

## The History of a Detection: A Most Unusual Volume and the Search for its Authorship

KEN DUTTON\*

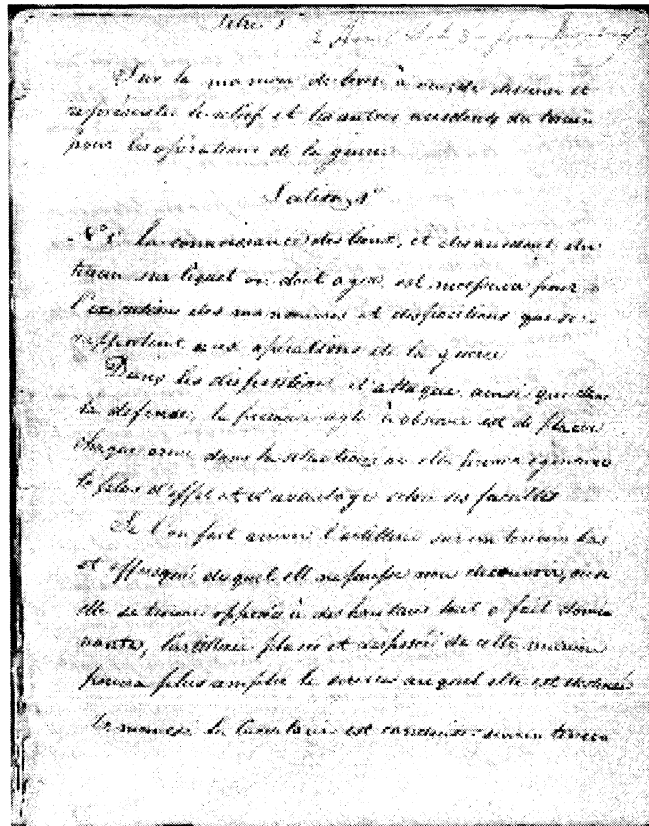
In December 2005 I was invited by the University of Newcastle Archivist, Gianni Di Gravio, to inspect a volume he had come across during stocktaking. He was hoping that I might be able to advise on the volume's provenance and authorship, all documentation relating to its purchase by the University Library some years earlier having been lost. All that was remembered was that it had been bought from a dealer in second-hand books, who had acquired it at the auction of a deceased estate. The staff involved with its purchase by the Library had since retired, and the volume had been locked away in a cupboard and forgotten about.

The volume in question, which I inspected the day after receiving the Archivist's request, measured 20 by 25 cm. (8" by 10") and was 4 cm. (1½") thick. It was in fragile condition, the front and back covers having become detached from the rest of the volume and several pages having come loose. On the spine was inset a label of dark red leather, on which was embossed in gold print the title JARRY. TOM1. Inside the front cover was a bookplate consisting of what appeared to be a family crest, though no family name accompanied it. On the facing page was the plan of a house, with a number of hard-to-decipher words written in English.

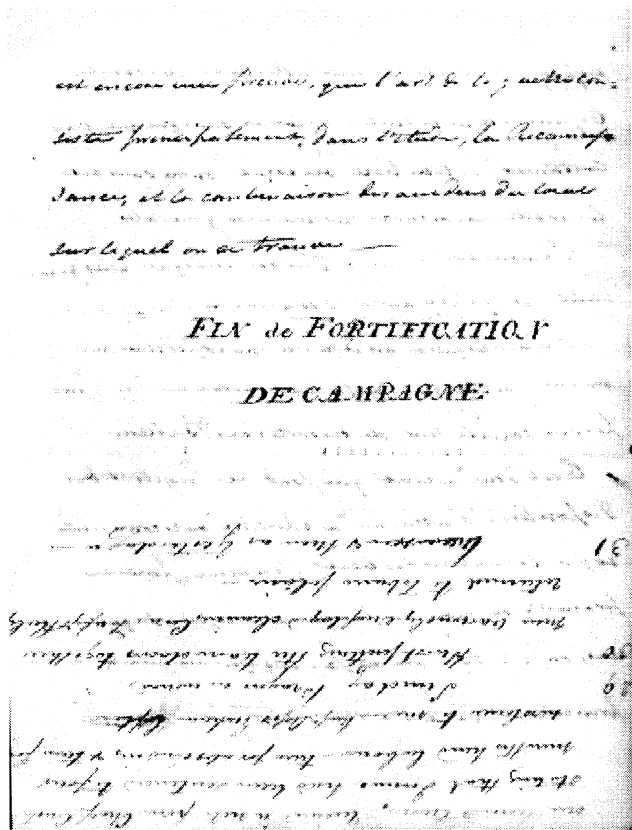
There followed a number of blank pages, after which came the title and text of what appeared to be an essay or treatise, written in French. The text was entirely hand-written, the title being *Sur la maniere de*

\* Ken Dutton, OAM, is Emeritus Professor of French and Deputy Chancellor of the University of Newcastle. He is a graduate of the University of Sydney. This lecture was given to the Arts Association on 31 May, 2007.

*lever à vue, de dessiner et représenter le relief et les autres accidents du terrain pour les operations de la guerre* (On the Manner of depicting, drawing and representing the Relief and other Contours of the Terrain for the Purpose of Military Operations). I was immediately struck by the fact that the body of the text contained a number of antiquated spellings, such as *connoissance* instead of the modern French *connaissance*, which appeared to date the text as being from the early nineteenth century or perhaps even the late eighteenth (there was no precise date at which French orthography changed in such cases: Voltaire had recommended the *ai* spelling as early as the eighteenth century, but *oi* clung on until the early decades of the century following).



The first page of Jarry's notes on the means of depicting the contours of the terrain for military purposes.



Page 318, on which the French and English texts meet.

What puzzled me in particular was the unusual spelling *terrein* instead of the usual *terrain*, and I wondered whether perhaps the writer was not a native speaker of French. The other characteristic that stood out was the author's singularly haphazard approach to accents, where were very often omitted in places where I assumed an educated person would have been careful to insert them.

The hand-written French text continued for 148 (numbered) pages, and at its conclusion were written in large letters the words *Fin De la Manière de lever le terrain*. Four blank pages followed, and a second essay or treatise began, headed: *Fortification de Campagne* ([Military] Field Fortifications). This continued to page 318, where at its conclusion were written – again in large letters – the words

*FIN de FORTIFICATION DE CAMPAGNE*. At this point, an English text, which had been produced by turning the volume upside down and beginning writing at the other end, met the French text.

The English text took the form of a diary, again hand-written, relating mainly to the oversight of agricultural work being undertaken, chiefly by convict labourers, at or near Port Macquarie. One sentence early in the diary, the entry dated 5 June, read: 'Left the equipment with Hurst for one year from the 6<sup>th</sup> Inst. to 6<sup>th</sup> June 1840 at £50 per ann.' This appeared to date the year of the diary as 1839.

I formulated a first theory as to what the volume might be, namely that the French treatises on field operations were originally in the possession of a French officer who had died at Waterloo or in some other conflict in which Napoleon's army was engaged. After the conclusion of the battle, a British officer of the occupation forces moving amongst the dead and wounded might well have come across the volume in a French officer's knapsack and, noting that it contained a number of blank pages, might have 'appropriated' the volume in case it should come in handy later, writing paper being in short supply at the time. The British officer might subsequently have found himself serving in New South Wales, perhaps as part of a garrison, and might have been stationed in Port Macquarie – either remaining there when the garrison left or returning there as a settler at the conclusion of his military service.

I noted that there were certain similarities between the handwriting of the French text and that of the English-language diary, notably the antiquated writing of a double s as a long downstroke followed by an s (so as to resemble *fs*), but there were also a number of differences. Whether the peculiarities of the handwriting were simply typical of the calligraphy of the period, or whether the two texts could be by the same hand (possibly separated by a considerable number of years), was yet another unanswered question.

My first step was to consult the book by Clem Sargent entitled *The Colonial Garrison 1817–1824*,<sup>1</sup> which gives an account of the 48<sup>th</sup> Foot, the Northamptonshire Regiment, during its garrison service in New South Wales. An appendix dealing with the Regiment's garrison duties in Port Macquarie contained a list of members of the

Regiment who served there from 1821 onwards, as well as a list of those members of the 48<sup>th</sup> Foot who remained or returned to settle in New South Wales. Only one name fitted my hypothesis, that of Robert Andrew Wauch (or Waugh), whose family name was originally Wauchope, a spelling changed by his father. Wauch had been present at a number of actions in the Peninsular War, including the Battle of Toulouse. He had arrived in Sydney in 1836, moved to Port Macquarie and purchased a property which he called 'Wauchope'. I decided that he was worth keeping in mind as a possible author of the diary. At the same time, I thought it sensible to write to the Port Macquarie Historical Society to ask whether any of its members might be able to shed some light on the diary's authorship.

On another front, I undertook an internet search for the name Jarry (first name unknown). This proved to be a daunting task, as most internet entries relate to the writer Alfred Jarry, author of the play *Ubu Roi* and generally considered the originator of the French 'Theatre of the Absurd'. There are over two million Google entries for the name. In the course of a laborious internet search over several days, three possibilities emerged: a Capitaine Jarry (first name not given), listed in the *Almanach impérial pour l'année 1810* and mentioned in a list of 'Directeurs des fortifications'; second, a Général de Brigade Antoine-Anatole-Gédéon Jarry, listed in a webpage devoted to French forces during the Siege of Danzig in 1807; and finally a brigade of the First Division at the Battle of Wagram (1809), known as the Brigade Jarry. None of these discoveries was of any real assistance in identifying the author of the treatises in the volume. It was not even possible to know whether two, or even all three, of these entries related to the same person.

Further tedious internet searches ensued, consuming almost an entire week. Eventually, with eyes glazing over, I was suddenly awakened by a Wikipedia entry relating to the Staff College at Camberley, UK. It mentioned that in 1799 a Colonel John Gaspard Le Marchant of the 7<sup>th</sup> Hussars had submitted a proposal to the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army for a Royal Military College in three departments. The same year, Le Marchant opened a private officer training school at the Antelope Inn, High Wycombe, with

himself as Commandant. This was officially recognised by Royal Warrant in 1801 as part of the Royal Military College, of which Le Marchant now became Lieutenant-Governor. The Wikipedia article added: 'General Jarry became Director of Studies in 1803'.

This, my first real breakthrough, was followed soon after by the discovery of a site dedicated to old books on military history,<sup>2</sup> its author being from (of all places) the University of Sydney – a researcher by the name of Susan H. Law. In particular, Susan Law's webpage mentioned a work by General François Jarry entitled *Instruction Concerning the Duties of Light Infantry in the Field*, with the note: 'written by one of the Founders of the Royal Military College, authorised as an additional regulation for the British Army [1801]. Translated 1803'. I now had a possible first name for General Jarry, as well as the information that he had written a book on military matters. An internet search for François Jarry led nowhere, there being over 450,000 Google entries under this combination of names. However, following the clue provided by the reference to the Royal Military College, I discovered a webpage devoted to the history of what is now the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. One sentence confirmed the Wikipedia information. It read: 'The Senior Department was formed at High Wycombe from a school privately founded in 1799 by General Jarry, a French émigré.'

The Sandhurst website invited anyone wishing to make an enquiry about the history of Sandhurst to contact the Archivist, Dr Anthony Morton, whose email address was provided. My enquiry to Dr Morton received an answer the following day. He began by answering my question as to how it had come about that a French general had co-founded a military school in Britain at a time when Britain was at war with France:

General François Jarry was a French royalist émigré who was quite happy to help Britain in her fight against Napoleon. I have checked the British Library's holdings and found 14 essays or treatises by General Jarry, all relating to military administration and operations in the field. Although your essays are not listed, they may be part of one of the volumes held by the British Library.

You may be interested to know that Jarry had an international reputation

as an extremely competent staff officer who had served under Frederick the Great, and had been appointed the first governor of the *Kriegsschule*, the military school in Berlin. Interestingly, he was also later appointed as the first Governor of the Royal Military College at High Wycombe. In between these appointments Jarry did actually serve as an officer in the French army, until the French Revolution.



General François Jarry, engraved portrait from a sketch by Lieutenant General B. Reynardson.

My next step was to email the British Library to enquire about any works by Jarry held there. The reply from Alison Bailey of Early Printed Collections indicated that there were actually only four such works, none of which bore the title of the essays in our volume or similar titles. (It appeared that the remaining entries Dr Morton had found in the Library's catalogue were entries which included the words 'François' and 'Jarry' but were not works by François Jarry.) Ms. Bailey added: 'I note that in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Jarry (1733–1807) is described as "a prolific writer of often voluminous papers on the military and political situation in Europe". It is not clear from this reference how much of this material was available in the form of a printed book.'

Quite out of the blue, I received an email from a gentleman by the name of Arnold Mitchell, who introduced himself as the great-great-

great-grandson of Major Archibald Clunes Innes, a very significant figure in mid-nineteenth-century Port Macquarie. Visiting Port Macquarie as part of his family history research, Arnold Mitchell had, by a remarkable coincidence, been shown the letter I had addressed to the Port Macquarie Historical Society. As he lived in the lower Hunter Valley, he offered to call on me and lend me some works which might help me in my search. This he did, and I was particularly interested in one of them, namely a book entitled *The Winding Sheet*<sup>3</sup> – an account of people buried in the Port Macquarie Historical Cemetery. One of these people immediately attracted my attention – a Frenchman known as ‘Dr Fattorini’ who had practised medicine in Port Macquarie at the time in question. The section in *The Winding Sheet* dealing with this curious man indicated that his real name was Jean-Baptiste Charles La Monnerie, and that he was referred to by the term *dit* (known as) Fattorini.

Could it be that it was Fattorini who had brought the French volume to Port Macquarie? Could he, indeed, have been the settler who wrote the diary? Did he have a military background, and had he perhaps known General Jarry? With such questions in mind, I was fascinated to read in *The Winding Sheet* that ‘legends and stories abound about this man, one in particular being that he was the son of Napoleon, his mother being one of the General’s mistresses during an invasion.’<sup>4</sup> He had arrived in the Colony of New South Wales in 1829 with his wife Clémence Beaufile, and had established a medical practice in Pitt Street, Sydney.

In 1836, Fattorini went to Port Macquarie as Government Medical Officer and later went into private practice. However, in 1849 the New South Wales Medical Board refused his registration as a qualified medical practitioner on the very reasonable ground that he had no medical qualifications. *The Winding Sheet* also contained a lengthy account of his insolvency proceedings in 1843, as well as a warning published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 23 March 1843 that he had been running a spurious business under the name of Spence and Co. He died in Port Macquarie in 1853 aged 66, and his tomb is still standing in the Port Macquarie Historical Cemetery. Going to the New South Wales Government Records, I learned from the Index



to the 1841 Census that Fattorini had arrived in the Colony on the ship *Prince Regent*, and in the Insolvency Index I found a reference to 'Charles Lamounerie *dictus* Fattorini'.

A Google search revealed that Fattorini was the name of a large jewellery firm in Birmingham, UK. I emailed the family historian, Peter Fattorini, who replied that he was aware of this man and his bogus credentials, but that La Monnerie had no relationship at all to the Fattorini family and that no-one could say why he had chosen to adopt this name. Peter Fattorini added that he had recently had an enquiry on the same matter from the Port Macquarie-Hastings Shire Heritage Officer, Mitch McKay. I contacted Mitch McKay, who kindly sent me a copy of an article about La Monnerie that had been forwarded to him by Peter Fattorini.<sup>5</sup> Regrettably, it contained no information about the background of this extraordinary personage.

The University Archivist suggested that I consult the 1837 *General Return of Convicts*, to see whether the names of assigned convict servants mentioned in the diary matched any entries in the *Return*. As it turned out, the diary contained the names of three convicts who had been assigned to the same master in Port Macquarie, namely one Lieutenant Colonel Gray. All three had arrived by the *James Pattison* in 1837. These were Robert Parkin, aged 19, George Scott, aged 17, and William (no other name given – perhaps an orphan who did not even know what his surname was). It seemed that Lieutenant Colonel Gray must now become a contender as possible author of the diary.

The University Library had by now given me permission to take the volume home so that I could type out the Port Macquarie diary, the handwriting being so difficult to decipher that it was hard to get the gist of it when reading it laboriously word by word. I began to list the names of the leading figures of Port Macquarie society mentioned in the diary, so that I could eliminate them as possible authors. Amongst the names I noted as I typed were Innes, Hyndman, Wauch (which eliminated my first hypothesis), Tozer, McKenzie and others. To my disappointment, I also found a reference to Gray, which thus eliminated him as well. To my equal disappointment, I found a reference to the author's receiving a cart from Dr Fattorini – which likewise eliminated him, at least from authorship if not as the possible

original owner of the French text.

Having completed transcription of the English-language diary, I embarked on the much slower task of transcribing the French text. I noticed for the first time a reference to Frederick the Great. The author had written: '... on jugera que ce moyen nouveau dont le germe est sorti des idées de Frederick Second est peut être celui de tous qui peut le plus contribuer à faciliter et perfectionner la science du Commandement' (It will be seen that this new method, which originated from the ideas of Frederick the Second, is perhaps the one which, above all others, can contribute most to facilitating and perfecting the science of Command). Further on in the text, I noticed a reference to Frederick's defeat in Bohemia (in what is known as the Potato War or *Kartoffelkrieg*): the explanation of the reasons for the defeat suggested that the author had first-hand knowledge of Frederick's Bohemian campaign – his last. I hastened to email Dr Anthony Morton at Sandhurst, whose reply read: 'It certainly looks as if you are dealing with THE François Jarry.'

A colleague in France with whom I had been corresponding agreed with me that the French author's French seemed decidedly odd in places: for instance, he referred to 'Frederick Second' where one would have expected 'Frédéric II'. My colleague also asked if I knew whether Jarry delivered his lectures in French. This, of course, opened up an entirely new possibility. Could not the French text in fact be lecture notes taken by one of Jarry's students at High Wycombe? Would not this account for the at times curious French, the frequent omission of accents and the mis-spelt words? I emailed Dr Morton at once, and asked if Jarry had lectured in French. I received the reply that 'General Jarry did indeed give his lectures in French at High Wycombe; in fact some English officers complained that this made it much more difficult for them to understand his lectures!' The hypothesis that the French text was a student's lecture notes would need to be kept well and truly alive.

A friend alerted me to the fact that a local second-hand bookstore had for sale a work edited by Frank Rogers entitled *Port Macquarie: A History to 1850*.<sup>6</sup> I hastened to purchase it so that I could go through it and highlight the names of people mentioned in the diary who

were still candidates for authorship. One important clue that I had come across was the author's reference to having gone to the Port Macquarie settlement and 'sat on the Bench all day'. I assumed this to mean that he had undertaken part-time duties as a magistrate. Having been informed by a lawyer friend that such duties would be carried out by Justices of the Peace, I was interested to find in the book edited by Rogers a list of prominent citizens of Port Macquarie who in 1838 had signed a petition asking for the establishment of a Court of Request (a means whereby creditors could sue for small debts of £10 or less in a local court). Among these citizens were listed four persons whose names were followed by the letters J.P.: these were W.A. Carlyle, W.H. Geary, C.G. Gray and R.A. Wauch.

I could eliminate Geary and Wauch, who were both mentioned in the diary. Carlyle was obviously a possibility, but more importantly I now realised how wrong I had been to eliminate Gray. The Index to *Port Macquarie: A History to 1850* revealed that there were in fact *two* prominent citizens of the day, both with the name Gray. One was William Nairn Gray, the Police Magistrate, the other being Charles George Gray, J.P. Whilst the diarist was obviously not William Nairn Gray (the diary makes it clear that the 'Mr Gray' it refers to is a Police Magistrate), the possibility that the diarist was Charles George Gray was now greatly strengthened, the more particularly as this Gray was a military man, a Lieutenant Colonel.

The book also mentioned that Colonel Gray sold his property, known as Huntington, in 1858, and moved to Ipswich in Queensland where he became Police Magistrate. On the basis of this information, I was able to discover that on the formation of the first Queensland Parliament in 1860, Gray was invited by the newly-appointed Governor of Queensland, Sir George Bowen, to accept the positions of Usher of the Black Rod and Parliamentary Librarian. He died in 1873, and a photograph of him could be found in a webpage devoted to historic tombstones in the Ipswich cemetery.<sup>7</sup>

Could Gray, then, have been Jarry's pupil at High Wycombe? Could the French text be the notes he had taken from Jarry's lectures? It was a long shot, but in the near-certainty that the answer would be in the negative, I emailed Anthony Morton to ask whether any

class-lists remained from the years during which Jarry was at High Wycombe. To my amazement, Morton replied that class-lists dating from the foundation of the Royal Military College Senior Department at High Wycombe were indeed still held – not at Sandhurst but at the Joint Services Command and Staff College at Shrivenham in Wiltshire. He gave me contact details for the latter establishment, including the name of the Chief Librarian, Chris Hobson. On the assumption that the French material had either been written by Gray as lecture notes, or given to him by one of his Port Macquarie colleagues who also had a military background, I contacted Chris Hobson and asked whether by any chance the names W. H. Geary, C. G. Gray or A. C. Innes happened to appear in the lists for the years 1800 to 1815 (the time of Waterloo).



Lieutenant Colonel Charles Gray. He is wearing his Peninsular War and Waterloo medals.

Chris Hobson's reply caused me to shout 'Eureka!' There was no reference to Geary or Innes, but a Lieutenant C. G. Gray of the 75<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot had indeed been a student at High Wycombe in

1809. He had left later that year, according to the records, to 'join his regiment'. The mystery – or one of the mysteries – was solved at last. Gray was presumably one of Jarry's students, so that the French text must consist of the lecture notes he had taken while in officer training. That the writing was reasonably careful suggested that he may have taken hasty notes in class, and then written them up more carefully in the evening.

But why did Gray go to Port Macquarie? Had the 75<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot undertaken garrison duty in Australia? For weeks, I undertook Google searches of British regiments, and consulted every book on colonial garrisons that I could find. In vain. I could find no reference to the 75<sup>th</sup> as ever having had a presence in New South Wales. Then, at long last, I received a reply from the Port Macquarie Historical Society. By a process of elimination similar to my own, they had also come to the conclusion that the author must be Colonel Gray. They gave me his date of birth (1786) in Edinburgh, also mentioning his marriage to Jane, the daughter of Colonel Grogan of Dublin, and the fact that the Grays had four children, of whom the eldest, Maria, was a great friend of Annabella Innes, the niece of Major Archibald Clunes Innes.

Interestingly, the last-mentioned piece of information corresponded to a matter mentioned in the diary. The entry for 12 August 1839 stated that 'Mr Innes' man James [i.e. Archibald Clunes Innes' servant] came round with an intimation of the death of Mr G. Innes'. George Innes, Archibald's younger brother, was the father of Annabella, whose diary – published many years later – recorded her father's death on that same date.<sup>8</sup> Annabella's diary, of which I was able to obtain a copy, also carefully distinguished between 'Mr Grey' (i.e. William Nairn Gray) and 'Colonel Grey' (i.e. Charles George Gray). It contained, moreover, a considerable number of references to the Colonel's daughters Bessy and Maria and his son Charles.

Regrettably, the Port Macquarie Historical Society had still not provided any information as to why Gray had come to Australia. I wrote back, asking whether they could enlighten me on this matter.

I turned my attention to the bookplate inside the front cover of the volume, in an attempt to discover whether the family emblem was

that of General Jarry or whether it might possibly have been that of Gray. Consulting every book on heraldry I could find in the University Library, without any success, I at last found – on the brink of giving up – a work by one William Berry entitled *Encyclopaedia Heraldica, or Complete Dictionary of Heraldry*.<sup>9</sup> Being by now used to the fact that the spellings ‘Gray’ and ‘Grey’ were used interchangeably at the time, I at last found the entry I had been looking for: ‘*Grey: gu. a lion, rampant, holding in the dexter paw a pen ar. – Crest, a fox, passant, regardant, ppr.*’ Translated into plain English, this meant: ‘On a red [gules] background, a lion rearing or standing on its left hind leg with forepaws in the air and its head in profile [rampant], and holding in its right paw a white [argent] pen. The crest shows a fox viewed from the side [passant] and looking backwards [reguardant], depicted in its natural colouring [proper]’. It corresponded in every detail to the bookplate. Though this discovery did not add materially to the information I was accumulating, other than indicating that the bookplate had been placed in the volume by Gray rather than Jarry, it nonetheless gave me an acute sense of satisfaction.

An email from the Port Macquarie Historical Society finally answered my question as to why Gray had come to Australia – namely that his military service had kept him away from his wife and family too frequently, and that he had sought permission to retire. The family had sailed to New South Wales on the ship *John Barry*, arriving in Sydney towards the end of 1837. Having looked at all the possibilities, they decided to take up a land grant on the Hastings River about 20 miles from Port Macquarie. I now realised why my hours of searching for garrison references had led me nowhere, and I reflected with some annoyance on the fact that this information could readily have been provided to me months earlier, thus saving me a good deal of fruitless work.

I received further information from Gionni Di Gravio, the University Archivist, who had found a reference to Gray’s military service, revealing that he had served in India, in the Peninsular War, and at the Battle of Waterloo.<sup>10</sup> A number of books on the early days of Queensland provided me with information about Gray’s appointment as Usher of the Black Rod, and about one of Gray’s sons, Robert, who

became Queensland Commissioner for Railways. A book entitled *Our Antipodes*<sup>11</sup> by Colonel Godfrey Mundy, Secretary to Governor Sir Charles Augustus Fitz Roy, described a journey undertaken by the Governor and his party in 1847 from the grand mansion of Archibald Clunes Innes along the road to New England. In the course of this journey, it is recorded by Mundy that they passed the house of Colonel Gray in its attractive setting.

By now, I considered that I had probably accumulated all the material available, and I decided to go back over what I had discovered to date. Only then did I notice that, in the email from Alison Bailey of the British Library, Jarry's dates of birth and death had been given as 1733–1807. At the time that I received the email, I had not yet identified the diary's author as Colonel Gray; indeed, I was not even entirely certain that the Jarry in question was General François Jarry. Since then, however, I had received the information that Gray did not go to High Wycombe until 1809, by which time Jarry had been dead for two years.

Alison Bailey had mentioned the Oxford *Dictionary of National Biography* as her source. I checked the University Library copy, and was able to verify Jarry's year of death as 1807. The *DNB* entry indicated that he had become a captain in the Prussian army at an unknown date, and that in 1763, at the end of the Seven Years' War, he was placed at the head of the *Kriegsschule* in Berlin, a post he retained until the death of Frederick the Great in 1786. He then entered the service of France at the invitation of General Dumouriez, but incurred the displeasure of the French Government during the war against the Austrians by burning parts of the suburbs of Courtrai in West Flanders 'on the ground that they were furnishing shelter to the Tyrolese riflemen'. It was made clear to him that his military days in France were over.

He arrived in London with other French emigrants in 1795, and set up his own military school, which was merged with Le Marchant's in 1800 to form the Royal Military College. One paragraph of the *DNB* entry took my eye in particular. It read:

Jarry was a man of high professional ability, of easy and refined manners, and the most unassuming disposition, but his lean, bent form and many

eccentricities exposed him to persecution at the hands of some idlers among his pupils. Among the practical jokes indulged in by them was the destruction of all the models made by Jarry with his own hands for instruction in field-works. Cookery and gardening were his special hobbies.<sup>12</sup>

It appears that at the time of the Peace of Amiens, which saw a short-lived truce between France and the United Kingdom in 1802, his position became so uncomfortable that he thought seriously of returning to France. However, he stayed on, and was appointed inspector-general of instruction in 1806. He died the following year, 'after a tedious and painful illness'. After some delay, pensions of £100 a year each were given to his widow and daughters, who had been left entirely unprovided for.

There were now only two possibilities as to the nature of the French essays: either they were lecture notes taken by a student who was at High Wycombe before Gray and later passed on to him; or else the French material was not a set of notes taken by Gray or anyone else, but was Jarry's own lecture material. In favour of the second hypothesis was that it seemed unlikely that one of Jarry's students would have his lecture notes bound in leather, whereas Jarry himself might well have done so. Confirmation of this latter theory was provided when I received from my colleagues in France a sample of Jarry's handwriting obtained from the British Library. Not only did it closely resemble the material in our volume, but it showed precisely the same cavalier treatment of accents and spelling. (True, the published works of Jarry did not share these characteristics,<sup>13</sup> but this was in all probability the result of editorial emendation.) Presumably, having had a military rather than a classical education, and having spent so many years living outside France, Jarry had developed an idiosyncratic form of written French involving a number of departures from the norm. In any case, there was now no possible doubt that the handwriting in our volume was Jarry's own. Presumably, the words 'TOM.1' on the spine referred to the fact that the words 'Fig. A', 'Fig. B', etc., scattered throughout the text corresponded to illustrations which were included in a separate volume, since (presumably) lost.

As to the date at which the lecture material was written, it was



impossible to be specific, but if one held a page up to the light it was evident that the paper was what is technically known as 'laid paper' – that is, paper which has a ribbed appearance from having been dried on parallel wires. The quality of the paper was such that it was possible to discern a watermark reading: PINE 1801. Given that Jarry had died in 1807 after a long illness, one could conclude that the lecture material was probably written some time between 1802 and 1806.

As to how the volume came into Gray's hands, one can only speculate. Perhaps Gray had been kind to Jarry's widow and her daughters in their impecunious state, and the volume had been presented to him in gratitude. Or perhaps he had visited Mme Jarry, seen the volume and admired it, and been given it as a keepsake. Perhaps he had even boarded with Mme Jarry, who might well have taken in boarders from the Military College. One way or another, it seems likely that it was she who had given the volume to Gray, perhaps mentioning that, even if the lecture notes were of little interest, there were 40 blank pages at the back that might well come in handy one day.

The last chapter in this history began with a media release put out by the University of Newcastle in August 2006 indicating that Gray's diary had been found and identified. A week or so later, I received an email which began: 'My name is Ann Hancock and I am a direct descendant of Colonel Gray ...' It was a further extraordinary breakthrough. Ann Hancock and her sister Helga Hill, great-great-granddaughters of Charles George Gray,<sup>14</sup> happened to be enthusiastic family historians, and were able to provide me with a considerable amount of information concerning their ancestor and his life-story. This material included a brief autobiographical account of his early military career, and I was more than a little surprised to find that it contained an abundance of quotations from classical French sources including Boileau and Mme de Genlis, providing evidence of Gray's wide cultural education. Equally, I was able to learn why the young Lieutenant Gray's time at the Royal Military College had been so brief – less than a year, in fact. The reason is that a relative of his, an influential lawyer and politician by the name of Sir James Pulteney,

had secured for Charles Gray a Captaincy in the 95<sup>th</sup> Regiment, the Rifle Brigade known popularly as the Green Jackets. It was in this regiment, as Aide-de-Camp to his uncle Major General Johnstone, that Gray had served at the Battle of Waterloo. Finally, I learned that Colonel Gray and his wife had seven children, not four as I had been advised by the Port Macquarie Historical Society.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, it may be appropriate to attempt some kind of assessment of the significance of this unusual volume.

First, it is of what might be called archaeological interest. That is, it is an artefact of a past age. As an object in itself, it is of interest in that the hand that wrote the French text had shaken the hand of Frederick the Great, while the hand that wrote the diary had fired a rifle at the Battle of Waterloo. But there is more to it than that, important though this is for those who value books as objects in their own right. Just as the artefacts discovered by archaeologists are valued because they give us a first-hand insight into how life was lived in earlier times, so it is in the case of a volume such as this. Over 50 years ago, the historian James Auchmuty (later a Vice-Chancellor) argued that much of the Australian colonial history that had been written up to his own day had been over-dependent on Government reports, statistics, regulations and other official documents, and had paid too little attention to the personal lives and characters of those who laid the foundations of modern society. In this context, he claimed, 'every early diary which is recovered is of prime importance to early Australian history; so also every early library list, every file of letters for home or abroad'.<sup>16</sup> Though much has changed in the intervening years and Auchmuty's view is now widely accepted among Australian historians, it is still worth reminding ourselves of the point he makes.

Looked at in this light, Colonel Gray's diary – apart from the more mundane entries – gives us an at times graphic picture of the life led by assigned convicts in the first half of the nineteenth century. I reproduce below just three passages, which I think illustrate this point. The first is a series of entries beginning on 1 October 1839:

Oct 1<sup>st</sup> [...] James idle & disobedient, sent to settlement in charge of Constable Lane [...]

2<sup>nd</sup> Hurst went down to the Settlement to prosecute James, returned in the Evening. James 14 days cells. [...]

4<sup>th</sup> Last night women absent from laundry, found Anne in bed with Goodall in his hut – they had been drunk all day, from the effects of wine, either given by or taken from him.

The second set of entries covers the dates 23, 24 and 25 November:

23<sup>rd</sup> Goodall made the two women drunk & they beat Burns most unmercifully. [...]

24<sup>th</sup> Sunday – prayers as usual.

25<sup>th</sup> Burns went down to settlement to have his teeth taken out, which women had almost knocked down his throat.

Finally, the entries for Christmas Day and Boxing Day:

25<sup>th</sup> Christmas Day, gave men some spirits, they abused the indulgence. Have therefore come to the determination of never giving my men another drop of Spirits. Women behaved *very* ill.

26<sup>th</sup> Dismissed Mary [...]

The matter-of-fact nature of Gray's diary entries barely conceals the vivid picture of a society in which the service of even a humane master might entail a level of violence which both arose from, and added further to, the privations of penal servitude.

My second observation relates to General Jarry. Reading through his lecture material, boring and technical as it is, I came to appreciate more fully the significant place he occupied in British military history – a significance which had not emerged at the time (probably in the 1890s)<sup>17</sup> when his entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* was written. The reference in that entry to the 'persecution' he suffered at the hands of some of his pupils, and to their destruction of all the models he had made with his own hands for instruction in field works, betrays a mind-set amongst the British officer class which was to have tragic consequences over a century later, at the time of World War I when they and their Dominion colleagues were up against the best

mass field force the world had seen.

In his book *The Great War*, Les Carlyon points out that, in the course of that war, the belief was still prevalent among the British generals that it was 'the spirit of the bayonet', the 'character' shown by officers who 'fearlessly put their horses at stone walls on the hunting fields', that would prevail – whereas in fact the world had radically changed. In Carlyon's words,

Winning was about firepower, which meant artillery but another year would pass [after 1916] before this notion began to take on. It was, after all, a form of heresy. It went against just about everything a 50-year-old British general had been taught at his public school, at the staff college and on the job in India, Egypt and South Africa. It reeked of intellectualism – all those calculations about the weight of shells required to take so many yards of trench – and the British armies of the Victorian and Edwardian eras had been uncomfortable with intellectuals.<sup>18</sup>

When one reads Jarry's lecture notes, with their lengthy passages on the calculation of the trajectories and momentum of cannon-balls, the need for accurate military surveying to underpin troop movements and battle planning in different kinds of terrain, the mathematical formulae used in order to determine the number of cannon required for various field operations, and the illustration of these theories by hand-made models, one can understand how his teaching must have sounded to his pupils like the musings of an eccentric, even an erratic, intellectual, so foreign (in every sense) to the British military tradition.

And yet, however theoretical his formulae may have seemed, they were based on concrete observations that he had made while in the service of Frederick the Great. It is curious to think that the Allies being bombarded by German artillery on the Western Front found themselves up against the heirs of Jarry's students at Frederick's *Kriegsschule* in Berlin, who had perhaps paid rather more attention to his teaching than his pupils at High Wycombe.

Reflecting further on the figure of Jarry, the picture now emerged of a man who was no doubt a brilliant theoretician and an expert in such matters as military surveying and the disposition of troops and artillery in the field, but who was clearly lacking in practical judgment.

When it came to the business of on-the-spot decision-making in the face of an actual situation, not amenable to analysis by diagrams and calculations, he appears to have been completely out of his depth. His decision in June 1792 to set fire to part of the suburbs of Courtrai 'on the ground that they were furnishing shelter to the Tyrolese riflemen', as his entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* puts it, was obviously a disastrous mistake. It incurred the displeasure of his superior officer, Marshal Luckner, and of the national government, to the point where Jarry was obliged to resign from the military two months later. A typical intellectual, his response was to write an essay defending his actions.<sup>19</sup>

In closing, as one whose introduction to research in the Humanities even preceded the invention of the photocopier,<sup>20</sup> I can only reflect on the extent to which technological change has profoundly altered not only the manner of conducting much Humanities research, but in many cases the very nature of such research. Were it not for the internet, search engines, the ready availability of reference material on-line and the speed and convenience of communication by email, the authorship of this most unusual volume would almost certainly have been destined to remain a mystery.

## Notes

- 1 Clem Sargent, *The Colonial Garrison 1817–1824: The 48<sup>th</sup> Foot, the Northamptonshire Regiment in the Colony of New South Wales*, Canberra, 1996.
- 2 [www.personal.usyd.edu.au/~slaw/SuesPage/oldbooks.htm](http://www.personal.usyd.edu.au/~slaw/SuesPage/oldbooks.htm)
- 3 Gwendoline Griffin and Ronald Howell, *Port Macquarie: The Winding Sheet*, Port Macquarie, Port Macquarie Historical Society Inc., 1996.
- 4 *Port Macquarie: The Winding Sheet*, p.267.
- 5 J. C. H. Gill, 'Jean Baptiste Charles Lamonnerie dit Fattorini, Late of Port Macquarie, N.S.W.', in *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal* IX, 2 (1970–71): 134–67.
- 6 Frank Rogers, ed., *Port Macquarie: A History to 1850*. Port Macquarie, Hastings District Historical Society, 1982.
- 7 [www.ipswich.qld.gov.au/documents/heritage/ipswich\\_cemetery.pdf](http://www.ipswich.qld.gov.au/documents/heritage/ipswich_cemetery.pdf)
- 8 *Annabella of Lake Innes, Port Macquarie*, ed. Gwen Griffin, Port Macquarie,

- The Port Macquarie Historical Society Inc., 2003, p.34.
- 9 William Berry, *Encyclopaedia Heraldica, or Complete Dictionary of Heraldry*, London, (n.d.: c. 1830).
  - 10 John Philippart, ed., *The Royal Military Calendar, Or Army Service and Commission Book*, 3rd edn, London, 1820.
  - 11 Lieutenant Colonel Godfrey Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes; or, Residence and Rambles in the Australian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the Gold Fields*. London, Richard Bentley, 1852.
  - 12 *The Dictionary of National Biography*, art. 'Jarry, Francis' (cf. Note 17, below).
  - 13 A search of <http://books.google.com> allowed Gianni Di Gravio to scan Jarry's 203-page work of 1801 entitled *Instruction concernant le service de l'infanterie légère en campagne*. This is the work mentioned in the website of Susan Law (see Note 2, above) as having been translated into English in 1803.
  - 14 Ann Hancock and Helga Hill are daughters of James Lalor (1908–99). His father, William Francis Lalor (1870–1935) had married Isabel Ann Fitz Gray (1880–1934), daughter of Colonel Gray's youngest son Henry Jardine Gray (1842–1921).
  - 15 It seems that the Port Macquarie Historical Society had drawn an unjustified conclusion from consulting marriage records: the fact is that two of the Grays' sons did not marry, and that the Society had not discovered the marriage record of one other son.
  - 16 James J. Auchmuty, 'The Background of Australian History', in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* XLI, 3 (1955): 139.
  - 17 The *DNB* entry quoted in this article is from Volume X (Howard-Kenneth) of the dictionary after its publication had been taken over by Oxford University Press in 1917. Its style and content, however, suggest that it is reproduced from the original dictionary published between 1885 and 1900, probably from Volume 29 (English-John) which appeared in 1892.
  - 18 Les Carlyon, *The Great War*, Sydney, 2006, p.12.
  - 19 François Jarry, *Eclaircissements relatifs aux maisons incendiées dans le faubourg de Courtray pendant la défense de cette place, occupée par l'armée de M. le Maréchal Luckner, etc.*, Paris, 1792; held in the British Library.
  - 20 Though the concept of the photocopier had been thought up in the late 1930s, it did not become a reality until 1959 and it was some years later before a practical version was developed.