

Second draft

The Background to an Armorial Tea and Coffee Service, ordered by the former Governor of New South Wales, General Lachlan Macquarie, on his return from New South Wales in 1822

Part II

General Lachlan Macquarie (1762-1824)

Lachlan Macquarie (1762-1824) was the son of Lachlan Macquarie (d. c.1775) and his wife Margaret (1728-1810), the sister of Murdoch Maclaine, the 18th Laird of Lochbuie, (1730-1804).

Lachlan Macquarie (1762-1824), was born, according to a note in his own hand in a family Bible, on 31 January 1762 on the island of Ulva in the parish of Kilninian in the Inner Hebrides, Scotland. His mother a widow farmed her pendicle of Oskamull, on Mull, with her eldest and retarded son Donald and Farquhar Maclaine, until her death at 82. Two letters from her exist, and she may have been illiterate or more likely have become blind; in 1803 when Macquarie wrote to her at her request, he asked his uncle, his normal correspondent, 'to cause some proper Person to read to her'.

Of Macquarie's older brothers, Hector was a lieutenant in the New York Volunteer Regiment and died while prisoner of the American rebels in 1778; Donald who was described as possessing an 'infirm imbecile state of mind' died in 1801 at 50 ending his days living with his mother on Mull.

Following his father's death Macquarie and his younger brother Charles, moved to Mull from Ulva to come under the affectionate care of Murdoch Maclaine 18th laird of Lochbuie their mother's brother.

Whether Macquarie attended the Royal High School, Edinburgh, as tradition has it, is doubtful. What is certain is that in 1776 he volunteered and on 9 April 1777 became an ensign in the second battalion of the 84th Regiment, known as the Royal Highland Emigrants, commanded by a cousin, Colonel (later General) Allan Maclean, his uncle Murdoch Maclaine had served as captain in the same battalion. Macquarie was posted first to Nova Scotia, where he landed on 31 October 1776, and then to New York and Charleston, but only on garrison duty. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the 71st Regiment on 18 January 1781. From Charleston Macquarie was posted to Jamaica and there made up his mind to try his fortune in the East Indies. Returning to Scotland in 1784 he was retired on half-pay when his regiment was disbanded. Three years later, through the patronage of Maclaine, he was offered the senior lieutenancy in the 77th Regiment the East Middlesex, which was being raised for service in India, on condition that he found fifteen recruits for the colonel's company. On 28 March 1788, after several months of strenuous recruiting in Scotland, he marched from Dover Castle to Deal with the first division and embarked in the *Dublin* for Bombay. Macquarie then 26 had ten guineas in his pocket and left behind debts to his uncle and tradesmen.

Macquarie arrived at Bombay early in August and despite his gloom about prospects of promotion he fulfilled Maclaine's prediction that he would get 'a step' within three months. On 9 November 1788 he was appointed a captain-lieutenant and considered himself 'a very lucky fellow'. Early in 1790 war with Tippoo Sahib seemed unavoidable and Macquarie was itching for battle, only praying that the war would last at least three years: 'in which time I think I shall be rather unlucky if I do not get a Company and make a few Hundred Pounds to assist my friends with'.

Three years later Macquarie was appointed major of brigade. By then he had not only paid off his debts but saved £1000 and sent home money to his family. He was now in a position to propose to a West Indian heiress, one of 21 children, Jane Jarvis (1772-1796), youngest daughter of the late

Thomas Jarvis of Antigua. She was living in Bombay with her sister and brother-in-law, James Morley, a wealthy, retired servant of the East India Co., and to Macquarie's joy - 'Oh delightful glorious and generous girl!' she accepted him. Thomas Jarvis senior, President of the Council of Antigua was the husband of Rachel Thibou, through whom he 'inherited', Thibou's estate and Long Island in Antigua. Thomas Jarvis senior was Chief Justice of the Court of the King's Bench on his death in 1785.

They were married on 8 September 1793 in Morley's house, but the polite society in which Macquarie now moved proved expensive, and since the marriage settlement could not be touched, he was soon in debt again. He was therefore relieved when his regiment was ordered to Calicut. In a bungalow there, which he named Staffa Lodge, Macquarie and his bride lived quietly but contentedly. He had paid off his debts by the time he saw further action, this time against the Dutch, taking part in the siege of Cochin (1795) and the capture of Colombo and Point de Galle (1796). There he stayed for nearly a month as governor but hearing that his wife was unwell, he obtained leave and hurried back to Calicut to find her in the last stage of consumption. Hoping desperately that sea air would help, Macquarie took her on a trip to Macao, but she died there on 15 July 1796 in her twenty-fourth year. Macquarie's profound grief was touchingly if verbosely expressed in the inscription on the ornate, black marble tombstone he raised over her grave in the Bombay burying ground, and in numerous letters home. A letter by Jane, written to her mother-in-law to inform her of their marriage, suggests, as does a miniature portrait, a young woman of charm, sweetness and simplicity.

Macquarie reportedly used her legacy of £6000 to fund part of his purchase of land on the island of Mull in 1802, an estate he named Jarvisfield in her honour.

On 3 May 1796 Macquarie was promoted brevet major, and next year he added by purchase the office of deputy paymaster general of the King's troops in the Bombay presidency. That year he was in the expedition against the Pyché Rajah and in 1799, shortly after the engagement at Sedasere he was at the battle of Seringapatam, during which Tippoo was killed; this brought him £1300 in prize money. In April 1800 Governor Duncan of Bombay appointed him his confidential military secretary, though Macquarie generously stipulated that the emoluments of the office should continue to be paid to the previous occupant, a friend who was married and had small means.

On 18 September 1800 when he took office as president of the Sans Souci Club in Bombay, he finally abandoned the black armband, worn since his wife's death. Six months later General Baird asked Macquarie to accompany him as deputy adjutant general of the army of six thousand men he was taking to Egypt to help General Abercromby in expelling the French. Macquarie sailed for the Red Sea on 6 April 1801 and in Cairo learnt that his brother Charles, now a captain in the Black Watch, had been seriously wounded at Aboukir. Their reunion took place at Alexandria in September 1801 and filled several ardent pages of his diary.

When the bulk of the British army left Egypt, Macquarie became deputy adjutant general of all the remaining forces. As early as July 1801 he had word that he had been appointed at home to an effective majority of the 86th Regiment as from 15 January 1801, and on returning to Bombay in July 1802 he assumed command but was granted leave that year on the ground that he had urgent business at home. This was scarcely an exaggeration, for while in Egypt he had learnt that he had become a landowner in Mull.

Macquarie had for several years set his heart on acquiring part of the Lochbuie estate which his uncle was being forced to sell by his creditors. He told his uncle that he was willing to submit to any terms, but asked him to delay the sale until 1803, by which time he expected to be back in Britain and able to cash his fortune. The Maclaine of Lochbuie, unable to wait, sold 10,000 acres (4047 ha) to Macquarie, and Macquarie's Bombay agents provided security for the purchase money of £10,060. The Egyptian campaign had been so profitable that raising such a sum presented no difficulty; at the beginning of

1803 he estimated that he was worth £20,000 in money and land, twice the amount of his wealth only two years before.

Understandably Macquarie was anxious to take possession of this part of his mother's family estate. His principal motive in acquiring it, he assured his sister-in-law, Mrs Morley, was to perpetuate the memory of his late wife by naming it after her ('You will say—my beloved Sister—that I am romantick?—Be it so!') He was clearly also attracted to the idea of becoming a Highland laird. It was also perfectly natural that he should be homesick, especially as his uncle Murdoch Maclaine, now ailing and had begged him to return.

He left Bombay on 6 January 1803 in the company ship *Sir Edward Hughes* after a farewell dinner presented by the governor. The ship sailed by the Cape and St Helena, and on 7 May Macquarie landed at Brighton, where he sat down at the Castle Inn to 'the most excellent comfortable English Dinner for the first time these 15 Years!' A week later war with France broke out again and in July the Duke of York, as commander-in-chief, appointed him assistant adjutant general of the London district. Macquarie's rank was now lieutenant-colonel on the staff, the promotion being dated back to 7 November 1801.

These were strenuous days not only militarily but socially, for the 'awkward, rusticated, Jungle-Wallah', as he jocularly described himself, moved in the highest society. He was presented to the king ten days after his arrival and to the queen and all the princesses the following week, 'a grand and most pleasing Splendid Sight of the finest Women in all the World'. Equally flatteringly, Lord Castlereagh consulted him about Indian affairs.

Clearly Macquarie felt himself in his element despite the expense. This is the Macquarie of Opie's fine portrait now in Sydney, the handsome, spruce young veteran of 41. In these circumstances he found it easier than might have been expected to reconcile himself to postponing his trip north and it was not until June 1804 that he was able to get away. His uncle was on his death bed, so the reunion was short. Macquarie had the melancholy task of breaking the news of Lochbuie's death to his mother at their first meeting since 1787. While at home Macquarie carried out his resolution to make a further addition to Jarvisfield with the acquisition of the adjoining estate of Glenforsa in 1804.

His affection for the island of Mull and the Maclaine lands is indicated by the following clause in his will written while Governor at Sydney in 1815:

Knowing from long experience how much it contributes to the happiness comfort and respectability of domestic life to have a spacious commodious and elegant Mansion for a family to live in especially in that remote country where I ardently hope we shall all one day reside, and end our days in; I will and ordain in the event of my not living long enough myself to carry this measure into complete effect that my beloved wife shall have a spacious elegant and commodious mansion house with suitable offices and Garden erected and made at our family Seat of Gruline in our said Estate of Jarvisfield in the Island of Mull on such a site as she may deem most eligible for the same –and according to such plan and size as she may judge suitable in reference to the many conversations she and myself have held on this subject – I limit however the expence of a plain modern house and offices including a Garden wall to Five thousand pounds St[erlin]g but if a Castle of Castellated House containing the farm accommodation as the plain modern house with offices and Garden wall can be built and completely erected for one thousand pounds more I should greatly prefer it to the plain modern Mansion as I think a Castle is peculiarly appropriate and suited to the wild grand and sublime scenery of Gruline and Loch Baid. If therefore a Castle with suitable offices can be completely erected for the sum of six thousand pounds Sterling to which sum; I hereby limit the whole expence thereof I particularly request that preference may be given to the latter description of Building by my dearly beloved Wife – I also will and ordain that the said Mansion or Castle and offices shall be properly and respectably furnished, limiting the expence of the said Furniture to one thousand pounds Sterling the amount of

which as well as of erecting the Castle or Mansion offices, and Garden wall are to be paid from my money now invested in the British funds –



Detail of the Macquarie portrait presented to the State Library of New South Wales by Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Greenhill-Gardyne of Glenforsa, Argyllshire, son-in-law of the 9th Viscount Strathallan, in 1914. The portrait had previously been left to Lieutenant-Colonel Gardyne by Isabella the widow of Lachlan Macquarie II, with the chairs and other furniture left at the original Gruline cottage on her departure, from the island.

In a letter written probably on 25 July 1915 to Archibald James Macquarie (1875-1945), grandnephew of Lachlan Macquarie who had emigrated to Canada in the 1890s there is evidence of Col. Greenhill-Gardyne's conviction that this portrait of Macquarie is by Opie. The original Gruline House was extended by the Drummond's after the court case was settled for Greenhill-Gardyne between 1861 and 1865 by the architects Peddie & Kinnear and renamed Glenforsa it remained connected to the old Gruline House by a corridor

Gardyne was a well-known author and military historian who had married a Strathallan daughter, he lived principally in Forfar at Finavon Castle. I have highlighted in bold his stated provenance:

*"Dear Macquarie I was much interested in your's of the 17th May, which I would have answered sooner, but that I have been for 2 months in bed, but I am now able to be up a little and have received your's of the 12th July - I will answer it first - The "Oban Times" asked me to let them photograph the portrait of your Grand-uncle at the time when there was some discussion about the General. **The picture which is by Opie and a very good one was given to me by the widow of the General's son***

Lauchlan (who was a Campbell of Jura) She asked me to give it a home and to take care of it -
When I sold Glenforsa House I gave it the place of honour here - seven or eight years ago the trustees of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which is also the National Picture Gallery of N.S.Wales - approached me with a view of purchasing the portrait of the greatest governor of their Colony, where his name is perpetuated in the Macquarie River, Macquarie Street, Mrs Macquarie's Walk & others - I refused to sell it, because I felt, that it had been given into my charge by the General's daughter in law and I felt this charge to be sacred, but I offered a copy. This they declined but were prepared to give a large sum for the original. On mature consideration however, I thought that the portrait of the great governor might find a more fitting home where he was so highly appreciated and so widely known than in the narrow circle of my dining room, and I felt that this would have been more in consonance with his own feelings & that of his family - I therefore presented it to the Colony in the only condition that they should give me a copy by an artist of my choice - I received the thanks of the N.S.W. government & the trustees of the Mitchell Library who also gave me a silver cup as a remembrance - The copy which is very artistic & [?], has taken the place of the original in this house. In this way I hope I have fulfilled my charge in a manner which would have been satisfactory to the donor - at the same time Mrs Macquarie gave me a number of other things, the most interesting and valuable of which were the 2 Government House chairs - and as there was no special charge with regard to these things I gave them to your father....[A history of the two chairs appears in Part IV]¹

In this context the following notes by the Mitchell Library on the sources of their collection of Macquarie Papers are of interest:

Macquarie and his family papers as described in this guide comprise all those original items which can be considered to have remained in his personal possession or that of his wife and son. They do not include any items which form part of the collections of other persons. The Macquarie papers have come to the Mitchell Library from many sources. The majority of them including his letter books, 1793 — 1822 and most of his journals, 1807 — 1824, were acquired from Margaret, Viscountess Strathallan in January 1914. A year earlier she had proposed selling her collection at auction through Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge. (A copy of the sale catalogue is located at QA923.59/MI73/2A1 p.39). The papers were obtained by private purchase on behalf of the Mitchell Library before the auction took place. It is probable that these papers accompanied Lachlan Macquarie on his return to England from N.S.W. in 1822. On his death in 1824 they formed part of his estate which passed to his son, Lachlan, in whose custody or that of his mother, they presumably remained until Lachlan the younger's death in 1845. Lachlan the younger left part of his estate, including most of his father's papers, to his close friend William Henry Drummond, later the 9th Viscount Strathallan. It was from the widow of the 10th Viscount that the papers were subsequently acquired by the Mitchell Library.

Another substantial portion of the Macquarie papers, including all except one of Lachlan Macquarie's Indian journals, 1787 - 1807 and Mrs. Macquarie's journal, 1809 were acquired in Scotland from Colonel Campbell in June 1914. It seems likely that Colonel Campbell was related to Lachlan the younger's wife who was the daughter of Colin Campbell of Jura.

A third major body of material, comprising manuscripts, relics, pictures and printed books was presented to the Library by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Graham Campbell of Jura, Argyllshire, Scotland at various times between 1962 and 1976. Mr. Campbell was the great nephew of Lachlan the younger's wife.

In July 2013 the Library acquired two further Macquarie items (Macquarie family travelling medicine chest and a silhouette portrait of Lachlan Macquarie junior) from the great grandson of Lt. Col. Charles Greenhill-Gardyne.²

Lachlan Macquarie at the funeral of his uncle met and admired immensely, an amiable and accomplished kinswoman Elizabeth a Campbell of Airds, whom he in due course married.

Macquarie's return to India could not be long delayed. He may have helped to precipitate this event by his foolish and unsuccessful attempt to deceive the Duke of York about the age and whereabouts of two young relatives, the subjects of an anonymous letter which the duke had received from Mull. Though Macquarie protested that he had misrepresented nothing, he was lucky to avoid the ruin and disgrace which he himself feared would be the result of his 'bold fiction'; however, his application for a transfer to the guards was rejected out of hand and he was ordered back to India.

Macquarie left Portsmouth in the *City of London* on 24 April 1805 his heart lightened by the knowledge that Elizabeth had agreed to wait for him. His second tour of duty was comparatively brief. At Bombay in October he learnt that the Duke of York had promoted him to Lt. Col, in the 73rd Regiment which had already returned home. After serving in the north with his old regiment Macquarie left India for the last time on 19 March 1807. This time he decided to take the overland route carrying dispatches. Taking ship to the Persian Gulf, where he narrowly escaped drowning, he and his companions went to the British factory at Basra; learning there that Turkey, at war with Russia, had broken off diplomatic relations with Britain, he decided to travel via St Petersburg. He picked up dispatches from the Shah of Persia at Baghdad on the way, reached London on 17 October 1807, and was eventually rewarded with £750 by the government.

Seventeen days later he married Elizabeth Campbell in the little parish church of Holsworthy in Devon and took her to Perth where his new regiment was garrisoned. By their first wedding anniversary they were also celebrating, with all the enthusiasm of belated parenthood, the arrival of a daughter, christened Jane Jarvis, but her death on 5 December 1808 threw a cloud over their lives.

Dramatic distraction from grief was provided by the decision of the government at the end of 1808 to send Major-General Miles Nightingall and the 73rd Regiment to New South Wales to replace the deposed governor, William Bligh and the mutinous New South Wales Corps. Macquarie was to accompany his regiment, but the prospect of going abroad again so soon did not please him, especially as he reckoned that he was already the oldest lieutenant-colonel in the army and feared that the colony would be too remote to assist his further promotion. He therefore wrote at the end of March to General Sir David Dundas, the new commander-in-chief, reminding him of his thirty-two years in the army and asking for promotion to colonel in the colony. More important, he applied to Castlereagh, secretary of state for the colonies, for the post of lieutenant-governor, and this appointment he received with the support of the Duke of York and Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington. When he heard that Nightingall had changed his mind about accepting the governorship, Macquarie boldly wrote to Castlereagh again, offering his services as governor. At first this ploy appeared to have failed and on 26 April he duly attended a royal levée to pay his duty as lieutenant-governor; but the next day in Berkeley Square he met Castlereagh who told him he was to go as governor.

As the government was anxious about the situation in New South Wales the preparations for departure were hurried, but with characteristic canniness Macquarie wrote an effusive thank-you to Castlereagh ('Great men like these attentions—and they never do any harm') and a respectful letter to Sir Joseph Banks, the colony's original patron, discreetly reminding him of hospitality the clan Macquarie had given him many years before. Banks was not well enough to see Macquarie but was favourably disposed. Macquarie also consulted T. W. Plummer, a lawyer, about the improvements, desirable in the colonial government. A week before departure he received confidential Instructions in which Castlereagh emphasized that 'The Great Objects of attention are to improve the Morals of the Colonists, to encourage Marriage, to provide for Education, to prohibit the Use of Spirituous Liquors, to increase the Agriculture and Stock, so as to ensure the Certainty of a full supply to the Inhabitants under all Circumstances'. Macquarie's policy in the colony can only be understood in the light of this exhortation.

On 22 May 1809 Macquarie and his wife sailed with the regiment from Portsmouth in the store ship *Dromedary* escorted by H.M.S. *Hindustan*. During the seven-month voyage they both kept a diary, his

terse, hers lively. Also on board were Ellis Bent, the newly-appointed deputy judge advocate, and his family, the last of the autocratic, and non-constitutional, governors came to Australia with the first properly trained law officer.

After a light-hearted sojourn at Cape Town Macquarie and his party proceeded to New South Wales and entered Port Jackson on 28 December 1809. Macquarie was sworn in on New Year's Day 1810. Addressing the citizens at the ceremony he expressed the hope that the recent dissensions would now give way to a more becoming harmony among all classes. Officers displaced since Bligh's arrest were reinstated and all other acts of the 'revolutionary' government annulled. After Bligh arrived in Sydney on 17 January it required all the tact that Macquarie could muster to keep his relations with his predecessor more or less amicable until Bligh finally sailed for home on 12 May with the New South Wales Corps. With the past out of the way Macquarie could devote his undivided attention to the present, and the future. Privately he had been pleasantly surprised to find the colony thriving and 'in a perfect state of tranquillity'. He was also pleased with the setting and the climate and hoped 'we shall be able to pass five or six years here pleasantly enough'.

In July 1811 Macquarie received official notification of his promotion to the rank of colonel a year before. On 25 November 1811 he was promoted brigadier-general, though he only heard about it eleven months later. In October 1813 he learnt that he had been a major-general since 4 June, but he seemed just as delighted to hear that his brother had at last married, and to an Edinburgh heiress at that. Macquarie had repeatedly urged him to come out to New South Wales, and concocted plans for his becoming collector of customs, lieutenant-governor, and even Macquarie's successor, but nothing came of them. His brother Charles's son, the 'Hero Hector', and their young cousin, John MacLaine, the subjects of the 1803 episode, were both on Macquarie's staff in the colony; he was always ready to help his kin.

Undoubtedly the high moment of Macquarie's stay in the colony and perhaps of his life, was the birth on 28 March 1814, following six miscarriages, of his son whom he gently allowed Elizabeth to name Lachlan after him. Their happiness on earth, he noted in his memorandum book, was now complete. For the last decade of his life Macquarie found a happy refuge from his worries in the role of doting father.

These worries accumulated during the second half of his reign. Castlereagh had told him before he left London that he would be given a pension if he stayed eight years as governor, and on 1 December 1817, within a month of that period, Macquarie tendered his resignation. This followed Bathurst's criticism of Macquarie's handling of the incident in which the American schooner *Traveller* had been seized without his authority. The governor considered the reprimand unjustified and its tone very insulting. Bathurst wrote a mollifying reply declining to accept the resignation until he heard further from Macquarie, but this dispatch went astray and was never received by the governor. Instead, though he reminded Bathurst of his resignation, he was informed of the appointment of Bigge, learning this only five days before the commissioner arrived on 26 September 1819.

Macquarie seems to have been genuinely pleased, in view of the parliamentary criticism, at the inquiry since 'his report *must* be favourable to my administration of the Colony and highly honourable to my character'. But Macquarie and Bigge soon fell out over his 'absurd' public works policy and his appointment of the emancipist, Dr William Redfern, as a magistrate. This quarrel was patched up but another developed when Macquarie, who had been seriously ill, addressed his own questionnaire concerning his administration to all the magistrates in the colony. This contretemps in turn was settled in July 1820 on the emotional occasion of the solemn procession following news of the death of George III and after Macquarie had promised not to use the questionnaire while Bigge was in the colony. Ironically, the magistrates' replies were by no means wholly favourable to the governor.

At the end of 1820 Macquarie learnt with relief that his third application to resign had been accepted, but it was not until 12 February 1822, three months after his successor arrived, that he and his family

embarked in the *Surry* with an a Noah's Ark of Australian wild life for friends and patrons at home, cheered by a 'Harbour full of People'.

They sailed three days later and arrived at Deptford on 5 July 1822. The first part of Bigge's report had already been tabled in the House of Commons, so Macquarie lost no time in seeing Bathurst and submitting a detailed report of his administration. He had the satisfaction of receiving from Bathurst his assurance of the king's appreciation of his assiduity and integrity; he was 'most graciously received' on 5 August when presented to the monarch by Castlereagh. The same day Bigge's first volume was tabled in the Lords and it now began to circulate publicly, but with remarkable restraint Macquarie forbore to comment until the rest appeared. John Macarthur junior reported that 'the Governor bends his head to the storm like a true Scotsman and calls on Mr. Bigge as if he was quite contented and at ease'. Unable to stand London, Macquarie went home to Scotland, and at the end of November, worried about his wife's health, he took her and Lachlan, with servants and a tutor, on a grand tour through France, Italy and Switzerland, spending two months at Hyères near Toulon. While abroad he received copies of Bigge's second and third volumes, for on the way back he stopped for twelve days at Fontainebleau to answer this 'false, vindictive and malicious Report'.

Back in London on 31 July 1823 he began a desperate attempt to salvage his reputation and to secure his pension, but on neither issue was he able to obtain satisfaction from the government, and the sudden death of Castlereagh deprived him of a most influential patron. He had been defended by *John Bull* when Bigge's first volume was published, but Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review* was so scathing that Macquarie even contemplated suing that journal for libel. In October he presented Bathurst with a 43-page commentary, but not until 1828 could his friends persuade the government to publish part of it as a parliamentary paper.

Meanwhile the British Treasury added to his worries by belatedly pestering him about the absence of receipts for £10,000 he had ordered to be paid out to address a severe currency shortage when he arranged the importation from India in 1812 of 40,000 Spanish silver dollars through which he had a central hole punched to create two unique coins; the Holey Dollar and the Dump they holding him answerable.

The currency stimulated the economy while retaining its intrinsic value, with the two new coins being worth 25 per cent more than the original.

Exhausted and sick at heart Macquarie sailed with his family for Mull in November 1823, too poor to travel by coach. In 1817 his brother Charles had bought on his behalf another part of the Duke of Argyll's property on Mull. This had cost £22,000, all of Macquarie's fortune, Elizabeth described the purchase as 'ruinous' and so it proved. Far from saving money Macquarie had been obliged to supplement his net salary (£1800) as governor from his own pocket, and he was now £500 in debt to his bankers. I presume that his bankers would have kept the money raised by the grateful colonists. His earlier hopes of building a castle, a mansion or even a cottage on his estate had faded, and for a country seat they had to make do with the damp, draughty dwelling already there.

The Macquarie university web site notes that the Macquarie's found:

...that economic conditions in the Highlands were severely depressed, and, in particular, the state of the 'Jarvisfield' Estate on Mull had placed them in serious financial difficulty. Its viability was seriously compromised by its size, and the fact that the tenants were largely unable to maintain their rents. In 1817 Lachlan had authorised his brother Charles to purchase from the Duke of Argyll an additional 10,000 acres for the land referred to as 'Leharnakeal'. This included all the lands along Loch Na Keal from Gruline to the ferry crossing at Lagganulva: Kellan, Kiliemore, Archarn, Archronich, Oskamull, Korkamull and the higher slopes of 'shieling' land that were suitable for summer grazing. The estate was bounded on the north by the Glen McQuarie and the river Aros and included the farm at Oskamull that Macquarie's mother had rented from the Duke of Argyll from 1775

until her death in 1810. This meant that the 'Jarvisfield' estate now totalled 21,128 acres. Macquarie had managed to acquire all the key land holdings straddling the narrow isthmus connecting the northern and southern portions of Mull, as well as that portion of Mull closest to the ancestral lands of the Clan MacQuarrie on the island of Ulva. Their house at Gruline was in a worse condition than they had imagined, and during their visit to Mull they were forced to reside at the home of their neighbour Colonel Campbell, at Knock.

In an interview with Bathurst it was confirmed that he would be paid a pension of £1000, twice as much as he had expected. He also received a letter in which Bathurst spoke reassuringly of Macquarie's 'able and successful administration', words which delighted the old man, though he complained to Elizabeth that he could not publish them, 'whereas this vile insidious Bigge Report is everywhere in the hands of everyone'.

The final irony was that Macquarie did not live to enjoy his pension. On 25 May he learnt that his application for a title had been rejected. On 11 June, having said a leisurely farewell to the king, the Duke of York, Bathurst and others, preparatory to returning to Scotland, he woke feeling ill. He suffered much pain from his old bowel complaint and from strangury, and on 1 July 1824 he died in his London lodgings in Duke Street Mayfair. Elizabeth, who had hurried down from Mull, described the moment of his dignified death as 'the most sublime in my life'. Macquarie would have been pleased with the crowd of relations, friends and colleagues, including the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Breadalbane and several generals who escorted his coffin up Regent Street and Portland Place, followed by forty coaches including those of the Duke of Wellington, Bathurst and the Earl of Harrington. His body was taken by boat to Mull and buried on his estate. The family tomb is now administered by the National Trust of Australia.

It is believed that one of Macquarie's last errands in London had been to select 'a superb Vase' with the £500 the colonists of New South Wales had subscribed as his farewell gift. As an investigative silver historian, I have spent many years looking for evidence regarding the existence of this vase and none has been forthcoming. It is my opinion that Macquarie's death and his failure to acquire a title or matriculate his arms suggests that even if he did commission a vase and that it was commenced by Rundell Bridge and Rundell it was never completed as a result of his death and lack of ready cash.

His testamentary assets confirm this.

In a will written in Sydney in 1815 Macquarie had settled the estate of Jarvisfield on his son, while providing an annuity of £300 from the income it provided for his widow. His personal property was then valued at £22,000, but by 1824 this was probably largely illusory in view of the land market on Mull. Since Lachlan junior died childless and hopelessly in debt to his bankers the Drummond family of Strathallan Castle Macquarie's ambition of establishing a line of lairds of Jarvisfield came to nothing.

The fundamental issue between Macquarie and Bigge lay in their conception of the *raison d'être* of the colony. Macquarie always viewed it as 'a Penitentiary or Asylum on a Grand Scale' though he conceded that it 'must one day or other be one of the greatest and most flourishing Colonies belonging to the British Empire'. Bigge, more closely in touch with opinion in London and influenced by the ideas of John Macarthur, saw clearly its potentialities for free settlement and wool. Despite the governor's passionate plea Bigge's astute but conventional lawyer's mind was not impressed by the aim or the achievements of Macquarie's emancipist policy. That is hardly surprising; here Macquarie was ahead of his time, and indeed ahead of our own, and one can still wonder that an Indian army veteran, pillar of the established Church and an orthodox Tory in politics, ever came to father this extraordinary experiment.

Certainly no other governor was so popular with both emancipist and convict, he was unlucky to govern at a time when the authority of the governor still had no sound constitutional basis, when the pressure for economy was so strong, and when British policy was undergoing reappraisal.

Of Macquarie's personal characteristics it is worth emphasizing that he was far from humourless—a rather high-spirited and un-vicious humour, witness his nick-naming his 'Royal Highland Camel' in Egypt 'the Laird of Kilbuckie'. Wherever he went he had an appreciative, if unoriginal, eye for 'romantick' landscape and historic places, and whether in London, St Petersburg, or Rio de Janeiro, enjoyed an evening at the theatre. Above all he was a man of strong family affections and, blessed in the person of both his wives, he proved a devoted husband and father, even agreeing to have the family's favourite old cow shipped all the way from Sydney to Mull.³

A series of transcribed letters written and forwarded by Mrs Macquarie to the Rev Cowper in New South Wales between 3 Nov 1825 and the 23 March 1826 contain a mention for the first and only time at the funeral of the General of the existence of a vase but I suggest that this was in fact window dressing:

It was a renewal of life to me, when I got his body, into the house, once more. [Gruline]The room I had been building with so much anxiety was first used for this occasion. The Escutcheons were placed over a table at the head of the coffin and on the table was placed the superb vase, given him by the grateful colonists. I had it taken from the silversmiths in London at the ceremony there... (In Her Own Words, the Writings of Elizabeth Macquarie edited by Robin Walsh)

The underlining in the transcribed letter is I suggest the invention of another hand probably J McGarvie who copied the copy by Richard Fitzgerald her agent in Sydney. McGarvie would have been aware of the non-existence of the vase and made this second copy of the original letter on 4 October 1832.

A presentation vase may have been discussed or even ordered by Governor Macquarie on his last visit to London some weeks before his death to be acquired from the Crown Jewellers Rundell Bridge and Rundell of 32 Ludgate Hill. It should be born in mind that this firm also provided a hire service supplying plate and jewels for any occasion, from a coronation to a wake.

I suggest that in this case the vase was hired for the funeral services and returned to London with the family silver to the value of 53 pounds. This being all the silver that belonged to Macquarie on his death as recorded in the Macquarie probate papers:

Testament of Major General Lachlan Macquarie, 1825 Dunoan Sheriff Court, Register of Inventories and Wills, SC51/32/2, pp. 201-214... [p. 201] ...

To Amount of value of household furniture Wines Silver plate Bed and table linen paintings Gold Watch and other Articles belonging to the Defunct at Jar[v]isfield aforesaid per Inventory and appraisement by Robert Cuthbertson Merchant in Burntisland now in Tobermory and Angus McKinnen upholstorer residing at Oskamull⁴

Pounds 1256.11.3

To Amount of Silver plate besides the above in the house at Jar[v]isfield at the time of General Macquarries death but since taken to London per Inventory and appraisement of Rundell Bridge and Rundell Jewellers and appraisers London⁵

Pounds 53.-.1

To Amount of value of a Writing Desk and chest of Drawers also taken to London since General Macquarries death per Inventory and appraisement of W. Aviss Carpenter and appraiser Putney

Pounds 4.10.-

N.B. A considerable part of the furniture at Jarvisfield included in this Inventory is claimed by Mrs Macquarrie the widow of the Defunct as being bought with her proper money...⁶

I suggest that these entries in the probate papers confirm that a vase to the value of 500 pounds was not purchased from Rundell Bridge and Rundell with whom the family was associated for there was nothing of such value listed in the collection of family silver.

I suggest that the silver possessed by General Macquarie had little second hand value and that the silver sent to Rundell Bridge and Rundell for appraisal was in fact the tea and coffee service of which the biggin, the subject of this essay, appears to be the only known surviving part purchased from the firm on their return to London.

¹ *C.Greenhill-.Gardyne.*" Letter written 25 July 1915 (?) to Archibald James Macquarie (1875-1945) grandnephew of Lachlan Macquarie who had emigrated to Canada in the 1890s

² The will of Isabella has been found and she specifically left the chairs and portrait to Greenhill-Gardyne left behind at Gruline when the court case was lost in 1851.

³ The majority of this biography which I have amended has been taken from: The Australian Dictionary of Biography Volume 2 *Macquarie, Lachlan* (1762–1824) by N. D. McLachlan

⁴ *Annexed to the will of Lachlan Macquarie Scottish Record Office SC 51/32/4*

⁵ *Ditto*

⁶ <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files//research/famous-scots/macquarie-lachlan-will-transcript-2018.pdf>