

# How Australia's first generation of 'native-born' white men could be seen as a new physical type

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## Abstract

Contemporary accounts of the first generation of white men born in Australia marked them as a new physical type. Rather than agreeing with John Hirst that the significance of favourable observations was 'simply that it was miraculous' this article argues that such descriptions arose from eighteenth-century British conceptions of men's essential nature as active and perceptions that 'civilised' life threatened that nature. Popular medical literature highlighted the problems, emigration was promoted as the solution and men's personal writings reveal that they understood and acted on these messages. The physical superiority of Australia's first-born white men was not unexpected.

Keywords: Australia, Britain, manliness, masculinity, civilisation, bodies

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'Currency' was the term applied in the early Australian colonies to Australian-born Britons, as opposed to the 'Sterling' Brits born at home: labels supposedly first applied by a 'facetious paymaster' at a time when the pound currency was devalued against the pound sterling. Though 'currency' in this context highlighted the convict origins of many of this first generation of whites born in New South Wales, it did not detract from the many favourable comments made of them. Ship's surgeon Peter Cunningham saw the openness of their features as outward signs of their sobriety and honesty.<sup>1</sup>

The men, the ‘currency lads’, were particularly praised. Cunningham described them as ‘tall and slender’ with an ‘open manly simplicity of character’. Similar compliments had been made by royal commissioner John Thomas Bigge in 1822. He wrote that currency lads were ‘capable of undergoing more fatigue, and are less exhausted by labor than native Europeans’. Such sentiments were echoed almost verbatim by Alexander Marjoribanks in his published account of travels in New South Wales in 1847. In the 1950s historian CE Carrington summarised these accounts of currency lads as having marked them ‘as a new physical type’.<sup>2</sup>

The notion that currency lads were a ‘new physical type’ has not been interrogated by historians. We seem to have been satisfied with John Hirst’s summary in 1983 that even though the observed improvement in physical and moral fitness of these men remains ‘something of a mystery’, it was probably due to better diet, sufficient food, a favourable climate and opportunities for honest work.<sup>3</sup> In accepting Hirst’s conclusion, historians have missed the deeply gendered nature of those contemporary accounts. There was no similar rhetoric or discussion about women’s bodies and ‘currency lasses’. Once the honesty and fertility of the first native-born white women was acknowledged they earned little admiration: they were ‘of a mild-tempered, modest disposition, possessing much simplicity of character; and, like all children of nature, credulous, and easily led into error’.<sup>4</sup> Currency lasses were not mentioned by Carrington as being ‘a new physical type’.

Rather than agreeing with Hirst that the contemporary significance of favourable observations was ‘simply that it was miraculous’,<sup>5</sup> this article suggests that a new physical type was a hoped for, even expected, result of moving men from a civilising and industrialising Britain to the wild, open spaces of the antipodes. Commentators’ descriptions of currency lads arose from eighteenth-century British conceptions of men’s essential nature as active and the perception that ‘civilised’ life threatened that nature: conceptions and

perceptions that were not held of women. Such descriptions were informed by an understanding of how men's bodies responded to environment and circumstance that was articulated in a range of public discussions including newspaper editorials and parliamentary enquiries.

The shared elements of these discussions were particularly evident in popular medical literature: incessant injunctions for 'balance' in health, work and leisure; an identification of the city with the evils of civilisation; and a nostalgic yearning for the dignified physical activity that only labouring on one's own land could supply. Underlying all the discussion was a conflation of physical and moral health and the belief that both of these were visible on the surface of the body in complexion, muscle tone, flesh, and so forth. Men's own writings, both published and unpublished, reveal not only an understanding of these ideas but also the extent to which men acted on them. Men in Britain were acutely aware of their health and struggled to follow the prescriptions of medical literature.

In the context of popular medical literature and men's responses to it, emigration to the Australian colonies could be offered as an alleviation of British men's anxieties. Reports of Australia, in both literature promoting emigration and in men's personal writings, explicitly described the conditions in the colonies as a solution to threats to men's health. It is not so surprising, then, that the physically robust, native-born white men, the currency lads, could be seen as proof of the ultimate benefits of the colonies for men's bodies. But it is also the nature of emigration – in which men take their cultural baggage and accoutrements of civilisation, with them – that explains why this particular perception of currency lads was held for only a short time.

### **Defining 'civilisation'**

To begin with, I would like to clarify my use of the term 'civilisation'. I use 'civilisation' in the sense that Jean Starobinski describes as having gained acceptance by the

end of the eighteenth century: a unifying concept that drew together diverse social changes such as improvements in comfort, advances in education, politer manners, cultivation of the arts and sciences, growth of commerce and industry, and the acquisition of material goods and luxuries, in a way that established an antithesis between civilisation and a hypothetical primordial state called nature or savagery or barbarism.<sup>6</sup> Civilisation's critics identified a further point on the continuum from savagery through civilisation, to an overly-civilised state of effeminacy, the result of a surrender to luxury, as undesirable as barbarism.

The nexus of luxury, effeminacy and the nation at the end of the eighteenth century has been well-covered in historical literature.<sup>7</sup> Also well-served by historians is the plight of the working classes in the first half of the nineteenth century, covered first in Edwin Chadwick's 1842 report on the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain.<sup>8</sup> What has not been explained is the switch by contemporary commentators from concern about upper class bodies (those who could afford luxuries and comfort) to labouring bodies (those employed in the manufacture of luxuries and comforts) but the male bodies of both groups were described as enfeebled and effeminate.<sup>9</sup> And in both cases service in, or emigration to, the edges of the empire was seen as a solution. This leads me to treat 'civilisation' as a marker of material progress that was perceived to have detrimental effects for both those men enjoying its benefits and those men providing them, not to mention the growing numbers of men that were subject to both. Therefore, I use the term 'civilisation' as something of a basket word, to carry all the different components of the changing material world between about 1750 and 1850, although I acknowledge that this use does not do justice to the significance of the term 'civilisation' as a concept at the heart not only of imperialism, but of western conceptualisations of history itself.<sup>10</sup>

## **Civilisation, health and currency lads in Australian historiography**

There is very little discussion of British debates about civilisation and its effects on men in Australian historiography. Manning Clark noted it in his first volume of *A History of Australia* quoting an 1807 article in *The Times* which spoke of the colony's potential to 'produce apparently miraculous effects amongst a people who came from a society worn with age and decrepitude, or debilitated by the indolence and apathy of modern luxury and refinement'.<sup>11</sup> Clark dismissed the observation, proposing rather that it was 'the possibility of material advancement rather than any interest in the possibility of a society of men liberated from the effete and decadence of the old world' which encouraged British settlement.<sup>12</sup> This is the approach most often taken in subsequent histories that emphasise economic, political and social factors over intellectual and cultural influences in colonialism in Australia.<sup>13</sup>

Historians of health and medicine in Australia seem to have shown little curiosity about the 'miraculous' physical and moral improvement of British stock in the early Australian colonies. They have tended to focus on changing health management policies and practices aboard ships and among convicts; on the lack of autochthonous diseases; and on the introduction of European diseases and their effects on indigenous populations.<sup>14</sup> FB Smith's history of illness in colonial Australia repeats the claims that native-born whites were physically more robust than their British-born counterparts but offers no explanation.<sup>15</sup> When we do find interrogation of the implications of climate and nature on human bodies it is in histories of the colonisation of the northern or 'tropical' areas of the Australian continent in the second half of the nineteenth century. Such histories reveal conceptions of race and racial suitability for the natural environment which were only just emerging earlier in the century.<sup>16</sup>

It was newer conceptions of race and heredity that prompted a disavowal of convict heritage, an attempt to obscure the so-called 'convict stain'. And colonisation of the north

raised fears that British stock might actually degenerate. John Hirst suggests these two factors are behind the later nineteenth-century uncertainty about Australian-born whites which contrasted sharply with the confidence that colonists had earlier felt about the capabilities of the currency lads.<sup>17</sup> Historians, and at least one novelist, who have looked at ‘native-born’ white Australians and used the term ‘currency lads’ to describe them have done so to recover that initial confidence through tales of exploration, sporting and political prowess and a seemingly ‘Australian’ disregard for authority.<sup>18</sup> All have followed Hirst in accepting the currency lad’s differentiation from his Britain-born counterpart as a given and have not questioned the origins of this difference.

Libby Robin, in *How a Continent Created a Nation*, asks what part the physical environment played in developing a ‘distinctive national identity’ influencing both culture and scientific thinking. Because this work focuses on the century since Federation it does not query perceptions of the environment’s impact on the human body in the early nineteenth century. Robin does, however, quote ‘Inky’ (Percy Reginald) Stephenson who in 1936 was still hopeful that ‘A new nation, a new human type, is being formed in Australia’.<sup>19</sup> No historians of Australia seem to have noticed, as Joyce Chaplin does for America, that by neglecting contemporary theories of nature we get the impression that the early modern English ‘understood their place in the new world in terms divorced from the natural world, as if the intellectual history of early America had to do only with politics and religion.’<sup>20</sup> Nor have they taken seriously, as Jan Golinski does, how enlightenment thinkers acknowledged the influence of the natural environment on the development of civilisation, that they understood that both socially and individually ‘humans were subject to their physical nature.’<sup>21</sup> This work is a small contribution to such considerations in Australian history.

## **Health problems, remedies and the pursuit of balance in popular medical literature**

When physician William Buchan wrote in 1784 that ‘man was never intended to be idle’, that inactivity frustrated ‘the very design of his creation’ and that ‘an active life’ was ‘the best guardian of virtue, and the greatest preservative of health’, he was repeating a received wisdom.<sup>22</sup> But as the eighteenth century drew to a close these words signaled an intensifying struggle for British men. The nexus of luxury, effeminacy and the nation that had preoccupied men from the beginning of the century was ramped up in public rhetoric over ongoing military action with France and in other outposts of the emerging empire. Buchan posed a significant question for men: how were men to be men, to fulfill the potential of their design morally and physically, if they succumbed to the idle life offered by civilisation? By the 1830s the language of public debates was similarly strident about the emaciated and enfeebled bodies of the unemployed and working poor as it had been at the turn of the century about the inactive and effete bodies of the middling classes who aspired to material luxuries and paid for them with sedentary occupations in urbanised environments.

These problems facing men’s constitutions and advice on solutions were expansively articulated in popular medical literature, part of the eighteenth century’s burgeoning publishing industry. Publications like Buchan’s ran to many editions and were available through subscription libraries to those who could not afford their own copies.<sup>23</sup> The books themselves were explicitly aimed at a general audience: from John Theobald’s adoption in 1760 of a plainness of ‘style’ to make his publication as useful as possible to ‘persons residing in the country, whose convenience or abilities, will not allow of the attendance of a physician’ to Thomas John Graham’s 1826 publication for ‘the unprofessional reader’ that would be particularly useful to ‘clergymen, the heads of families, travellers, and persons proceeding to a foreign climate’.<sup>24</sup> Some, like William Pinnock’s *A Catechism of Medicine* in 1820, employed the question-and-answer format that was often used in religious instruction

indicating that the book could be read by parents to children, and perhaps by masters to servants, as well as for personal use.<sup>25</sup> In the 1830s when publications began to specialise they still often claimed to be for ‘domestic’ use, and at least one ‘penny journal’ was devoted to health.<sup>26</sup>

This medical literature covered the description of disease symptoms and their remedies and advice for maintaining health and increasing longevity. A common approach, taken by Nicholas Culpepper in *The English Physician Enlarged* published in 1652 and still in print in 1826, was to give comprehensive alphabetical listings of diseases and conditions with details of symptoms, causes and treatments for each, and recipes for pills and tonics. But Culpepper also believed his book would help a man ‘preserve his body in health’ as much as ‘cure himself being sick’.<sup>27</sup> Pinnock’s *Catechism* emphasised long life, as did a second book by Graham in 1828 which invoked the spectre of the ‘sedentary mode of living’ that W Andre Pearkes had made the focus of his *Popular Observations on the Diseases of Literary and Sedentary Persons* in 1819.<sup>28</sup>

Pinnock’s *Catechism* was representative of the gamut of concerns in popular medical literature at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Its appendix covered treatment of ‘common diseases’ but its emphasis was on the preservation of health and extension of life rather than treatment of problems. A weak constitution was caused by: intemperance in eating or drinking; unwholesome food or air; lack of cleanliness; excessive labour or sloth; the sudden transition from heat to cold; and indulgence of the passions. Pinnock claimed that labour and exertion were critical in preserving health and increasing strength as well as improving ‘mental faculties’. The most beneficial exercise was done in the open air, but if walking, running or riding on horseback were not available, then dancing, fencing, running up and down stairs and ‘the use of the dumb-bell’ would assist the digestive organs and render the body ‘light and elastic’. ‘Youthful’ exercises were jumping, running,



dancing, and football; the ‘manly’ ones were tennis, cricket, swimming, rowing, angling, hunting, gardening, and agriculture; and, the ‘gymnastic’ included military exercises like foot-racing, fencing, archery, and wrestling. In conclusion, Pinnock advocated balance, a recurring theme in much of the medical literature. For Pinnock this was a temperate climate, moderate exercise and strict temperance in food and drink, ‘together with a prudent regulation of the passions’: ‘all extremes’, he wrote, ‘are unfriendly to health and longevity’.<sup>29</sup>

Much of this medical literature continued to be underpinned by humoral theory in the face of newer understandings of physiology. Humoral theory saw bodily fluids – phlegm, yellow bile, black bile and blood – as central to the functioning of the human body. Because heat, cold, dryness and moisture affected the course of the humors from the stomach, through the blood stream to the brain, there was a direct connection between passions and cognition, physiology and psychology, individual and environment. By the seventeenth century the circulation of the blood was properly understood and humors began to lose theoretical credibility but in practice the theory continued to sustain medicine well into the nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup> A particular understanding of the nervous system as emanating from the brain also appeared in the medical literature, for example, when Pearkes emphasised the need for exercise as a corrective to the ‘immense influence which the mind exercises over the body’.<sup>31</sup> Pearkes’ aim of a ‘state of perfect equilibrium’ was, therefore, part of a broader theoretical merging of humoral doctrines with modern assumptions about nerves that still sought humoral balance.<sup>32</sup>

Equilibrium, then, was the primary injunction of medical literature. But what did balance and harmony mean? Was it avoiding excess in both ‘continual thought’ and ‘perpetual action’, or was it avoiding the extremes of both ‘voluptuousness’ and ‘abstinence’?<sup>33</sup> Was it merely a matter of physiology, of equalising perspiration and urine?<sup>34</sup> Or a matter of regulation where apportioning the day regularly to meals, exercise, sleep and

labour would ensure good health and excellent spirits?<sup>35</sup> The meaning of ‘exercise’ was equally ambiguous: the one word could encompass quoits and dancing, farm labour and the sorts of gymnastic activities that prepared men for military battle. The role of climate in health seemed far less ambiguous than exercise or the pursuit of balance, although here too balance was the goal. Travel in, or a move to, a warmer or dryer climate was often advocated by the medical profession for conditions like consumption: to go from a cold and damp, to a dry and warm climate would ‘promote health and longevity’.<sup>36</sup> A temperate, that is a ‘balanced’, climate was the ideal.

### **The evils of the city and nostalgia for rural labour**

When Buchan railed against the idleness that undermined the very nature of men he also bemoaned the inclination of so many to ‘crowd into great towns’. His anxieties ranged from unwholesome air to lack of exercise in the sedentary occupations of trade, professions and manufacturing jobs.<sup>37</sup> Cities were also the source of those luxuries and temptations that led so often to maladies such as gout. ‘[W]hen I behold a fashionable table set out in all its magnificence’, said an ‘elegant writer’ in *The Oracle of Health*, ‘I fancy that I see gout and dropsies, fevers and lethargies, with other innumerable distempers, lying in ambush among the dishes’.<sup>38</sup> This ‘fancy’, illustrated in words and pictures in the popular press, captured the corporeal and moral consequences of abuse of the stomach as well as attributing that abuse to the temptations of wealth and fashion. A simple diet, as physician George Cheyne had observed, and as had been repeatedly cited, preserved a clear stomach and a clear head,<sup>39</sup> but a simple diet became harder to achieve in the presence of tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, and tobacco, which were both physically addictive and consumed in new culturally significant, usually urban, sites; they were part of the ‘revolution of sociability’ which accompanied the ‘industrious revolution’.<sup>40</sup> That men’s ill-health and unhappiness was the ‘natural result of wealth, luxury, and indulgence’ was widely understood.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to indulgence, inactivity was ‘contrary to the nature of man’ and Buchan was blunt about men who neglected exercise: ‘Weak and effeminate, they languish for a few years, and soon drop into an untimely grave’.<sup>42</sup> At particular risk were ‘studious’ men who not only ignored exercise but allowed an excess of ‘intense thinking’ to become a ‘vice’. Such men were prone to gout, stone and gravel, cirrhosis livers, consumption, head-aches, sore eyes, dropsy, fevers and, ‘the most afflicting of all’, hypochondria.<sup>43</sup> The *Oracle of Health* agreed: for ‘Desk Diseases’ it recommended sea bathing and healthy bowels.<sup>44</sup>

But, as the *Oracle* told its readers, it was not only ‘desk’ jobs that threatened men’s physical constitution: most of the occupations to be found in the towns of the early nineteenth century came with specific health consequences. Tailors suffered indigestion, afflictions of the bowels and curvature of the spine; bakers were prone to stomach disorders, coughs and rheumatism; chimney sweepers were subject to skin cancer, eye inflammations and lung damage; house painters experienced colic, palsy, head-ache and bowel complaints; house servants were affected by disorders of the digestive system and head; plumbers were short lived because of lead poisoning; cotton and silk spinners experienced lung disease and indigestion; cooks and confectioners endured disordered digestion, head-ache and irritable temper; and footmen on their feet all day collected water in their scrotum.<sup>45</sup> These ‘adverse circumstances’ not only made men ‘short-lived’, it also made them, according to Edwin Chadwick, ‘improvident, reckless, and intemperate’ – cities destroyed men’s morality as well as their health.<sup>46</sup>

The unsurprising antithesis to the evils of places like London, was the countryside. It offered wholesome air, fresh foods, and opportunities for exercise. But Britain’s rural areas also invoked something deeper – a nostalgic longing for attachment to land that only cultivating it for yourself could provide, and this was an increasingly rare experience for men as enclosure policies begun in the seventeenth century continued. The authors of popular

medical literature recommended all manner of games and activities in lieu of the agricultural labour that urbanising populations had seemingly lost. Even dancing was described as conferring ‘great firmness’, ‘a manly confidence’, a ‘manly assurance’, and ‘physical and mental poise’.<sup>47</sup> Although these activities were suitable for, and possible in, urban environments it seemed difficult to imagine substitutes for the labour offered by farming, or gardening at least. In Buchan’s opinion digging, planting, sowing and weeding both exercised every part of the body and revived the spirits and any man in sedentary employment ‘should cultivate a piece of ground with his own hands’ in his leisure hours.<sup>48</sup>

Chadwick’s report was similar in its assessment of the problem but less optimistic about the chances of a solution. It lamented the lack of open spaces and public walks that would give labourers a chance for healthy recreation and a way to avoid the ‘ale-houses and skittle-alleys’. Chadwick’s report also claimed that the ‘want of open spaces for recreation’ was no longer confined to ‘the town population’. Even in rural districts, those who went into the field were ‘trespassers’ who injured the farmer. Children were especially affected with no public squares, no gardens attached to houses and no play-grounds. This was declared ‘very injurious to their bodily development’.<sup>49</sup>

All the talk of recreational outdoor exercise did not remove the deep-seated conviction that making one’s living from the land was actually the most physically and morally healthy exercise. Where cultural prejudice existed against manual labour, it did not extend to the farmer who derived ‘independence’ from their association with their labour. For all of Buchan’s advocacy of gardens, therefore, he and other medical authors could not fully overcome a perception that those who had to ‘labor for their daily bread’, ‘those who live by the culture of the ground’, were the most healthy and generally the happiest ‘part of mankind’. And Buchan felt that emigration – the ‘great increase of inhabitants in infant colonies’ – was proof of this efficacy.<sup>50</sup>

## Public discussions reflected in private writings

The threats to, and solutions for, the physical constitution of British men described in the medical literature were pervasive and influential. This is illustrated in men's own writings. From politician William Windham, whose diary reveals his disposition to melancholy and preoccupation with his health, to political author William Cobbett, who attempted to project a robust and healthy self-image in his writings, men's journals and letters referred to their health almost as often as they referred to the weather.<sup>51</sup> Clergymen, actors, gentlemen farmers, schoolmasters, naval explorers, aristocrats, retired army captains, historians and politicians recorded their ailments, their weaknesses and the remedies they tried.

Gout was the most often named ailment. When Thomas Walpole experienced his first 'miserable fit' he confided in medical author John Sinclair. Gentleman farmer John Grainger faithfully recorded the weather and his health over ten years of diary entries, but was often constrained by gout to recording only 'The same' for days at a time. Men acknowledged that being sedentary was a problem. '[Y]ou are yet young', wrote 'JW' to the Reverend Richard Polwhele, 'and have, probably a long race of usefulness to run. You should not abridge this, by too great sedentariness'. Matthew Flinders advised his brother Samuel that if his disease was a consequence of 'sedentary habits, moderate exercise [was] the way to cure it'.<sup>52</sup>

Men did try to follow the advice of medical literature. They exercised: the poet Byron preferred fencing and boxing, not only for his chest, arms and 'wind' but also to ward off the '*ennuyé*' to which he was prone; historian William Hutton thought both the mind and body 'were designed for action' and he was a prodigious walker.<sup>53</sup> Men regularly expressed their aim for self-control and moderation. 'I must practice self-denial', wrote the Reverend S Tillbrook, 'mortify the flesh, drink little, move about more, and in short... never commit excess of any kind'.<sup>54</sup> Many men were prepared to take all necessary steps to good health and happiness, as cotton merchant Absalom Watkin summarised in his diary: 'I propose to do all I

can to improve my health. I will take as much exercise as I can. Keep as cheerful as I can. Avoid long continued thought on any one subject. Sometimes omit study for a week altogether. Avoid too much feeling. Restrain passion'.<sup>55</sup> And Thomas Carlyle was one sedentary man of letters who tried to relieve his anxieties by moving back to the country. 'I must live in the country', he wrote, 'and work with my muscles more, and with my mind less'. In this way he would no longer be 'a pining piping wretch' but would once again be 'a whole man'.<sup>56</sup>

Few men, however, felt their efforts met with the health and happiness they were trying to achieve. William Windham was just one of the men who rebuked themselves for 'careless intemperance' and expressed self-doubt in their reflections.<sup>57</sup> Despite the amplitude and diversity of advice for health, the ambiguity of the notion of 'balance' seemed more a recipe for failure than success. A review of John Sinclair's *Code of Health and Longevity* clarified the extent of the problem: 'when our author', wrote *The New Annual Register* in 1808

descends to such minute particulars as to limit our diet to certain articles of food, and to ascertain comparative weights or measures of each article; when he teaches the necessity of making a difference in the potency of the table beer we drink in summer and winter; when the difference of soil or earth, of air, of water, and of heat or fire, are all brought forwards, and insisted upon as adjuncts of high consequence and importance, we are fearful that the present *code* of health, like the present code of our national law, will be found so multiplied and complex that few men can thoroughly understand it, and no man completely act up to it.<sup>58</sup>

### **Reports of good health from the Australian colonies**

The key ingredients for the health and longevity of men – lack of luxuries, opportunities for labour on your own land and, especially, temperate climate – were heavily

emphasised in literature promoting the Australian colonies. The anonymous author of *Twenty Years Experience in Australia* in 1839, collated, quoted from and summarised the previous paeans to Australia's climate: '[t]he state of the weather and atmosphere', it reported, 'were truly delicious and exhilarating... it was enjoyment to live in such a climate.'<sup>59</sup> Advice to emigrants in 1848 continued to highlight the importance of choice of climate over economic betterment, because no increase in 'the world's goods' would ensure happiness if health was wanting.<sup>60</sup> And immigrants themselves seemed to agree. Of the climate in Van Diemen's Land, Thomas Henty claimed that it gave him three times his usual appetite and Robert Hoddle thought it did not 'depress natural vigor' thus promoting longevity. John Hunter on Norfolk Island felt it made the constitutions of both humans and animals more 'prolific' than in any other part of the world.<sup>61</sup> Notably, there was little benefit perceived in mainland Australia's climate for British women. The desired 'rose tinge of cheek' might be found in the 'fresh stimulating coolness' of Van Diemen's land and New Zealand but not 'on the main of Australia, where the air is too dry and parching' for the 'British Fair'.<sup>62</sup>

Health was cited by many men as the motivation for moving to the Australian colonies, including barrister Edward Landor, businessman William Lawrence, and manufacturer Robert Morehead.<sup>63</sup> Physician Anthony Brownless, traveled the world to alleviate ill-health but his health only fully recovered when he arrived in Australia. Architect John Verge retired from his successful London practice to farm a country estate because of ill health and then he took his Hampshire sheep to New South Wales.<sup>64</sup> George Angas suffered ill health and 'gloom' from the pressures of business and public life. Under medical orders he traveled for five months, taking daily exercise on horseback. He eventually emigrated to Australia and lived to the age of ninety.<sup>65</sup> Edward Deas Thomson was offered a job in Demerara but accepted a position in New South Wales for less money, because he felt the climate and prospects to be healthier.<sup>66</sup> Farmer's son George Hawke was apprenticed to a

wool stapler as he was too 'puny' and unhealthy for farming. He was prone to attacks of what he called 'low nervousness' and suffered severe consumptive-like coughs in English winters which he never experienced in Australia unless visiting the town of Sydney.<sup>67</sup>

The Australian colonies' opportunities for exercise and their dearth of 'luxuries' recommended them for the relief of gout and other existing illnesses, as well as for toughening men against future debility. This was reported by men themselves. It is not surprising that the authors of literature promoting emigration should paint a rosy picture of health. These authors were in the business of persuading men to move to Australia and they would benefit from claiming for themselves and others 'excellent health and spirits' and not 'a moment's illness'.<sup>68</sup> But less prejudiced men gave similar accounts in their published and unpublished letters and journals. Whether men were actually healthier in the Australian colonies, although an interesting question in itself, is not the point: what is significant is the widespread self-reporting by men that this was the case. And the notion that a removal from 'civilisation', that leading a more 'primitive' life, was the basis for this transformation was often explicitly stated.

Daniel Southwell told his mother that his 'little Fits of Indisposition' were 'getting better Every Day' and he hoped 'in Time' to be 'more hearty and robust' than he could have hoped.<sup>69</sup> David Waugh felt himself becoming similarly 'tough'. He was on horseback from seven in the morning to eleven at night with nothing to eat but he 'did not feel at all tired next morning'.<sup>70</sup> George Wyndham, on a farm in New South Wales, mentioned only one day of illness in ten years of diary recordings while his brothers and nephews in Sussex grew fat, lazy and unwell.<sup>71</sup> Missionaries James Backhouse and George Washington Walker also remarked on these restorative, perhaps even regenerative, effects of labour, climate, abstinence and a 'spare diet' when they undertook a report on the condition of convicts in Van Diemen's Land for lieutenant-general George Arthur. These factors, which sound very



similar to the prescriptions of medical literature, made Backhouse and Walker conclude that the ‘general health of the prisoners is good’.<sup>72</sup> What convicts themselves made of this is difficult to ascertain but convicts, and half-brothers, Richard Taylor and Simon Brown portrayed their experiences in the colonies in similarly positive terms as emigrants.<sup>73</sup> At the other end of the social scale ‘gentleman’ convict John Grant regarded his service as a farm labourer as a haven of sorts in which chopping wood and washing his own shirts were unexpectedly satisfying.<sup>74</sup>

The good health, high spirits and distinct lack of ennui in the writings of men in the colonies, was a marked contrast to their relatives, colleagues and associates at home. Brothers George and Robert Dixon provided an explanation for this that would have been recognised by authors and readers of popular medical literature. Though they were ‘obliged to work very hard’ they found ‘more satisfaction & peace of mind than [they] ever experienced in [their] life’ through the ‘pleasure’ of working on their own land.<sup>75</sup> And the further from cities and ‘civilisation’, the better many men felt. ‘Encamped’ at Moores Flats, the Colonial Treasurer was heard to declare that ‘he had found so much benefit from the change of climate, he would give up half his salary to breathe the pure air of the Interior’.<sup>76</sup> It was not simply wholesome country air that made such a difference: as settler John Webster described, it was ‘this life in the wilderness’, this ‘primitive sort of life’ that they enjoyed and ‘the further from town’ it was ‘the better’ they liked it.<sup>77</sup> The anonymous author of *A Month in the Bush of Australia* summed up what the colonies could offer British men: ‘pure open air’, ‘plenty of delightful exercise’, good appetites, resilience to illness and an ‘almost total relief from the restraint of civilised life’.<sup>78</sup>

### **Currency lads and the paradox of colonies**

This good health was seen on the bodies of men, in accordance with long-held European perceptions that outward appearance indicated the presence of both physical health

and moral virtue.<sup>79</sup> The same reasoning meant that the effects of luxuries and vices, or sedentary occupations, or grinding factory work, would also be seen on the body and in the face. We have seen how fat and lameness were associated with indolence, and a ‘diminutive’ stature with the afflictions of the labouring poor. In contrast the white men born in New South Wales were described as ‘tall and slender’ indicating their temperance and vitality.<sup>80</sup> While commentators observed the benefits for convicts and settlers alike of daily labour and isolation from luxury, regenerative effects were perceived most clearly in the physique and countenance of the currency lads, Australia’s ‘sons of the soil’.<sup>81</sup>

A search of early Australian newspapers shows the term ‘currency lad’ as current from the early 1820s, but its appearance declined rapidly in the mid 1850s and there were only three instances of its use in the 1860s. Horses, trading ships and licensed houses often carried ‘Currency Lad’ as a name, and it was adopted by a short-lived weekly journal in 1832.<sup>82</sup> It was used as a mark of approval – often as a toast at dinners<sup>83</sup> – and it was used competitively in reports on boxing matches, cricket games and boat races.<sup>84</sup> It was worthy of comment when a particular whaling boat’s master, three officers, cooper and most of the crew were ‘native Australians’ which bore testimony to ‘the very superior manner in which they acquit themselves in that arduous employ’.<sup>85</sup> They were noted for their spirit and courage and their ‘great clannishness; – if a soldier quarrels with one, the whole hive sally to his aid’. And they were handy with their fists.<sup>86</sup>

Over time, however, ‘currency lads’ moved from describing ‘the rising generation’<sup>87</sup> of the colonies to become a political label, associated with republican ideals and calls for political independence. When William Wentworth addressed the jury in a supreme court case, he hoped the currency lads among them would not be ‘influenced by any party feeling’.<sup>88</sup> The supposedly superior physical attributes of the ‘currency lads’ to those of British men were forgotten. When historian David Headon describes Daniel Deniehy as a ‘currency lad’ in his

article on Deniehy's republican vision for Australia he is referring to both his birth in Sydney and his political ideals but not his physical constitution, appearance, manner or virtues.<sup>89</sup>

That the term 'currency lad' moved so quickly from being associated with physical attributes to being associated with the political ideals of white men born in Australia exposes a paradox of all colonies: they were the repositories of men's expectations for material wealth and political power as much as they were for physical activity and good health. Men brought their political ideals, their towns, their sedentary occupations and their accoutrements of civilisation to Australia, recreating the circumstances in which the original fears for men's bodies arose. During the second half of the nineteenth century confidence in the new 'Australian' physical type was replaced by similar anxieties about men's bodies that had been active in Britain a century earlier, and were perhaps even intensified.<sup>90</sup> Yet the original belief in the natural world's capacity to shape people lingers in ideas of the resilient and resourceful Australian forged through his (with the possessive pronoun purposefully chosen) relationship with a harsh and unforgiving environment. Thomas Paine dedicated his *Rights of Man*: 'To George Washington... that you may enjoy the Happiness of seeing the New World regenerate the Old...'<sup>91</sup> But as the very brief glow of the term 'currency lad' shows, the relationship of the 'new world' to the 'old' was never that simple.

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales*, vol. 2 (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1966 (1827)), 53-54.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Cunningham, *Two Years*, 54; JT Bigge, Report of the Commissioner into the State of the Colony of New South Wales, (London, 1822) 81; Alexander Marjoribanks, *Travels in New South Wales* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1847), 217; CE Carrington, *The British Overseas: Exploits of a Nation of Shopkeepers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 357.

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<sup>3</sup> John B Hirst, *Convict Society and Its Enemies: A History of Early New South Wales* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), 193.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *Two Years*, 56; Grace Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 324.

<sup>5</sup> Hirst, *Convict Society*, 193.

<sup>6</sup> Jean Starobinski, *Blessings in Disguise; or, the Morality of Evil*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993), 3-5.

<sup>7</sup> For example: Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001); Stephen H Gregg, ‘“A Truly Christian Hero”: Religion, Effeminacy, and Nation in the Writings of the Societies for Reformation of Manners’, *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25 (Winter 2001): 17-28; Terence Bowers, ‘Reconstituting the National Body in Smollett’s *Travels through France and Italy*’, *Eighteenth-Century Life* 21, no. 1 (1997): 1-25.

<sup>8</sup> Edwin Chadwick, *Report to Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department from the Poor Law Commissioners on an Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (Printed by W. Clowes, for H. M. Stationery Off., 1842).

<sup>9</sup> Similarly in France: Sean M Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline: Sex, Modernity, and Health Crises in Revolutionary France C.1750-1850* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> As does Brett Bowden, *The Empire of Civilization: The Evolution of an Imperial Idea* (Chicago and New York: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> *The Times*, 2 October 1807, 203.

<sup>12</sup> Manning Clark, *A History of Australia, Vol 1* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1999 (1962)), 203.

<sup>13</sup> A notable exception is Shino Konishi who reveals the role of intellectual ideas in the earliest European descriptions of Indigenous Australians: *The Aboriginal Male in the Enlightenment World* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012).

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<sup>14</sup> For example: JHL Cumpston, *Health and Disease in Australia: A History* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1989 (1928)); Jennifer Hagger, *Australian Colonial Medicine* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1979); Bryan Gandevia, Alison Holster, and Sheila Simpson, eds., *An Annotated Bibliography of the History of Medicine and Health in Australia* (Sydney: Royal Australasian College of Physicians, 1984 (1956)); John Pearn and Catherine O’Carrigan, eds., *Australia’s Quest for Colonial Health: Some Influences on Early Health and Medicine in Australia* (Brisbane: Royal Children’s Hospital, 1983); John Pearn, ed. *Pioneer Medicine in Australia* (Brisbane: Amphion Press, 1988); Robin Haines and Ralph Shlomowitz, ‘Causes of Death of British Emigrants on Voyages to South Australia, 1848-1885,’ *The Journal of the Social History of Medicine* 16, no. 2 (2003); Warwick Anderson, ‘The Colonial Medicine of Settler States: Comparing Histories of Indigenous Health,’ *Health and History* 9, no. 2 (2007); Angeline Brasier, ‘Prisoners’ Bodies: Methods and Advances in Convict Medicine in the Transportation Era,’ *Australian and New Zealand Society of the History of Medicine* 12, no. 2 (2010); Katherine Foxhall, ‘Fever, Immigration and Quarantine in New South Wales, 1837-1840,’ *Social History of Medicine* 24, no. 3 (2011).

<sup>15</sup> FB Smith, *Illness in Colonial Australia* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2011), 16,13.

<sup>16</sup> Alison Bashford, “‘Is White Australia Possible?’ Race, Colonialism and Tropical Medicine,’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 2 (2000); Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600-1850* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002 (1999)).

<sup>17</sup> Hirst includes ‘currency lasses’ in this statement though the capabilities of these lasses seemed to be restricted to their increased fertility. JB Hirst, *Freedom on the Fatal Shore: Australia’s First Colony* (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2008), 203.

<sup>18</sup> For example: Peter O’Shaughnessy, Graeme Inson and Russel Ward, *The Restless Years: Being Some Impressions of the Origin of the Australian* (Sydney: Jacaranda Press, 1968); Peter Yeldham, *The Currency Lads* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia, 1998); John Molony, *The Native-Born: The First White Australians* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000); Max Bonnell, *Currency Lads: The Life and Cricket of T.W. Garrett, R.C. Allen, S.P. Jones and Dr R.J. Pope* (Sydney: Cricket Publishing Company, 2001); Geoff Hocking, *Kings of the Road: Currency Lads & Flash Coves* (Melbourne: Moondrake, 2004).

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- <sup>19</sup> Libby Robin, *How a Continent Created a Nation* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007), 35; PR Stephenson, *The Foundations of Culture in Australia: An Essay Towards National Self Respect* (Gordon, NSW: WJ Miles, 1936), 11.
- <sup>20</sup> Joyce E Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500-1676* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), 10.
- <sup>21</sup> Jan Golinski, *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 8.
- <sup>22</sup> William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 8th ed (London: W Strahan, T Cadell, J Balfour, W Creech, 1784), 97.
- <sup>23</sup> John Brewer and Iain McCalman, 'Publishing,' in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture 1776-1832*, ed. Iain McCalman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 197-206.
- <sup>24</sup> John Theobald, *Every Man His Own Physician*, 5th ed (London: W Griffin, R Withy, G Kearsley, 1760), preface; Thomas John Graham, *Modern Domestic Medicine* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1826), vii
- <sup>25</sup> William Pinnock, *A Catechism of Medicine; or Golden Rules for the Preservation of Health, and the Attainment of Long Life* (London: Pinnock and Maunder, 1820)
- <sup>26</sup> Robert James Culverwell, *On Consumption, Coughs, Colds, Asthma and Other Diseases of the Chest* (London, 1834), 286; *The Oracle of Health, a Penny Journal of Medical Instruction and Amusement*, vol. 1-30 (1834-1835).
- <sup>27</sup> Nicholas Culpepper, *The English Physician Enlarged* (Berwick: H Richardson, 1801).
- <sup>28</sup> William Pinnock, *Catechism*; Thomas John Graham, *Sure Methods of Improving Health, and Prolonging Life*, 3rd ed (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1828); W Andre Pearkes, *Popular Observations on the Diseases of Literary and Sedentary Persons* (London: W Fearman, 1819).
- <sup>29</sup> Pinnock, *Catechism*, 13, 37-40, 52.
- <sup>30</sup> Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), xvii-xxi.
- <sup>31</sup> Pearkes, *Popular Observations*, 12.

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- <sup>32</sup> Arikha, *Passions and Tempers*, 243.
- <sup>33</sup> Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 61; John Sinclair, *The Code of Health and Longevity* (London: G and W Nicol, 1818), 464.
- <sup>34</sup> Sinclair, *Code of Health*, 238; Pearkes, *Popular Observations*, 88-89.
- <sup>35</sup> John Sinclair, *The Correspondence of the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), 49.
- <sup>36</sup> Sinclair, *Code of Health*, 451.
- <sup>37</sup> Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 60.
- <sup>38</sup> *Oracle of Health*, 26 November, 43.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 December 1834, 51.
- <sup>40</sup> Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century,' *Past & Present* 182, no. February (2004): 98.
- <sup>41</sup> For example: Samuel Butler, *The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler*, vol. 1, 30 January 1774 - 1 March 1 1831 (London: John Murray, 1896), 311.
- <sup>42</sup> Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 53, 60.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-64.
- <sup>44</sup> *Oracle of Health*, 17 December 1834, 18 February 35.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 October 1834, 19 November 34, 26 November 34, 3 December 34, 10 December 34.
- <sup>46</sup> Edwin Chadwick, *Report*, 370.
- <sup>47</sup> Stephen Philpott, James Nelson, Lewis Lockee, and John Locke quoted in Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 73.
- <sup>48</sup> Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 86-87.
- <sup>49</sup> Chadwick, *Report*, 275, 77.
- <sup>50</sup> Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 49, 90-91.
- <sup>51</sup> William Windham, *The Diary of the Right Hon. William Windham 1784-1810*, ed. Mrs Henry Baring (London: Longmans Green and Co, 1866); John Ulrich, *Signs of Their Times:*

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<sup>52</sup> Sinclair, *Correspondence*, 122; John Grainger, 'Diaries,' West Sussex Record Office, ASS MSS 30721-30728 (1787-1797); Rev R Polwhele, *Traditions and Recollections*, vol. 1 (London: John Nichols, 1826), 286; Paul Brunton, ed. *Matthew Flinders: Personal Letters from an Extraordinary Life* (Sydney: Hordern House, 2002), 162.

<sup>53</sup> Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2004), 455; William Hutton, *The Life of William Hutton* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816), 223, 83-84, 86.

<sup>54</sup> Butler, *Life and Letters*, 291.

<sup>55</sup> Magdalen Goffin, ed. *The Diaries of Absalom Watkin* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1993), 74.

<sup>56</sup> Norma Clarke, 'Strenuous Idleness: Thomas Carlyle and the Man of Letters as Hero,' in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*, ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 25-26, 36-37.

<sup>57</sup> Windham, *Diary*, 4, 6, 52, 82, 23-24, 155, 303.

<sup>58</sup> *The New Annual Register... for the Year 1808*, (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1808), 340.

<sup>59</sup> Anon, *Twenty Years Experience in Australia* (London: Smith, Elder & co, 1839), 26-27, 30.

<sup>60</sup> JC Byrne, *Twelve Year's Wanderings in the British Colonies. From 1835 to 1847*. vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1848), 39.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Henty, *Henty Family Papers*, State Library of Victoria, MS7739, Box 119/2 (e) 1 (1836-); Robert Hoddle, 'Diary,' State Library of Victoria, H12032, Box 53/2 (a) & (b) (1822-1827) 30-31, 30-31; John Hunter, *An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea 1787-1792*, ed. John Bach (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1793 (1968)), 138.

<sup>62</sup> Patrick Matthew, *Emigration Fields* (Edinburgh, London: Adam and Charles Black; Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1839), 219-20.

<sup>63</sup> Edward W Landor, *The Bushman; or, Life in a New Country* (London: Richard Bentley, 1847); Bruce Wall, 'Lawrence, William Effingham (1781 - 1841)',



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<sup>64</sup> KF Russell, 'Brownless, Sir Anthony Colling (1817 - 1897)',

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<sup>65</sup> 'Angas, George Fife (1789 - 1879)', *ADB*,

<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010018b.htm>, accessed 14/11/2009.

<sup>66</sup> SG Foster, *Colonial Improver: Edward Deas Thomson 1800-1879* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978), 17-18.

<sup>67</sup> George Hawke, 'Journal of an Early Cornish Settler in NSW,' Mitchell Library, A1938 CY1156 (1828-1873), 4, 8.

<sup>68</sup> James Demarr, *Adventures in Australia Fifty Years Ago* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co, 1893), 210; William Smillie, *'The Great South Land: Four Papers on Emigration*, 2nd ed. (London: Simpkin & Marshall and JC Hailes, 1838), 19; Charles Rowcroft, *Tales of the Colonies; or, the Adventures of an Emigrant*, 3rd ed (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1845 (1843)), 535; Anon, *A Voice from the Bush in Australia* (Dublin, London and Edinburgh: William Curry, Jun. and Company; Smith, Elder, and Company; John Johnstone, 1839), 39.

<sup>69</sup> Daniel Southwell, 'Letters from D. Southwell, Concerning New South Wales,' British Library, MS ADD 16383 (1787-1790), 1 August 1787, 27 July 90.

<sup>70</sup> John Waugh, 'Waugh Family Papers', Mitchell Library, ML A827, CY 812 (1834-1859), 10 February 1835.

<sup>71</sup> George Wyndham, 'Diary,' Mitchell Library, MSS 1946/1-2, B1313, CY 859 (1830-1840).

<sup>72</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence on the subject of secondary punishment, 1834 (82), 12. <http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk>

<sup>73</sup> Lucy Frost and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain Letters: Narrating Convict Lives* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 174-75.

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- <sup>74</sup> Yvonne Cramer, *This Beauteous, Wicked Place: Letters and Journals of John Grant, Gentleman Convict* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2000), 128, 89, 90.
- <sup>75</sup> George and Robert Dixon, 'Letters from Tasmania,' Mitchell Library, ML B425, CY 2408 (1821-1823), Letter 1, 1821, Letter 6, 23.
- <sup>76</sup> Hoddle, 'Diary,' 94.
- <sup>77</sup> John Webster, *Reminiscences of an Old Settler in Australian and New Zealand* (New Zealand: Southern Bookbinding, 1908), 58, 74, 101.
- <sup>78</sup> Anon, *A Month in the Bush of Australia* (London: J Cross; Simpkin and Marshall, 1838), 39, 19, 36.
- <sup>79</sup> John Brewer, *The Common People and Politics 1750-1790* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), 21.
- <sup>80</sup> Cunningham, *Two Years*, 54.
- <sup>81</sup> *Sydney Herald*, 21 February 1842.
- <sup>82</sup> CE Sayers, 'Wills, Horatio Spencer Howe (1811 - 1861)', *ADB*, <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020548b.htm>, accessed 28/1/2010.
- <sup>83</sup> Reports of dinners: *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 10 July 1823, 20 March 1832, 25 January 1838; *Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser*, 27 January 1844; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 January 1846.
- <sup>84</sup> For example: *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 26 February 1824, 3 February 1825, 23 June 1832, 31 July 1832, 3 November 1832, 22 July 1834; *Sydney Herald*, 5 February 1838; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 March 1845.
- <sup>85</sup> *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 16 October 1830.
- <sup>86</sup> Cunningham, *Two Years*, 63.
- <sup>87</sup> *Colonial Times*, 6 August 1833.
- <sup>88</sup> *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 19 March 1835.
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<sup>90</sup> Stephen Garton, 'War and Masculinity in Twentieth Century Australia,' *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 56 (1998): 88-89.

<sup>91</sup> Paine, Thomas. *Rights of Man* (London: JS Jordan, 1791).