now became the general rendezvous of a mixed multitude, amongst which the expirée population of Van Diemen's Land, returned Californians and the most profligate of this and the adjacent colonies, became broadly conspicuous.¹⁰⁰

The Governor was concerned that the depleted police and army units at his disposal might prove insufficient to control dissent by the miners or criminal activities on the goldfields and requested military assistance from Van Diemen's Land. Governor Denison was reluctant to order the transfer of troops to Victoria but suggested a force of enrolled pensioners be sent instead. In addition to aiding the Victorians, such a move would provide the pensioners with much needed employment.

⁹⁶ Russell, 'Pensioner Returns', Paper 43.

⁹⁷ B.Felmingham, 'Economy', in A.Alexander, ed., *The Companion to Tasmanian History* (Hobart, 2005) p. 421.

⁹⁸ J.Molony, *Eureka*, (Ringwood, Victoria, 1984) p. 20.

⁹⁹ J.McQuilton, 'Police in Rural Victoria: A Regional Example', in Mark Finnane, ed., *Policing in Australia: Historical Perspectives* (Kensington, N.S.W., 1987) pp. 36-37.

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.sbs.com.au/sbsmain/gold/story.html?storyid=82>; accessed 11/09/2008

In January 1852, Major Russell requested volunteers for 12 months service in Victoria and listed the conditions that would apply. Every pensioner would receive 1 pound enrolment money to cover such items as clothing, plus 3 pence a mile marching money to help defray expenses while away from home. During service, he would be rationed, clothed and housed as for regular troops and receive the military rates of daily pay; 2 shillings and 6 pence for Privates, 3 shillings for Corporals and 3 shillings and 6 pence for Sergeants. Wives were to receive their husband's pension during his absence, 6 pence for themselves and 3 pence for each child aged less than 12 years, to assist in managing his land. A total of 130 pensioners answered the call, comprising 11 non commissioned officers and 119 rank and file. They were commanded by Captain Blamire of the 99th Regiment.¹⁰¹

In February 1852 the EPF was marched to Mount Alexander where there had been a dramatic upsurge in crime, mostly associated with the theft of gold. Headquarters were established at the Main Camp where the gold field officials, police and military were housed.¹⁰² Miners found without their gold licences by the police were fined 5 pounds without any trial. Those unable to pay were chained to logs for 48 hours at the Main Camp, where pensioners provided the guards.¹⁰³ In April and May, seven pensioners were returned to Van Diemen's Land after they were found to be medically unfit, including Patrick McDonald who died in 1896 aged 85. In December, two more were sent home suffering from scurvy.¹⁰⁴

An unknown number of pensioners were stationed at Bendigo and about 50 were sent to Ballarat where they provided guards at the Commissioner's Camp. On one occasion they connived at the escape of 13 prisoners and would often sneak away to a 'sly-grog' tent and be brought back by the Corporal's Guard, usually very drunk.¹⁰⁵ In March, Thomas Sweeney distinguished himself by being found drunk on sentry duty at Government House, by the Governor himself. Michael Sheehy and Thomas Hawkins were

¹⁰¹ CSO 24/185 pp. 53-57.

¹⁰² J.Flett, *A Pictorial History of the Victorian Goldfields* (Sydney, 1977) pp. xi, 28.

¹⁰³ H.Leversha, *Records of the Castlemaine Pioneers*, pages 8-16 (Sydney, 1972) p. 12.

¹⁰⁴ Andel, 'Military Pensioners', p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ J.Sadlier, *Recollections of a Victorian Police Officer* (Melbourne, 1913) p.40.

also charged with being drunk on guard duty.¹⁰⁶

In January 1853 the EPF was relieved of its duties by detachments of the 40th Regiment and returned home. Later in the year there was growing unrest on the goldfields, which prompted Governor La Trobe to again request military assistance from Governor Denison. He responded by sending a battery of artillery, troops of the 99th Regiment and several hundred pensioners in September. The disturbances settled down fairly rapidly though, with the EPF returning in late November and most of the 99th Regiment in early January.¹⁰⁷ Contrary to claims by some writers, there is no evidence to suggest any Enrolled Pensioners were present at the Eureka affray in December 1854.¹⁰⁸

Major Russell found it difficult to keep track of the pensioners' whereabouts in Victoria and lamented being 'caused the greatest inconvenience by the irregular manner in which the pensioners behaved with respect to going and coming between the two colonies'.¹⁰⁹ Some like John McCormick, who had been employed by the Police Department as a farrier, applied for a transfer to Victoria. He quickly changed his mind though on learning this would cause him to lose his land at Westbury.¹¹⁰ Others were officially 'absent without leave', but worked under assumed names in Victoria, mainly as police, since the daily pay of a constable was 12 shillings and 6 pence compared to 2 shillings and 6 pence for a pensioner. Most complied with a directive from the Inspector of Police, Charles McMahon, telling them to 'return to headquarters' or risk losing their pensions and forfeiting their allotments in Van Diemen's Land.¹¹¹

Officially, the pensioners were praised for their efforts in Victoria. W.H. Wright, Chief Commissioner of the Gold Fields, wrote 'Their presence as an organized and disciplined body of men, gave an assurance of protection to persons and property, felt....throughout the Gold Fields.'¹¹² Unofficial reports

¹⁰⁶ Andel, 'Military Pensioners', p. 18.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁸ M.Frost and G.Scott, 'Irish Military Pensioners at Westbury', *Tasmanian Ancestry*, 23, no. 2 (Sept. 2002) p. 91; J.Donohoe, *The British Army in Australia 1788 – 1870*: (Mosman, NSW, 1993) p. 28.

¹⁰⁹ Andel, 'Military Pensioners', p. 18.

¹¹⁰ CSO 24/218/8304, McCormick's Certificate of Change of Residence, 31 March 1853.

¹¹¹ Andel, 'Military Pensioners', p. 18.

¹¹² CSO 24/218/8305 pp. 234-235. Wright to Victorian Colonial Secretary, 24 Jan. 1853

were more scathing. Evelyn Sturt, Superintendent of Police in 1852, observed that they 'appeared to me to be the most drunken set of men I have ever met with, and totally unfit to be put to any useful purposes'.¹¹³ Perhaps the best assessment of their performance comes from Searle, who wrote 'it was commonly held in government circles that their uses just out-weighed their vices'.¹¹⁴

Spring Hill Bottom is located south west of Colebrook (Jerusalem), along the range that separates the Cole River valley from Kempton and the Midland Highway (see map page 36). Nowadays, little indicates that 28 pensioners and their families settled there in 1852. Their allotments were in two locations, one about 1.5 km. west of Jerusalem Creek and the Convict Probation Station (adjacent to the B31 road identifier on the map), and the other a further 2.5 km. to the west. The land granted to the pensioners was far from ideal for cropping purposes, being hilly, stony and heavily timbered. Much of it is underlain by sandstone, notable for producing droughty soils of low fertility. In any case, the 5 acre allotments were far too small to be viable and the pensioners had the added problem of clearing the trees before any cultivation could be done.

The pensioners were among the first settlers at Spring Hill Bottom. By November 1852, the following pensioners were located on their land:-¹¹⁵

John Blair		Thomas Hayes	#
James Brett	#	William Holmes	#
Michael Byrne		Samuel Howatson	#
Michael Corcoran		Thomas Hudson	#
Cornelius Delaney		Patrick Kennelly	#
Richard Delaney		William Knowles	#
Martin D'Arcy	#	Patrick McDonald	#
Thomas Fogarty	#	Denis Moynahan	
Daniel Freeman		Hugh Polan	#
Michael Fulham	#	John Roach	#
Michael Fynes	#	John Ryan	#
Patrick Goodman	#	William Ryan	#
James Gordon		Michael Sheehy	#
John Halloran	#	Alexander Whitson	
# = served in the first draft of pensioners to Victoria			

¹¹³ Sadlier, *Recollections of a Victorian Police Officer* p. 41.

¹¹⁴ G.Searle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851 – 1861* (Melbourne, 1977) p. 97.

¹¹⁵ CSO 24/207/7818, List of allotments allocated to pensioners, prepared by Deputy Surveyor General, 19 Nov. 1852.

Of the 33 allotments originally surveyed, five remained unoccupied. When the first Richmond District Valuation Rolls were prepared in 1858, the composition of the group had changed slightly. M. Corcoran, J. Blair and D. Moynahan had moved elsewhere and Thomas Fogarty had transferred to the Oatlands settlement. James Gordon and family had left for New South Wales in search of work. Newcomers included James Hickman and John Whittaker, giving a total of 25 pensioners, plus Margaret Cochrane, widow of Thomas Cochrane.

When the EPF arrived in 1850, the Probation System of convict management was still in operation, serviced by a series of Probation Stations where the convicts were accommodated. Those at Fingal, Westbury and Jerusalem doubled as Hiring Depots and Agricultural Stations. At these, well behaved convicts who had completed their term in probation gangs were eligible to receive 'probation passes', enabling them to be hired out by free settlers at low wage rates. The settlers were required to provide rations, accommodation and medical services. The net result was that employers preferred to hire convicts rather than employ free workers because they were much cheaper.¹¹⁶

During the 1850s, the economy of Van Diemen's Land was still firmly based on agriculture, mostly the production of wool and wheat, and so settlers or convicts with farming skills were in demand.¹¹⁷ While the predominantly Irish pensioners at SHB were mostly labourers with a rural background (see Appendix 1), it was not possible to tell how many may have been farm labourers. To clarify this, a random sample of 20 Irish convicts who arrived in December 1850 on the *Hyderabad*, was taken. Of the country convicts, there were 8 farm labourers, 6 labourers and 3 with trade skills. Perhaps 50% of the pensioners may have worked as farm labourers before enlisting. The job skills of the pensioners and those of convicts hired by local settlers, are compared in Appendix 5 using the Nicholas – Shergold system of skill classification.¹¹⁸ This is outlined on page 33. The results demonstrate that the pensioners lacked the skills required by landowners, thereby creating a further barrier to

¹¹⁶ I.Brand, *The Convict Probation System: Van Diemen's Land 1839 – 1854* (Hobart, 1990) pp. 66, 92, 237.

¹¹⁷ Felmingham, 'Economy', p. 421.

¹¹⁸ S.Nicholas and P.R.Shergold, 'Convicts as Workers', in S.Nicholas, ed., *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Convict Past* (Cambridge, 1988) pp. 72, 223-224.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1:- Unskilled urban | 6:- Dealers & storekeepers |
| 2:- Unskilled rural | 7:- Armed forces, exciseman, seaman |
| 3:- Skilled construction | 8:- Professional |
| 4:- Manufacturing & transport | 9:- Domestic service |
| 5:- Skilled rural | 10:- Occupations not already covered |

their employment. Appendix 6 shows the hiring rates for the convicts listed in Appendix 5. Ploughmen were obviously sought after and attracted the highest wages. Thomas Cooke, for example, was hired on 29 March 1852 after his arrival in the Colony a mere nine days earlier. Several other factors militated against the employment of pensioners. Convicts lived on the job and were single, whereas the pensioners had to travel and perhaps leave their families. Also, the convicts were generally younger than the pensioners who were in their 40s (see Appendix 6).

The matter of educating the pensioners' children was brought to the attention of Governor Denison in 1853 by the Rev. William Dunn, parish priest at Richmond. He pointed out that the 38 children living at SHB had no school and wrote 'One of the Pensioners named William Ryan is competent to teach reading, writing and arithmetic...and I have recommended his appointment to the Inspector of Schools. The cottage built by a Pensioner named Roache, upon an allotment that proved entirely sterile, would suit admirably for the school'.¹¹⁹ Ryan's teaching competency is debatable as his enlistment papers were signed with an 'X' in 1824. The school's first teacher was William Horan, assisted by his wife, Maria. It operated from 1854 to 1865, with pupil numbers fluctuating between 38 and 53. In 1866 and 1867, it was closed and reopened for the last time in 1868 with 18 pupils. To a large extent, the operation of the School mirrored the economic circumstances of the parents, who faced a constant battle to make ends meet. In 1860 for example, an Inspector's report noted that 'the population is very poor' and out of 54 schools covered by the Southern Board of Education, the parents consistently made the lowest contribution towards the teachers' salaries. Between 1870 and 1891, the number of pensioners on their allotments dwindled from 10 to 1; 15 had died

¹¹⁹ L.Green and T.Crosby, *For Whom the Bell Tolls: Campania District High School 1886 – 1986, with a history of education in the Coal River Valley* (Campania, Tasmania, 1986) p. 6.

and 9 had left for greener pastures on the mainland or New Zealand. The job prospects for their children were bleak and virtually all left the district in search of work. The children of John and Mary Roach were typical. John Jr. became a miner in New South Wales, his sister Bridget followed him, where she married James Gordon's son, and William became a farmer at Winkleigh.

A disproportionately high percentage of the EPF was Irish at a time when the recruitment of Irishmen was falling off. Almost 80% of the force was discharged between 1845 and 1850, which coincides with the Great Famine in Ireland. An opportunity to escape from the miserable conditions in their homeland would have provided a strong 'push' factor for the Irish in deciding to migrate. The ten counties that suffered the worst effects of the famine, in decreasing order of severity, were Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, Galway, Leitrim, Cavan, Clare, Cork, Fermanagh, and Monaghan.¹²⁰ A significantly greater proportion of recruits came from these counties than came from the 18 counties less affected. ($p < .01$) Tenant farmers predominated in Ireland, so the prospect of becoming a land owner would have been a further powerful inducement to migrate. The 'pull' factor in choosing Australia as a migrant destination, was absent. Contrary to expectations, a significantly greater proportion of pensioners came from regiments that had not served in the Australian colonies. ($p < .01$) Life as a civilian, without having to put up with military discipline, living conditions that were often squalid, and an absence of loved ones, would have been another attraction of Van Diemen's Land. Long periods of separation from wives were usual when only 12 women to 100 men were permitted to travel to a colonial garrison.¹²¹ Despite the economic downturn during the 1860s in Tasmania, at least two thirds of the pensioners remained in the Colony and blended in with the local community, although their children tended to leave, seeking employment. Their problems had been worsened by the naïve assumption on the part of the government that they would somehow become farmers without necessarily having the skills, knowledge or capital to be successful. There are many similarities with the Soldier Settlement schemes sixty years later, as outlined by Robson and

¹²⁰ J. Percival, *The Great Famine: Ireland's Potato Famine 1845 – 51* (London, 1995) p. 172.

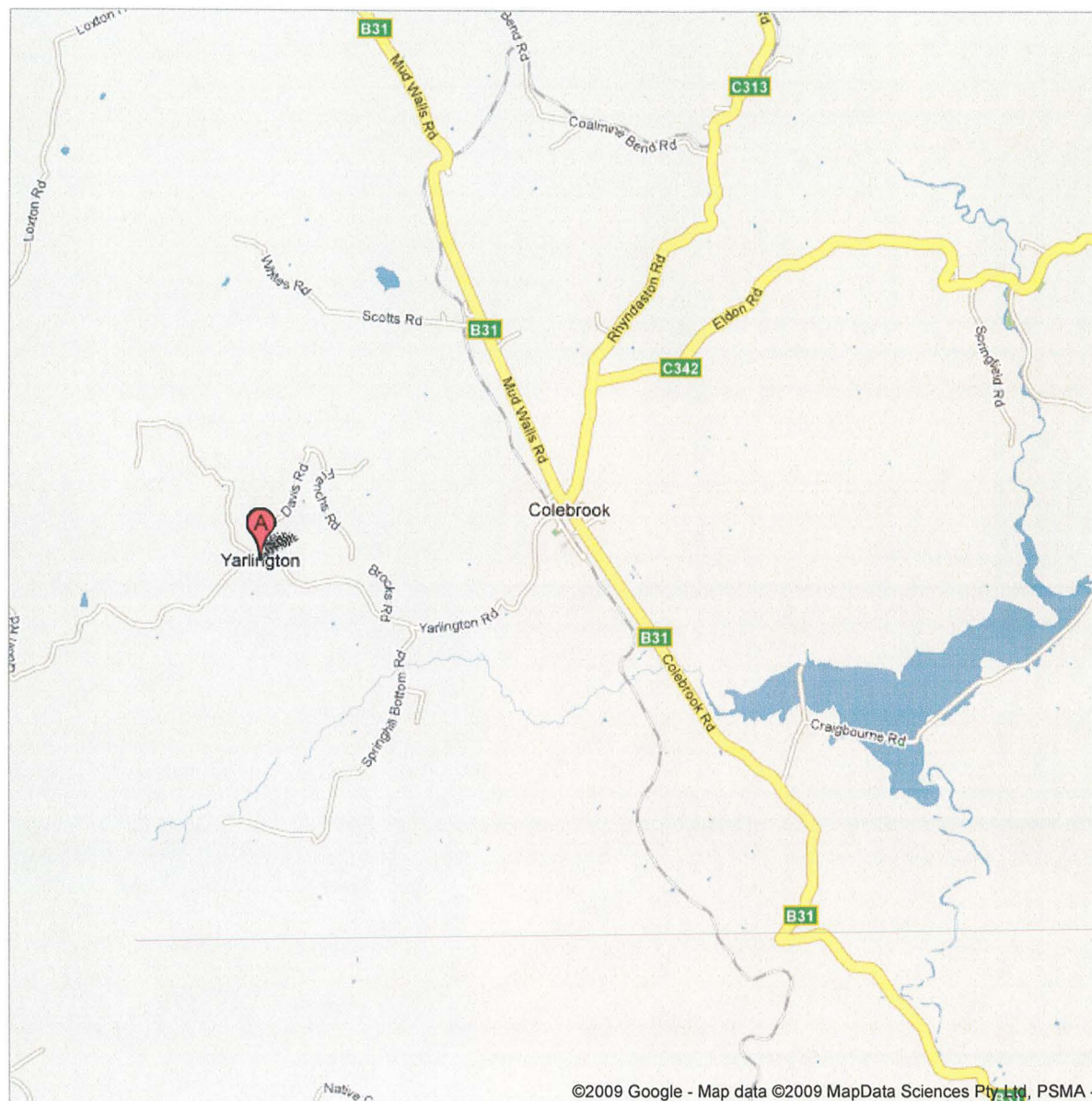
¹²¹ Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars*, p. 10.

Roe.¹²²

In the final analysis, the military pensioners came to Van Diemen's Land with their families to improve their economic prospects and more particularly, those of their children. They made the most of opportunities that were unavailable to them in the 'Old Country', enabling their fifth and sixth generation of descendants to occupy every stratum of present-day society. The callings or occupations of their descendants include an author, baker, accountant, diesel fitter, earth moving contractor, housekeeper, farmer, fettler, human rights activist, orchardist, miner, publican, plant operator, postal official, shopkeeper, sleeper cutter, station master, pulpwood harvester, truck driver, teacher, an Anglican Deacon and many more.

¹²² L.Robson and M.Roe, *A Short History of Tasmania*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1997) p. 93.

Google maps Address Yarlington TAS
Australia



Appendix 1 Ex-Soldiers and Marines of the Vandemonian Enrolled Pensioner Force

Name	Unit	Born	Native Place	Occupn.	Clas.	Lit.	Enlisted	Year	Enl. age	Disc. age	S/M
Stephen Allard	31	1807	Maidstone Kent	Shoe maker	4	12	Gravesend Kent	1826	19	40	S
William Bastone	4# *	1808	Aylesbeare Devon	Plasterer	3	10	Gloucester Gloucestershire	1826	18	40	M
John Benn	97	1805	Parteen Co. Clare	Labourer	1,2	11	Limerick Co. Limerick	1824	19	37	M
Thomas Bond	47	1806	Newtownbarry Co. Wexford	Labourer	1,2	12	Dublin	1826	20	41	M
James Brett	16	1807	Kilmovee Co. Mayo	Labourer	1,2	11	Gort Co. Galway	1825	18	39	M
Samuel Brown	1	1807	Londonderry Co. Derry	Shoe maker	4	12	Glasgow	1825	18	35	M
Michael Byrne	36	1806	Wicklow Co. Wicklow	Labourer	1,2	12	Dublin	1824	18	37	M
Thomas Campion	50# *	1813	Abbeyleix Co. Laois	Labourer	1,2	10	Weedon Northants.	1827	14	34	M
Roger Carey	6	1827	New Abbey Co. Kildare	Groom	9	10	Dublin	1846	19	23	M
Patrick Clancy	27	1808	Kildallan Co. Cavan	Labourer	1,2	12	Belturbet Co. Cavan	1824	16	40	S
Stephen Crutchley	39# *	1809	Seaton Northants.	Labourer	1,2	12	Lancaster Lancs.	1826	17	37	M
Martin D'Arcy	18	1804	Toomevara Co. Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	12	Nenagh Co. Tipperary	1822	18	42	S
Cornelius Delaney	94	1801	Aghaboe Co. Laois	Labourer	1,2	10	Birr Co. Offaly	1824	23	40	M
Richard Delaney	32	1806	Clonmel Co. Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	12	Cahir Co. Tipperary	1824	18	40	S
Richard Delaney	59	1815	Portlaoise Co. Laois	Shoe maker	4	11	Enniskillen Co. Fermanagh	1833	18	31	M
Peter Devlin	3# *	1805	Ardstraw Co. Tyrone	Labourer	1,2	12	Enniskillen Co. Fermanagh	1825	20	40	M
Thomas Fogarty	5	1809	Dromineer Co. Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	12	Beakstown Co. Tipperary	1826	17	39	S
Michael Fynes	88	1805	Athenry Co. Galway	Labourer	1,2	11	Athenry Co. Galway	1825	20	28	S
Daniel Freeman	39# *	1800	Ballyseedy Co. Kerry	Labourer	1,2	11	Tralee Co. Kerry	1819	19	45	S
Thomas Garrigan	99#	1818	Ardee Co. Louth	Labourer	1,2	11	Newry Co. Down	1837	19	31	M
George Geigison	95	1809	Ballykelly Co. Derry	Servant	9	10	Manchester Lancs.	1825	16	39	M
John Gleeson	58#	1804	Glin Co. Limerick	Labourer	1,2	11	Cork city	1822	18	34	M
Patrick Goodman	38	1809	Carrickmacross Co. Monaghan	Labourer	1,2	12	Newry Co. Down	1826	17	37	M
John Halket	78	1808	Baronry Lanarkshire	Labourer	1,2	10	Glasgow	1826	18	40	M
John Halloran	87	1806	Doonass Co. Clare	Labourer	1,2	12	Limerick Co. Limerick	1826	20	41	M
Michael Hartney	94	1810	Rynagh Co. Offaly	Labourer	1,2	10	Birr Co. Offaly	1826	16	38	S

John Hay	91	1809	Edinburgh	Labourer	1,2	10	Edinburgh	1828	19	39	S
Thomas Hayes	10	1805	Cullen Co.Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	11	Carrick on Suir Co.Tipperary	1823	18	40	S
William Holmes	22	1803	Corwen? Denbighshire	Labourer	1,2	12	Galway Co. Galway	1821	18	42	M
Samuel Howatson	72	1809	Dalkeith Midlothian	Labourer	1,2	10	Edinburgh	1826	17	36	M
Joseph Hooper	40# *	1798	Catgate Somerset	Baker	4	10	Wells Somerset	1813	15	38	S
Thomas Hudson	48# *	1808	Pemberton Lancs	Shoe maker	4	12	Wigan Lancs	1825	17	29	S
Robert Hume	Art.	1806	Lauder Berwickshire	Weaver	4	10	Cupar Fife	1824	18	39	M
Luke Jennings	94	1806	Menlagh Co. Galway	Labourer	1,2	11	Ballinasloe Co. Galway	1824	18	34	S
William Keefe	75	1803	Newport Co.Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	11	Birr Co. Offaly	1821	18	40	M
James Kelly	27	1809	Glenrough Co. Limerick	Labourer	1,2	12	Saint Helena (6 yrs prior sen ice in St Helena Rgt.)	1836	27	40	M
Michael Kelly	Nwf	1798	Edgeworthstown Co. Longford	Clerk	8	10	Dublin	1820	22	43	M
Patrick Kennedy	87	1808	Limerick city	Labourer	1,2	10	Limerick city	1827	19	39	S
Patrick Kennelly	11#	1805	Kilflyn Co. Kerry	Labourer	1,2	12	Tralee Co. Kerry	1825	20	41	S
William Knowles	59	1801	Canterbury Kent	Labourer	1,2	10	Canterbury Kent	1819	18	43	S
Patrick Larkin	21# *	1808	Melick Co. Galway	Labourer	1,2	10	Birr Co. Offaly	1825	17	40	M
John Magovern	27	1808	Killisandra Co. Cavan	Labourer	1,2	11	Killisandra Co. Cavan	1826	18	39	S
Patrick Maher	55	1805	Clonmel Co.Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	11	Birr Co. Offaly	1823	18	39	M
Thomas Mahon	15Dr	1811	Dromcliffe Co. Clare	Clerk	8	10	Leitrim village Co. Leitrim	1833	22	38	M
James Maloney	63# *	1808	Aglish Co. Mayo	Labourer	1,2	10	Castlebar Co. Mayo	1825	17	39	S
William Malseed	2	1804	Tully Co. Donegal	Mason?	3	10	Kilmarnock Ayrshire	1821	17	40	M
Patrick Mannion	84	1808	Legan Co. Longford	Labourer	1,2	11	Granard Co. Longford	1827	19	33	S
James Martin	7	1808	Enniskillen Co.Fermanagh	Labourer	1,2	12	Manchester Lancs.	1826	18	39	M
Samuel Mason	97	1807	Worcester	Carpet weaver	4	10	Worcester	1824	17	41	S
Thomas Matthews	14Dr	1809	Dublin	Labourer	1,2	12	Dublin	1829	17	38	S
John McCormack	6Dr	1805	Raphoe Co. Donegal	Black smith	4	12	Dundalk? Co. Louth	1826	21	45	M
Luke McCormick	63# *	1805	Mullingar Co.Westmeath	Weaver	4	11	Mullingar Co.Westmeath	1824	19	42	S
John McDermott	28# *	1808	Ballymagauran? Co. Cavan	Labourer	1,2	11	Dublin	1825	17	39	M
Patrick McDonald	84	1810	Kilmore Co. Cavan	Labourer	1,2	11	Belturbet Co. Cavan	1828	18	39	S

Michael McKenna	49	1809	Cappy Co. Tyrone	Labourer	1,2	12	Omagh Co. Tyrone	1826	17	35	S
Alexander McMaster	Art.	1806	Dumfries Dumfrieshire	Labourer	1,2	11	Dumfries Dumfrieshire	1823	17	39	S
Denis Moynahan	17# *	1804	Tralee Co. Kerry	Labourer	1,2	11	Cork city	1822	18	42	M
William Muir	74	1809	Glasgow	Tinsmith	4	10	Glasgow	1826	17	39	S
Edward Murphy	98	1803	Dromcliffe Co. Clare	Servant	9	10	Ennis Co. Clare	1823	20	40	S
Francis Murray	96# *	1806	Killinagh Co. Cavan	Labourer	1,2	11	Kells Co. Meath	1824	18	32	M
James Murtough	12	1806	Skreen Co. Sligo	Labourer	1,2	12	Sligo Co. Sligo	1823	17	39	S
Dennis Nowlan	86	1805	Old Ross Co. Wexford	Labourer	1,2	10	Clonmel Co. Tipperary	1826	21	43	M
Dalziel Pentland	65#	1811	Elvas Portugal	Labourer	1,2	10	Edinburgh	1824	13	33	M
George Phillip	Art.	1804	Haddington East Lothian	Servant	9	10	Edinburgh	1823	19	41	M
Hugh Polan	48# *	1809	Annaclone Co. Down	Labourer	1,2	11	Banbridge Co. Down	1826	17	39	S
Daniel Quinn	13	1817	Bannagher Co. Offaly	Dyer	4	12	Galway Co. Galway	1837	20	31	M
Samuel Rainey	60	1808	Donaghadee Co. Down	Labourer	1,2	10	Dumfries Dumfrieshire	1826	18	41	M
John Ryan	39# *	1804	Carrickinish Co. Limerick	Labourer	1,2	12	Limerick Co. Limerick	1826	22	43	S
William Ryan	5	1807	Cashel Co. Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	11	Kilkenny Co. Kilkenny	1824	17	40	M
Sam. John Shaw	Art.	1809	Drumboe Co. Down	Weaver	4	10	Paisley Renfrewshire	1826	17	38	M
Michael Sheehy	10	1807	Dungarvan Co. Waterford	Wheelwright	4	12	Clonmel Co. Tipperary	1823	16	40	M
Thomas Smith	S&M *#	1803	Bassenthwaite Cumberland	Blacksmith	4	12	Everton Lancs.	1827	24	45	M
John Wall	89	1809	Chester Cheshire	Labourer	1,2	12	Kollam India	1822	13	39	M
Samuel Westicott	60	1810	Upton Pyne Devon	Glove cutter	4	10	Worcester Worcestershire	1827	17	37	M
Alexander Whitson	72	1808	Edinburgh	Mason	3	10	Edinburgh	1825	17	40	S
John Whittaker	3# *	1806	Salford Lancs.	Printer	4	10	Newtown Lancs.	1824	18	42	S
Joseph Woodhead	6Dr	1811	Rotherham Yorks.	Clerk	8	10	Sheffield Yorks.	1833	22	35	S
Thomas Wroe	Art.	1807	Beswick Lancs.	Fustian cutter	4	10	Manchester Lancs.	1825	18	41	S
Philip Aylward	EIC (M)	1807	Adamstown? Co. Kilkenny	Tailor	4	12	Waterford Co. Waterford	1827	19	41?	M
Luke Finn	EIC (B)	1808	Co. Roscommon	Labourer	1,2	11	Athlone Co. Westmeath	1825	17?	34	M
Thomas Hawkins	EIC (M)	1807	Scarriff Co. Clare	Labourer	1,2	12	Limerick Co. Limerick	1827	19	41?	M

John Allen	Mar. #	1808 Co.Tipperary	---	Plymouth	1830	22	40	M
James Bale	Mar. #	1805 Somerset	---	Plymouth	1827	22	43	M
John Ball	Mar. #	1804 Gloucester	---	Chatham	1829	25	46	M
Samuel Barnes	Mar. #	1805 Ringstead Norfolk	---	Chatham	1826	21	42	M
William Finney	Mar. #	1806 Shropshire	---	Portsmouth	1826	20	42	M
Robert Hampton	Mar. #	1810 Wiltshire	---	Portsmouth	1830	20	37	M
Joseph Francis	Mar. #	1814 Cornwall	---	Plymouth	1832	18	34	M
Henry Hearn	Mar. #	1807 Somerset	---	Plymouth	1828	21	42	M
Henry Lyon	Mar. #	1795 Ormskirk Lancs	---	Chatham	1812	17	?	M
George McNeil	Mar. #	1810 Edinburgh	---	Chatham	1828	18	39	M
John Mitchell	Mar. #	1807 Hadlow Kent	---	Woolwich	1825	18	39	M
Robert Parker	Mar. #	1813 Devon	---	Plymouth	1836	23	33	S
Henry Smith	Mar. #	1807 Lurgan Co. Armagh	---	Chatham	1828	21	42	M
James Upton	Mar. #	1807 Canterbury Kent	---	(served 1825-28 in 55th Regiment) Chatham	1826	19	42	S

Key to abbreviations

Unit	31 = 31st Regiment of Foot, 15Dr = 15th Dragoons Art. = Royal Artillery, Mar. = Royal Marines S&M = Corps of Sappers & Miners, Nwf = Newfoundland Rgt. EIC = East India Company, (B) = Bombay, (M) = Madras # = Unit served in Australian colonies, * = Unit served in VDL
Clas.	Nicholas - Shergold skill classifications (1 to 9)
Lit.	10 = Could sign attestment papers, 11 = Could not sign papers, 12 = Unknown
S/M	S = Enlisted in county of birth, M = Enlisted away from county of birth

Appendix 2 Nationality, Occupation and Enlistment Age for East India Company Recruits

Surname	Nat.	Occupation	Class.	E.Age	Surname	Nat.	Occupation	Class.	E.Age
H****1824	I	Labourer	1,2	20	W****1826	E	Brickmaker	3	19
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		E	Porter	1	23
	E	Gardener	5	19		E	Plasterer	3	19
	E	Servant	9	28		E	Silk Weaver	4	20
	E	Carder	4	23		I	Labourer	1,2	19
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		I	Labourer	1,2	28
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		E	Cotton Spinner	4	21
	I	Labourer	1,2	24		E	Blacksmith	4	19
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		S	Weaver	4	30
	I	Clerk	8	21		E	Shoemaker	4	19
	E	Draper	6	21		E	Clothier	6	29
	E	Shoemaker	4	19		E	Cotton Spinner	4	19
	I	Farmer	5	22		E	Bricklayer	3	21
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		I	Labourer	1,2	19
	E	Servant	9	20		E	Painter	3	19
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		E	Labourer	1,2	25
	I	Weaver	4	19		E	Farm Servant	9	20
	S	Baker	4	25		S	Draper	6	25
	I	Labourer	1,2	20		I	Weaver	4	19
	E	Labourer	1,2	19		E	Weaver	4	20
	I	Servant	9	23		E	Clerk	8	24
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		E	Weaver	4	19
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		E	Grocer	6	21
	E	Painter	3	20		E	Blacksmith	4	20
	E	Servant	9	19		E	Silk Weaver	4	22
	E	Labourer	1,2	21		E	Labourer	1,2	19
	E	Barber	4	19		E	Bellowsmaker	4	19
	E	Gardener	5	19		I	Clerk	8	23
	I	Servant	9	22		E	Labourer	1,2	20
	I	Weaver	4	19		E	Tailor	4	19
	E	Carpenter	3	19		E	Dyer	4	19
	I	Weaver	4	19		E	Labourer	1,2	19
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		S	Shoemaker	4	20
	E	Joiner	3	19		I	Weaver	4	19
	S	Shoemaker	4	20		E	Trader	6	19
	S	Labourer	1,2	21		E	Cordwainer	4	22
	E	Hairdresser	4	19		I	Cordwainer	4	27
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		E	Labourer	1,2	19
	I	Labourer	1,2	19		S	Biscuit Baker	4	19
	E	Labourer	1,2	19		E	Fr.Wk.Knitter	4	20
C****1827	I	Labourer	1,2	19	Key to abbreviations Nat. I = Irish, E = English, S = Scottish Class. Nicholas - Shergold skill classifications (1 to 9) E. Age Enlistment age				
	I	Coach Painter	4	19					
	E	Painter	3	22					
	I	Labourer	1,2	19					
	I	Labourer	1,2	20					
	I	Weaver	4	19					
	I	Weaver	4	19					
	I	Labourer	1,2	19					
	I	Weaver	4	24					
	I	Labourer	1,2	19					
	I	Labourer	1,2	19					
	I	Labourer	1,2	24					

C****1827	I	Clerk	8	19
	I	Labourer	1,2	19
	S	Labourer	1,2	24
	I	Labourer	1,2	19
	E	Moulder	4	19
	I	Labourer	1,2	19
	E	Weaver	4	25
	E	Labourer	1,2	20

Appendix 3 Occupation, Age & Cause of Death for Pensioner & Non-Pensioner matches

Pair	Pension.	Occupat.	Age	Cause of Death	N-Pension.	Occupat.	Age	Cause of Death
1	Alexander Sims	Pensioner	41	Tuberculosis	Daniel Cole	Accountant	40	Erysipelas
2	Patrick Fenton	Constable	43	Fever	Robert Scarborough	Tanner	45	Tuberculosis
3	Michael Spillane	Pensioner	47	Inflammation of the lungs	Richard Baker	Labourer	56	Stroke
4	Francis Cole	Pensioner	49	Throat cancer	John Dillon	Labourer	50	Heart disease
5	John Costello	Labourer	54	Pneumonia	John McLeod	Pauper	73	Heart disease
6	John Calder	Pauper	87	Old age	Peter Facy	Merchant	67	Liver disease
7	John Benn	Pensioner	51	Tuberculosis	Rodger Gullaghan	Labourer	56	Throat cancer
8	John Mitchell	Gate-keeper	50	Fever	William Abbott	Gentleman	41	Brain disease
9	Joseph Hooper	Pensioner	52	No cause given	Robert Neilson	Grocer	39	Liver disease
10	James Brett	Labourer	54	Peritonitis	Nicholas Coriander	Seaman	40	Scurvy
11	John McCrane	Labourer	55	Tuberculosis	Thomas Hamilton	Watch-maker	65	Alcoholism
12	Michael Sheehy	Servant	58	Stroke	John Williams	Piano-maker	60	Pneumonia
13	John Ball	Labourer	66	Bronchitis	John Brent	Gentleman	60	Liver disease
14	Patrick Nolan	Pensioner	69	Old age	William Jordan	Clerk	77	Old age
15	David Griffin	Retired soldier	67	Accident	Thomas Yates	Pauper	74	Liver disease
16	William Morrison	Pensioner	62	Tuberculosis	William Nicholls	Licenced Victualler	68	Bronchitis
17	William Muir	Pauper	63	Brain disease	William Chaffey	Licenced Victualler	64	Rheumatic gout
18	Edward Hayden	Pauper	70	Old age	Daniel O' Brien	Labourer	60	Bronchitis
19	Thomas Matthews	Pensioner	67	Skin cancer	John Murray	Labourer	50	Tetanus
20	Samuel Rainey	Labourer	68	Senile gangrene	Alexander Campbell	Engineer	52	Inflammation of the lungs
21	Thomas Campion	Band-master	63	Heart disease	John German	Weaver	78	Old age
22	Philip Aylward	Pensioner	71	Alcoholism	Henry Weston	Shoe-maker	63	Tuberculosis
23	Michael Hartney	Licenced Victualler	71	Heart disease	William Bergin	Farmer	79	Bladder cancer
24	Joseph Francis	Seaman	67	Heart disease	James McDonnell	Labourer	65	Tuberculosis
25	John Gleeson	Dairyman	81	Liver disease	John McKellar	Gate-keeper	67	Peritonitis
26	Joseph Woodhead	Clerk	74	Old age	Charles de Jersey	Carpenter	63	Liver disease

27	George Gergison	Pensioner	80	Old age	Alfred Kemp	Clerk	60	Pneumonia
28	Thomas Bond	Pensioner	45	General decline	John Page	Carpenter	42	Paralysis
29	Francis Murray	Constable	46	Stroke	Thomas Blackwall	Labourer	77	Old age
30	Henry Masters	Pensioner	50	Drowning	William Barnett	Wheelwright	42	Influenza
31	Simon Halloran	Pensioner	45	General decline	Samuel Robbs	Pauper	64	Old age
32	Henry Hearne	Pensioner	46	Tuberculosis	Charles King	Bird stuffer	66	Old age
33	William Keefe	Pensioner	49	Heart disease	John Miller	No occupation	43	Inflammation of the lungs
34	Patrick Crowley	Pensioner	46	Bronchitis	Thomas Brown	Labourer	38	Drowning
35	John Hoary	Pensioner	40	Tuberculosis	Henry Watson	Labourer	102	Old age
36	George McNeil	Pensioner	44	Liver disease	John Withers	Shopkeeper	48	Dysentery
37	Thomas Conboy	Pensioner	48	Natural causes	Thomas Hartnell	Labourer	40	Natural causes
38	Michael Craven	Pensioner	55	Dropsy	Isaac Foster	Labourer	40	Stroke
39	John Ridd	Pensioner	48	Tuberculosis	John Perview	Farmer	50	Suicide
40	Joseph Cusack	Pensioner	50	Dropsy	Thomas Taylor	Servant	39	Tuberculosis
41	John Rooney	Pensioner	54	Stroke	James Caddy	Labourer	40	Cancer
42	Dalziel Pentland	Pensioner	44	Heart disease	John Whelan	Labourer	50	Accident
43	Luke McCormick	Pensioner	52	Heart disease	John McMumgall	Farmer	40	Accident
44	Joseph Strangeway	Labourer	54	Dropsy	Thomas Rossiter	Labourer	80	Old age
45	Michael Fynes	Pensioner	54	Tuberculosis	Edward Taylor	Labourer	50	Hydrothorax
46	Daniel Freeman	Pensioner	59	Dropsy	John Hopson	Blacksmith	76	Old age
47	Thomas Hudson	Pensioner	52	Heart disease	James Corrigan	Retired Lieutenant	75	Paralysis
48	Richard Delaney	Pensioner	45	Lung disease	Michael Hatton	Farmer	60	Stroke
49	Laurence Delaney	Pensioner	65	Old age	George Panton	Labourer	72	Stroke
50	Michael Donohoe	Pensioner	55	Inflammation of the lungs	John Ireland	Storekeeper	49	Influenza
51	Robert Nicholson	Pensioner	57	Inflammation of the lungs	Christopher Braden	Yeoman	76	Influenza
52	Hugh Tracey	Pensioner	57	Influenza	John Wildblood	Labourer	50	Natural causes
53	Thomas Mahon	Pensioner	50	Alcoholism	Jonathon Kent	Clerk	45	Heart disease
54	Samuel Barnes	Carpenter	57	Stroke	James Wright	Labourer	49	Heart disease

55 Robert Parker	Pensioner	50 Alcoholism	William Harrison	Black-smith	54 Abscess
56 James Foy	Pensioner	58 Epilepsy	John Williamson	Licenced Victualler	55 Dropsy
57 James Kelly	Pensioner	54 Tuberculosis	William Stone	Farmer	65 Stroke
58 Thomas Hawkins	Pensioner	56 Debility	John Abbott	Labourer	50 Dropsy
59 Patrick Wroden	Pensioner	43 Fever	Thomas Potter	Labourer	52 Dropsy
60 Roger Carey	Constable	37 Inflammation of the lungs	James Spires	Labourer	76 Pneumonia
61 James Jamieson	Pensioner	52 Stroke	William Chambers	Labourer	73 Stroke
62 Samuel Brown	Pensioner	59 Tuberculosis	John Murphy	Labourer	51 Tongue cancer
63 John Benton	Pensioner	57 Old age	John Atkinson	Labourer	48 Asthma
64 Edward Anderson	Pensioner	60 Stomach cancer	Mark Bunker	Farmer	82 Stroke
65 Martin D'Arcy	Pensioner	64 Old age	George Lawson	Labourer	67 Stroke
66 Samuel Wild	Pensioner	63 Heart disease	John Seed	Labourer	50 Accident
67 Timothy Shaw	Pensioner	55 Accident	Thomas Allison	Labourer	63 Heart disease
68 Denis Donovan	Pensioner	62 Heart disease	Thomas Bates	Farmer	78 Dropsy
69 Michael Fulham	Pensioner	64 Heart disease	James Walker	Labourer	50 Heart disease
70 John Nolan	Pensioner	70 Old age	Joseph White	Groom	70 Emphysema of the lungs
71 Richard Delaney	Pensioner	65 Old age	Robert Carr	Labourer	82 Old age
72 John Halkett	Pauper	63 Brain disease	Robert Cox	Farmer	61 Inflammation of the bowels
73 William Holmes	Pensioner	68 Heart disease	John Stead	Not given	69 Drowning
74 Thomas Donnelly	Pensioner	61 Old age	William Pollard	Labourer	72 Dropsy
75 John Keane	Pensioner	50 Paralysis	Charles Minton	Labourer	72 Old age
76 James Keegan	Pensioner	64 Dropsy	Thomas Marnier	Labourer	50 Alcoholism
77 Stephen Allard	Pensioner	68 Old age	Richard Hartley	Labourer	67 Burns
78 Samuel Mason	Pensioner	66 Liver disease	Patrick O'Donnell	Labourer	38 Bronchitis
79 Joseph Holland	Pensioner	75 Old age	John Oakford	Farmer	73 Heart disease
80 Robert Johnstone	Pensioner	69 Old age	John Taylor	Farmer	41 Burns
81 Peter Collins	Pensioner	69 Old age	Thomas Tyler	Labourer	69 Old age
82 John Wall	Pensioner	65 Heart disease	Matthew Fitzpatrick	Store-keeper	57 Tuberculosis

83	Thomas Wroe	Pensioner	68	Stroke	John Eves	Labourer	80	Old age
84	Thomas Fogarty	Invalid	66	Asthma	Robert Cox	Householder	90	Old age
85	William Cleary	Pensioner	76	Stroke	Frederick Seymour	Tailor	55	Liver disease
86	George Dineen	Pensioner	76	Old age	George Walton	Labourer	42	Inflammation of the lungs
87	William Knowles	Pensioner	69	Heart disease	James McGuire	Retired Tradesman	78	Stroke
88	Patrick Everon	Pensioner	78	Old age	William Orledge	Farmer	44	Dropsy
89	John Jackson	Pensioner	73	Old age	Alexander Reid	Farmer	49	Tuberculosis
90	Patrick Duffy	Pensioner	69	Obstruction of the bowels	Charles Smith	Farmer	50	Heart disease
91	Charles McFall	Pensioner	65	Old age	Unknown	----	60	Found dead
92	Thomas Delaney	Pensioner	72	Old age	James Best	Bricklayer	56	Dysentery
93	Henry Barton	Pensioner	80	Obstruction of the bowels	Zachariah Rudd	Farmer	69	Old age
94	Edward Karry	Pensioner	75	Old age	Archibald Graham	Farmer	46	Stomach cancer
95	James Hardy	Pensioner	71	Old age	Patrick Curtis	Cooper	74	Dysentery
96	Patrick Goodman	Pensioner	73	Paralysis	Henry Horrocks	Labourer	63	Stroke
97	William Cornish	Pensioner	78	Old age	John Morgan	Labourer	62	Tongue cancer
98	John Halloran	Pensioner	77	Chronic rheumatism	Andrew Bush	Shoemaker	63	Tuberculosis
99	Patrick Kennelly	Labourer	75	Old age	Patrick Harrington	Constable	63	Pneumonia
100	Patrick Torley	Pensioner	81	Old age	Andrew Riley	Invalid	71	Old age
101	Hugh Polan	Pensioner	78	Old age	Thomas Chatters	Labourer	76	Bladder disease
102	William Ryan	Pensioner	79	Old age	Isaac Frond	Farmer	87	Old age
103	Richard Jones	Pensioner	75	Old age	Herbert Lee	Labourer	70	Old age
104	Charles Robinson	Pensioner	82	Old age	James Kirkland	Farmer	78	Old age
105	Thomas Lovelock	Farmer	89	Old age	Robert Lyall	Landowner	82	Old age
106	Luke Jennings	Pensioner	81	Old age	Alexander Jack	Gentleman	87	Old age
107	James Cunningham	Pensioner	89	Old age	James Smith	Labourer	52	Inflammation of the lungs
108	Daniel Quinn	Farmer	72	Old age	Samuel Haigh	Labourer	82	Old age
109	James Neasey	Farmer	80	Bronchitis	William McNickle	Farmer	92	Old age
110	Cornelius O'Keeffe	Farmer	84	Old age	George Wright	Clergyman	76	Old age

111 James Bulger	Pensioner	82 Old age	Robert Suree	Labourer	70 Stroke
112 Denis Maher	Pensioner	89 Old age	George Woods	Carpenter	89 Old age
113 James Harvey	Labourer	85 Cancer	Alexander Stronach	Farmer	89 Old age
114 John Hay	Orchardist	87 Old age	William Thorp	Orchardist	71 Influenza
115 Patrick McDonald	Labourer	85 Old age	Charles Rubens	Carpenter	88 Septicaemia
116 James Murtagh	Labourer	90 Old age	Stephen Barwick	Farmer	76 Heart disease
117 John Tapp	Pensioner	50 Heart disease	John Cleary	Labourer	77 Old age
118 Daniel Macaniny	Pensioner	68 Skin cancer	Charles Poole	Labourer	35 Purpura
119 Patrick Manion	Farmer & Pensioner	64 Tuberculosis	Robert Farnell	Farmer	63 Congestion of the lungs
120 John Delanty	Pensioner	70 Tongue cancer	William Maunders	Labourer	89 Old age

Appendix 4 Location and Distribution of Land in the Enrolled Pensioner Settlements of Van Diemen's Land (1859)

<u>Settlement</u>		<u>Number of Pensioners</u>	<u>Located on their land</u>	<u>Yet to be located</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Hobart	#	--	--	--	# Several are employed by the government & are yet to be located
Pontville		23	23	0	
Kempton		19	16	3	
Oatlands		33	29	4	
Spring Hill Bottom		26	26	0	
Richmond		8	8	0	
Clarence Plains		2	2	0	
Port Arthur	#	--	--	--	# As above
Three-Hut Point		9	7	2	
Huon River		9	8	1	
Port Cygnet		72	49	23	
Spring Bay		3	1	2	
New Norfolk		1	0	1	
Launceston	#	--	--	--	# As above
Westbury		150	136	14	
Longford		26	19	7	
Campbell Town		20	17	3	
Evandale		3	3	0	
Perth		8	6	2	
Avoca		5	5	0	
Fingal		6	5	1	
Rocky Hills		3	3	0	
		426	363	63	

Allotments were also surveyed but never allocated to pensioners at:-

Tunbridge	(52)
Dunalley	(39)
Port Sorell	(11)
Falmouth	(8)

Appendix 5 Occupational Skills of Convicts and Military Prisoners at Jerusalem

Convict	Native Place	Occupation	Clas.	Lit.	Pensioner	Native Place	Occupation	Clas.	Lit.
James Purdy	London	Carpenter	3	10	James Brett	Kilmovee Co. Mayo	Labourer	1,2	11
Michael Curry	Co. Carlow	Trade labourer	1	11	Michael Byrne	Wicklow Co. Wicklow	Labourer	1,2	12
Thomas Morris	Oxfordshire	Trade labourer	1	12	Cornelius Delaney	Aghaboe Co. Laois	Labourer	1,2	10
Roger McMahon	Co. Limerick	Farm labourer	2	11	Richard Delaney	Portlaoise Co. Laois	Shoe maker	4	11
John Foster	Co. Derry	Labourer	1,2	12	Martin D'Arcy	Toomevara Co. Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	12
John Bettis	Essex	Farm labourer	2	12	Daniel Freeman	Ballyseedy Co. Kerry	Labourer	1,2	11
John Brooks	London	Butcher	4	12	Patrick Goodman	Carrickmacross Co. Monaghan	Labourer	1,2	12
Bernard Hughes	Co. Antrim	Labourer	1,2	12	John Halloran	Doonass Co. Clare	Labourer	1,2	12
Charles Dougherty	Windsor Berkshire	Farm lab. & Ploughman	5	12	Thomas Hayes	Cullen Co. Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	11
John Kingston	Glastonbury Somerset	Farm labourer	2	12	William Holmes	Corwen ? Denbighshire	Labourer	1,2	12
Evan Hopkins	Swansea Glamorgan	Coalminer	4	10	Samuel Howatson	Dalkeith Midlothian	Labourer	1,2	10
Enoch Buck	Somerset	Farm lab. & Ploughman	5	10	Patrick Kennelly	Killyn Co. Kerry	Labourer	1,2	12
Timothy Hopewell	Leicestershire	Labourer	1,2	10	William Knowles	Canterbury Kent	Labourer	1,2	10
John Doherty	Co. Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	11	Patrick McDonald	Kilmore Co. Cavan	Labourer	1,2	11
Michael O'Brien	Co. Limerick	Labourer	1,2	13	Hugh Polan	Annaclone Co. Down	Labourer	1,2	11
John Wright	London	Painter & Glazier	3	13	John Ryan	Carrickinish Co. Limerick	Labourer	1,2	12
James Baynton	Somerset	Trace edge toolmaker	4	10	William Ryan	Cashel Co. Tipperary	Labourer	1,2	11
Patrick O'Neill	Co. Westmeath	Farm labourer	2	11	Michael Sheehy	Dungarvan Co. Waterford	Wheelwright	4	12
Thomas Cox	Canterbury Kent	Servant & Labourer	9	10	Alexander Whitson	Edinburgh	Mason	3	10
John Scutt	Shrewsbury Shropshire	Labourer	1,2	10	John Whittaker	Salford Lancs.	Printer	4	10
Thomas Cooke	Bodmin Cornwall	Ploughman	5	13	Thomas Hudson	Pemberton Lancs.	Shoe maker	4	12

Key to abbreviations

Clas. Nicholas - Shergold skill classifications (1 to 9)
 Lit. 10 = could sign attestment papers; can read & write
 11 = could not sign papers; illiterate
 12 = unknown
 13 = can read a little

Appendix 6 Private Hiring Rates for Convicts at Jerusalem 1848 – 1852

<u>Hirer</u>	<u>Convict</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Hired</u>	<u>Hiring Rate</u>	<u>Age#</u>
Rev. Fookes	J. Purdy	Carpenter*	2/10/48	10 L / 6 months	18
J. Gregory	M. Curry	Trade labourer	10/1/50	15 L / 12 months	32
W. Corrigan	T. Morris	Trade labourer	10/6/48	9 L / 5 months	37
W. Corrigan	R. McMahon	Farm labourer	10/6/48	7 L / 12 months	34
W. Corrigan	J. Foster	Labourer	21/10/48	8 L / 6 months	40
W. Corrigan	J. Bettis	Farm labourer	25/11/48	7 L / 12 months	42
W. Corrigan	J. Brooks	Butcher	23/12/48	9 L / 6 months	22
W. Corrigan	B. Hughes	Labourer	23/12/48	9 L / 6 months	22
W. Corrigan	C. Dougherty	Ploughman	7/3/49	11 L 1 month	35
W. Corrigan	J. Kingston	Farm labourer	5/4/49	10 L / 12 months	24
W. Rumney	E. Hopkins	Coal miner	13/1/52	12 L / 12 months	31
J. Samuel ?	E. Buck	Farm labourer	15/1/52	9 L / 6 months	31
M. Donnelly	T. Hopewell	Labourer	15/1/52	9 L / 12 months	32
T. Aherne	J. Docherty	Labourer	21/1/52	12 L / 12 months	34
W. Rumney	M. O'Brien	Labourer	21/1/52	10 L / 12 months	26
W. Rumney	J. Wright	Painter & Glazier	27/1/52	10 L / 12 months	27
W. McConnon	J. Baynton	Toolmaker	6/2/52	9 L / 12 months	31
W. Rumney	P. O'Neill	Farm labourer	12/2/52	10 L / 12 month	26
W. Rumney	T. Cox	Manservant	29/3/52	9 L / 12 months	45
R. Morgan	J. Scutt	Labourer	29/3/52	9 L / 12 month	20
S. Holmes	T. Cooke^	Ploughman	29/3/52	8 L / 2 weeks	35?

= age when hired

* = carpentry skills learned at Point Puer

^ = hired again on 16/4/52 by R. Nicholls, Cambridge

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- Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office
 CO 280 Governor to Colonial Office
 CSD1 Colonial Secretary's correspondence
 LSD1 Land allocation and surveys, Lands and Surveys Department
 GO1 Dispatches received from Secretary of State
 CSO 24 Correspondence from Colonial Secretary's Office; 1847 to 1855
- National Archive
 WO/97 Soldiers admitted as pensioners
 ADM/157 Marines admitted as pensioners
- British Library
 L/MIL/9 Depot registers of East India Company recruits

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