

Memorializing Britain's Imperial Wars in New Zealand in the 1840s

THE 99TH REGIMENT MEMORIAL IN HOBART, TASMANIA



Introduction

IN THE GROUNDS OF ANGLESEA BARRACKS in Davey Street, Hobart, Tasmania, stands an imposing memorial to the 1840s New Zealand Wars. One side of the memorial reveals the following inscription:

This Pillar
Was erected by the Voluntary Subscription
of the Officers
Non Commd. Officers and Privates
of the 99th Regiment
to perpetuate the Memory of these brave Men
of that Regiment who fell
in record the names of
in the Service of their Queen and Country
during the Campaigns in New Zealand
in the Years 1845 and 1846.

On another side are inscribed the names of two officers, one sergeant and 21 privates of the 99th Regiment. The foundation stone was laid on 27 May 1850 by the regiment's commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Despard.¹ When completed a few months later, the monument, a Tuscan-style pillar made of sandstone, stood 12.2 metres high and was later surrounded by a wrought-iron fence proudly bearing the insignia of the 99th Regiment. In 1850 the pillar could readily be seen on the Hobart skyline from ships sailing up the River Derwent.² Today it is obscured from the city and the river by the Repatriation Hospital and is largely forgotten.

This memorial, however, holds a very significant place in the history of war memorials in the British Empire. It was the first war memorial to commemorate the fallen in the New Zealand wars of the 1840s and the first erected on Australian soil. It also appears to have been one of the first war memorials erected by a British regiment outside of Great Britain, one of the first erected in a secular space rather than on consecrated ground, and most

important of all, one of the first to include the names of ordinary soldiers as well as officers who fell in combat in Britain's nineteenth-century imperial wars.

This extraordinary array of possible firsts would suggest that a detailed study of the memorial is long overdue. This paper starts the process by locating it within British imperial history and looking at the largely unexplored relationship between British regiments and their service in colonial wars across the British Empire between the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 and the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854. In this period Britain raised army regiments for long periods of service in the far reaches of Empire where, as James Belich points out, they were like 'warrior guilds disconnected from their home societies'.³ In India and the Australasian colonies, for example, they engaged in bloody frontier wars to expand territorial borders and contain indigenous insurgency. Held together by regimental esprit de corps, they developed new forms of memorialization to honour their fallen comrades. In this context, a focus on the composition of the 99th Regiment and its long tour of duty in the Australasian colonies between 1842 and 1856, including its service in the New Zealand wars 1845–1847 which led to the erection of the memorial in Hobart, offers important insights about the ways British regiments forged new ways of memorializing their fallen comrades in defence of the Empire.

To understand the origins of the 99th memorial within a British imperial context, the paper first reviews known studies of the monument to show how they have largely overlooked its significance to the history of regimental memorials. It then considers recent studies of nineteenth-century war memorials by British social historians, who connect their origins with antiquity and argue that regimental memorials to fallen soldiers only emerged in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars. To illustrate this new phenomenon and to set the context for the 99th memorial, the paper analyzes three memorials raised in sacred spaces by British regiments returning to England after their engagement in bloody wars in present-day Afghanistan and India in the 1830s and 1840s, suggesting that they were the forerunners of the memorials raised by regiments based in India and the Australasian colonies in the same period. The paper then examines the composition and deployment of the 99th Regiment in the Australasian colonies 1842–1856, their engagement in the New Zealand wars 1845–1847 and the decision to erect a memorial in Hobart to their fallen comrades. A comparative analysis of the memorial finds that, as one of the first erected in a secular space to include the names of all who fell, it holds a significant place in the history of British regimental memorials in the decade preceding the Crimean War.

Historiography of the 99th Memorial

The first studies of the 99th memorial were conducted by military historians. In 1963, Neil Kenrick in his magisterial history of the regiment, which was subsumed into the Wiltshire Regiment in the twentieth century, made a passing mention of the memorial: 'In 1850 the Regiment erected a monument in Hobart in memory of those killed in the first Maori war.'⁴ However, according to J.K. Lyons, who published an article on the memorial in 1970, the Wiltshire Regiment did provide funds for the memorial's maintenance in 1936 and an officer of the Wiltshire Regiment unveiled a plaque to commemorate its centenary in 1950.⁵ But Lyons overlooked its significance to the history of regimental memorials in the British Empire.

A similar point can be made about *A Short History of Anglesea Barracks*, published anonymously in the 1970s.⁶ The book provides a tantalizing summary of the 99th Regiment's campaigns and garrison service in New Zealand from 1845 to 1847, including details of the main military engagements in which the regiment's soldiers lost their lives. It explains how funds for the memorial were raised by voluntary subscription from the officers and men of the 99th Regiment, to 'perpetuate [the] memory of its 24 members killed in New Zealand', when the regiment was redeployed from New South Wales to Van Diemen's Land at war's end. It also notes that the memorial was designed by 'A. Dawson, Esq., of the Public Works Department' but overlooks the fact that it was the first war memorial erected in Australia.⁷

Since then Australian social historians have taken up the challenge. In 2001 Ken Inglis, in his pioneering study of Australian war memorials, was the first to suggest that it could have been Australia's first war memorial and noted that the 'honorific *fell*, reserved for men who died in battle' did not appear on any other nineteenth-century war memorials in Australia.⁸ In 2009, Jeff Hopkins-Weise, historian of trans-Tasman wartime relations between New South Wales, New Zealand and Van Diemen's Land in the nineteenth century and one of the authors of this paper, was the first to draw attention to the memorial's significance as an example of the close relations that existed between Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand in the 1840s.⁹ He pointed out that the British forces which fought in the New Zealand wars of 1845–1847 were largely comprised of detachments dispatched from the garrisons serving in the colony of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and that apart from the 58th Regiment, the 99th was probably the most significant to be involved in the wars during the period 1845–1846.¹⁰ It was not until 2012, however, that a new history of the Anglesea Barracks acknowledged the memorial's significance to the New Zealand wars of the 1840s and to the 99th Regiment's tour of duty in Van Diemen's Land 1848–1856.¹¹ More puzzling

is the absence of interest in the memorial by New Zealand historians, who have produced the best known accounts of the wars of the 1840s, leaving archaeologist Nigel Prickett in 2002 as the only New Zealand scholar to date to signal its importance.¹²

Apart from the recognition by the Wiltshire Regiment, the memorial's significance also appears to have been overlooked by British historians of imperial war memorials.¹³ They do, however, offer some clues about its distinctive appearance. Alan Berg, in his study of war memorials from antiquity to the present, asserts that the use of the obelisk or pillar as a memorial arose from the Pharaoh Sesostrius in Egypt, who, according to Herodotus, erected many pillars on battlefields to proclaim his military power and to record his victories. When the Romans invaded Egypt and defeated the pharaohs, they took many of the pillars and set them up in their own cities as symbols of victory. Thus, according to Berg, it was from Rome that the pillar or obelisk entered the 'vocabulary of western war memorials'. From these classical sources, obelisks and pillars were 'taken up by artists and designers in the Christian world and used as decorative motifs associated with death and victory'. Berg also points out that an 'obelisk was erected at Chelsea Hospital in London to commemorate the Second Sikh War in 1849 and others were erected in other parts of London in the 1860s to commemorate the Crimean War'.¹⁴ Berg's description of the Roman pillar at Chelsea Hospital would suggest that it bears similarities to the 99th Regiment's Tuscan pillar; but he does not indicate whether it includes the names of ordinary British soldiers who may have died in the hospital from wounds received in the Second Sikh War.

In another approach to war memorials, Angus Calder suggests that the public listing of all who died in war regardless of rank arose in the German states during the Napoleonic Wars. He notes that a monument was erected in Frankfurt in 1793 to commemorate the city's liberation from the French occupation and that the names of the fallen were listed without regard to rank. The German Wars of Liberation 1813–1814, however, were fought by citizen armies, and the war memorials – such as that erected in a public space in Berlin by the King of Prussia in 1821 – commemorate civilians as well as soldiers who died in the struggle.¹⁵

By contrast, there is no evidence that the British listed the names of ordinary soldiers or sailors, let alone civilians, on memorials erected to Britain's defeats and victories during the Napoleonic wars. Rather they preferred to honour well-known generals such as Sir John Moore, who died in the Battle of Corunna in 1809 and was memorialized with a statue erected in 1819 in George Square, Glasgow, or admirals like Lord Nelson, who died

in the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 and was memorialized in the 1820s with an imposing column in London's Trafalgar Square. Yet by 1850, memorials that included the names of ordinary soldiers who fell in battle were beginning to appear in cathedrals in Britain and regimental barracks across the Empire.

Emergence of Regimental Memorials in Britain and India 1840–1850

At the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 Britain was the leading world power, in possession, but not yet in control, of a vast empire scattered across the globe. The British regiments that had secured victory over the French at Waterloo were initially largely dismantled, but by the mid-1820s they were being re-established for long service in remote parts of the Empire. In their new role, some of them experienced unexpectedly high losses in bloody wars against well-armed indigenous insurgents. Concerned that their imperial service should not be forgotten, they began to develop a completely new approach to the memorialization of their fallen comrades.

The bloodiest frontier war in this period was undoubtedly in present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, in what is now known as the First Anglo-Afghan War 1839–1842.¹⁶ The war broke out in 1839 when the puppet king whom the British had put in place in Kabul the year before was thrown out by an uprising of the rightful sovereign's loyal subjects. Concerned that Russia was behind the uprising, the British government ordered its regiments to march to Kabul and restore their candidate to the throne. The ensuing war would be the first of many bloody conflicts that lasted until 1849, when Britain believed the region was secured, if not for the Empire, then at least from the Russians.

A number of British regiments and units of the British East India Company's Bengal Army served in the first part of the war (1839–1842), in which the British were soundly defeated. The 44th (East Sussex) for example, formed the desperate rear guard in the British Army's retreat from Kabul and made its famous last stand at Gandamak on 13 January 1842, where it was wiped out almost to the last man. Upon its return to Britain, the regiment raised a memorial in their garrison church at Alverstoke, near Gosport, in December 1843, dedicated to the memory of the many officers and men of the 44th who died during the campaign. The memorial detailed the names of all the officers who died in the Afghan campaign, and for the first time acknowledged the 645 non-commissioned officers and enlisted men who also died, even if it did not list their names.¹⁷

The 13th Light Infantry Regiment (or Prince Albert's Own), saw action in Kabul, the Hindu Kush and Jellalabad, and in each engagement sustained severe casualties. A year after the regiment returned to England in 1845, the officers erected a splendid memorial in Canterbury Cathedral, which recorded

the names of the nine officers who had died in the campaigns. Like the 44th memorial, it also recorded that the other ranks, in this case 12 sergeants, 11 corporals, three buglers and 264 privates had also died, but it did not identify them by name.¹⁸ The large marble plaque, completed in October 1846, was some time afterwards placed on an internal wall of Canterbury Cathedral, where it can readily be seen today.

Shortly afterwards, the 80th Regiment of Foot returned to England, fresh from its triumphs in the First Anglo-Sikh War in northern India, where it had served in the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah and Sobraon during December 1845 and February 1846 and sustained more than 230 casualties. Perhaps spurred by the 13th Regiment's memorial, in 1850 the 80th Regiment erected an even more splendid memorial in Lichfield Cathedral to honour their officers and men who had died in the First Sikh War. But in an extraordinary departure from tradition, for the first time every ordinary soldier who fell in battle was identified by name along with the officers.¹⁹

The monuments register the key changes then taking place in regimental memorials. The most significant is that they sought to honour every soldier in the regiment who died on the battlefield, rather than particular officers. In this way they honoured the importance of regimental esprit de corps for those under fire in remote corners of the Empire. In addition, some regimental memorials were beginning to appear in cathedrals rather than garrison churches, which suggests an increasing importance of regiments to a particular metropolitan region. The 80th memorial in Lichfield Cathedral in Staffordshire, for example, is near a plaque to Henry Paget, 1st Marquess of Anglesey (Lord Paget, also known as the Earl of Uxbridge), who first raised the 80th Regiment in 1793.²⁰ The Paget family originally came from Staffordshire and the 80th Regiment enlisted many of its rank-and-file soldiers from the area. Finally, the regimental memorials represent a profound shift in the honouring of soldiers who were killed in far-flung parts of the Empire. Although the men were still buried on or near the battlefield, they were no longer forgotten at home.

However, the memorial to the British men in the Bengal Horse Artillery, part of the British East India Company forces in India, took a different approach. The officers were largely Scottish and the artillerymen were largely Irish, many of whom were Roman Catholics. The Horse Artillery was stationed at the Dum Dum Barracks, on Jessore road north from the city of Calcutta (now Kolkata), and served in the First Anglo-Afghan War with horrendous loss of life. Upon their return to barracks at Dum Dum, the surviving officers and ordinary soldiers erected a fine memorial to their fallen comrades. Completed in 1846, the 30-metre Corinthian-style marble column, with Mughal symbols

in gold leaf on the top, stands on a five-metre-high square marble base.²¹ Surrounded by whitewashed walls four metres high, it became an important landmark in the area and can still be seen from Jessore road today. Each side of the marble base bears the names of 30 Scottish officers and nearly 300 Irish soldiers who lost their lives.²² As a secular memorial, it stands as a tribute to the British men who fell in permanent service in India and could not expect an early return home. It also appears to have set a precedent for the 99th memorial in Hobart.

The 99th Regiment: 1824–1845

The 99th Regiment of Foot was raised in Glasgow in March 1824 as the sixth manifestation of a British regiment numbered the 99th.²³ From the outset it appears that it was destined for long tours of duty across the Empire. After 11 years' service in Mauritius, for instance, it was redeployed to Ireland in 1837 and many of the soldiers were apparently discharged to return to Scotland. In March 1841 the regiment was posted to New South Wales and the first detachment set off six months later.²⁴ The regiment expected a long posting similar to its 11 years in Mauritius and to that end it raised new recruits from across Ireland. Many of the enlisted ranks came from Dublin, and the Irish names on the regiment's enlisted ranks appear to support James Belich's view that many of them were 'disproportionately Catholic Irish'.²⁵ Military historian Richard Holmes has also directed attention to the high number of Irish enlistments at the height of the Great Famine during the early 1840s.²⁶ The ranks of the 99th clearly benefited from these factors. However, most of the officers were certainly English or Scottish.

Over the next three years, detachments of the 99th Regiment left Ireland for Sydney via Hobart in Van Diemen's Land (renamed Tasmania in 1856) as guards on convict transports. In New South Wales they were expected to prevent convict rebellion and patrol the colonial frontier against Aboriginal insurgency. In September 1843, for example, 12 soldiers of the 99th were dispatched to the Darling Downs in the Moreton Bay Pastoral District to 'deal with' Aborigines who had repeatedly attacked pastoral stations in the region. In October they 'cornered' one group of Aborigines in their camp in the Rosewood Scrub and killed at least two Aboriginal men who were believed to have murdered a young white girl some months earlier.²⁷

The first detachments to arrive were initially stationed at Parramatta, west of Sydney. But in 1845 they removed to regimental headquarters at the new Victoria Barracks in Paddington in Sydney with their new commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Despard.²⁸ Of Anglo-Irish background, he was aged 60 in 1845, having last seen active service in India in 1817–

1818. He had considerable experience of New South Wales, however, having previously commanded the 17th Regiment in the colony between 1830 and 1836. Upon his return to Sydney in September 1843 to assume command of the 99th, he became the colony's senior army officer. Considered at first by some of the officers as too old, bad-tempered and tactless for the position, and unpopular with the other ranks, he gained their respect by virtue of his senior military status, which in turn gave them prestige in relation to the other regiments then stationed in the colony. These included the 80th, which departed for Indian service in early 1844, and the newly arriving 58th, with its various detachments arriving from December 1843 through into 1844–1845.²⁹

In October 1843, one of the last detachments of the 99th Regiment, under the command of Captain Jaffray Nicholson, was en route to Sydney as guard on the convict ship *Forfarshire*. When they arrived in Hobart they heard news of the affray in which 22 settlers and 6 Māori were killed at Wairau near Nelson in the South Island of New Zealand – widely regarded as the opening shots in the New Zealand wars of the 1840s. The lieutenant governor of Van Diemen's Land immediately dispatched Nicholson and his detachment of 100 men to Port Nelson. Their brief was to render 'sufficient and speedy' assistance to the distressed settlers, who expected further Māori attacks. However, the New Zealand governor Robert FitzRoy quickly declared that in this case, the settlers were at fault in illegally occupying Māori land. Nicholson promptly determined that his men were not required ashore and they continued on to Sydney without disembarking.³⁰

In the Bay of Islands during 1844 and 1845, three acts of defiance – executed by elements of the Ngāpuhi under Hone Heke and Kawiti, who rightly believed that the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 had deprived them of sovereignty – would lead to the outbreak of the Northern War of 1845–1846. The 'acts' consisted of repeatedly cutting down the flagstaff flying the Union Jack at the far northern settlement of Kororareka (Russell). When Governor FitzRoy received the news two days after the first attack on 8 July 1844, he dispatched an officer and 30 men of the 96th Regiment to Kororareka and sent a request for military assistance to Sydney.³¹ The Governor of New South Wales, Sir George Gipps, promptly dispatched 205 officers and men of the 99th Regiment on 5 August.³² By the time the detachment arrived at the Bay of Islands on 14 August, there was no longer any serious sign of disturbances, and the detachment returned to Sydney.³³ As in 1843, the 99th Regiment was used as a coercive, rather than as a fighting, force. Thus it had an early taste of New Zealand affairs, with the wars soon to come.

Deployment of the 99th Regiment in New Zealand 1845–1847

Seven months later, the first 99th personnel to see action in New Zealand were Lieutenant Lempster R. Elliot and Ensign Bernard Henry O'Reilly. Both had volunteered to serve with a large reinforcement of the 58th Regiment in order to make up officer numbers, and departed Sydney aboard the *Slains Castle* on 10 April 1845.³⁴ The officers took part in the first expedition to the Bay of Islands, comprising some 400 imperial troops of the 58th and 96th Regiments, elements of the Royal Navy and a small party of 40 volunteers. Commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hulme of the 96th, the expedition ended with the unsuccessful attack on Hone Heke's Puketutu pā near Lake Omapere in May 1845, resulting in some 50 British casualties.

In the same month the two flank companies of the 99th Regiment, comprising 180 rank and file and seven officers under Despard's command, arrived in the Bay of Islands aboard the *British Sovereign*.³⁵ Over the next 18 months, detachments of the 99th would be engaged in the most significant military campaign in the British Australasian colonies to that date, eclipsing the Black War in Van Diemen's Land 15 years earlier.

During its period of service in New Zealand, key detachments of the 99th Regiment, including the Grenadier Company and the Light Company along with other later arriving elements, participated in several significant military expeditions and engagements. The first was the disastrous attempt by Despard to storm the Ohaeawai pā on 1 July 1845. The attack was carried out by crack troops of the 58th and 99th Regiments, supported by Royal Navy and Marines and detachments of the 96th Regiment. The storming party, led by officers including Captain Grant of the 58th and Lieutenant Phillipotts, Royal Navy, was shattered, leaving 110 men killed or wounded. Among them was Lieutenant Edward Beatty of the 99th Regiment, who succumbed to his wounds on 11 July. Fourteen soldiers of the 99th were also killed and two others later died of their wounds.³⁶ It would prove the most significant loss of life for the 99th during the entire New Zealand campaign. The majority of the soldiers who were killed at the Ohaeawai pā were buried in a single grave at the edge of the forest. Lieutenant Beatty was buried alongside fellow officers Captain Grant and Lieutenant Phillipotts in consecrated church grounds at Waimate. And apart from the deaths on 1 July (including the two privates who died of wounds) the 99th sustained at least 18 other soldiers wounded during the failed assault, as well as another private killed and one wounded in the prelude period 23–30 June 1845.³⁷

After this disaster another detachment of the 99th, comprising two officers and 24 rank-and-file soldiers, was dispatched from Sydney and arrived in the Bay of Islands in early November 1845.³⁸ They took part in the next

major expedition and engagement, the siege and capture of Ruapekapeka pā in January 1846, in which one soldier of the 99th was killed and another severely wounded.³⁹ After Ruapekapeka, peace was declared in the northern part of the North Island, and in February 1846 Despard, as commanding officer of all the British troops in New Zealand, returned to Sydney with his reputation under a cloud.

Despard was awarded Commander of the Bath for his military leadership in the Northern War; yet one historian of the 99th Regiment admitted that Despard was not always popular with the officers and that he displayed 'qualities of endurance, determination and command in New Zealand, but also obstinacy, intolerance and impatience'.⁴⁰ James Belich considers Despard to have been outwitted by the superior Māori military tactics, but R.J. Taylor disagrees: 'Despard', he argues, 'must accept the blame for what happened at Ohaeawai. His on-again, off-again decisions to attack, his misuse of his artillery, his unwillingness to accept advice from those with more experience, and his total lack of imagination and inflexibility in ordering a close-knit frontal assault all serve to paint a picture of an inept Commander, scarcely in control of himself, let alone in battle.'⁴¹

Further detachments of the 99th Regiment, under the command of Major Edward Last and totalling two officers and 105 rank-and-file soldiers, arrived in the Bay of Islands in late January 1846. With Despard's return to Sydney, Last assumed overall command of the three companies of the 99th Regiment when they sailed for Wellington in February 1846. The troops would play an important role in garrisoning and field operations in and around Wellington, the Hutt Valley and Porirua through 1846, which led to the death of at least one soldier, Private James French, from wounds sustained in the engagement at Boulcott's Farm in the Hutt Valley on 16 May. And in what appears to be the last active field operation involving troops of the 99th, elements of the regiment were involved in an engagement in the Horokiri Valley in August 1846, where Ensign Blackburn and Private Tuite were killed in action and five other soldiers of the 99th were wounded.⁴² The last detachment of the 99th Regiment in Wellington departed for Sydney in late 1847.⁴³

99th Regiment in Van Diemen's Land and the 99th Memorial

In 1848 the 99th Regiment was transferred from New South Wales to Van Diemen's Land, where it was stationed until 1856. In this colony the regiment's duties largely consisted of guarding the convicts at the various probation stations and the penal station at Port Arthur, and two companies performed the same duties at the penal station at Norfolk Island. Another detachment was sent to Western Australia, and between 1853 and 1855 other

detachments were periodically sent to Melbourne to maintain order in the new colony of Victoria.⁴⁴ In 1854 Despard was succeeded in command by Lieutenant-Colonel Napper Jackson, and in 1856 the 99th was called to war service in the Crimea. But the war finished before they arrived and the regiment returned to Ireland. By then many of the officers and soldiers were already discharged and chose to remain in Van Diemen's Land.⁴⁵

The decision by the officers and men of the 99th Regiment to erect a memorial in Hobart to their fallen comrades in New Zealand appears to have been made shortly after their arrival in Van Diemen's Land. This would suggest that they were determined to honour their fallen comrades before they were forgotten. Since the regiment expected a long period of service in Van Diemen's Land, it is not surprising that it decided to erect its own memorial in Hobart.

The names of the officers and NCOs that were recorded on the memorial were Lieutenant Edward Beatty, who died of wounds following the failed assault at Ohaeawai in July 1845; Ensign Henry Middleton Blackburn, who was killed at Horokiri on 6 August 1846; and Sergeant Thomas Todd, who was killed at Ohaeawai on 1 July 1845. Twenty-one privates are listed on this memorial. Thomas Tuite was killed at Horokiri on 6 August 1846 and James French appears to have died of wounds sustained in the Hutt Valley in May 1846. The following men are confirmed as killed at Ohaeawai on 1 July 1845: John Heaton (also as Eaton), Benjamin Keith (also as Heath), Patrick Higgins (also as Hicken), John Hill, James Hynes (believed to be Hughes in press accounts), Robert Hughes (listed as wounded in the press, so presumably one of the two wounded men noted as later dying from their wounds), John McGrath (also as Macgrath), George Maher, Martin Moran, Henry Mosely, John Noble, William Pope, Richard Stocks (also as James Stocks in press accounts) and William Watson. The remaining privates recorded are Thomas Crook, James Duff, James Moon, James Mallon and James Shaw – all of whom no doubt were killed in action or died of wounds in the expeditions associated with Ohaeawai, Ruapekapeka, or else in and around Wellington, the Hutt Valley and the Horokiri Valley later during 1846.

Discussion

In considering the memorial in the context of other regimental memorials in the same period, several important features stand out. Without doubt, the 99th memorial is by far the most plain. The column is unadorned by any religious or other symbols and the regiment's insignia was not added to the wrought-iron fence until some decades later. Thus it lacks the marble adornment, lavish designs and height of its English and Indian counterparts. However, its

location in the Anglesea Barracks in Hobart resonates with the location of the Bengal Artillery memorial in the Dum Dum Barracks in Kolkata. The officers and soldiers of both regiments came from similar religious backgrounds: the officers were largely English and Scottish Protestants, and the soldiers were largely Irish Catholics. It could be argued that the British regiments serving in furthest corners of Empire, such as Bengal and the Australasian colonies, were one of the few organizations in the Empire at the time where diverging religious beliefs were subsumed into regimental esprit de corps. If this is the case, then the regimental barracks in Kolkata and Hobart were secular imperial spaces where the regiments' fallen comrades could be memorialized.

Even so, the 99th Regiment did not retain religious diversity in its later manifestation as the Wiltshire Regiment. As noted above, the regiment paid for the memorial's repair in 1936 and then appears to have arranged for its 'rededication' by the Anglican bishop of Tasmania.⁴⁶ Yet there is no evidence that it was ever dedicated in the first place. Rather, the ceremony could be considered as an act of forgetting the regiment's earlier religious diversity.

Finally, the appearance of the names of all fallen soldiers of the 99th Regiment on the memorial, whether officers or rank and file, is also in keeping with the memorials of two other regiments from the period, the Bengal Horse Artillery in Dum Dum, Kolkata in 1846 and the 80th Regiment of Foot in Lichfield Cathedral in 1850. Although the Hobart memorial is not the first to record the names of all soldiers in a British regiment who lost their lives from combat, it certainly appears among the earliest.

Conclusion

By locating the 99th memorial within the context of British imperial history, two important findings emerge. First, the long-term deployment of British regiments raised in Ireland for service in the Empire in the 1830s and 1840s was an important feature of the early Victorian era. Unlike the 13th, the 44th and the 80th Regiments, which were raised in England and returned home after their service in the first and second Anglo-Afghan wars, the 99th Regiment and the Bengal Horse Artillery were specifically raised in Ireland for long service in the empire.

Second, the 1840s wars in Afghanistan, India and New Zealand appear to have changed the face of memorialization and memory associated with the service of Britain's regiments. On their return home, British-based regiments gradually started to include the names of all their fallen comrades in memorials erected in garrison churches and Anglican cathedrals; but the Bengal Horse Artillery, based in Kolkata, and the 99th Regiment, based in the Australasian colonies, wrought the most significant changes by virtue of their religious

diversity. Their regimental memorials appear to have been the first erected on secular ground in their own barracks, rather than on sacred ground in an Anglican Church or cathedral. In honouring the religious diversity of their regiments they appear to have been the first in the British Empire to establish an entirely new approach to the memorialization of their fallen comrades. If this is the case then the 99th memorial deserves far greater recognition than its virtual obscurity behind the Repatriation Hospital in Hobart would suggest.

LYNDALL RYAN AND JEFF HOPKINS-WEISE

University of Newcastle, NSW

The Workshops Rail Museum, Queensland Museum Network

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NOTES

- 1 *Courier* (Hobart), 29 May 1850, p.2.
- 2 *Courier*, 29 May 1850, p.2; *Mercury* (Hobart), 19 June 1936, p.3.
- 3 James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, 1996, p.208.
- 4 N.C.E. Kenrick, *The Story of the Wiltshire Regiment (Duke of Edinburgh's) The 62nd and 99th Foot (1756–1959) The Militia and The Territorials, The Service Battalions and All Those Others Who Have Served or Been Affiliated with The Moonrakers*, Aldershot, 1963, p.85.
- 5 J.K. Lyons, 'The Monument to the 99th Regiment of Foot (The Wiltshire Regiment) At Anglesea Barracks, Hobart (Tas.)', *Sabretache: The Journal of the Military Historical Society of Australia (Sabretache)*, 11, 3 (1970), pp.68–70; *Mercury*, 5 July 1937 and 13 November 1950.
- 6 *A Short History of the Anglesea Barracks Founded 1811*, Hobart, n.d.
- 7 *A Short History of the Anglesea Barracks*, pp.13–17, 26.
- 8 Ken Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Carlton South, 2001, pp.12, 15.
- 9 Jeff Hopkins-Weise, *Blood Brothers: The Anzac Genesis*, Rosedale, North Shore, New Zealand, 2009, pp.60–61; 'Van Diemen's Land and the New Zealand Wars of the 1840s', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings* (THRA), 50, 1 (2003), pp.38–55; "'Fighting Those Who Came Against Their Country": Maori Political Transportees to Van Diemen's Land 1846–48', THRA, 44, 1 (1997), pp.49–67.
- 10 See Hopkins-Weise, pp.20–61; 'The Australian-New Zealand prelude, 1834–45', *The Volunteers: The Journal of the New Zealand Military Historical Society* (JNZMHS), 30, 1 (2004), pp.38–53; 'Australian involvement in the New Zealand Wars, 1845–46', JNZMHS, 30, 2 (2004), pp.33–52; 'Australian involvement in the New Zealand Wars, 1846–47 (Part 3)', JNZMHS, 30, 3 (2005), pp.36–51.
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- 12 Nigel Prickett, *Landscapes of Conflict: Field Guide to the New Zealand Wars*, Auckland, 2002, p.27. See also James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: Vol. I (1845–1864)*, Wellington, 1922; Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand 1832–1852*, Wellington, 1968; James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland, 1986; Ian McGibbon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, Auckland, 2000; Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, Wellington, 1990; 'New Zealand Wars memorials', <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/new-zealand-wars-memorials>.
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- 14 Berg, pp.2–3. See, for example, the Crimean War Memorial at the Royal Artillery Parade Ground, Woolwich, erected in 1860, in Andrew Kershman, *London's Monuments from Boudicca to Guy the Gorilla*, London, 2013, p.366.
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- 18 ILN, 18 October 1846, p.228; *The Bengal Obituary*, p.298; Thomas Carter, ed.,

Historical Record of the Thirteenth, First Somersetshire, or Prince Albert's Regiment of Light Infantry, London, 1867, pp.88–133.

19 ILN, 10 August 1850, p.112; Donald Featherstone, *India: from the conquest of Sind to the Indian Mutiny*, London, 1992, pp.72–73; Robert Hope, *Colours, Battle Honours and Medals of a Staffordshire Regiment: 80th Regiment of Foot*, Leek, Staffordshire, 1999, pp.33–47.

20 Hope, pp.13–24, 27, 47, 154.

21 Visit to the site by Lyndall Ryan, 31 December 2012.

22 Visit to the site by Lyndall Ryan, 31 December 2012.

23 For earlier manifestations of the 99th Regiment, 1760 to 1818, see Kenrick, pp.46–47.

24 Kenrick, pp.46–48, 73.

25 Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.208. This is also clearly borne out in Army records, such as the half-yearly inspection of the 99th Regiment in May 1843, which provided the following breakdown of the ethnicity of its personnel: English – ten sergeants, four corporals, one drummer and 156 privates; Scottish – six sergeants, six corporals, one drummer and 56 privates; and Irish – 16 sergeants, 21 corporals, 11 drummers and 320 privates, National Archives, Kew, Surrey, WO27/326.

26 Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of the Horse and Musket*, London, 2001, p.56. For more detailed discussion by Holmes of the changing ethnic make-up of the British Army during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (including the Irish component), see pp.55–59, 63–65.

27 Marie-Louise Ayres, 'A Picture Asks a Thousand Questions', *National Library Magazine* (June 2011), p.10; Frank Uhr, 'September 12, 1843: The Battle of One Tree Hill – a turning point in the conquest of Moreton Bay', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 18, 6 (2003), pp.244, 247, 250–3; Rod Pratt, 'The Affray at York's Hollow, November 1849', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 18, 9 (2004), pp.384–5.

28 Henry Despard obtained his first commission in the Army as an ensign in October 1799, and later obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel by purchase in August 1829. Hart's *Army List* provides a potted background of Despard's last active period of service in 1817–1818: 'served at the siege and storm of Chumee, (received a contusion on mounting the breach,) and three other forts in the East Indies, in 1807; siege of Gunourie; campaign against the Seiks in 1808 and 9; campaign of 1817 and 18 in the Deccan, including the battle of Jubbulpore'. H.G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List, for 1844*, London, 1844, p.251.

29 David Murphy, 'Major General Henry Despard CB, "Corporal Desperado" (Part 2)', *Sabretache*, 35, 1 (1994), pp.25–33; 'Major General Henry Despard CB, "Corporal Desperado" (Part 3)', *Sabretache*, 35, 2 (1994), pp.16–17; Kenrick, pp.74–75.

30 Nicholson was an experienced 99th officer with almost 20 years' service under his belt in 1843. Hart, *The New Annual Army List, for 1844*, p.251; Colonial Secretary's Office to the Brigade Major, Van Diemen's Land, 14 October 1843, pp.91–92, Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO) 8/101, Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office, Hobart; Captain Nicholson, 99th Regiment, Commanding Detachment to NZ per the *Emerald Isle*, to the Military Secretary to His Excellency, the Commander of the Forces, dated Sydney, 9 November 1843, pp.95–100, Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office, Hobart.

31 Wards, pp.104–5; T.M. Hocken, *The Early History of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1914, pp.78–79; Cowan, pp.17–18; T.L. Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, Wellington, 1926, pp.39, 40, 42–43; M. Barthorp, *To Face the Daring Maoris*, London, 1979, pp.47–48.

32 *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH), 3, 5 and 6 August 1844; *Historical Records of Australia* (HRA), Series I, XXIII, Sydney, 1925, p.713; HRA, Series I, XXIII, p.254.

33 SMH, 16 and 17 September 1844; HRA, Series I, XXIII, p.790.

34 SMH, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 15 April 1845; *Morning Chronicle* (MC), 9 April 1845; *Weekly Register* (WR), 12 April 1845; H.G. Hart, *The New Army List: No. XXV, 1st January*,

1845, London, 1845, p.151; Kenrick, p.75.

35 The flank companies of a regiment were the Light and Grenadier Companies. SMH, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 19 May 1845; WR, 17 and 24 May 1845; MC, 21 May 1845.

36 Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, pp.47–54.

37 SMH, 28 and 29 July 1845; *Observer*, 15 August 1845; ILN, 29 November 1845.

38 SMH, 17 and 20 October 1845; MC, 18 October 1845; WR, 25 October 1845.

39 At Ruapekapeka, the 99th Regiment component of the forces available to Colonel Despard included one captain, three lieutenants, two ensigns, one staff, ten sergeants, five drummers, seven corporals and 144 privates (effective strengths as at 12 December 1845). SMH, 11 February 1846; MC, 11 February 1846; *New Zealand Journal*, 170 (20 June 1846), pp.145–6, 149; 'Return of Killed and Wounded of the Force under Command of Colonel Despard 99th Regiment, Acting Colonel on the Staff, during the Assault on Kawaiti's Pah, on the 11th January 1846', in Enclosure 1 in No.7, Further Papers Relative to the Affairs of New Zealand: Correspondence with Lieutenant Governor Grey, 1845–46 (August 1846), pp.8–9 (also as pp.420–1), in *The Sessional Papers printed by order of The House of Lords*, XVIII, Accounts and Papers, London, 1846; Buick, p.263.

40 Kenrick, p.83; *Mercury*, 1 January 1910, p.6.

41 Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, pp.58–64; R.J. Taylor, 'Incompetent or Scapegoat?: Despard at Ohaeawai', *JNZMHS*, 17, 2/3 (1992), p.81.

42 SMH, 18 September 1846; *Britannia & Trades Advocate*, 1 October 1846; ILN, 16 January 1847; Wards, p.283; Kenrick, p.84.

43 The authors are preparing a further article on early trans-Tasman memorialization associated with the 1840s New Zealand wars. This will explore the active field service and other garrison roles of the 99th Regiment in New Zealand during 1845–1847 in greater detail, including the regiment's close association with Royal Navy personnel from warships such as HMS *Calliope*. This will also look at the manner in which the *Calliope*'s crew commemorated the loss of their comrades on active service in New Zealand during 1846–1847, and suggest that this may have been a factor that encouraged similar undertakings by the 99th Regiment which resulted in the regiment's Hobart memorial.

44 *Mercury*, 10 August 1850, p.7.

45 At this date, the 99th had become the second-longest-serving British regiment in the Australasian colonies, exceeded only by the New South Wales Corps or 102nd Regiment which had served in that colony's founding years, 1790 to 1810. The 99th left upwards of 400 men in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) who were entitled to be discharged. Many were veterans of the New Zealand campaigns, and most of these former soldiers of the 99th would eventually settle in Tasmania, where they retained an important connection with the 99th Regiment's memorial. Capt. H. Butler Stoney, 99th Regiment, *A Residence in Tasmania*, London, 1856, p.257, and Appendix F 'Military Settlers', pp.301–3; Kenrick, p.85; Irene Schaffer, 'Edward Murphy, Soldier Artist', *THRA*, 36, 3 (1986), pp.103–7; Mark L. Risby, *Murphy's Signals Hobart Town: The Colonial Ship Flags and Semaphore Charts of Convict Guard Pte Edward Murphy, 99th Regiment of Foot, Van Diemen's Land*, Hobart, 2013, pp.3, 6–7, 10–12; *Mercury*, 1 January 1910, p.6.

46 *Mercury*, 13 July 1936, p.3.