

STATE LIBRARY OF N.S.W.
MITCHELL LIBRARY

DSM/
A922.3/
J

D. T. Ritchie

AUSTRALIA'S
FIRST PREACHER;

THE

REV. RICHARD JOHNSON,

FIRST CHAPLAIN OF NEW SOUTH WALES.



BY

JAMES BONWICK, F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF "LAST OF THE TASMANIANS," ETC.

LONDON:

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & COMPANY
LIMITED,

St. Dunstan's House,

FETTER LANE, FLEET STREET, E.C.

1898

LONDON :

Printed by GILLINGHAM AND BEDDOW,
73, BASINGHALL ST., E.C., AND 257, KENTISH TOWN RD., N.W.

A U S T R A L I A ' S
F I R S T P R E A C H E R ;

T H E

REV. RICHARD JOHNSON,

FIRST CHAPLAIN OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

PREFACE.

WHEN I arrived on Australian soil in 1841, I heard traditionary tales of the First Chaplain of Hobart Town, appointed in 1803, as well as of the Second Chaplain of New South Wales, sent out in 1793, but of the First nominated Clergyman, dating from 1786, I heard little indeed. The Rev. Samuel Marsden was the prominent public figure for many years in the older Colony, and the Rev. Robert Knopwood was talked about familiarly beneath the Blue Gums of Tasmania; but the Rev. Richard Johnson, the friend of Charles Simeon, John Newton and William Wilberforce, seemed forgotten in the land of his early labours.

In Parramatta, I have heard mention of Mr. Marsden, in Sydney I heard nothing of Mr. Johnson.

While pursuing my investigation of Colonial History, I met with such remarkable incidents connected with our First Australian Chaplain, that my interest in the man and his times was strongly excited. He had nearly vanished, with the shades of contemporary worthies, who had done noble work, of which Australians and Englishmen of this age may well be proud.

CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
I. THE REV. RICHARD JOHNSON'S EARLY LIFE	3
II. WHY TO BOTANY BAY?	4
III. ENGLISH CONVICTS TO AMERICA ...	7
IV. PRESS VIEWS OF THE BOTANY BAY SCHEME	12
V. BANISHMENT AND TRANSPORTATION ...	19
VI. CRIMES AND PRISONS OF OLD... ..	25
VII. HOW MR. JOHNSON BECAME THE CHAPLAIN	31
VIII. THE ECLECTIC SOCIETY	32
IX. SELECTION OF THE CHAPLAIN	39
X. THE CHAPLAIN ON THE HULKS	42
XI. MR. JOHNSON AND THE GREAT CHURCH SOCIETIES	47
XII. JOHN NEWTON AND THE DEPARTING CHAPLAIN	60
XIII. THE VOYAGE	65
XIV. THE ARRIVAL	70

Whatever theological opinions may be individually cherished, and however the present is being fast removed, in thought and practice, from those century-old Calvinistic Methodists in the Church of England, all who value the moral and spiritual progression of humanity, cannot fail to honor the men who heeded the necessities of the new land of New Holland, and helped to send thither the First Preacher of Righteousness.

In this little book we have, too, the presentation of the Old Country about a hundred years ago, along with that of the Kangaroo land in the far south and east. As, in this Victorian Era, we may call to mind the morasses and pathless forests of ancient Britain, so, midst the glories of our Queen's Jubilee, with the honoured Premiers of Australasia in procession, we may remember the moral feebleness and painful trials of the infant days of Botany Bay.

One other purpose of this Character Sketch, by an octogenarian Chronicler, was to call the attention of prospective Colonial Historians to the extent of material for future Australian research, now continually increasing, in the Sydney Record Office, under the direction of the able Librarian. This has been brought about through the patriotism and generosity of the Government of New South Wales.

NORWOOD, LONDON,

January 1st, 1898.

CHAP.		PAGE
XV.	EARLY RELIGIOUS SERVICES	74
XVI.	FRENCH CHAPLAIN AT BOTANY BAY ...	78
XVII.	FREE SETTLERS... ..	80
XVIII.	HIS FIRST LETTER HOME	81
XIX.	HIS COLONIAL TROUBLES	84
XX.	HIS EVERYDAY COLONIAL LIFE ...	87
XXI.	SORROWS OF THE CONVICTS' VOYAGE...	91
XXII.	COLONIAL MARRIAGE QUESTION ...	97
XXIII.	THE ASSISTANT CHAPLAIN	106
XXIV.	THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS' MISSIONARIES	119
XXV.	THE NATIVES	144
XXVI.	MR. JOHNSON AND THE REV. JOHN NEWTON	147
XXVII.	THE CHAPLAIN'S ADDRESS OF 1792 ...	157
XXVIIA.	THE CHAPLAIN AS A PASTOR	167
XXVIII.	THE LIQUOR TRADE	169
XXIX.	ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS TO THE SOUTH	176
XXX.	MEN HE MET AT BOTANY BAY ...	178
XXXI.	CHAPLAINS AS MAGISTRATES	185
XXXIII.	ACTING GOVERNOR GROSE AND THE CHAPLAIN	188
XXXIV.	HIS OFFICIAL TROUBLES	195
XXXV.	THE CLERICAL CHURCH BUILDER ...	205
XXXVI.	THE FARMING CHAPLAINS	225
XXXVII.	THE CHAPLAINS AND SCHOOL WORK...	229
XXXVIII.	THE ORPHAN SCHOOL	240
XXXIX.	HIS RETURN	246
XL.	FORGOTTEN ON RETURN	248
XLI.	CLERICAL LIFE ON RETURN HOME ...	255
XLII.	THE WORKER'S END	259

INTRODUCTION.

The early records of nations are generally esteemed fabulous or mythical. They are too wonderful or absurd to be taken in a literal sense. Stories handed down by word of mouth are apt to be distorted on the road, even when beginning with fact. The marvellous grows by telling. But the primitive traditions of peoples, even when fixed by writing, are no longer recognised as idle tales.

New South Wales may hereafter have traditions in the distortion of facts, yet without any bearing upon natural phenomena as in ancient history. In early Colonial History, however, we fondly dwell upon the *first* of things—the first colonists, the first trade, the first laws, &c.

In this little volume, we take up the FIRST PREACHER who raised the first warning voice amidst the Gum forests of Australia. The REV. RICHARD JOHNSON was the first Chaplain of New South Wales, the Mother Settlement of New Holland. Though seventy years have passed since he died, and one hundred and ten years since he went forth with an unhappy band, who were banished to the uttermost part of the earth—the story of his life and work may have still a charm alike for Englishmen and Colonial Settlers.

That lone voice in the Australian wilderness has been followed by a large number, and great variety, of religious teachers. The Church of England led the way. Other Protestant bodies, not less than the Roman Catholic Church, have taken up their several positions in the theological field. The Established Church of England was alone permitted to exercise the office of religious overseer, under the sanction and pay of Government. Now, the course is open to the professors of all creeds, and the priests of Rome have equal rights with Anglican clergymen. No party has special favors. The State—consisting of persons holding various views—recognises the freedom of all, while granting no monetary aid to the ministers of any.

Such Australian religious changes have taken place since the landing of Richard Johnson at Sydney Cove.

AUSTRALIA'S FIRST PREACHER.

CHAPTER I.

THE REV. RICHARD JOHNSON'S EARLY LIFE.

FEW particulars can be gathered concerning this clergyman before his nomination to the Chaplainship of New South Wales in 1786.

Stalham, in Norfolk, is said to have been his birth place, in 1753, when George II. was King. His family appears to have been respectable, since he was sent to Oxford, entering Magdalen College, where he received his B.A.

In a letter, kindly written to the author of this memoir by the Rev. N. Wilson, Ingham Vicarage, Stalham, Norfolk, October 13th, 1894, it is said :—

“I have asked one or two of my ‘ancients’ about the Rev. R. Johnson, and two old women say that his parents lived at Stalham ; one, particularly, said that she remembered his mother well. They neither knew what became of him after he left here ; indeed, several of the old people remember his being here, but I can find out nothing further about him.”

His public career commenced in his friendship with the Rev. John Newton, poet companion of the poet Cowper. His life, so to speak, dates from that period, continuing throughout his residence in New South Wales, and only at rare and short intervals coming before us after his return home in 1801. His connexion with John Newton, and other worthies of that day, arose from the projected foundation of a Penal Settlement at Botany Bay; and, therefore, the story of that establishment must introduce the Life of the First Preacher of Australia.

CHAPTER II.

WHY TO BOTANY BAY?

AUSTRALIA was first settled by English criminals and their keepers. How much sorrow and trial would have been saved had it been, according to the proposal of Mr. Matra to Lord Sydney, settled by English colonists from America!

A few years before Governor Phillip left our shore with his charge, Mr. Matra, himself of a family that had suffered much for attachment to the Motherland in the so called American *War of Independence*, appealed to the British Government on account of the suffering Loyalists. These had endured the loss of their possessions for taking, like John Wesley did, the other political side. His own mother had been ruined by her fellow colonial persecutors.

Matra suggested that Government should compensate

these faithful Englishmen, by granting them lands near Botany Bay, represented by Captain Cook as a sort of paradise. The place was but sparsely tenanted by roving savages, and would make a good home for the expatriated American farmers. These would cultivate the fair land towards the rising sun, and raise up new British colonies in that far off Pacific. The West would migrate to the East, and loyal hearts would carry the British name and dominion over the wastes of New Holland.

The British Minister listened with sympathy. He evidently approved of the transfer of the Loyalist farmers to the new realm, and it is generally believed that Matra's personal friend, so well known afterwards as Sir Joseph Banks, seconded the appeal.

How came those two men dreaming of the colonization of New South Wales? It was because they had both been there, on Captain Cook's good ship, the *Endeavour*, in 1770. The rich man of science recognised an educated gentleman in the volunteer sailor, driven penniless from his mother's once happy homestead, and he continued for many years after his helpful friend and correspondent.

When all seemed favourable in the prospects of the exiled and ruined Anglo-American Loyalists, and a new home opened for them under the Southern Cross, Mr. Matra's hopes were crushed by the policy of Mr. Pitt, then Premier. He had seized upon the plan of colonizing the Botany Bay, but saw a more pressing need than that of the faithful Loyalists. He could no longer send English criminals to be sold as convict servants in the British plantations, now changed to the United States of America, and he thought the overcrowded gaols could be advantageously emptied on the shores of Botany Bay.

So, while lands were given to the poor Loyalists in the colonies of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, New Holland was set apart by Ministers for the criminal outcasts of England.

Still, we may indulge in some imaginings as to what might have followed the settlement by British colonists from America. In that case no Richard Johnson would have been appointed the one religious father of a thousand emigrant souls. The Church of England missionary chaplains, driven from manse and glebe to unwholesome prisons, or compelled altogether to leave the American colonies, as supposed supporters of the Crown, would have gone with their loyalist neighbours to the new southern land.

We might ask what effect would this have had upon the Australian natives, and the morals of South Sea Islanders? In both cases, the men under Commodore Phillip and the exiled farmers from America were Englishmen. But the last were descendants of self-emigrating Puritans and Royalists, alike fleeing from faction-persecution, while the first were transported under the law.

There might have risen, under voluntaryism, more than State aid, fanes for worship under the Gum trees, instead of the many years waiting for a tardy Government to build a house of prayer for the wretched prisoners. But it is idle to speculate as to what might have been, had not Mr. Pitt directed Mr. Matra's movement into so different and unexpected a channel of colonization.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH CONVICTS TO AMERICA.

It is not so generally known as it should be, that before criminals were transported to Botany Bay, they had been sent to America; and that, in fact, the closing of that means to get rid of our felons, by the War of Independence, was the immediate cause of our transferring them to the East instead of the West.

The United States, so largely indebted for its early population to the outcasts of these Islands, cannot, in reason, cast a word of reproach upon the settlement of New South Wales, any more than upon the establishment of Rome upon the Tiber.

The harshness exercised by the several Colonial Governments and settlers of North America towards the poor creatures decoyed, sold, or forced thither, was never approached in the worst penal times of Australia. Three classes especially were the victims of political, social, and ecclesiastical tyranny. These were the negro slaves, the emigrants, so called, and the convicts from Britain. Of 104,100 imported slaves from West Africa in 1768—when George the Third was King—53,100 were bought by British merchants for Americans.

Turning to the second class, emigrants of a white color, Carroll's *South Carolina* well remarks that "the unsuccessful or unfortunate part of mankind are easily induced to emigrate; but the oppressed and persecuted are driven

from their country, however closely their affections may cleave to it."

Much romance has been attached to the self-expatriated Puritans in the *Mayflower*; but less notice has been taken of the far greater number of Cavaliers forced across the Atlantic. When the English Parliament forbade, under severe penalties, the assemblage for reading of the Church of England service, transporting as slaves offenders brought up for that crime the second time, hosts of Episcopalians sought refuge in the American wilds, though not in the more Puritan New England States.

Even when the persecuted Quakers, robbed and mobbed, sought a passage as *Adventurers* to the West, they were faced by such a law as that passed by Calvinistic Massachusetts—viz., "That none of that cursed sect shall be imported into the colony, and that Quakers convicted shall be punished upon pain of death." The wretched people, not able to pay the charge of self exportation were, by the English Act of 1652, "ordered to be sold to any of the English Plantations of Virginia and Barbadoes."

They who had means, when driven, by political or religious faction, to leave the country, paid their own passage, and had a grant of land from the Plantation Council for themselves, and such servants or labourers as they took with them.

On the other hand, a great trade was carried on in *white slaves*. Those wanting to leave Europe signed an agreement with the shipper, to allow him to pay himself by selling them as apprentices or workers to settlers for a term of years. This system was sanctioned by the American Colonial Legislatures. If such white persons, under cruel treatment, or when half starved by their masters, should

leave their service, the Sheriff would first lodge them in a gaol, and then return them to their work on an extension of their term of service or slavery.

Many of them may have been incompetent helps, especially on their miserable rations. One said they were "poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving men, libertines, and such like." The treatment of free female servants was as legally harsh as morally degrading. A document, signed by Sir Francis Wyatt and twenty-four Burgesses, has this story to tell of white slaves :—

"That the allowance for a man in those days (in American service) was only eight ounces of meal and half a pint of peas a day, both the one and the other being mouldy, rotten, full of cobwebs and maggots, loathsome to man, and not fit for beasts. That others were forced by famine to filch for their bellies, of whom one, for stealing two or three pints of oatmeal, had a bodkin thrust through his tongue, and was chained to a tree till he starved. That one man, out of the misery he endured, killed his wife, and pounded her up to eat, for which he was burnt. That those who survived were constrained to serve the colony for eight years for their freedom."

The poor Irish emigrants, forced from home by starvation, were the greatest sufferers. One contractor had a commission with a license, in 1653, to carry out 500 *natural Irishmen*, and another took out 100 *Irish Tories*.

Masters of American vessels went to Dutch and German ports as well as to English, to enlist or entice the miserable on board for a free passage to the western paradise ; and, as Isaac Weld wrote a century ago, the poor creatures "are then sold to the highest bidder." The Home or English Councils of the various plantations gathered, and sent out,

lots of poor people, collecting young marriageable girls to suit settlers for wives; the purchasing husband paying for his bargain in one hundred weight of tobacco, the currency of the day. He was also bound over to pay back to the Company the cost of the girl's passage.

One more testimony as to the treatment of emigrants, or white slaves, appears in a petition from the Colony of Barbadoes, in 1659, of persons who were sold to the British settlers for 1,550 lbs. of sugar each. These were said to have nothing to feed upon, notwithstanding their hard labour, but potato roots—bought and sold from one planter to another, or attached as beasts for the debt of their masters; being “whipped at their whipping posts as rogues for their master's pleasure, and sleeping in styes worse than hogs in England.”

If, then, the *good old times* permitted black slaves and white slaves to be so ill-treated in American plantations, how could we expect Christian Englishmen of former days to treat the criminals transported to America!

The date of the arrival there of our earliest exiled countrymen and country women was, strange to say, that of the arrival of negro slaves in America, as the settlers of Jamestown bought twenty negroes from a Dutch ship that put in there.—Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church* records, “The same year, 1620, which witnessed the first transportation of convicts to Virginia, is remarkable also for the introduction of another evil into the colony, that of negro slavery.”

Although Elizabeth and James banished rogues and others deemed dangerous, the act was, perhaps, but one of royal prerogative. In the eighteenth year of Charles I., judges were empowered by statute to transport certain

persons to any of His Majesty's possessions in America. Elizabeth's law was that "dangerous rogues might be banished out of this realm." The Vagrancy Act of 1718 brought transportation into the criminal code.

Some colonies made protests against their homes being desolated with cargoes of the worst of characters thrust upon them, in public sales, for the benefit of shippers. The awful number dispatched thither of prisoners taken at Dunbar, Marston Moor, Worcester, and other battle scenes, were far in excess of, and less dangerous to society than, ordinary felons. Smith's *History of New York*, 1776, complained that "The British Acts for the transportation of felons have brought all the American Colonies into discredit with the industrious and honest poor, both in the Kingdom of Great Britain and in Ireland."

The indignant denunciations by Franklin for the flooding of our American Colonies with criminals, and the outeries from the more respectable colonists, were fully justified when it was seen that Virginia headed the revolt against Great Britain, as Virginians remembered the sufferings of those who were, in so many cases, their ancestors. In one year, at one port, the gain to contractors for the shipment of convicts was £40,000.

The New York Colonial Legislature opposed the introduction of our criminals. Pennsylvania by the Act 12, William, c. 49, required the shippers to pay the colony £5 for each person so brought, and to give a bond of £50 for the good behaviour of such during the first year of arrival. The shipper who once took such a cargo to New York Harbour, was ordered to carry the living freight "to the place from whence they came, or, at least, out of this Province." That was by the Colonial Act of May 13th,

1691. The Statesmen were of Lord Bacon's opinion, that "the people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, cooks, and bakers."

By the settlement of New South Wales in a new, distant, and uncolonized land, many of the evils complained of by American Colonists could not arise. The convicts went not at first to the settlers, but the settlers came to them, to gain the advantage of cheap labour.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESS VIEWS OF THE BOTANY BAY SCHEME.

JUDGING by the London Press of 1786, there was no great excitement of a serious kind about the new scheme, but rather articles of a senseless, jocular character, or of party criticism. But one letter appeared in a London paper of October 12th, in that year, which commands attention, particularly as enquiry is made as to the selection of a chaplain. We give the whole of the letter:—

SIR,—After having, in my former letters, defended in general terms the project for the transportation of the convicts to New South Wales, I think I may now be allowed to say that it would give great satisfaction, if some one acquainted with the plan of Government would condescend to indulge the public with a few particulars as to the intended settlement. Indeed, it ought to be considered that, wretched as many of these people now are, yet many of them have relations and connexions of consideration and

worth, who cannot be supposed wholly indifferent to the fate of persons who, though now justly doomed to banishment, have once been the delight of the fond parent and the affectionate friend. To those who still interest themselves for these unhappy wretches, the following queries will naturally occur :—Who is to be the Governor of that settlement? Has he at the same time resolution and humanity? Is he possessed of a spirit of enterprise, and a command of temper? The Chaplain of the expedition—is he a solemn, regular missionary, who will haggle for an additional £10 a year from the Society of Propagating the Gospel? or is he (as I would wish he were) some zealous Methodist, or rather some active Moravian who, having been used to brave the horrors of Labrador in chase of the souls of the Esquimaux, will enjoy himself in the temperate climes of the south, and whose wild but picturesque effusions may defy the scurrility, and even in time subdue the brutality, of his profligate catechumens?”

Another, writing, October 19th, 1786, a letter signed *Projector*, says, “Far be it from me to insinuate that any of their High Mightinesses who now govern the Honourable the United States of America, are the descendants of convicts from this country. The Members of Congress are all honourable men. But I beg leave to ask the advocates of colonization, whether the consequences of sending people to America were not eventually ruinous? And whether we have any rational prospect of more gratitude from the posterity of the transports we are about to settle in Botany Bay?”

We next contrast the later opinion of the witty Rev. Sydney Smith. In his letter to Mr. Peel, he gives his views of penal transportation :—

“I hope that you will consider the effects of Botany Bay as a punishment. A sentence of transportation to Botany Bay translated into common sense is this:—‘Because you have committed this offence, the sentence of the Court is that you shall no longer be burdened with the support of your wife and family. You shall be immediately removed from a very bad climate, and a country over-burdened with people, to one of the finest regions of the earth, where the demand for human labour is every hour increasing, and where it is highly probable you may ultimately regain your character, and improve your future.’”

An apologist in the *Morning Post* of September 22nd, 1786, remarked:—“The intended Settlement at Botany Bay has afforded a temporary theme for the display of witticism. But was there not a time when the original settlements in every uncivilized country might have been ridiculed on account of the novelty of the scheme? Not to mention the wilds of America, cleared and cultivated by our ancestors, within little more than a century, what was the Island of Britain besides a waste, inhabited by naked natives? Yet settlements were repeatedly projected by foreign nations, and the present state of our country proves that such projects were not vainly contemplated.” One writer said, “This thief colony might hereafter become a great empire, whose nobles will probably, like the Nobles of Rome, boast of their blood.”

The same London paper, about the same time, wrote:—“The establishment at Botany Bay, however ridiculed at present, will probably in future give birth to a colony highly advantageous to this country.” But, on November 1st, 1786, it has this warning to those departing:—

“Those who are on the high road to this new settlement

should be reminded that no alehouses, no gin shops, are to be found there. To work or starve will be the only alternative. Necessity will exact sobriety and industry in that desolate country."

The *Public Advertiser*, however, had this moral lesson :—
"The thieves of London no longer flatter themselves with becoming founders of a NEW ROME. The climate and soil of Botany Bay bear no resemblance to those of Italy. Convicts transported to that spot will find the whole of their labour necessary to their subsistence, and from the natives they are likely to experience opposition, treachery, and eternal warfare. To pick a pocket, or by other means to pilfer, will be therefore serious offences, attended not only by the forfeiture of the rights and privileges enjoyed in this country, but also with the horrors of transportation, by a voyage of nine months, and living for the remainder of a wretched life, even worse than that of the negro slaves in the West Indies."

The *Morning Herald* was the political opposition to Mr. Pitt, and did its best to set people against the scheme, declaring that the whole affair was given up. An allusion to this occurs in a letter from that prime mover of the project to his friend Wilberforce. December 8th, 1786 :—

"The period indeed has not been full of events, and the principal supposed object of our Councils has existed only in the *Morning Herald*—I mean the abandoning the scheme of Botany Bay, which, on the contrary, is approaching fast its execution. The particular part about which you enquire, has been some time arranged to the entire satisfaction of your poor curate, Richard Johnson, who has an advance sufficient for his outfit."

The *Morning Herald* of September 30th, 1786, contrives

to get information of the State of Botany Bay, in the year 1850, by the arrival of the *Slang* Packet, Captain Macheath. Among the intelligence we learn :—

“The General Council met last week to consider the last advices from England relative to taxing this province—in case the English Ministry persist in laying a tax on our tea, the General Assembly will be removed to Fort Akerman, and the British subjects ordered to leave the States of New Holland. Yesterday the fine estate of Jigger Dabber Hall sold for £20,000 at public vendue. It had been in the family of the *Divers* since the year 1787, and was by them purchased for two handkerchiefs and a hand saw, and a few picklock keys. Dr. Barrington has resigned his office in the Academy of New Woolwich, &c.”

Another paper has a petition from the expectant transports to Mr. Pitt, having been informed that “the British Cabinet, in their good wisdom, have found out that the said New World, commonly called *Botany Bay*, don't belong to his Britannic Majesty, and that your petitioners are not to read and believe the 20th Chapter of Exodus there.” Allusion is then made to a report that “the Rev. Dr. Prettyman, a good christian, a pretty poet, and a sound politician, was to be honored with the reverend title of Archbishop of the said Botany Bay.” They then refer to their fear of being exchanged for Europeans in slavery with the Dey of Algiers,—worse “than the Sheriff's breakfast of a *heartly-choak and caper sauce*.” They end by imploring the Prime Minister “to continue, in this measure, that instability of character which has marked the whole of your administration, &c.”

There is also a memorial from the Aborigines to the

“Governor of the Boat,” to go back, and “not attempt to corrupt the morals, or seize upon the native inheritance of a happy, an innocent, and a harmless people.”

Lord George Gordon, the cause of the dreadful riots of 1780, when, under the cry of “No Popery,” the *pious* mob of London were led to the destruction of churches, the firing of dwellings, the loosening of prisoners from their chains, and the burning of their Newgate cage. He it was who turned his crazed religious zeal to the then debated question of transportation.

He was accused of stirring up fresh outrage and discontent by a pamphlet, in the name of the convicts, condemning the penal laws of the period, so severe, inhuman, and bloody as they were. Quoting Scripture:—“Who so sheddeth man’s blood by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of man made he man; there is but a step between us and eternity.”—He proceeded: “It becomes, therefore, to be instant in speaking the truth, and to demand speedy justice. The hangman and the scaffolding of the new drop (*Gallows*) is already prepared for our execution on the one hand, and Governor Phillip and military tyranny at Botany Bay (meaning the said place in ‘parts beyond the seas’ called Botany Bay) awaits us on the other.”

The most remarkable portion of this production, from the well meaning, pious, but demented nobleman, was the following, entitled:—

“The Prisoners’ Petition to the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon to preserve the laws and liberties, and prevent their banishment to Botany Bay. London, Printed by Thomas Watkins, No. 23, Aldermanbury, 1786.

“My Lord,—We, the persons whose names are under-written, galled with fetters of iron, and appointed to death

in England, or condemned to perpetual exile and arbitrary government in a barbarous country abroad, where the remainder of our lives is determined to be made bitter with hard bondage, most earnestly entreat your Lordship to hear our sighs and groans, and to let the distresses of your fellow creatures, whose afflictions have found no profit, help, alleviation, or benefit of the clergy, penetrate to your compassion, and incline your heart and direct goodwill to preserve us, if you have the power, from the dread execution of the doom and sentence pronounced on our trespasses."

The petitioners implore Lord George Gordon to prevent their banishment to Botany Bay.

In his defence, at this trial, his Lordship declared he had not striven to stir up the people, and that all considered the Penal Laws needed alteration, by the Parliament resolving to spare life for capital offences by transportation to Botany Bay.

CHAPTER V.

BANISHMENT AND TRANSPORTATION.

UNPLEASANT members of a community were got rid of by various methods. They were forcibly deprived of life, they were driven from the tribe or nation into the wilderness, or they were induced to practise self banishment. Aristotle the Just consented to retire from Athens. Political objects of dislike found refuge among national foes. The law expatriated others rather than take their lives.

In "*Political Banishments*," published in 1723, various systems are explained thus :—

"We have two kinds of banishment, in old days, usual in England : one which our ancestors were pleased to call *voluntary* ; and another, the sequel of a formal protest, upon *compulsion*. That which they termed *voluntary* was distinguished by the word *abjuration*, because it was a renouncing by oath, and signified in the law a sworn banishment, or forswearing of the realm. The compulsive banishment was where any person had by his crimes forfeited his life, and the grace of the Crown mitigated the forfeiture by *exile*, perpetual, or for a *term*. The Lord Coke distinguishes, that where any person, attainted of treason or felony, and saving his life, is banished for ever, this is a law of *civil death* ; but where he has judgment to be exiled only for a time, which some call a *relegation*, this

is *no* civil death. However, in both, the estate falls from the convict to the crown."

We learn how our law proceeded from Roman enactment. The Porcian law permitted a criminal citizen to go into exile. The phrase used was the forbidding the use of water and fire. By the law *relegatio*, the party lost not their property; but by *deportatio*, they lost both estate and citizenship. In perpetual banishment among the Greeks, the estate was publicly sold. He who harboured the banished one was himself exiled. The individual banished by *Exostracism* was not tried for any offence, but the State, upon the vote of at least 6,000 Athenians, over sixty years of age, decreed his removal.

Such precedents regulated British custom. Elizabeth and the Stewarts exiled persons by virtue of their prerogative. The *Vagrancy Act* of James I. rendered all idle and dissolute persons liable to banishment, and even to public sale in our colonies. But it was not till 1717 that this was introduced into our criminal code. Major Griffiths, in his "*Memorials of Millbank*," thus records it:—

"An Act passed in that year, 1717, commented on the inefficiency of the punishments in use, and pointed out that in many of His Majesty's colonies and plantations in America there was a great want of servants, who, by their labour and industry, would be the means of improving, &c."

The ends of transportation were said to be *example* in deterring others from crime, and *reformation* in the case of the offender. By selling transports to Americans, the people were made to work, and some reform might follow their living in families. Legal measures were taken to prevent their return to England.

Though no Scotch Law of transportation existed before

1704, we read before that of many being banished to the West Indies. The so called Scotch political martyrs tried, in 1793, to prove that no such laws were known, but failed in their plea. Sheridan called the Act of 1704, the foul one of the council, not of the court. Scotch Laws of 1754 and 1687, according to Mr. Pitt, sanctioned transportation. Charles Fox declared that in any scheme of oppression, Scotland always led the way.

Lord Bacon pithily observed, "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of the people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever look like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals."

So long as a market for English criminal exiles was to be found among the British settlers in America, who purchased their unhappy countrymen and countrywomen, as they purchased negroes, to work on their farms, the English Government had no trouble with the convicts. The American rebellion, however, arrested the traffic. To retain the criminals in this country was both expensive and inconvenient. Civilized countries everywhere had similar burdens, and savages were not customers for the article at disposal. Though, for some years after the Revolution, America continued to make a deal for the cheap labour, the United States laws gave masters no longer protection in the sale, and the trade necessarily died out, though English judges continued to sentence felons to America.

Africa, in and around the Colony of Sierra Leone, offered a temporary place of refuge. It was true enough that the miserables died off rapidly in those most unhealthy of climates, but that appears to have given no more concern

to the authorities than to the public, although the tales told of convict mortality ought to have moved both. Judges sentenced men and women seven years to Africa, with the moral conviction that these might only survive a few months.

To their honour, the African Colonization Society, after remonstrances, refused to accept any convicts at their Sierra Leone settlement. Mr. Nevan wrote strongly upon the climate of Gambia. Sir George Young said that in the last rainy season nine-tenths died. A ship load of 350 were sent to the Guinea Coast, or Cape Coast Castle. At the end of 15 months only eight were reported alive, one being a woman. In 1782 a number of convicts were sent to the *Castle* to serve as soldiers, but the governor's dispatch assured the ministry that "after their landing they were so riotous that the officers were afraid of their lives." Some ran off to the Dutch settlement, but very few survived long. As late as 1804 there were 300 sent to the deadly Island of Goree, West Africa.

Even the stolid inhumanity and indifference of the times resented further shipment to those deadly shores.

Meanwhile, the public became interested in this transportation question, and a Committee of the House of Commons, after enquiries, published their report, May 5th, 1785. When the Recorder of London was examined, he referred to a party of 78 he had sent to Africa. All those so selected, said he, "were of the most desperate and dangerous character, deserving for the sake of public example, great severity of punishment."

Mr. Evan Nepean spoke of Lemane, an island 400 miles up the river Gambia, as a locality engaging the thought of Government. It was proposed that "after the stock had

been purchased for them, and they were established on the island, the settlers (convicts) were to be left to themselves." That was one way of "shooting the rubbish" collected from the gaols.

The desperately crowded state of prisons, while Ministers were considering what to do, excited alarm. Mr. Secretary Evan Nepean informed the committee, "that in consequence of the representations made to Government of the crowded and dangerous state of the gaols, the *Censor* hulk was hired of Mr. Duncan Campbell for the reception of 250 convicts."

A magistrate took another view, saying, "These prisoners are being maintained out of the county rates at a great expense, and being heavily ironed, they cannot work." He lamented that some of these poor creatures had been waiting three or four years since their sentence to transportation; and that only London then "made a trade of conveying transports beyond sea."

The committee reported to the House their opinion that "the old system of transporting to America answered every good purpose which could be expected from it," as the contractor sold the people's labour for the expense of the voyage. Yet, the committee had "heard with regret that the ports of the United States have been shut against the importation of criminals, by very severe penalties on the owner of any vessel that should land them within their jurisdiction."

While suggesting migration as the remedy, they wisely remarked that "the outcasts of an old society will not serve as the *sole* foundation of a new one." They urged the Government to establish a new colony at a distance, where the temptation would be less for the unhappy ones,

and the expense less than the hulks for the public. The spot selected should be such as might by "the commercial and political advantages to be derived, indemnify the public for the original charge." Further, they regarded the mixture of free emigrants, paid for by the State, as useful in the reformation of the prisoners.

It was, as we perceive, on the lines they recommended that the colony of New South Wales was formed. It was far off, it might be of future advantage to the old country, while moral as well as material progression would attend the mixed society. The counsel was politic and wise.

There was a marked difference in the system to be adopted. In the centuries before, the transported ones were treated in neither a human nor christian manner, and had little sympathy or regret, unless from immediate relatives.

Nominally, they might be sentenced for seven years, but actually, they were cast forth across the ocean for life. They were *given up* to a shipping contractor, who disposed of them, as goods in a cargo, to repay his expenses in carrying and feeding them. How they were treated by those to whom they were sold, what amount of misery and privation they endured, and what was their ultimate fate, mattered little or nothing to the Motherland.

Henceforth, the State was to have them in constant oversight and care. They were to be fed and clothed by the State in the New Holland wilderness, though bound to give labor and obedience to the State in return. When, through the advent of free emigrants, who were to be tempted by free farms to the new land, the convicts would be hired out as servants, both masters and employed were under the supervision of the State, and the interests of both parties

were consulted. The term of punishment was respected, and emancipated men and women had opportunities for reform, family blessings, and material prosperity.

Lastly, some regard, if in a very moderate degree, to their moral and religious well being, was paid in the institution of Chaplains, with aid given by the State in the erection of churches and schools.

CHAPTER VI.

CRIMES AND PRISONS OF OLD.

PRISON discipline has not been an unmixed good. If right to restrain the liberty of wrong doers, care is needed lest serious evils be produced by the system. To keep men idle, to thrust all sorts together, to treat them with inhumanity or neglect, to have no remedial measures for the prevention of future crime, are serious evils.

English prisons may not have been worse than others, but were long a scandal to civilization and religion. It was a pagan Roman Emperor who "commanded all judges to dispatch the causes of criminals, and the gaolers to treat them, however guilty, with humanity, to keep them in open and wholesome places, and not to confine them, at least in the day time, to dungeons." John Howard found another state of things in christian England.

Blackstone said of gaolers that they were "frequently a merciless race of men, and by being conversant with scenes of misery, steeled against any tender sensation." They were ever open to bribery for the mitigation of punishment, or indulgence in vicious propensities. Howard described a

place, in 1768, where prisoners were secured "by chaining them down on their backs upon the floor, across which were several iron bars, with an iron collar with spikes about their necks, and a heavy bar over their legs."

An Act of Elizabeth's time punished forgers with cutting off ears, slitting noses, and searing with hot irons, and it remained on the statute book till 1810. By the last date, 1810, there were no less than 250 actions classed as felony with a death penalty. In the reign of George III. a woman who caused the death of her husband was first strangled, and her body then consumed with fire. In Dr. Johnson's "London" we read:—

Scarce can our fields, such crowds at Tyburn die,
With hemp the gallows and the fleet supply.

How far sunken the people were in the Georgian era has been well recognised in these later days. The brutality of their sports, the brutality of their manners, the brutality of the very national features, can be admitted. All this unhappy deterioration was evidenced, among other ways, in the treatment of criminals.

The efforts of a Sir Samuel Romilly in the legislature, and of a Howard in philanthropy, while tending to such marvellous improvements, fully exhibit the debasement into which the popular conception of humanity had fallen. How criminals, and even debtors, were treated in gaols at Bridewells was exposed by the benevolent Howard. A few of his revelations are worth narrating here, as they show the physical and the moral condition of the Botany Bay transports.

A cell, seven feet by six, with a height of six feet and a half, having three tenants, received light and air only through a few holes in the door. The *clink* of a Devon

prison, seventeen feet by eight, with only five feet six inches in height, had light and air by one hole seven inches long and five broad. He declared that a number had "once been shut up within this receptacle for two months, preparatory to transportation." Of that prison he noted—"No yard, no water, no sewer—the gaolers lived distant."

A wretch was found "amidst intolerable filth and stench" in a place, the door of which had not been unfastened for five weeks before this inspector's visit. In Canterbury were no beds, but mats, unless the prisoners could purchase accommodation from warders. They who could not pay for beds lay on the floor in Clerkenwell.

Misery got some notice by the propagation of disease, which often spread beyond the prison walls. Gaol fever was a terrible curse. Howard tells of the Cambridge Bridewell, with seventeen women in a cell without fireplace or drainage. So desolating a fever broke out that the Vice Chancellor was compelled to close the court. The stench issuing from the blackened persons and horrible clothing of prisoners, when brought into court for trial, has more than once struck down court functionaries, even judges, and sent spectators home to die.

Was it strange, then, that walls were seen black with prisoners vapour, reeking with pestiferous moisture, at the Fleet and most other prisons? John Howard narrates the fact that the leaves of his notebook were so tainted by the fearful atmosphere, that, on his arrival at home, or halting place, he had to spread out the book before a glowing fire for disinfection.

Morals were as little heeded as cleanliness and comfort. Men and women were often seen herded together in the

same den. At St. Albans, Beccles, Gloucester, &c., he observed "no proper separation of the sexes." He found two soldiers locked up with a young girl. Charges were made of improprieties between gaolers and female inmates. Amidst such humiliating and disgusting scenes, with little or no thought of the common decencies of life, and having none but brutalizing associations surrounding them, how could modesty be sheltered, or virtue sustained!

Many prisons were simply drink shops. The gaoler had the privilege of selling liquor to those having money, or who were supplied with it by their friends. Instead of the purchase of the necessaries and comforts, the present generally was spent in spirits and beer, with consequent riotous drunkenness. In one London prison, Howard discovered the tap let out to one of the prisoners. In another he was informed that as much as 600 pots of beer had been brought in upon one Sunday.

Debtors' prisons were often shocking to the visitor. He saw a poor fellow dying in one, after ten years' imprisonment, for a debt of only seven pounds. Of a party of debtors, six of whom were chained to the floor, he wrote: "Their straw on the stone floor was almost worn to dust." In many cases, boxes were put outside for collections from the public, but which were too often appropriated by the officials, or wasted in dissipation. The writer of this can remember, in his younger days, being saluted by such poor creatures through the bars of a window close to the public pathway. Ancient novels, as the "Vicar of Wakefield," &c., had incidents connected with the deplorable wretchedness of debtors in prison. Many lived for years upon boiled bread of an inferior quality, exposed to the plague of rats, and the torment of insects.

Scotland, like England, had a tale of misery to tell. After having been to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, Ayr, Perth, and other places, Howard thus wrote of their prisons:—"Old buildings, dirty and offensive, without courts, and generally without water. They are not visited by the magistrates, and the gaolers are allowed the sale of most pernicious liquors."

The hulks everywhere could tell a similar story of neglect and shame. Meant only as transition quarters of confinement till the departure of convict vessels, the poor creatures often suffered tedious months therein.

Howard found the Irish prisons in a fearful state. Sir John Blaquiere saw those in the new prison of Dublin "desolate of fire, or even straw to lie on, or a blanket to cover them." He observed diseased women there, "having no other place but the bare flags to sleep on, with the windows of their miserable apartment all broken, without fire, covering, or medical assistance." Lord Annally, 1784, declared the Dublin Marshalsea "a scandal and reproach to all law."

There was small attempt at reformation. Howard found no chaplains in seven English and five Welsh counties. The first ever appointed came in 1773.

The general community indulged in alcohol to a fearful extent, without exception of class. Hogarth's *Gin Lane* pictured a too common scene. He equally records the horror of beer indulgence. With drunkenness amongst all ranks, licentiousness might well be deemed appalling. The novels of Fielding and Smollett sufficiently expose the looseness of public morals. Foundling hospitals had numerous claimants for their charity. Highway robbers and footpads had a merry time. Crowded tenements, in

quarters reeking with filth and indecencies, were favoured haunts of vice and violence. The almost utter want of schools, before the days of Lancaster and Bell, threw children into the vile streets, to be educated only in evil habits.

Poverty produced abundant crime. Doubleday's *Financial History of England* gave a sad story of the wretchedness and oppression of the poor. Drink was both the cause and consequence of poverty. In 1783, when the cash in our bank was only £473,000, the public debt had risen to £257,213,843. Wages never kept pace with the price of bread. The Poor Law of Elizabeth has been termed the Magna Charter of the industrious classes, but was not passed until rebellion became imminent. Sir Josiah Child, a rich merchant, proposed that the very poor should be transported to the American plantations. Not until the Act of 9, Geo. I., was provision made for workhouses.

Land enclosure was a great hardship to the steady poor. There were three Enclosure Acts in the reign of Anne, sixteen in George I., 226 in George II., and 1532 in the first thirty-five years of George III. From 1780 to 1790, 450,180 acres were taken; from 1796 to 1800, 858,270; from 1800 to 1810, 1,550,010. Poor rates rose as the common land was seized, and crime increased. Noting the advance of poor rates, one wrote, "To this growth of pauperism we shall shortly see added a crop of crime."

The hardening of heart was illustrated in the excessive multiplication of Acts for the so called repression of vice, and in the cruelty of their operations. The *Morning Chronicle*, of March 17th, 1789, had this paragraph: "The woman for coining (passing a bad shilling) was brought out after the rest were turned off (*hanged*), and fixed to a stake

and *burnt*, being first strangled by the stool being taken from under her."

Such was the state of England on the establishment of transportation to New South Wales.

CHAPTER VII.

HOW MR. JOHNSON BECAME THE CHAPLAIN.

VARIOUS versions have been given as to the origin of this appointment. Like most other things, it came in the process of evolution. The first idea was to clear the crowded prisons. This necessitated a place to receive these unfortunate people. America being practically closed to their transportation riddance, the New South Wales of Captain Cook, as a *No Man's Land*, was suggested and adopted.

Then came the selection of vessels to carry them thither, with police guardians, officers and stores. A leader was chosen in the judicious Captain Arthur Phillip, and commissariat arrangements had to be completed for the long voyage and the permanent stay.

It is not right to say that there was no thought about a spiritual oversight of the banished ones till just before starting. Government had not thought of it. Why should they? Never had they sent a preacher with convicts to Africa or America, nor did they ever send one afterwards to them over there. But somebody had thought that, though

small cargoes of the wretched felons might be cast ashore, and left adrift, it was hardly well to let a whole fleet, having a thousand of them, with their guards and providers, go without an appearance of piety, even of the type of the eighteenth century, and the age of the Georges.

A man must be hunted up, willing to go upon so unpleasant a mission—one willing to expatriate himself for a position and living. How the man was found may be seen in the proceedings of a curious institution, known then as the ECLECTIC SOCIETY, through the members of which Mr. Johnson got his appointment from Mr. Pitt, Prime Minister.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ECLECTIC SOCIETY.

To omit the account of this society in view of the early career of the Rev. Richard Johnson, would be rather like leaving out Hamlet from his play. This association of ministers had many enthusiastic admirers, and not a few less complacent critics.

By the old Church Institutions—the *S.P.G.*, or Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and the *S.P.C.K.* or that for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge—it was esteemed an unnecessary intrusion, if not a scandal. There were to be, it was said, two churches in the Church of England; the modern Methodism was to be raised within that body against the Reformation dogmas and formulas.

On the other hand, some, like Sir James Stephen, styled the Eclectics—"The Second Founders of the Church of England." Certainly, the National Church had slumbered long, apparently oblivious of the evils of society.

It is needless to refer to Fielding's *Parson Adams*. Good natured he was to the poor; but his own habits, and the manners of his household, were ill-calculated to raise his parishioners. Wretchedly paid, coarsely fed, miserably housed, rough and even indelicate in speech, indulging now and then in oaths, while ever and anon wallowing in beer, was it wonderful that, even in so unrefined a period, we read of the country clergyman being banished from the drawingroom to the housekeeper's retreat, or to the kitchen itself?

The meetings of the Eclectic Society were first held in St. John's Chapel Vestry, belonging to the Rev. R. Cecil, in Bedford Row. Then they were held at the *Castle & Falcon*, a noted hotel in Falcon Square, off Aldersgate Street. Again, we discover them in a vestry, which belonged to St. Thomas's, Chancery Lane; and lastly, at the offices of the Pastoral Aid Society. At those latter offices, the writer procured the key to a long unused box, said to have belonged to the *Eclectics*, but in which he saw only some minutes of the society, other documents having been removed.

In Bull's *Life of John Newton*, we have a letter of February 28th, 1783, in which it is said:—"Our new constitution at the *Castle & Falcon*, promises well. We are now six members, and voted a seventh last night. We begin with tea; then a short prayer introduces a conversation for about three hours upon a proposed subject, and we seldom flag. I think they are the most interesting and

instructive conversations I ever had a share in." Further on, it is added: "Thus far for the history of our Royal Society, which, perhaps, deserves that name more than that which meets at Somerset House; as, with us, I trust the members are all of the Royal Family, and the King himself, condescends to meet with us."

The Rev. Mr. Hole, of the Church Missionary Society, has collected some particulars of the Eclectic Society, from out of whose members the flourishing Church Mission had its noble origin. A more detailed description of the formation of the society is given in the following document, although the date is somehow placed October, 1784. Mr. Bull's record of it was January 1st, 1783:—

"We, the underwritten, propose to form a society for the investigation of Religious Truth, and as, among the several names by which the professors of christianity are distinguished, some have clearer views of particular truths than others, it is the intention of this society not to confine their choice of members to any particular denomination, that they may contemplate truth under its various aspects, and adopt it wherever it is found. In reference to which design they call themselves THE ECLECTIC SOCIETY."

(Signed),

The REV. JOHN NEWTON.

ELI BATES.

The REV. HENRY FOSTER.

The REV. RICHARD CECIL.

October, 1784.

The exclusive, select character of this society was well secured, and the long continuance of it may be regarded as a proof of the sagacity of those who laid the foundation thereof. Moderns would scarcely regard as *Eclectic* an

organization which was certainly designed to include Evangelicals only. As two Dissenting Ministers were subsequently accepted as members, the Eclectic Society could not be strictly called a Church of England one, although almost all its members continued to be Episcopalians.

Among the members were such celebrated men as Mr. Wm. Wilberforce, the slaves' friend, the Rev. Richard Cecil, the Rev. Charles Simeon, of Cambridge, Rev. Thomas Scott, the commentator, Rev. John Newton, of world-wide fame, Rev. H. Foster, Rector of Clerkenwell, Rev. John Fletcher, of Madelay, Rev. Josiah Pratt, of the Church Mission, Rev. W. Romaine, Rev. Henry Vane, Rev. J. Venn, Rector of Clapham, Rev. Basil Wood, Rev. W. Bull, Rector of Newport Pagnell, Rev. Baptist Noel, Rev. J. Goode and Rev. John Clayton, Nonconformists, Mr. John Thornton, the philanthropist, Mr. Seeley, Mr. Toplady, Mr. Bacon, the sculptor, Cowper, the poet, and Mr. La Trobe, the Moravian father of the first Governor of the Colony of Victoria. Mr. Clayton was member for fifty years, and was joined by his sons John, of the Poultry, and George, of Walworth.

The Rev. John Newton, of Olney, and St. Mary Woolnoth, familiarly known as *Omicron*, or *Cardiphonea*, was the leading figure. Fletcher was the controversialist friend of John Wesley. The rest were all known as Evangelical Churchmen.

That generous merchant, John Thornton, who gave away half of his yearly income, was deeply connected with Mr. Johnson. Mr. Seeley wrote: "Mr. Thornton was concerned in my first plan, and that was originated, like many another good one, in a meeting of a society, the *Eclectic*—in a plan

for sending a chaplain to Botany Bay." In 1786, the Rev. Henry Venn addressed a friend:—"I have received a letter from dear Mr. Thornton, saying that he, last Sunday, introduced Mr. Richard Johnson to 250 of his future congregation, on board the *Hulk* at Woolwich." This took place October 22nd, 1786.

Visitors, previously invited, attended the society's meetings. It was as a visitor that Mr. Johnson attended in 1786. On his return to England, he was present three times in 1801, and four times in 1802. His successor, Rev. Samuel Marsden, was invited on February 25th, 1793, and on June 3rd, 1793, as the writer found in the minutes. It was strange, however, that though specially invited to attend on October 30th, 1786, Mr. Johnson failed to appear. The subject for discussion related to himself, being, "What is the best method of planting and propagating the Gospel in Botany Bay?" Was his absence from over sensitiveness?

It was at an Eclectic meeting, in the *Castle & Falcon* Inn, that, in 1799, the Church Missionary Society was established, immediately after the Rev. Charles Simeon's subject had been discussed—"With what propriety, and in what mode, can a mission be attempted to the heathen from the Established Church?" The historian of that mission has the following account of Mr. Johnson's appointment:—

"The first fleet was on the point of sailing, with its unhappy freight, when Mr. Pitt was waited on by Mr. John Thornton and Mr. Wilberforce, who urged the appointment of a chaplain."

But one of the *Eclectics*, Rev. Henry Venn, of Yelling, in a letter to Miss Jane Venn, October 28th, 1786, gave this version:—

"Through the influence of Mr. Wilberforce with Mr.

Pitt, he (Richard Johnson) is appointed chaplain to Botany Bay, with a salary of £180 per annum. I trust he will prove a blessing to these lost creatures. Those that stole will steal no more; for, having no receivers of stolen goods, no alehouses, &c., they will be under no temptation to steal. With what pleasure may we consider this plan of peopling that far distant region as a foundation for the gospel." Mr. Bull held Mr. Johnson's voyage "a means of introducing the gospel to the Aborigines."

While a few would venture as emigrants in Government appointments, a clerical emigrant was an unlikely person in pre-missionary days. An ex-chaplain of West Africa thus spoke of the difficulty:—

"The Sierra Leone chaplainship went a begging pretty far before it fell into the hands of my colleague and myself; and now that we have declined it, it lies neglected, as no man thinks it worth his while to pick it up." He referred to the three years' hunting for a man to go out to Calcutta as assistant chaplain. We see the same weakness in a letter from Mr. Bull to Mr. John Newton in 1786:—

"How is Mr. Johnson's Botany Bay scheme likely to end? I have seen a copy of his feelings on the occasion, and seemed to feel them all myself. It filled me with a thousand thanks that the Lord did not call me to that cross. If Johnson goes, I pray the Lord to go with him, and fit his mind for everything that lies before him."

The Olney poet-preacher made this capital reply:—
"Mon cher Taureau.

"A minister who should go to Botany Bay without a call from the Lord, and without receiving from Him an apostolical spirit, the spirit of a missionary, enabling him to forsake all, to give up all, to put himself into the Lord's

hands without resource, to sink or swim, had better run his head against a stone wall. I am strongly inclined to hope Mr. Johnson is thus called, and will be thus gratified. I shall not advise him to consult with you upon this point. Your appointment is to smoke your pipe quietly at home, to preach, and to lecture to your pupils; you are not cut out for a missionary. I, too, must have my tea, my regular hours, and twenty little things which I can have when my post is fixed. I should shrink at the thought of living upon seals and train oil. Oh! if Johnson is the man whom the Lord appoints to the honour of being the first to carry the glad tidings into the Southern Hemisphere, he will be a great and honoured man indeed."

Strange that, in the England of 1786, leading clergymen should shudder at a well appointed chaplainship in the expedition to Botany Bay, whose probable trials and dangers so many other officials had to encounter, on poor pay, and less honour, at the simple call of public duty!

But Australian christians need be grateful to the members of the Eclectic Society, especially to such men as William Wilberforce, John Newton, and John Thornton, for the interest they took in the First Chaplain to New Holland.

CHAPTER IX.

SELECTION OF THE CHAPLAIN.

By what has been said, the reader will see that while only the Eclectic Society took any interest in sending a preacher with the Botany Bay Expedition, the choice of the man would rest with them. Of course, he must be what we now call *Low Church*, not Ritualistic. Before all things, he must be what was then considered a *Methodist*; a strict-follower of the Evangelical school. Still, he must be a duly ordained clergyman of the Church of England. The selection was thus narrowed down to but very few. Only one candidate appeared, so far as can be known, and that was Richard Johnson, B.A., of Magdalen, Oxford. *Cambridge*

Mr. Wilberforce, a Member of Parliament, an active politician, and a wealthy man, however correct in religious views, was not fit to select the one. He left the choice to the almoner of his extensive charities, and his favourite preacher, the Rev. John Newton: who, after proper catechizing, was inclined towards Mr. Johnson, and spoke of him to other Eclectics as sound in their views. He was young, unmarried, and open to an offer.

No consultation took place with church dignitaries, or with the two recognized Church Societies. The *Eclectics* approved, Mr. Wilberforce approved, and the latter's friend, Mr. Pitt, accepted his nomination. Afterwards, a respectful recognition of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the

Gospel in Foreign Parts, took place in the presentation of the chaplain to their several committees. As, before the Institution of the Bible Society and Tract Society, religious books could only be got from these two societies, the request for a grant of books was naturally made to them, and a liberal grant was made accordingly. In this way, the two wings of the Church of England met in the Botany Bay Mission.

The Rev. John Newton took a great interest in the young man, and his large heart showed itself in a loyal and lasting friendship. His interest found an outlet in verse, called :—

Omicron to Johnson, going to Botany Bay.

“The Lord who sends thee hence will be thine aid ;

In vain at thee the Lion, *Danger*, roars :

His arm and love shall keep thee undismayed

On tempest tossed seas and all strange shores.

Go, bear the Saviour's name to lands unknown,

Tell to the Southern World His wondrous grace ;

An energy divine thy words shall own,

And draw their untaught hearts to seek His face.

Many in quest of gold, or empty fame,

Would compass earth, or venture near the Poles ;

But how much nobler thy reward and aim,

To spread His grace, and win immortal souls !”

Mr. Bull gave him his blessing, November 1st, 1786, from Newport Academy, saying :—“You are going to the ends of the earth, and my prayer for you is that the LORD Jesus Christ may go with you. Pray that he may give you the hearts of these officers in the ship that go with you.

They will prove a great trial or a great comfort to you. Your copper-coloured neighbours, and your copper-hearted companions, when you get there, must have a gospel of but few ideas and fireworks, &c.”

Sir Charles Middleton's letter to Mr. Under Secretary Nepean, though some time in 1786, had no specific date, but it shows he stood in the place of the chaplain-maker of the period, Mr. Wilberforce: saying—

DEAR SIR,—As Mr. Wilberforce is not in town himself, I introduce for a few minutes conversation, Mr. Johnson, who is nominated as Minister for Botany Bay. He has settled his business with the Treasury, and therefore comes to you for his appointment, and an order for a few parish necessities, which are perfectly proper, and not paid for by individuals. He may secure them himself, and they may be brought into our list of necessities.

I am, &c.,

CHAS. MIDDLETON.

The Official Commission followed:—

“GEORGE THE THIRD, &c.—To Our Trusty and Well Beloved Richard Johnson, Clerk, greeting.—We do, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain to the Settlement within Our Territory called New South Wales. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Chaplain, by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging, and you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from Our Governors of Our said Territory, for the time being, or any other your superior officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War.

Given at Our Court of St. James's, the Twenty-fourth

Day of October, 1786, in the Twenty-sixth year of Our Reign."

By His Majesty's Command.

(Signed) SYDNEY.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHAPLAIN ON THE HULKS.

WE hear of the rich and generous Mr. Thornton taking Mr. Johnson down to the Woolwich Hulk, that he might see the sort of men who would form his coming mission.

The Hulk in the Thames was under the care of Mr. Duncan Campbell, the government contractor for the disposal of criminals. Having these under his guardianship, legally made over to his service, he had a money motive for looking after them. They were fed, watched, and treated as the wild beasts of a menagerie, the gaolers and keepers being selected for brutal strength, and not for urbanity. The convicts might howl and rave, but were restrained somewhat by chains and blows.

The poor creatures were fetched up from the dark, caverned depths of the lower deck, fetid in atmosphere, and reeking with disease germs. A few, a very few, were saddened by their situation, as they thought of a happier past, or dwelt on loved ones left behind. But the mass were gross and disgusting in bodily appearance, dull in intellect, depraved in morals. There was no light in their eye, no smile on their face. They had mirth without joy,

laughter without pleasure. Did one know at what they laughed, at what they swore, fear would be added to horror.

Yet these were human, after all. The erect stature still parted them from the beasts of the forest or the field.

What did the preacher think of them? Of course, they stood there on their good behaviour, for the gentlemen that came to see them were escorted by some officials, and surrounded by armed gaolers. What could he think of them, as they glared at him in curiosity, or leered in hardened derision. He shrank from them. He pitied the sallow, hopeless looking ones, and shuddered at the more youthful who, born of sensual parents, brought up in homes of filth, vice and misery, had never known the guilelessness and brightness of childhood.

What did he think of them in relation to himself?

He was to be their Chaplain, when they set sail. We read not of his paying the hulk another visit. He had no time from friends and preparation for the voyage. But we do know, from one of John Newton's letters, that he had made a long stay at Lymington, that he saw much of London Society, so as to lead the good old man to fear the loss of that missionary ardour which had drawn the young student to him.

He, perhaps, dismissed the hulk from his thoughts for awhile. Was he not looking for a maiden to take out as a wife? Once on shipboard, he would again face that terrible assemblage. At Sunday morning service, perchance, some portion of them might be allowed on deck to listen, at a distance, to his reading of prayers, to his prepared address from a chosen text. He need never descend to their own wretched quarters.

Anyhow, when they got to land, and stood on the same grass level with himself, he could preach freely to them, and meant to do so. He would then show them very clearly their lost condition, and hold out some hopes of heaven's mercy. This he could do, would do.

But, alas ! he was of delicate health, of sensitive nature, of retiring habit. He could not dash down among the crowd, and cry, in impassioned Baptist tones, "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" With the tenderness of a Henry Martyn, he lacked the courage of a Livingstone, the ardour of a Felix Neff, the active benevolence of an Oberlin.

Here we have a description of the Woolwich hulk from one forced to dwell there. "There were," said Vaux, "confined in this floating dungeon nearly six hundred men, most of them double ironed ; and the reader may conceive the terrible effects arising from the continued rattling of chains, the filth and vermin naturally produced by such a crowd of inhabitants, the oaths and execrations constantly heard among them. On descending the hatchway, no conception can be formed of the scene which presented itself."

And, yet, there have been men, and women, too, who would gladly, in the excess of self-sacrificing love, have devoted their lives to the taming of such human wolves, the softening of such callous natures, and the calling forth of the divine in the breasts of these sin burdened souls.

Having lived for seven or eight years in a convict colony, Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, one where the comingling of free and bond was less than in Sydney, where government action was more direct and constant, where the system of prison discipline was changed to and fro

according to orders from Home, where bushranging was more extensive than elsewhere, and in which, while having had assigned servants ourselves, we have known the herding of men with men, and women with women, under the so called *Probation* system—we may be allowed to apply our personal experience to this portion of colonial history.

As devoted to temperance, and believing in the Great and Good Father, we were interested in the principles of criminalology, and in the individual cases brought to our notice, especially in those persons living on our premises, companions of our own children.

We must first declare that, though in a convict colony, we were never the victim of a robbery, in or out of the house, and that we were served well by both male and female prisoner servants. Where we suffered from them was the direct folly of the poor creatures themselves. None had the drink temptation with us, as no alcoholic liquor entered our dwelling.

The conspicuous faults which led them into trouble, which had before brought them into bondage, were—a singular want of prevision, a striking powerlessness of will—though subject to violent paroxysms of waywardness and passion—a generally ungoverned thought, with a disposition to be swayed by the incidents of the hour. There was, too, a moral cowardice in yielding to the ridicule of companions. Such wants would lead them into bad company, to drink, and to sensual gratification.

In our experience, we have detected persons of all classes described in Professor Ferri's "Criminal Socialogy," viz., criminal madmen, born criminals, criminals by contracted habits, occasional criminals, and criminals of passion.

Heredity is a prime factor, little recognised in the day of Rev. Richard Johnson. No one thought then of writing "A Plea for the Unborn." No one heeded woman in her months of gestation, or considered the mental and moral condition of the father. The doctrine of innate depravity covered all difficulties, and was the apology for even childish errors. It was a long leap from that theory to the ideas of Romilly, Lombrosa, and others of the *Correctional School*. Criminal Anthropology is a science of only our modern times, and is related to evolution and heredity.

The treatment of prisoners, as of the insane, should be based on the principles of science and of human brotherhood. It is no more necessary to regard an offender as an irreclaimable being, worthy only of vindictive punishment, than of regarding a madman as one who had met a spirit in the forest, or incurred the special wrath of the gods.

In the settlement of New South Wales by convicts and their keepers, philosophy and humanity were required in the management of the poor creatures. The terrible hardships, endured by the earlier visitants, arose in no small degree from official inexperience and negligence in London, by which, during a succession of years, the colony was on the verge of starvation, and almost bereft of clothing, while physical weakness and disease prevented the execution of those public works so essential to well being.

Then, the selection of our naval and military men as Governors, so generally ignorant of civic life, together with the appointment of superintendents and overseers so unsuited to their duties, and the régime of soldiers and constables of so low a moral type, could not fail to depress virtue and exalt vice among the few who would fain rise to better things.

They who were transported but for seven years, felt as hopeless the return to their native land and friends as those nominally sentenced for life. Recklessness and despondency might well seize upon those who knew that, by official carelessness, the very term of their punishment was unknown in the colony. They had to be fed, and put to labour, and their only gleam of pleasure came from the draught of rum, or the indulgence of vicious courses.

Against all this there was but the feeble voice of a sickly Chaplain, overwhelmed with the antagonism of evil around him. Was such a discipline calculated to raise the fallen? And, yet, from such an abyss has New South Wales sprung to be one of the most flourishing and progressive of communities.

CHAPTER XI.

MR. JOHNSON AND THE GREAT CHURCH SOCIETIES.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—the oldest missionary organisation of Protestant England, dating from William the Third's reign, the first association to regard the spiritual interests of our own countrymen going forth from Great Britain to the American colonies, had the good of our exiles to Botany Bay at heart, and were the earliest friends of education in Australia.

Though, in our modern days, the society has come to be regarded as less representing the Church of England as a

whole, than as the High Church portion thereof, even the Nonconformists of the country must pay respectful homage to it for its services to church and school, especially in the *dark ages* of neglect and indifference, when the dissenter slept as soundly as the churchman.

It should not be forgotten that when, after the revival of learning under Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, a cloud of gross ignorance for many years overshadowed our land, it was the S.P.G. that sought to establish schools in every English parish: and that, though the Roman Catholic hierarchy maintained their agencies for the conversion of the heathen, while every Protestant body neglected this duty, it was the S.P.G. that bore the banner of christianity to pagan Africans and Indians.

In an eloquent sermon, preached by the Bishop of Bangor, at the Society's Anniversary, February 16th, 1787, from Matt. 13th Chap., 31st and 32nd verses, the following passages occur:—

“How fatal must be the consequence were our colonies to be again overspread with infidelity and irreligion; to fall back into pagan ignorance, and a want of all virtue and moral principle! And yet, this would, by degrees, come to be the case, were they to be left without places of public worship, and a standing ministry.”

After declaring that “no people were ever known to be industrious, who were not also religious, sober and frugal,” he turned to the colonists, saying: “Let us lay these things together, and act like men who have a zeal for God, and are desirous of showing the sincerity of their zeal by a love to their brethren, who, though placed at a vast distance from us, are yet by nature, and many other ties, nearly related to us.”

It was but a few days after the delivery of this sermon that the *First Fleet* for the settlement of New South Wales set sail.

To go back a little, we must notice the connexion between this society, and the appointment of the Rev. Richard Johnson.

As has been elsewhere shown, the first alliance was between that gentleman and the Evangelical section of the church. But the old society could not be ignored, especially as the Archbishop of Canterbury had been associated with the young men's selection. The fact of the minister going to an English colony was a sufficient introduction, after the enactment of 1787, thus referred to :—

“By the 24th Geo. III., c. 35, a power is given to the Bishop of London for the time being, or any other bishop appointed by him, to admit to the order of deacon or priest persons who are subjects or citizens of countries out of his Majesty's dominions.”

If such persons could be admitted, it was allowed that one should be ordained here for service in a country not then inhabited by a single European. The year before Mr. Johnson took orders, that is, in 1785, the records of that Church Society state :—“Application came by Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in sundry of the United States of America, to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, to confer the Episcopal charter on certain persons recommended by themselves, and was signed in Convention at Christchurch, Philadelphia, October 5th, 1785.”

In due course, a favourable reply was sent, and two persons were, by the new Act, made Bishops of Pennsylvania and New York by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1787.

Thus it was that, in the revolted colonies of America, the Church of England, or Episcopal Church, was more duly organized, at the very time when it was being planted in that Botany Bay region, to be settled by a class who had formerly been disposed of in the Atlantic colonies. We may note, by the way, to show church progress in Canada, that in 1788, when New South Wales was established, there was but one Protestant Episcopal church for three hundred miles—from Halifax in Nova Scotia to Fredericton in New Brunswick.

At a general meeting of the society, held on Tuesday, the 16th day of January, 1790, under two years from the date of the colony's formation, we find the following entry in the archives, the archbishop then presiding:—

“Whereas it was suggested to the last board that the society had received certain books from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, without specifying for what purpose, it was ordered that the following addition be made to that minute, viz., ‘for the use of the Corps about to embark for New South Wales,’—which words were accordingly inserted in the journal. At the same time, it was resolved to comply with an application made by the said Corps, to allow £40 a year for four schoolmasters.”

The New South Wales Corps was the body of troops raised by Major Grose for special colonial service, and to take the place of the Marines, who had been sent with Governor Phillip, in 1787, in charge of the convicts carried out. All honour to the Corps for asking assistance in literature, and equal honour to the church society for granting the same.

But it was at a meeting of the society on December 18th, 1789, that the following books were sent out to the colony,

to the care of the Chaplain, and in addition to those he had taken out with him from England. The list included, 50 *Prayerbooks*, 50 *Testaments*, 48 *Dixon's Spelling books*, 25 *Stonehouse's Prayers*, 25 *Christian Monitor*, 25 *Kettlewell's Office for the Penitent*, 25 *Soldier's Monitor*, 25 *Woodward's Against Swearing*, 25 *Against Drunkenness*, &c.

The S.P.G. had been from its commencement, or from the time of William III., in the great work of public instruction, and that, when no other institution existed, in the cause of poor children. One is not, therefore, astonished at this record of February 25th, 1795 :—

NEW SOUTH WALES.

“It was resolved upon by the society some time since to extend their assistance to this new Settlement, and for that purpose to begin with holding out an encouragement to schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, as the most likely means of effecting a reformation must be by paying all the attention that can be to the instruction and morals of the rising generation. And as it was found impossible to send any from this country, it was signified to the Governor, that if proper persons could be found there to undertake that office, the society would grant an annual allowance of £10 to any number not exceeding four. They have lately received a letter from Mr. Johnson, the chaplain there, on the subject, with two certificates from him and Mr. Bains, chaplain to the Corps, of William Webster and William Richardson, having taught school there from Michaelmas, 1793, to Michaelmas, 1794 ; the society have, therefore, ordered them each a compensation of £10, and agreed to continue the same salary in future to such as the Governor from time to time may judge to be proper for that office.”

That minute should be gratefully remembered by Australians, in future ages, as proceeding from the earliest friends of education—and when the Government of Great Britain were content to let the helpless little ones remain alone in their ignorance. It seems now a small sum in aid, but subscriptions were few and small in England a hundred years ago, occasioning limited grants. The recipient schoolmasters of the colony, having homes, rations, and clothes found them, with some small dole from their pupils, regarded a ten pound gift as a grateful one.

Schoolmistresses, like Susanna Hunt, on Norfolk Island, received the like £10 annual bounty from this venerable society. In 1798 a grant of £50 was made to a Mr. Haddock, who acted as a catechist or missionary on Norfolk Island, though his name does not occur among the grants for the year 1800.

The discourse before the society, in 1804, by the Bishop of Gloucester, refers more particularly to New South Wales, as one of the islands (with Norfolk Island), favoured by the S.P.G.

“In its humane policy,” said his lordship, “our legislature has appointed those places for the reception of persons, who, having transgressed the laws of this country, are therefore condemned to banishment from their native land. Because they are far from us, should they be forgotten? Because they have been sinners, should they be abandoned and consigned to spiritual ruin? You have judged otherwise, and you have rightly judged. The exiles were once dwelling among christian friends in British dominions. Let them find in their native home a kind disposition towards them if they repent and amend. But how shall they repent, and how amend, without the aid of

persons to awaken their consciences? Well, therefore, will it be, if you, to the extent of your ability; well will it be if this country, to the extent of its power, will provide that the spiritual wants of these unhappy outcasts be seriously regarded, and the means of relieving those wants be proportionately supplied."

These noble sentiments of a true bishop of souls found but faint echo in the breasts of christians in Britain.

Two interesting notices of our first Chaplain occur in the society's minutes of Board meetings.

On January 18th, 1791, it is said:—"Read a letter from Mr. Johnson, Chaplain at Port Jackson, New South Wales, dated 13th April, 1790, in which he states several particulars relative to his situation at that place, and solicits a further supply of Bibles, Common Prayer Books, and spelling books."

"Agreed, that books to the value of about five pounds be granted out of Mr. Belkes' charity for Mr. Johnson, and that the secretary attend to the selection of them."

Further on, November 8th, 1791, is this notice:—

"Read a letter from Mr. Richard Johnson, Chaplain at Port Jackson, New South Wales, dated August 17th, 1790, in which he thanks the society for their donation of books, states some particulars relative to his distribution of them, to his own situation, the establishment of a school for children after many difficulties, &c."

"Agreed that the secretary do write to Mr. Johnson, acknowledging, in the society's name, the receipt of this letter."

Belonging to an opposite school to that represented by this society, Mr. Johnson gave thanks for what was given, but might have shown more courtesy towards the donors

than allow several years to pass before sending them a notice of his arrival on the mission ground. He was three years from England before he wrote to them.

Mr. Johnson's connexion with the sister society, that of *Promoting Christian Knowledge*, naturally related to books and tracts, the peculiar province of that institution.

There was at that period of our national history no religious and no educational organisation, either voluntary or with state aid, other than the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, whose present headquarters are in Northumberland Avenue, Charing Cross, that could render the needful assistance for Mr. Johnson, and the colony then about to be founded. Government contributed stores, tools and chains, but no books. Each of the two Church of England societies worked harmoniously with the other, although keeping to its own department of usefulness. This explains their action in the case of our minister.

The *S.P.C.K.* Society (Promoting Christian Knowledge) had then its home in Bartlett's Buildings. It was there that the Board met, on November 14th, 1786, and passed the following resolution, as we extracted from their minute book :—

“ Dr. Morice (secretary to the S.P.G. Society) reported to the board that he was charged with a message from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, recommending to this society that they would furnish the Rev. Mr. Johnson, who is going to Botany Bay as chaplain to the convicts, with some Bibles and other religious books for the use of his charge, and it was suggested that there was reason to believe a considerable number of books lately had by Mr. Thornton, on society's terms, were intended for this purpose ; the secretary was therefore directed to write to

that gentleman for information whether all or any of the books are to be sent to Botany Bay; if so, the board conceives his Grace's wish to have been already virtually complied with; if not, the board resolves to re-consider the matter at their next meeting, and to adopt some conclusion agreeable to his Grace's wish."

At the next meeting, November 21st, 1786, the minute was:—

"Read a letter from Mr. Thornton, in reply to one from the secretary, informing the board that of the books lately had of the society, he intended to send one half to Botany Bay; Dr. Drake was desired to communicate to his Grace the Archbishop, the above particulars, assuring him that they are most readily willing to make whatever addition thereunto his Grace shall deem expedient."

We thus learn that the prime mover of this benevolent remembrance of the poor prisoners was the archbishop, who communicated with the missionary society of his church, and, possibly, through the intervention of Mr. Wilberforce.

It was at this stage of the proceedings that Mr. Johnson himself appeared before the Board of P.C.K. Society. The minute of the meeting on November 18th, 1786, says:—

"The Rev. Mr. Johnson, appointed Chaplain to the convicts going to Botany Bay, was introduced to the board, when it was resolved to present to him from the society's stores the following books and tracts for the use of his charge":—

100 Bibles 24mo,

100 Common Prayer Books { 25, 8vo. Pica.
75, 12 mo. Minion

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---------------------|
| 400 Testaments | } | 50, Pica. |
| | | 100, Long Primer. |
| | | 250, 12mo. Brevier. |
- 500 Psalters.
- 200 Church Catechism Books.
- 100 Osterwald's Necessity for reading the Scriptures.
- 100 Christian Monitor.
- 25 Plain Exhortations to Prisoners.
- 50 Synge's Religion made easy.
- 25 Kettlewell's Office for the Penitent.
- 200 Sermons on the Mount.
- 12 Wilson's Instructions for the Indians.
- 100 Wilson's On the Lord's Supper.
- 200 Exercise against Lying.
- 50 Woodward's Caution to Swearers.
- 500 Stonehouse's Administrations—broad sheet.
- 100 " " stitched.
- 100 " Most Important Truths.
- 200 Child's First Book—1st part.
- 200 " " 2nd part.
- 50 Lewis's Catechisms.
- 200 Christian Soldier.
- 100 Burkett's Help and Guide.
- 20 Burrough's Devout Psalmist.
- 100 Exhortations to Chastity.
- 25 Daniel Hurley's Conversion.
- 50 Life of God in the Soul of Man.
- 50 Porteus on Good Friday.
- 100 White's Dissuasives from Stealing
- 100 Stonehouse's Advice to a Penitent.
- 50 " Spiritual Directions.

- 100 Dixon's Spelling Books.
- 6 Worthington on Self Resignation.
- 6 Gastrell's Institutes.
- 1 Greenwood's Harmony.
- 1 Osterwald's Arguments.
- 2 Secker's Lectures.
- 2 Whole Duty of Man.
- 2 Green's Discourses.
- 6 Great Importance of a Religious Life.
- 1 Nelson's Companion.
- 6 „ Directions.
- 1 Woodward's Rise and Progress of Religious Societies.
- 1 Bishop Mann on the Gospel.
- 6 Stebbing on Prayer.
- 1 Talbot's Christian Schoolmaster.
- 12 Manual of Devotions.
- 1 Set of Society's Tracts.

“Mr. Johnson mentioned that he expected about 700 convicts would accompany him, besides soldiers, sailors, and some volunteers.”

“The board expressed their most fervent wishes that the divine blessing might go with him in his undertaking, and requested Mr. Johnson to favour the society from time to time with his correspondence.”

Before quitting the subject of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and its early connexion with New South Wales, it may be interesting to many to hear of its movement in relation to South Sea Island Missions, especially as proceeding from that early friend of the colony, and the companion of Captain Cook in discovery,

1770—Sir Joseph Banks, the renowned president of the Royal Society.

The minute recording the matter is dated June 19th, 1787 :—

“The secretary reported that he had waited upon and seen Sir Joseph Banks, who assured him that the clergyman who so earnestly desired to be engaged as a christian missionary to the South Sea Islands has been known to him for some years, that he believes his intentions to be altogether pure—that no view is entertained of endeavouring to put the society to the least expense, and that his only wish was to know whether, when the society shall be fully informed and satisfied in regard to the *person*, they will be likely to honour him with a place in their list of missionaries to the heathen.”

“Agreed that the secretary do inform Sir Joseph Banks that if, after his name and connexions are made known to the board, they find perfect satisfaction in regard to the goodness of his character, and the orthodoxy of his sentiments, it is very probable that they may be disposed to enlist him in the number of their missionaries.”

This very cautious procedure, on both sides, is resumed in the minute of August 7th, 1787 :—

“Read a letter from Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., informing the society that a gentleman would subscribe £100 towards the support of a missionary, who shall reside five years in the Island of Otaheite, and will settle £20 per annum on him immediately, and made payable on his return.”

“Resolved that the society, if a proper person can be found to undertake the office, will engage to forward so good a work, so far as is consistent with their plan.”

“Resolved that it be proposed for the consideration of

the ensuing General Meeting, whether it may not be expedient to apply a sum not exceeding £50 to fit out a missionary for this service, and the sum of £100 in addition to the £100 subscribed, as a compensation at the expiration of the five years."

As nothing further is mentioned in the archives of the society as to this volunteer missionary, it is to be presumed that the negociation came to nought. The Mission Field in the Southern Hemisphere of the Pacific was not to be occupied by those two ancient institutions, but by the *London Missionary Society*, in a combination of Evangelical Churchmen with some Dissenters, and subsequently by the well known and highly prosperous *Church Missionary Society*.

As it has been reported that Dr. Porteus was the Bishop of London who interested himself, with Mr. Wilberforce, in the appointment of the Rev. Richard Johnson, it is sufficient to say that he succeeded Bishop Louth, who died November 3rd, 1787, and was only confirmed in office at Bow Church, on December 7th, 1787.

CHAPTER XII.

JOHN NEWTON AND THE DEPARTING CHAPLAIN.

BEFORE Mr. Johnson left England, his friend, the noble hearted Olney preacher, sent him thoughtful directions and sympathetic counsel.

He spoke of his voyage, bringing to mind Bible story, saying, "The travels and voyages of St. Paul will have peculiar weight, and you will feel comfort from them, which you never felt before." He tells him, "a change of climate and of diet will try your constitution, and you will be upon your guard. Nothing can hurt you while the LORD is with you."

Another word of advice appealed more to discretion than christian zeal:—

"If Jesus should honour you with the crown of martyrdom, it will not be strange. He did the same for Paul and Peter before you were born. But it will be madness in you to risk your health, by going down into the hold of a ship, where the air must be always putrid from the breath of a crowd of passengers in chains. If they are sick, and want you, let them be brought up on the deck. It will be equal folly to venture your life among the savage natives on shore, before their confidence is obtained by the mutual good offices of others. Remember, your business is religion, mind that, and that only. Be careful of your health. Be careful of your life. Be careful of your conversation."

This fatherly advice, from one who loved to sit at ease in London, was hardly required by one sufficiently careful to avoid danger. It is to be hoped, for the credit of the cloth, that Mr. Johnson never asked for the anxious enquirer to be brought from his sick bed below to the breezy deck, for talk with his Pastor. He was not likely to meet with native spears, as the blacks would be alarmed enough at the presence of a thousand white new comers.

In a letter of December, 1786, Mr. Bull, writing to his friend, John Newton, gives a bit of news respecting the new Chaplain. It concerned a matrimonial preparation for the voyage. This explained a certain absence from town, which occasioned some anxiety to his city friends in the ministry. Had he gone without a partner, how much more helpless he would have been! If not taking one with him, where was he to find one out there? Thus wrote Mr. Bull:—

“So at last you have given the good Bishop of Botany Bay a wife to take with him—a very good thing, if she be a good wife. I pity, and rejoice, pray for and congratulate them both. I have just got a letter from him, and indeed was affected by his feelings. Poor man! it is surely of the Lord; and I think, from the face of the thing, it is certainly intended for the good of souls. How anxious should I feel, if life is spared, to hear of somebody who has heard from him at Botany Bay, and how it goes with him.”

After this, we hear little more of Mr. Johnson's connexion with this learned man, who succeeded Rowland Hill in his Surrey Tabernacle, Blackfriars Road.

From Mr. Newton's letter, May 13th, 1788, we obtain some light upon Mr. Johnson's character in London, while making preparations for departure, and it also expresses the

sentiments of the venerable clergyman upon the expected work at Botany Bay.

"When you land there," wrote he, "may you, like Noah, when he left the Ark, meet a special blessing from on high to welcome you on shore. Saturday at nine in the evening is about eight on Sunday morning at Botany Bay, so that your Sunday is closing when mine begins."

"I consider you in a much higher and more important view than merely a friend of mine, or than any of my brethren in the ministry at home. If the Lord bestows upon you, and maintains in you, the true spirit of a missionary, I conceive of you as the greatest and most honoured minister in our Established Church, as much superior to an archbishop as Teneriffe is more elevated than Highgate Hill. My heart hopes that you will carry with you a spark, from which, in God's due time, light may proceed to enlighten the whole Southern Hemisphere."

Then comes a gentle reminder of the Chaplain's weakness, which rather casts a doubt upon the impression he had first made:—

"I thought you accepted your commission at first, and then I judged you were the fittest person I knew for an undertaking in which your scholarship, and what the world calls *shining abilities*, would be of much less consideration than faith, patience, humility, and a disinterested love of souls. Afterwards, I could not but apprehend the hurry in which you lived during your long stay in London, the new scenes into which you were suddenly introduced, and other circumstances, abated in some measure what I call the missionary spirit in you, and directed your attention to things more likely to hinder than bless you. I trusted that the Lord would bring you again

to the one great point before you reached Botany Bay. Yet I had my fears, which were rather confirmed by your long stay at Lymington, and your reluctance to leave that place when your duty undoubtedly required your attendance upon the ships at Portsmouth as soon as possible."

Mr. Johnson had evidently been making, in a letter, some reflections upon Governor Phillip, who was an upright officer, and a thorough gentleman, but without sympathy for the religious views advanced by the young cleric, and, perhaps, with more ardour than tact. Hence the following wise advice:—

"Your success and influence will not depend much upon the manner in which you express yourself, as upon the general impression which your character makes upon the people you are with. If Captain Phillip, the officers, seamen and convicts conceive of you as devoted to God, firm in His cause, meek, humble and compliant in all cases where conscience is not concerned, and at the same time as standing upon higher ground than to be influenced by the fear of man, or of any danger or hardship to which duty may expose you, this will give a weight to what you say. But I believe you will have sharp trials, and be at times, like the sailors in a storm, almost at your wits end."

It seems that the Governor found some fault with the clerical performances, while in Portsmouth Harbour, fancying less doctrinal teaching, and more plain exhortation to honest purpose in life, better suited to the ignorant and unhappy souls to whom he was the pastor. The aged Rector therefore refers to this complaint:—

"But however justly Captain Phillip may be disgusted with hypocrisy, I trust you will be able to fix in his mind a

conviction that, however others may do, you are yourself an upright man; and this persuasion, as I have before hinted, will stand you in more stead than many arguments. I hope what has happened will not so confine you to moral subjects, as to tempt you to suppress the grand peculiarities of the gospel. I am conscious of a manner of preaching, which I hope the Lord will lead you into, that is a medium between a dry detail of doctrines and a dry enforcement of moral duties."

The good man next turns to his young friend's new home.

"I hope I may now consider you as safely arrived, and beginning to take root in the new and distant world. A land destitute not only of towns and villages, but even of a house. Neither fields nor roads, neither labourers nor travellers, no steeples towering above the trees, nor cheerful sound of church bells, but all dreary and silent about you. Who can tell what an alteration you may live to see? And what greater alterations may take place in the course of another century? What design Government may have in forming your settlement I know not. I approve the extension of our commerce, but I trust the Lord designs to make this place subservient to His gracious design of spreading the light of His glorious gospel."

A change then comes in the letter, with a touch of humour, in a prophetic vision of the missionary.

"I hope you will take care how you ramble in the woods, lest you should be surprised by the natives and carried off. Were I even to hear that this happened, I should not be wholly disconcerted. I would not hastily conclude that they had been permitted to eat you for breakfast. I would endeavour still to comfort myself with the possibility that,

though I may not live to hear it, an account may some years arrive to the following purpose :—‘ The Mr. and Mrs. Johnson (for in such a case I would have her with you), who were carried inland by the natives and whom we long thought dead, are still living. The savages spared them. By degrees he learned their language, and has preached to them the glad tidings of salvation by Jesus, with such effect, that numbers of them are converted to the faith, and brought into a state of harmony and civilization.’ Would not such a paragraph look pretty in a future newspaper ? ”

Your affectionate friend and brother,

JOHN NEWTON.

It was under such auspices of piety and kindness that the First Chaplain made his way to New South Wales.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE VOYAGE.

THE vessels appointed for the so called Penal Settlement of Botany Bay set sail with their freight of over a thousand souls.

In ancient times, migrations were never to a great distance. Egyptians settled at Mount Sinai, just across a short desert. Greek colonists crept along the Asiatic shore of their Archipelago waters. Phœnicians found new

homes in the islands and on the shores of the Mediterranean. The passage of the Atlantic, in more recent years, by the French of Canada, the Swedes and Dutch of New York, the Spaniards and English on the American main and islands, was a more perilous undertaking. These went to savage lands, and had to build a home, tool in hand, but sword by side.

Governor Phillip's party were going to the farthest region of the world, on the longest of voyages, to a wilderness that had never known cultivation by man.

We have little information about Mr. Johnson on this tedious passage of eight or nine months before reaching Botany Bay. Tradition says that when the fleet anchored in Rio de Janeiro Bay, he displayed a prudence and forethought that proved as profitable to himself as advantageous to the budding Settlement. In the orange groves of Brazil, it struck him that New South Wales, in both the same latitude and hemisphere, might also grow the golden fruit. He, therefore, preserved the seeds of purchased oranges, planted them on the sunny slopes of Port Jackson, and raised the first orange grove in New South Wales. His enterprise was rewarded in the remunerative sale of his ground upon leaving the colony.

That he kept a journal on the way is proved in a letter from the Rev. John Newton, June 24th, 1789, wherein we read, "I heard a part of your journal read in our Eclectic Society." Some circumstances therein mentioned led the great preacher to add "I have little doubt but if I should live a few years longer, I shall be gratified with a better account of the fruits of your ministry."

As belonging to the Evangelical School, he had at first proceeded with doctrinal teaching, with a view to the

conversion of the prisoners on board. Governor Phillip, a prosaic man, thought they needed lectures on swearing, stealing, and general moral conduct; since Mr. Newton went on to say, "It would have been rash and imprudent to have paid no regard to the Governor's desire to begin with moral subjects, though you and I know it was like requiring you to cut down a large tree with a wooden hatchet."

What a magnificent opportunity was that for a great soul—a man breathing fire from off the altar of sacrificial love!

That gathering of criminal men and women, all going forth to a strange and far distant shore, the first *christian* and *civilized* dwellers in a savage land, away from old scenes of tempting vice and distressing squalor, to begin a new life in a new field of action, would seem, to some men of our better modern days, just the very congregation to be desired, just the people to move to a higher plane of being. Their bonds would remain, but their hopes would be revived, their hearts be softened, and yet cheered by fraternal sympathy.

The voyage life of the Chaplain was a long and tedious one. Nine months on shipboard, bound only to one port, would be more than monotonous, even severely trying. The company was not assuredly to the mind of the preacher. There were dangers to face, privations to endure. His own letters of the voyage have perished or disappeared. A few references, therefore, from the diary of Surgeon Bowes, a medical officer of the First Fleet, will not be unwelcome.

"December 19th, 1787.—We spoke the *Golden Grove*, Captain Sharp, who informed us that Mrs. Johnson, the

parson's wife, was very ill, and also that the parson's clerk, Mr. Barnes, was very ill."

"January 10th, 1788.—The *Golden Grove* split foresail and mizen topsail, shipped a sea into the cabin windows, carried them away, and washed Mr. and Mrs. Johnson out of their bed."

"Sunday, February 17th.—This morning Rev. Mr. Johnson went on shore, to preach and administer the sacrament."

The surgeon's opinion of his charge is a decided one. They "are not to be equalled amongst a set of villains in any other part of the globe—both men and women."

On February 27th, there being an execution that day, "The Rev. Mr. Johnson prayed most fervently with the prisoner, and performed every office appertaining to his function with the utmost decorum."

The last entry, March 2nd, notes, "No divine service this day." The reason mentioned was that the chaplain was very "ill from an attack of dysentery." In the heat of summer, with unsuitable food, improper sanitary conditions, and want of adaptation to climatic changes, it was no wonder that so delicate a man as he suffered from the plague of the day.

The original transports, confided to the spiritual care of Mr. Johnson, set off with mingled feelings of dread and hope for their future. They were cast forth from friends and native land, with little chance of seeing them again. They were going to a new country, inhabited only, as they deemed, by wild beasts, and wilder men. They might endure many hardships and dangers. They could consort only with fellow convicts and their gaolers.

The more hopeful side was their removal from old scenes

of want, temptation and misery. They could begin a new career under brighter skies. They were, at least, to be provided for, and possibilities lay in that strange clime. Skill and talent might be turned to better account, and toil might be there better valued and rewarded. Some meant to prosper; and, if unable to return, intended having their dear ones brought to them in the Gum-tree realm. A few, perchance, with revived impulses of piety, saw in the translation from the old home, the finger of a gracious Providence. Might they not be leaving, like Abraham, the Babylonian Plains for the fair hills of Canaan?

Botany Bay was for the early years a terror—a deterrent terror. It was a warning sign-post to evil doers. Yet, as the times flourished, the sunny South lost these terrors. The expatriated United Irishman gained a fortune there. The banished patriot, who thought himself a martyr, realized a happy home there. The felon soon forgot his chains, and, in a more honest course, sprang into competence and favour. Had the English press voiced more clearly the laughter and song of Botany Bay, there would have been a rush, through Newgate, to the far off Elysian Fields.

Those going forth with Governor Phillip, 1787, had, for long years, to suffer more than ever they expected. Half starved, half naked, gloomy and sad, they would have to till the virgin soil with feeble hoeing strength, and wait despairingly for death to end their wretchedness. Supplies, long looked for, came not. The lonesome harbour was unvisited. Men saw each other more haggard every day, and mothers grieved over their half famished little ones. Those who afterwards rose into

position, and to wealth, shuddered at the remembrance of their years of famine.

With such people, on that voyage, having deep regrets and no anticipations, how sweet would have been the voice of sympathy and cheer, the kindly look of a brave but tender hearted pastor! The ocean life, and their own softened feelings, would have afforded a noble opportunity to the zealous lover of humanity, to the preacher of righteousness. But how would Mr. Johnson have missed the mark, by following the exhortation not to go down among the people, for fear of his precious health!

O for the spirit of an Oberlin, a Damien, a Fry, or a Howard on board each ship of that ill-favoured company! How much might the crime and misery of the early years of New South Wales have been lessened, or alleviated, by some faithful pleadings of strong and loving men on that ill-fated, lengthened voyage!

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ARRIVAL.

At last the Fleet reached Botany Bay. The want of anchorage in an ill-protected harbour, apart from the barren aspect of the locality, determined the Governor to go in search of a better port, as he was allowed by his instructions to do. He was rowed round a point of land into Port Jackson, a harbour of remarkable extent, safety, and beauty. Upon its shore he resolved to raise the first settlement.

Returning to Botany Bay the third day, he brought the vessels into the selected port. On the 26th January, 1788, after the lengthened voyage from May 13th, 1787, the colony was duly established at Sydney Cove, so named after Lord Sydney, Secretary of State.

A party of Marines first landed. The voyagers were 1,015 in all. There were 197 marines, with their 28 wives and 17 children. Of the prisoner's class were 558 men, 192 women, and 18 children. The live stock were of seven horses, two bulls, 5 cows, 29 sheep, 49 pigs, 19 goats, besides fowls.

In his dispatch home, Governor Phillip thus told the tale of his establishing the rule of George III. over this spot, on which no foot of civilized man had ever stood before:—

“On a space previously cleared, the whole colony was assembled, the military drawn out, and under arms; the convicts stationed apart, and near the Governor those who were to hold the principal offices under him. The Royal Commission was read by the Judge Advocate, D. Collins.”

There was no religious service. The clergyman was ignored that day. But the baptism of the place was performed in libations of liquor, and success to the Settlement was duly honoured in the flowing bowl.

They, also, celebrated, on June 4th, 1788, the King's birthday, of which, from Botany Bay letters, a London Paper got this *mixed* account:—

“On the morning, the Rev. Charles Thompson (!) preached a sermon to all (?) the people assembled; after which His Majesty's ships *Sirius* and *Supply* fired three royal salutes, each soldier had a pint of porter, every convict under displeasure was pardoned, each man had a pint of rum, each woman had a pint, and wood being plenty,

they made bonfires in the evening, according to the old custom in England; all the officers able to attend supped with the Governor, and the evening concluded in the greatest harmony possible."

How different a story was to be told a little after! This was the London Newspaper report later on in Phillip's reign:—

"The last accounts from New South Wales were said to be of a dreadful nature. The whole settlement was put upon short allowance on account of the extreme scarcity of provisions, and the crops raised at Port Jackson were of the most unfavourable kind, the most promising not likely to yield three bushels for one sown. In short, the prospect of the whole Settlement was deplorable in the extreme."

What that meant to the sensitive Chaplain can be imagined. He found himself in the midst of a groaning community, and his heart fainted within him. He went through his duties, but few attended his ministrations. Sickness and want diminished his congregation. He was there in the path of duty, but the hopeful feelings, with which on arrival he begun his mission, passed away beneath those heavens of brass, and the despondency of the exiles around him, who bewailed their unhappy fate, and the cruelty of those who sent them forth to die in the wilderness.

The very pastor himself had no prophetic gaze to perceive coming years of plenty, a smiling land, a contented people, the spread of schools and churches, the growth of freedom, the progress of humanity.

His pastoral solicitude was called forth on the very day of landing, if we note the account of an eye-witness, Captain Tench, who said:—

“ While they were on boardship, the two sexes were kept most rigorously apart, but when landed, their separation became impracticable, and would have been, perhaps, wrong. Licentiousness was the inevitable consequence, and their old habits of depravity were beginning to recur. Which was to be attempted? To prevent their intercourse was impossible; and to palliate its evils only remained. Marriage was recommended.”

There was another and very natural fear with the authorities—that of *desertion*. The first thing done by the cattle, when landed, was to rush off into the woods, where they and their progeny were not seen again for some half a dozen years or more. Might not the human cargo disappear in a similar manner? Many a talk on board ship had taken place about a flight from the place. Already some, learned above the rest in geography, had spoken of China, as being near Botany Bay. Another had reported the existence of civilized people away over the mountains. Parties, in fact, not long after, did attempt a tramp to Canton, and others to find some lost ones inland.

But, thanks to the feeling of freedom ashore, beneath the shade of forest trees, and the careful serving out of rations, with no tiresome restrictions upon time and company, the people set to work with good spirit upon the erection of temporary dwellings, like the construction of tabernacles in the wilderness. Still, with Mr. Johnson, and all other officials, the first few days after landing gave no small apprehension and uneasiness. The exhibition of immoral propensities afforded the clergyman most ground for concern.

CHAPTER XV.

EARLY RELIGIOUS SERVICES.

CAPTAIN Watkin Tench, of the Marines, wrote in 1789, "On the Sunday after, our Sunday Divine Service was performed under a great tree, by the Rev. Mr. Johnson, Chaplain of the Settlement, in the presence of the troops and convicts, whose behaviour on the occasion was regular and attentive."

As they began under a tree, so the congregation had to continue their worship. On a sunny day, the foliage afforded protection from the heat, and sheltered them from slight showers; but was of little service in high winds or heavy rain. The patience of the gentle Chaplain was severely tried as he witnessed ever diminishing assemblages because of weather trials. He longed for shelter, and pleaded privately and officially for redress. The only reply he got was "want of labour."

In truth, the labour was a serious question. Men forced to work, as the property of the State, were never willing toilers; but when, as it then happened, they were scarcely clothed, and but half fed, the work got out of hundreds would not equal that from a small band of able and resolute hands. Stores to hold provisions were absolutely needed for protection against pillage, and quarters for the people, however rude, were necessary.

It was four years after arrival that this appeal was written to Governor Phillip:—

H. R. N. S. W.
VI. PT

"I have often lamented, and not seldom complained of, the thinness of the congregation; such as, not one half, one third, one quarter, of the convicts, especially the women, being present. The first time we had public service at Port Jackson, I found things much more comfortable for myself and the congregation than I did last Sunday; for then we had the advantage of the trees to shelter us from the sun, but now we are wholly exposed to the weather, first to the rain, which was fearful, and would have made me dismiss the people, and afterwards to the wind and sun. On this account, sir, it cannot be wondered that persons, whether of higher or lower rank, come so seldom and so reluctantly to public worship. I submit, whether, before the approaching winter, some place should not be thought of and built, both here and at the new settlement (Parramatta), for the purpose of carrying on public worship."

Alas! he might submit the question, but only one answer came—*it could not yet be done.*

Some effort had been made to gather a congregation, but it was by threats, not the inducement of official example. One *Order*, of November 9th, 1791, was very emphatic, and was an appeal to appetite: "The Commissary is directed to stop two pounds of meat from every overseer, and one and a half from every convict, male or female, who does not attend divine service, unless prevented by illness or other sufficient cause."

But the Government Order was not enforced. If the poor convict or his overseer were to be punished in his meals for non-attendance, why not the Marine and his officer, the clerk and his commissary?

Norfolk Island was better looked after, under Lieutenant

P. G. King, than the older settlement. In his reports are repeated references to his own personal attention to public worship. One of his earliest says—"The tenth being Good Friday, I performed divine service, and no work was done in the settlement." Later on, when appointed Lieutenant Governor of the Island, he wrote officially, 1795:—

"Although the performance of divine service has ever been regularly performed by an officer, yet there have been many who, in their last moments, have felt the want of that assistance which can only be administered by a clergyman." He, at least, was ready to give every sympathy and aid to one if sent to him.

The officers of the Spanish Exploring Expedition, of 1793, were astonished at five years passing at Port Jackson without a church, saying that it would be the first building constructed in a Spanish Settlement. The Rev. Dr. Ullathorne, afterwards the much appreciated Bishop of Birmingham, mentioned the fact of the Spaniards' remark—"as no place of worship had as yet been anywhere raised, the clergyman preached wherever he could find a shady spot."

Peron, the French visitor, took rather another view of official delay in building, saying, "The Government thinking, and with some reason, that there were other buildings of more consequence."

Yet if there could be no church erected, a *Clock Tower* could be raised, to which the church might hereafter be attached. It might not be the solitary instance of the church coming after the tower. In Ireland, the well constructed stone Round Towers were, perhaps, hundreds of years older than the wooden structures alongside for

christian worship. Collins, the original historian, plainly declared of the clock tower :—"to which might be added a church, whenever at a future day the increase of labourers might enable the Governor to direct such an edifice to be built."

In Tench's record of 1793, are some reminiscences of our Chaplain. He noted the Sunday Services, in 1791, were performed "by the Chaplain of the Settlement or the Chaplain of the Regiment." It was of the latter that the acting Governor wrote in his dispatch, June 28th, 1795, saying, "the Rev. Mr. Bain wishes to exchange to another regiment, or retire from the service." He did return to England with the Commander of the New South Wales Corps, Major Grose, in the *Dædalus*.

Our sailor author acknowledged his own attendance at church on one occasion, which was certainly an official one, being a Thanksgiving Service upon the King's recovery from his malady, June, 1790. Tench's allusion to the incident was: "Where a sermon suited to the occasion was preached by the Rev. Richard Johnson, Chaplain of the Colony."

He had a pretty story to tell of the minister's kind heartedness towards a poor native, who was in great trouble about her husband being sent off on a message to the camp, leaving her alone. "To quiet her apprehensions," said Tench, "on the score of her husband's safety, Mr. Johnson, attended by Abaroo (his native girl) agreed to remain as a hostage until Baneeton should return."

He appreciated one of the clergyman's services, in calling him "the best farmer in the country." It was not the slighting reference presented by the Catholic Dean Kenny, who wrote, "*The Rev. Mr. Johnson must have been very*

distasteful to the members of the Church of England, when he turned a Moravian Methodist; and, notwithstanding all that is said of his zeal and piety, he spent a great deal of his time away from his charge, on his farm at Kissing Point. He was very successful in horticultural pursuits, and his oranges sold sometimes at a shilling each." The gentleman might have added, "and well worth the shilling, too," in the infancy of colonial orange groves.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRENCH CHAPLAIN AT BOTANY BAY.

AMONG the remarkable incidents of Mr. Johnson's life was his being among the last of white men seen by the great French navigator, De la Peyrouse.

This successor of Captain Cook, as an explorer of strange seas, found himself once in the Botany Bay of the Englishman, of which he had read, and in the Settlement of which he seems to have had no knowledge. He went in for water, and rest for a sickly crew. There he met with frank and kind reception, he and his people, from the newly arrived Governor Phillip. He was the first visitor of New South Wales, and that sight of him was the last known to civilized man, though search for him revealed nothing of his sad fate for many years.

One of those on board, and one of the very sickly ones, was the Catholic Priest, Father Receveur. This gentle-

man, dying while in Botany Bay, was buried on its margin. A memorial board was nailed against a tree, upon which was painted :—

Hic jacet
Le Receveur,
Ex F. F. Minoribus Gallia Sacerdos
Physicus in Circumnavigatione Mundi,
Duce D. de la Peyrouse.
Obiit die 17th Febr., Anno. 1788.

Governor Phillip, to his honour, had the inscription engraved upon a copper-plate, and secured to the tree.

One may speculate as to Mr. Johnson's connexion with these explorers from France, and wonder if a glance of sympathy, though without the word in a foreign tongue, fell upon the dying priest from the fellow worshipper of a common God. Geographically situated apart, trained even to regard one another as heretics, of more than doubtful favour with the *Father*, they were, as dying men, but brethren that no geographical or credal difference could separate throughout eternity. Alas! these two peoples, French and English, never met again. It was well that some, like Phillip, showed no little kindness to the French voyagers lying in Botany Bay.

CHAPTER XVII.

FREE SETTLERS.

FROM the very first there were some few settlers who went out free. The first military were the Marines. When the so-called New South Wales Corps were formed in England, under the command of Major Grose, who became acting-governor when Captain Phillip left Port Jackson in 1792, all the Marines left the colony except those preferring to stay as settlers, and receiving grants of land.

But there were in the First Fleet a small company who had been offered a free passage out, on consideration of cultivating ground, and teaching the convicts to grow food. They had land assigned them, with the use of convict labour, and a supply of rations, seeds, tools, &c., for a certain period. These were the earliest free emigrants to Australia. The free by servitude of their term of transportation followed after.

Of old, obstacles were raised against the emigration of Englishmen. As early as Richard II. the law sentenced such wanderers to the loss of their property, unless they were lords, notable merchants, and King's soldiers. That hard statute was not repealed till the fourth year of James I. Yet fresh enactments under the Georges prohibited the passage of mechanics, in particular, without the permit of the Authorities of England.

Thus it was, that the score or so allowed a passage in Governor Phillip's vessels received State appointment, like

both civil and military officials. And thus, also arose the necessity, for a number of years after, even into the thirties of this century, that application to the Secretary of State was needful, in order to secure liberty even to visit the colony. They, however, who solicited permission as *Emigrants*, usually applied for a grant of land, which was always given in quantities proportionate to the capital, real or supposed, they carried out with them. They had, also, to pay the cost of their own conveyance thither.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HIS FIRST LETTER HOME.

MR. JOHNSON was never a ready letter writer. The first official notice of his arrival at Port Jackson was addressed to Mr. Evan Nepean, the Under Secretary of State. Though landing on January 25th, 1788, his communication was dated July 12th, when the earliest chance came for a ship returning direct to London. It relates chiefly to a case that had stirred the hearts of many.

A poor creature, in trouble with some young man in petty larceny, was confined in Norwich gaol. The gaoler was ordered to bring the transported down to the fleet at Plymouth. On arriving at the vessel, the captain, not finding the infant on the list of his destined passengers, refused to allow it to come on board. The humane gaoler, affected by the terrible distress of the mother, took the infant on shore, and hastened with it to London, to obtain

the requisite order for its admission. In spite of many difficulties, and unfortunate delays, he succeeded at last after travelling hundreds of miles, took a boat, and with his infant charge reached the ship, making its way out. The kind hearted fellow gained deserved public honour, and great interest was excited on behalf of the mother.

This was the letter:—

“ Port Jackson, in the County of
Cumberland, New South Wales,
July 12th, 1788.

Hon. Sir,—Though I have nothing particular to mention to you, I cannot think of letting the fleet return to England without dropping you a single line to inform you of my health and welfare.

It would be unnecessary for me, sir, to give you any account of the various circumstances or incidents respecting the fleet, during our late passage from England to this distant part of the globe; as no doubt you will receive ample information respecting these matters, together with a description of this country, as to climate, natives, &c., &c., from His Excellency Arthur Phillip, Esq., our Governor, and others.

Everything here is as yet (as you may easily suppose) very unsettled, but hope in time our situation will be rendered more comfortable, and even now, all things considered, thank God! I have no reason to complain.

You may remember, sir, a circumstance which greatly interested the publick a little before our leaving England. This was respecting the Norwich gaoler and two convicts, Cabel and Holmes, which, with a child, were removed from the Norwich gaol to Plymouth, in order to be embarked on board one of the transports then bound to New South

Wales. These two persons I married soon after our arrival here. Some persons made charitable contribution for these two persons—collected the sum of £20, and laid this out in various articles, at the same time requesting I would see these delivered to them upon our arrival here. Unfortunately these have not been found. This circumstance has been brought before the Civil Court out here, when a verdict was found in their favour against the captain of the *Alexander*—am sorry this charitable intention and action had been brought to this disagreeable issue, the more so because the publick seemed to be so much interested in their welfare. The child is still living, of a weakly constitution, but a fine boy.

Hope, sir, you will excuse my freedom in directing these few lines to you. My chief intention, as I have already mentioned, being to inform you of my health and welfare and that I may have the honour of once more subscribing myself,

Hon. Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

RICHARD JOHNSON."

Evan Nepean, Esq.

A newspaper of 1813, referring to the incident, records the fact that the father of the little one, so befriended by the humane gaoler and the Chaplain, in 1787, afterwards rose to be a man of wealth and position in New South Wales.

CHAPTER XIX.

HIS COLONIAL TROUBLES.

IN Mr. Johnson's letters complaints were common. He had not the buoyancy of his friend, the Rev. John Newton. His sorrows were real; for his privations, though common to all at the Settlements, were hard to be borne, especially with a wife and young children. His witness of the misery around him, in that neglected, sickly and starving community, could bring no cheerfulness in walks abroad. The poor prisoners, whose labour he sought for raising some shelter at worship, gave little expectation of aid in their weakness.

But he suffered far more in spirit than body. He grieved at the sufferings of the unhappy victims of the law, but felt much more their ignorance, their hardness, their wickedness. Under his theological ideas, he beheld the multitude, laden with chains and horrors in this life, sinking afterwards in all the terrors and wails of endless torture. This reflection intensified his sorrow, and weighed heavily upon his sensitive feelings and his melancholy nature.

It was not, however, from these shackled and bowed ones that he met with ill-treatment, or endured shame and contempt. They who ruled them, who were his own equals, the more educated and comfortable, who should have held up his hands in faintness, have shown sympathy

for his trying position, these were the men who caused him most uneasiness in his work as Chaplain. The free, the officials, the wealthier class, obstructed and worried him.

A later Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, wrote thus to a friend in 1823 :—

“It is not the convicts who give me trouble, nor the emancipated colonists, who have uniformly behaved well, but it is your settlers, and good people who style themselves gentlemen, and the magistrates, who generally do all they can to thwart the government regulations and government measures.” It was from such persons that Governors Phillip, Hunter and King suffered, and from whom our Chaplain had most of his crosses to bear. The official spirit dealers, and merchants, but not climatic or other trials, were they that drove the clergyman from his post, and forced him to relinquish duties in which his heart found satisfaction and pleasure.

He was the martyr in a state of things as irregular as iniquitous, and which the Home Government should have promptly disallowed and effectually extinguished. In spite of mortification and loss, England had not even then learned to care for her colonies.

One course of anxiety to the worthy Chaplain was the oft recurring rumours—appearing even soon after he had landed at Port Jackson—that the Settlement was to be abandoned. There was the report of a removal of all to Norfolk Island, in ignorance of its very limited area. Complaints arose as to the climate, the inhospitable soil, the treacherous blacks, the heavy national expenditure, the cruel distance, the painful voyage, the dissensions among the officials, etc. The feeling of insecurity was

increased by the transportation of *United Irishmen*, and the plots these were ever weaving, though ever betrayed.

Officialdom at home had been disturbed by Press criticism. Then came the Report of a Select Committee, published in 1798, from which the following passage may be cited :—

“ It may also be worth enquiry, whether the advantages looked for from this Establishment may not be dependent on its weakness.—The more thriving the Settlement, the more frequented ; the more frequented, the less the difficulty of return ; the more thriving too, the less terrible.”

Then came the experience of convicts formerly sent to the American Colonies, when others, valuing the prospects of emigration, were content with submission for years to servitude in order to pay for their passages. Would it not, it was asked, be the same in New South Wales ? Would not the free flock thither to better themselves ? While, as the Report said, “ to some the emigration remains a punishment, to others it may become an adventure ; but a punishment should be the same thing to all persons, and at all times.”

Such rumours prevented progress in the young Settlement, put Colonial officials in a state of unrest, and served as no small hindrance to the labours of the Pastor of so motly a flock. The very uncertainty of tenure had a most damaging moral influence upon the community, and was notably injurious to the prisoners.

CHAPTER XX.

HIS EVERYDAY COLONIAL LIFE.

MR. JOHNSON went forth as the representative of Government, and of the National Church. He was a paid officer of the Crown, and, yet, a clergyman of the Church of England. He was not a recipient of tithes, enjoyed no fees of office, and had not the resources of a Glebe. His pay from Government was fixed at ten shillings a day. Besides this he was allowed a certain amount of meat and bread each week, like the prison officials and convicts; luxuries, like all other provisions, being both few and expensive.

Ship life, so far as the table was concerned, was then far from being an indulgence of the appetite. The flesh was never fresh, but salt. There was the veritable *salt junk*, otherwise known as *mahogany* from its color, set forth only in a boiled condition. The other meat was salt Irish pork, too often odorous and unsightly. The bread would be biscuit, not too tender, and frequently rather mouldy, or lively with weevil.

As on board, so on shore; his weekly rations were weighed out by the commissariat storekeeper, and duly received by the prisoner man granted for his servant. His wife had her State-recognized amount of provisions, and had for some time no shop at which she could purchase others, or more.

Clothing taken with them from England was in a supply calculated to last for years, and strength rather than finery would be the first consideration in the purchase. One of the most distressing trials of early days was the deficiency in articles of dress. Officials were annoyed and troubled thereby, while the unhappy prisoners displayed indecency and endured discomfort in their want. One of the Governor's most urgent appeals home was for some needles, pins, and sewing thread.

The following letter treats more particularly of his every day duties and employments, as well as those of Sunday, with some reference to his own pecuniary difficulties in the new Colony of high prices. It is dated from Port Jackson, March 23rd, 1792 :—

“As to my habitation, I am very well satisfied; it is pretty commodious and convenient—few better provided or in this respect in the Colony than myself. My principal family complaint is, that I cannot better provide for them. We are now eight in number, and Mrs. J. at this time far gone with child. Our allowance (rations) at present is scanty, and is likely to be still less. 'Tis seldom we can get any fresh meat, and then in general it is at a dear rate, fresh pork one shilling per lb.

“A moderate sized fowl, three, four, or five shillings, and sometimes more; Indian corn, 10s. a bushel; everything else, whether from on ship or on shore, in the same proportion. Have frequently asked to have the privileges of a man to shoot for me now and then. This favour I never have granted.

“Upon the arrival of the *Juliana*, in June, 1790, his Excellency told me that 400 acres were to be measured out as Church ground. This was measured out at that

time, but, to this day, he has not been able to let me have any help to cultivate it, neither has there been so much as a tree fallen upon it. I cannot suppose Government meant for me to use axe or spade myself, but this I have done day after day, otherwise, bad as my situation is, it would have been still worse. I mention this circumstance, being aware that the sound of 400 acres will appear great. But what, sir, are 400 or 4,000 acres, full of large, green trees, unless some convicts be allowed to cultivate it?

“I did not come here as an overseer, or as a farmer. I have other things more, much more, important to attend to. My duty as a clergyman fully takes up all my time, neither will my constitution admit of it. This is much impaired since I came into this country, and at this very time I feel such rheumatic pains and weakness that I can scarcely go through the duties of my office.

“This brings me to mention another circumstance. I have to perform Divine Service at three different places, viz., at Sydney, Parramatta, and at a Settlement about three miles to the westward of Parramatta, and at never a one of these places is there to this day any place of worship erected, nor so much as talked of. The last time I preached at Sydney was in the open air. On the 11th inst. we could not have service at all because of the rain. Next Sunday, if the weather will permit, we shall assemble in an old boat-house, close by the river side; the sides and ends quite open. I declare to you it is a place not fit or safe for a stable or a cowhouse, and I declare further, owing to the violent pain I this moment, and have all this day felt in my temples, etc., I dread Sunday coming, aware of the danger, and the consequences I have to expect. By the Grace of God, however, I am resolved to go on in the

discharge of my duty, till I can hold out no longer, and then I must give up and leave this miserable people to spend their Sabbaths wholly like heathens.

“Last Spring there was the foundation of a Church laid at Parramatta. Before it was finished, it was converted into a jail, or a lock-up house, and now it is converted into a granary. Have had this place to perform Divine Service in for several Sundays, but now am again turned out, and must again turn field preacher there also. I go up to Parramatta, as usual, once a fortnight—the distance by water about fourteen miles. Generally go up on the Saturday, sometimes four, five, six hours upon the water. On Sunday morning early, I now ride up to the new Settlement, preach in the open-air about seven o'clock to about 600 convicts. At ten, and four in the afternoon, I preach at Parramatta. I fear, however, I shall not be able to continue this much longer, especially as the winter is now approaching, unless some places be erected for the purpose.

“Besides my public duty, I have to visit the sick, which at present, both at Sydney and at Parramatta, are a great many—numbers dying every day. Last month about sixty died, and I fear before this expires, there will again be near the same number.

“In different letters which I have lately received, my friends seem to intimate that I meant to return home soon. I know not for what reason they have formed such conjectures. I do not know that I have ever given them any reason to think so. I have not so much as thought of returning, at least as yet; but this I must be free to tell you, that if things are not made more comfortable for me in those matters, that I have already complained of, I shall

certainly think it my duty to write home to be relieved, as I am pretty well aware I cannot stand it many years longer, as things are at present conducted."

This would not be pleasant reading for clerical gentlemen, to whom overtures had been made to undertake a Chaplain's duty out in New South Wales, forsaking English comforts and privileges for so unpromising a life at the Antipodes. His friends might well fancy that the writer wanted to come home.

CHAPTER XXI.

SORROWS OF THE CONVICTS' VOYAGE.

THE dreadful story of the sufferings on board Convict Ships, in the early days, is thus told in a letter to a friend, in 1791, by the broken-hearted Chaplain, then alone in ministerial charge:—

"The *Lady Juliana* brought out from England 226 women convicts, out of which she had only buried five, though they had been on board for about fifteen months. The case was much otherwise with the other three ships. There were on

"The *Neptune* 520, 163 died on board, 269 landed sick.

The *Scarborough* 252, 68 „ „ 96 „

The *Surprise* 211, 42 „ „ 121 „

"This short calculation or account given me will account for what I am going to relate. Have been on board these different ships—was first on board the *Surprise*—went

down amongst the convicts, where I beheld a sight truly shocking to the feelings of humanity, a great number of them lying, some half and others nearly quite naked, without either bed or bedding, unable to turn or help themselves. Spoke to them as I passed along, but the smell was so offensive, I could scarcely bear it.

“I then went on board the *Scarborough*, proposed to go down among them, but was dissuaded from it by the Captain. The *Neptune* was still more wretched and intolerable, therefore never attempted it. Some of these unhappy people died after the ships came into the harbour, before they could be taken on shore; part of these had been thrown into the harbour, and their dead bodies cast upon the shore, and were seen lying naked upon the rocks; took an occasion to represent this to his Excellency, in consequence of which immediate orders were sent on board, that those who died on board should be carried to the opposite North Shore to be buried. The landing of these people was truly affecting and shocking, great numbers were not able to walk, nor to move hand or foot. Such were slung over the ship's side in the same manner as they would sling a cask or box, or anything of that nature. Upon their being brought up to the open air, some fainted, some died upon deck, and others in the boat before they reached the shore.

“When come on shore, many were not able to walk, to stand, or to stir themselves in the least. Hence some were led by others. Some crept upon their hands and knees, and some were carried on the backs of others. The next thing to be considered was, what was to be done with all these miserable objects? Besides the sick that were in the hospital, previous to the arrival of the fleet,

there were now landed not less than 486 sick; but the hospital here is not sufficient to hold above 60 or 80 at most: what then, must be done with the rest? It was fortunate that a new hospital was brought out in the *Justinia*: this was set up with all speed, and a great number of tents, in all 90 or 100, were pitched. In each of these tents there were about four sick people, where they lay in a most deplorable situation. At first, they had nothing to lie upon but the damp ground, many scarcely a rag to cover them. Grass was got for them to lie upon, and a blanket given amongst four of them.

“Have been amongst them for hours, nay, for days together, going from one tent to another, from one person to another, and you may imagine that what I here beheld was not a little affecting. The number landed sick was near five hundred, most at the hospital, and some few dispersed here and there throughout the camp. The misery I saw amongst them is inexpressible. Their heads, bodies, clothes, blankets all full of filth and lice. Scurvy was not the only nor the worst disease that prevailed amongst them. Some were exercised with violent fevers, and others a no less violent purging or flux.

“The complaints they had to make were not less affecting to the ear than their outward condition was to the eye. The usage they met with on board, according to their own story, was truly shocking. Sometimes for days, nay, for a considerable time together, they have been to the middle in water, chained together, hand and leg—even the sick not exempted—nay, many died with the chains upon them. Promises, entreaties, were all in vain, and it was not till a very few days before they made the harbour, that they were released out of irons.

"The greatest complaints by far, were from those persons who had come in the *Neptune*. No wonder that they should be so afflicted—no wonder to hear them groaning, and crying, and making the most bitter lamentations. Endeavoured to commiserate them under their afflictions, pitied them, encouraged them to hope many of them would soon recover, that every indulgence, every attention would be paid to them, prayed with them, and gave some books amongst those of them that were able to read.

"You will, perhaps, be astonished when I tell you a little of the villainy of those wretched people. Some would complain they had no jackets, shirts, or trousers, and begged that I would intercede for them. Some by this means have had two, three, four, nay, one man not less than six different slops given him, which he would take an opportunity to sell to some others, and then make the same complaints and entreaties.

"When any of them were near dying, and had something given them, as bread, or lillipie (flour and water boiled together), or any other necessities, the person next to him, or others, would catch the bread, etc., out of his hand, and with an oath say that he was going to die, and therefore it would be of no service to him. No sooner would the breath be out of any of their bodies, than others would watch them, and strip them entirely naked. Instead of alleviating the distresses of each other, the weakest were sure to go to the wall. In the night time, which at this time is very cold, and especially this would be felt in the tents, where they had nothing but grass to lie on, and a blanket amongst four of them, he that was strongest of the four would take the whole blanket to himself, and leave the rest quite naked.

“These three last ships have now been here about six weeks. In this time, you may suppose, there have been great alterations among the sick ; a good many are so far recovered that they have got to work, a great number have died—have buried not less than 86 since they landed, 84 convicts, 1 child and 1 soldier.”

(This letter was thus endorsed :—“ Account of the treatment of the convicts in the *Neptune* and other transports, written by the Chaplain at New South Wales to a friend, who communicated it to Mr. S. Thornton. Rd. from Mr. Thornton, 18th November, 1791. Copy for Treasury.”)

They who read this terrible story will perceive the tenderness of heart, and the promptitude of action for the suffering, so conspicuous in the Rev. Richard Johnson.

One of the troubles to which our early Colonists were exposed was the capture of their vessels by French Privateers. The English trade suffered dreadfully by these attacks. Even transport ships on their way to New South Wales, or when making their way homeward, were liable to assault. Sometimes, as in the case of Captain Woodriff, of the *Calcutta*, a serious and bloody conflict preceded the capture, and the people taken languished in French prisons. Usually, the merchant vessels submitted without a struggle, as the Privateers carried heavy guns and a numerous, armed crew.

The fate of the Missionary ship *Duff*, on her way to Port Jackson, for the South Seas, in 1798, excited great interest with our two Chaplains. She was seized near the coast of South America, though the treatment experienced was, in this case, honorable to the Frenchman. Captain Robson gave the details of his misfortune on Feb. 26th, saying :—

“The bare mention of the vessel, *General Bonaparte*, from whence I write, will sufficiently evince that the *Duff* has fallen a prize to a French cruiser.” He then described the craft as carrying 22 nine-pounders, and upwards of 200 men, under Captain Carbonel. The *Duff* offered no resistance, and was taken to Monte Video for sale. No persons were allowed in her but the females and their children, three boys and the missionary surgeon.

“The humane Frenchman,” said Captain Robson, “has shown us much favour in our present situation. None of the missionaries were put to any sort of confinement; neither were any of the ship’s company confined, till the number of prisoners was augmented by the taking of additional prizes.”

Mr. Johnson had been previously informed of the Mission Ship coming to Sydney, and was looking forward with pleasure to the arrival of friends in her.

The capture of the *Lady Shore* on her way to the Settlement, with female convicts, was a more serious affair, in the loss of much needed stores for the Colony. She was proceeding with female convicts, and a large consignment of stores to Sydney, in 1797, when a remarkable mutiny occurred on board among the soldier-guards. By some singular official carelessness, these largely consisted of emigrant French, flying from the Revolution, and some disloyal Irishmen, who, as Roman Catholics, and common haters of England, combined to seize the ship. The English crew and soldiery were asleep below, and were cleverly captured in a few minutes. The mutineers murdered the Captain and first mate. The pirates were ten French and seven Irish.

Carrying the vessel into a Spanish American port, they

offered to sell it, as well as sell the women for slaves. In this attempt they failed. One of the girls wrote home :—
 “The generous Spaniards would not purchase any white people upon any account whatever. The ladies (Spanish) took, some one, some two, and others three, of the convicts home to their castles (chateaus), and treated them genteely well. The *Lady Shore* is condemned as a Spanish prize, and all the Frenchmen and Irishmen made prisoners of war.”

To Sir Jerome Fitzpatrick, a London official of skill and active benevolence, prisoners in after years were indebted for most valuable sanitary arrangements, and much gain in personal comfort. Later onward, Government paid the surgeon and prisoner-contractors for the number of convicts landed at Port Jackson in health, and not by the number taken from England.

CHAPTER XXII.

COLONIAL MARRIAGE QUESTION.

The *Marriage Question* in New South Wales cropped up in an odd fashion. A London Paper of November, 1789, thus notices it :—

“The following circumstance relating to Botany Bay is not generally known. The Rev. Mr. Johnson, the Chaplain of the new Settlement, previous to his departure from England, applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury,

respecting the propriety of his reading the marriage ceremony, and the form in which he should exercise this important function. The point was referred to the consideration of the Bishops; and, after much deliberation, it was resolved that he could not otherwise execute it than according to the rites of the Church of England.

“This answer presently satisfied Mr. Johnson with respect to those persons who might apply *to him* for that purpose; but it afterwards occurred to him that he *himself* might have occasion to be united in matrimony while at Botany Bay; and as he would be the only person there who could legally perform the ceremony, a doubt arose in his mind whether he could marry himself. This doubt was again propounded to the Archbishop, and was again submitted to the Bishops, but the question was found to contain so much difficulty, that the fleet sailed without its being solved. Mr. Johnson took the precaution of being married just before his departure, but if his present wife should die, the difficulty will recur.”

The presentation of this question may have been a fact, or one conjured out of the brain of a newspaper wit. As it happened, Mrs. Johnson lived to a great age, and long survived her husband. At the worst, the bereaved gentleman might have had to await the arrival of his expected *Assistant*; or, by taking a voyage, have the knot secured by the Captain, according to the fashion of old.

Marriages among the convicts was an object of much solicitude with the Colonial Pastor.

The British Government had not been much exercised upon this matter. Morals played but a small part in the despatch of countrymen and countrywomen to America, there to be sold like cattle to the settlers, or to be planted,

under the State, on the savage coast of New Holland. The nomination of a moral agency in the form of a clergyman was rather forced on the authorities.

This Marriage Question affected both the prisoners and their gaolers. Governor Phillip himself had to leave his wife behind in England, and so had the Lieutenant Governor, Major Ross, and other officials. Why this restriction of free ladies should have been ordered is not very clear. While hundreds of women were to be hurried thither, and forced to endure whatever hardships were in store for them, surely some free women might have ventured as companions to their husbands. They were certainly as physically fitted to bear trials as the unhappy female exiles, and would have had superior and exceptional comforts.

Who knows how much evil had been averted, and how much good effected, by the presence of females of a higher moral and educational type? If those had gone, how much their husbands would have gained! and, might not the sympathy shown by the ladies towards their more suffering sisters have done excellent service?

To thrust hundreds of unfortunate women into the wilderness, without common provisions for decency, and wholly under masculine control, was adding unnecessary punishment to their transportation. It must not be supposed that all these were upon one moral level. A woman, under sudden and peculiar temptation, may have been sentenced to banishment from her home, without any loss of conjugal propriety. A girl may have been guilty of some petty larceny, without deprivation of maidenly modesty. But all alike were driven forth in the company of vicious men, with no matronly counsel, or care for the preservation of virtue.

Why no female warders were forwarded on the voyages, never appears to have troubled Christian consciences. It was many years after the Settlement was formed before such aid was afforded. Religious publications, or the records of the ordinary press, fail to give evidence of any moral concern about the expatriated ones, and it was long before the voice of an Elizabeth Fry was raised on their behalf.

If no one seemed to care about them at the Hulks, or on the voyage, can we wonder at the lack of interest in the moral condition of the poor souls when landed at Port Jackson? How few Christian women in England were then troubled about the Marriage Question in New South Wales!

What did the gentle, but rather powerless, Pastor think about it, or what effort make to remedy the evil? He who bore so patiently the official inattention to his entreaties for a church, or the improvement of attendance at worship, was not likely much to disturb the minds of rulers in his exposure of sinful practices.

There were difficulties to be confronted. When a female prisoner had served her term, could she hope to rejoin her husband and children in England? No provision was ever made for her return. The families were for ever to be separated by the Transportation, in spite of serving out their sentence.

What could the banished woman do? With no employment, and no independent home, she had to do as others did, place herself under the *protection* of some man, free or not. Her weekly ration was meted out with his, and her refuge from the temptations or brutalities of others was gained by an improper alliance.

Marriages of convenience took the place of more honourable partnerships. Such connections were adopted by civil and military officers, not less than by those of lower social grade. The lax attendance at public worship, in early times, proceeded from this state of things rather than from indifference to religion. Studied hypocrisy was not the vice of the period. The women rarely attended worship.

The first Chaplain did notice with grief and apprehension the consequences as they affected the offspring. The Assistant Chaplain, afterwards his successor, a stronger, bolder man, was a zealous advocate of marriages, and strove to bring them about. Both ministers could not avoid perplexity, when there was more than a doubt that one party, if not both parties, soliciting marriage, had bonds existing in the old country. Yet the good men, jealous for the interest of the illegitimate children of the household, and aware that no claim from the absent and distant partner was ever likely to be made, might be forgiven if too ready to accept the asserted freedom of the applicants.

Years after, Mr. Marsden had a correspondence on this trouble with Governor Macquarie, who had published an Order, demanding more rigorous enquiry about the antecedents of those seeking the required sanction of his Excellency before the Chaplain could conduct the ceremony. This order did assuredly reflect upon ministerial negligence or carelessness.

In defending himself, the Parramatta Pastor showed that "the delay of time which the necessary enquiries would occasion, would prevent many marriages amongst male and female convicts. Prisoners are averse to

marriage, in order that they may change the objects of their unlawful pleasures at will."

A more important reason he presented thus:—

"The prisoners, in general, consider *their natural children as the property of the State*, and that Government are bound to maintain all their natural children. Hence their children are forsaken sometimes both by their fathers and mothers, and become a burden upon the Crown." He told Governor Macquarie that "when Prisoners marry, the very bond itself induces generally a different moral feeling. They then consider their children their own, and that they have a legal claim upon them for protection and support."

The Reverend gentleman believed in legal marriages being encouraged, in spite of evils mentioned in the Government Order, using these forcible words:—

"Every facility should be given to marriages, in order to lay as strong legal restraints as possible upon the moral corruptions of the inhabitants of these Settlements."

The elevation of public manners was a work of time; and, without doubt, facilities for marriage tended greatly to an orderly settlement of the Colony, and to the paramount good of the children.

Moral culture, though not generally an object of regard among politicians, or transport guardians, found sympathisers with some leaders of Society. Mr. Wilberforce was ever forward, as these records affirm, and brought pressure to bear on authorities. The Right Hon. Henry Dundas acknowledged an appeal from him in August, 1794, apologising for a delayed reply:—

"Botany Bay is no longer in my department, but I feel as strongly as you can the importance of due instruction

to the Natives and Settlers of those Islands, so as to be deeply interested about it, and I shall take a very early opportunity of speaking to John King on the subject."

But the religious world made few references to the moral state of the Colony, though the *Evangelical Magazine* was not, like some other religious periodicals, silent on the theme. As to the ordinary class of people, the convicts were esteemed as so many lepers cast off from the Mother Country, with little or no heed as to their future. Sometimes the newspaper indulged in a rude joke as to the unhappy exiles. Thus we read in the *Public Advertiser* of May, 1790, the following:—

"Governor Phillip finds great difficulty in the due appropriation of husbands. At first he allowed six to each wife; but at present, the female convicts having very greatly increased, the number allotted to each is not more than three. This necessary regulation, however, has produced much animosity among the fair sex of the Settlement."

Certainly English Christians of that day were as little concerned about the moral fate of their exiled countrymen, as they were about the many millions of heathen all over the world. They were happy in a sense of their own security, as well as superiority to all other peoples.

One of the first difficulties occurring to the moralist in those early days was the great disproportion between males and females. To the honour of the women of England be it said, that their convictions under the Law were far fewer than among men.

This question had been mooted by Mr. Matra, the first proposer of New South Wales as a British Colony, in 1784. But, although his suggestion to Government was

that it should be as compensation to the Loyalists, who had so grievously suffered for taking the Old Country's part in the American War of Independence, he saw the want of women in the Settlement, and actually proposed getting some of Captain Cook's fair Otaheitans as wives for his settlers.

That this suggestion was not forgotten is apparent from the Ministry's Instructions to Governor Phillip in 1787, which were afterwards repeated to Governor Hunter in 1793. This is the extract:—

“ And whereas, from the great disproportion of Female Convicts to those of the Males, who are put under your Superintendence, it appears advisable that a further number of the former should be introduced into the new intended Settlement, you are, whenever the *Sirius* and the *Tender* shall touch at any of the Islands in those seas, to instruct their Commanders to take on board any of the women who may be disposed to accompany them to the said Settlement. You will, however, take especial care that the Officers, who may happen to be employed upon this service, do not upon any account exercise any compulsive measures, or make use of fallacious pretences, for bringing away any of the said women from the places of their respective residences.”

They were regarded as very different from Blacks, having agreeable looks and manners, with a sort of civilized culture, although unlike the civilization known in Europe, or even Asia.

Yet this expected flood of *Half Breeds* in Australia—Anglo-Pacificans—never came off. The *Sirius* never brought over a cargo of about the most licentious females on the globe to enter into marital relations with our men-

convicts. Would Mr. Johnson have felt flattered at being thus made the official ratifier of such unions?

Other causes interfered. More women prisoners were sent out—wives, or to be wives, of British Islanders. An extraordinary fecundity, wholly unexpected from the materials in the population, produced those shoals of fine, healthy and merry little ones, that excited the tender regard of Governor Phillip. Newspapers in London recorded instances of women, once leading most dishonoured and dishonourable lives in England, becoming mothers of large families in New South Wales. Margaret Catchpole, a sort of romantic prisoner, whose name was made notorious in the Colony, and in East Anglia, by the pen of a clerical novelist, in one of her genuine letters home to her aunt in Suffolk, wrote—

“It is a wonderful country for to have children in—very old women have them that never had none before.”

The want of mates in the very early period soon ceased as the Colonial lasses came to maturity.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ASSISTANT CHAPLAIN.

WHILE the appointment of a Chaplain in the first instance was not a subject of much official anxiety, and one decidedly never much troubling the minds of Bishops and Clergy, it did excite some interest in men of the Wilberforce and Newton type. But no sooner had Mr. Johnson gone, than it occurred to even the official understanding that the poor fellow, in such a position, with such surroundings, would be better for a partner.

It was on August 24th, 1789, that the Secretary at Whitehall thus wrote to Governor Phillip:—

“SIR,—As from the increase in the number of convicts sent to New South Wales, and from the distance of the Settlements from each other, one person will not be able to attend in a proper manner to the performance of the religious duties of the Colony, His Majesty has judged it expedient that an additional clergyman should proceed thither, and has accordingly appointed the Rev. John Crowther, a gentleman of exemplary character, to be Assistant Chaplain, with a salary of eight shillings per diem, to be charged in the estimates; he will take his passage in the *Guardian*, and receive your Orders with respect to his Place of Residence.”

The date of this gentleman's Commission was July 2nd, 1789. He had to wait sometime before the *Guardian* was ready to sail. His appointment came through the medium of the enthusiastic and benevolent William Wilberforce. In this good man's Diary are several references to the Assistant Chaplaincy. But a prompt letter from Sir Charles Middleton to Mr. Evan Nepean, July 29th, 1789, tells us more ; saying :—

“ On my coming to town on Monday, I found a note from Mr. Wilberforce, desiring I would get an Order sent down to Lieut. Riou (Commander of the *Guardian*) to receive on board the Rev. John Crowther, and his servant, Joseph White, for their passage to Port Jackson.” In the Wilberforce Diary for 25th November, 1790, are these words, “ Morning, Archbishop about a Chaplain for Botany Bay.”

Mr. Crowther, like Mr. Marsden, afterwards, owed his education “for the Ministry” to the evangelical *Elland* Society. The Diary reports that he “had been selected by Mr. Wilberforce for a chaplaincy, which he had prevailed on Mr. Pitt to found for New South Wales.”

The *Guardian* was a fine vessel, which was bearing a large supply of food, clothing, and other necessaries for the New Holland Establishment, together with some prisoners, to join those of the first fleet. It arrived safely at the Cape of Good Hope, and took in there both stock and other supplies. But, proceeding thence towards the Colony, it unfortunately collided with a huge iceberg in the Southern Ocean.

The boats attempted to take off the voyagers, but of the five only one succeeded in weathering the stormy passage, till meeting with a ship, which carried the sea

tossed inmates back to the Cape. In that boat was Mr. Crowther, who was thus able to get back safely to England.

In relation to the Rev. Mr. Crowther, the first appointed Assistant to the Colonial Chaplain, there is an interesting story told in the "Life of Wilberforce," with some extracts from the Diary of that benevolent man.

Diary.—"April 28th, 1790. Crowther dined with us, and gave us an account of the shipwreck, and Riou's fortitude."

The *Life* then proceeds to say:—"Mr. Crowther owed his education to the Elland Society, and had been recently selected by Mr. Wilberforce for a Chaplaincy, which he had prevailed on Mr. Pitt to found for New South Wales. A letter, of the 17th of April, announced to Mr. Wilberforce the shipwreck of the vessel (the *Guardian*) in which Mr. Crowther sailed."

As this version of the catastrophe is so important, we give the letter of Mr. Crowther:—

"On the 11th of December (1789) we left the Cape (of Good Hope). On the 21st, saw two islands of ice in lat. 42° , longitude $38^{\circ}30'$ E., distant about three leagues. About noon on the 23rd we saw another bearing down towards it—hoisted out the jolly boat, and one of the cutters, and picked up some small floating pieces, and then bore away W. in order to get entirely clear of the ice. About half-past eight the same evening, the officer on the forecastle cried out, "An island of ice close ahead." (for being in the dark, and a very thick mist, we could see very little before us). Before the alarm was sounded through the ship, she had struck one violent blow, and directly after she struck again, and got upon the ice,

sliding along into an immense cavern in its side. Every effort was made to save the ship, until Friday, when it was judged necessary to quit her. The Captain would not leave her, but wrote a letter to the Admiralty. Two boats besides ours were hoisted out. We were taken up by a French ship, and came in it to the Cape, after being in an open boat from December 25th to January 3rd, exposed to cold, hunger and thirst, having scarcely any clothes; two gills of water per day, and at the most, two pounds of bread amongst fifteen."

The author of the "Life" goes on to say:—

"To this account he (Mr. Crowther) added in a conversation, which, with its racy Yorkshire dialect, Mr. Wilberforce delighted to preserve.—

'When the ship's condition was altogether hopeless, Captain Riou sent for me into the cabin, and asked me, 'Crowther, how do you feel?' 'How? why, I thank God, pretty comfortable.' 'I cannot say I do. I had a pious mother, and I have not practised what she taught me, but I must do my duty. The boats will not hold one-third of our crew, and if I left the vessel there would be a general rush into them, and everyone would perish. I shall stay by the ship, but you shall have a place, and be sure you go into the Master's boat, for he knows what he is about, and if any boat reaches the shore it will be his.'

'In the bustle of embarking, I got into the wrong boat, and found out my mistake too late to alter it. The boats, however, neared each other to make an exchange for some of their provisions, and I heard Riou call to me, 'If you've a heart, Crowther, jump!' I made the attempt, and just reaching the boat fell backward in the water, but was pulled in amongst them.'"

The "Life" continues the narrative :—

"No other boat than that into which he was thus taken ever reached the shore. 'John Clarkson, alone of those who heard this conversation,' says Mr. Wilberforce, would not despair of Riou."

Thursday, 29th, says the Diary, "Waked by a note, saying that the *Guardian*, Riou, had arrived safely at the Cape. Poor Crowther could not believe it. Sent him to Thurlow for a *Living*."

His Reverence, as he told his friend, John Newton, had no fancy for a renewed voyage to Botany Bay, and was kindly provided for through the generous patronage of Mr. Wilberforce. As for the Captain, he had, thanks to his tact and courage, with the support of his brave crew, managed to bind together his damaged vessel, and succeeded, after a terrible struggle, in getting back to the Cape. The writer of the *Life of Wilberforce* tells us, "Captain Riou was preserved for a more distinguished end; his gallant death in the hour of victory, at Copenhagen, has linked his name with the memory of Nelson."

A curious story of another reputed attempt to catch an Assistant Chaplain occurs in the *London Chronicle* of 1791, as per letter to the printer :—

"SIR,—Your last *Chronicle* names the Rev. Mr. Rankin as a missionary to Botany Bay with the convicts. This I apprehend to be a mistake. However competent that gentleman may be to so great and perilous an undertaking, I imagine his son-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Bradshaw to be much better qualified, from reading his elaborate publication called, "A Scourge for the Dissenters." Such a champion for our National Church will prevent the spread, if not the seeds, of heresy, in the pure and infant state of

the Colony, and the convicts afford him ample opportunity of improving his talent in the manufacture of so useful and necessary an article ; and thereby reduce the price of a *Scourge* from eighteen-pence to one farthing, the original price."

The other paragraph named was, "We hear that the Rev. Thomas Rankin, lately in connexion with the Rev. Mr. Wesley, is going out with the convicts as a Missionary to Botany Bay."

As soon as it was known that Mr. Crowther declined a fresh start for the Settlement, the evangelical party, and they only, seemed to move in the affair, made enquiries after a suitable person, and one, like Mr. Crowther, from among the evangelical students of the *Elland* Society.

In the *Life of Wilberforce*, by his sons, is this remark:—

"He took a lively interest in the *Elland* Society ; and, besides subscribing to its funds £100 per annum (under numerous entries to avoid notice), he invited to his house the young men under education, that he might be able to distribute them in proper situations. No one ever entered more readily into sterling merit, though concealed under a rough exterior."

When Mr. Samuel Marsden was suggested, his "rough exterior," of Yorkshire bluntness, in spite of his Methodist training as a local preacher, with some polish under *Elland* culture, stood in his way. In a letter from Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. W. Hey, November 3, 1790, we read, "I do not well know what reply to make respecting Mr. Marsden. Your account is not very favourable ; but, as I know you are no flatterer, I take it for granted things are not worse than you represent them."

Still, the decision hung fire; since we have the ardent John Newton writing to a friend on July 9th, 1792:—

“Glad should I be were I able to point out to you a proper person for New South Wales. The enquiry has been long and constantly upon my mind, but hitherto in vain.

Dwells there in England charity so dear?

The zeal and self denial necessary for that undertaking must be of a higher kind than ordinary—must come from above; especially now the difficulties of Johnson's situation are generally known. But the Lord who hath given Johnson the missionary spirit can stir up the hearts of others to succeed him.”

It might well be asked—“Whence came the difficulty of selection?”

As the evangelical leader truly said, “Mr. Johnson's difficulties in New South Wales were generally known.” The good man was depressed beyond measure at being well-nigh starved, uncomfortably lodged, neglected by the officials, slighted by gentlemen around him, and mourning over the supposed failure of his ministry. His letters home would be deterrent to many who heard of the vacancy, let alone the wide-spread reports of the terrible voyage of the *Guardian*.

Of course it was felt that the choice was confined to the people then recognised as *Methodists* and *Moravians* in the Church, and these were but a feeble folk. Why the majority in the Church, especially those of the two great societies, the *S.P.G.* and *S.P.C.K.* allowed their voices to be unheard, or the influence of the Bench of Bishops to be unfelt, can only be accounted for in the recognised power of Mr. Wilberforce over Mr. Pitt, the Minister.

The champion of the slave was the practical Church patron of the day.

The selection of an Assistant Chaplain came, eventually into the hands of the *Eclectic* evangelical party, as the appointment of the Chaplain had done. Mr. Marsden's name was again mooted. It was evident that he had heard the adverse whispers, and resented it in his vigorous style. He now declined the offer, particularly as he had been passed on by the *Elland* to St. John's College, Cambridge, and would have to resign the University course thus opened to him.

in fact
Magdalen
College.

But the Methodist ex-preacher, born and bred among the hills near Leeds, in 1764, was properly judged just the rough and ready man fit to contend with the trials and antagonisms of early Colonial life, and he was urged by London *Eclectics* to accept the position. He agreed, and after his Commission, dated January 1st, 1793, he was ordained Minister.

He completed his fitness for a missionary career, by marrying a wife within three months after his reception in the Church; and, with his ardent nature, and active habits, he was soon ready for shipboard, and sailed with the first vessel, the convict transport *William*, with female prisoners, bound for Port Jackson.

Two men more unlike in character and habit than the Chaplain and his Assistant can hardly be imagined. In temperament, in strength, in nerve, in general *physique*, in fitness for society's surroundings, they were remarkably different.

One, doubtless, viewed the other as a poor thing for the struggles of Colonial life, while being regarded himself as a rude mate for a sensitive nature. The one had almost a

monkish tendency to seclusion; the other longed for a conflict, ever eager for the fray. Yet each respected the other for qualities not possessed by himself.

The cool and patronising way in which the son of Mr. Marsden afterwards spoke of his father's pastoral superior is noteworthy :—

“He had, for a short time, a single *associate*, in the Rev. Mr. Johnson, the senior Chaplain, a good and useful minister, but unequal to the difficulties peculiar to his situation. This gentleman *soon* relinquished his appointment, and returned to England.”

Even in their work they were unlike. The gentler one sighed over the essential corruption of humanity, sighed over the sufferings of those who had offended the majesty of justice, yet bowed to what he deemed the consequence of Divine Judgment. The bolder one, accepting the creed of corruption from birth, was wrath with the victims, and aided Destiny in punishing those who continued to defy the Law.

So different in methods and sympathies, the two seldom met, having little in common. One resided at Sydney, and the other nearly twenty miles off, at Parramatta.

There was, however, a Chaplain connected with the New South Wales Corps, a military official, the Rev. John Bain, who took no part in civil affairs, but strictly confined his duties to the army. Strange to say, he, too, received his appointment through Mr. Wilberforce. In a letter from Mr. Secretary King to Governor Hunter, October 24th, 1797, it is said :—

“The Duke of Portland has submitted to His Majesty, through the Duke of York, that the Chaplain of the New South Wales Corps should be directed to join his regiment,

there being only one established Chaplain, with an Assistant Chaplain, in the Settlement."

Mr. Bain did, for a time, visit Norfolk Island, but soon returned home from the Colony.

Mr. Wilberforce, so interested in the second Chaplain question, forwarded to the Minister, Mr. Dundas, a letter with the Archbishop's communication.

"NEAR BATH, *August 7th*, 1792.

"MY DEAR DUNDAS,—You see by the date of my letter that I have obeyed your instructions in returning to Bath. 'Tis an unnatural sort of potation, hot water, when the thermometer stands at 72°. Ever since I spoke to you in the chaise, as we were coming from Wimbledon, I have been looking out for some fit clergyman to go out as a Chaplain to N. S. Wales, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom I mentioned the matter immediately after, has been doing the same. I began almost to despair of success (for you know I am rather difficult to please in this line), when I heard of a clergyman of the name of *Porter*, who, tho' reluctantly, had consented to accept the situation, and who was every way qualified for it. I wrote without delay to the Archbishop, thinking it right to do so before I should apply to you, and I have this morning received his answer, which I now enclose. Let me be authorized, therefore, to inform Mr. Porter that he may have the appointment, and the sooner he can be got out the better, not only lest he should change his mind, but because of the extreme want of ministerial assistance in that country. I assure you most solemnly that I believe that the man consents from the same principle of a sense of duty, on which a soldier encounters the heat of India, or the woods of America.

“Tho’ you and I, perhaps (I will not be so insincere, and therefore, so unfriendly, as not to leave out the *perhaps*) tho’ you and I do not agree on these topics of a religious nature, as from my heart I wish we did, I am sure you will acknowledge the propriety of endeavouring, for the happiness of every community, to introduce and keep alive amongst the bulk of the people such a sense of religion as will make them temperate and orderly, and domestic, and contented. Now I remember you remarked this holds good with peculiar force in the case of such a society as that of N. S. Wales, and yet, I am sorry to tell you, that amongst the higher as well as the lower ranks, a desire of open profligacy and vice is allowed, if not encouraged, there which exceeds what we suffer to appear in broad day in this country. Two clergymen, one at each Settlement, are altogether unequal to the task of watching over such large societies in that attentive way that is to be desired. I wish you would send out another or two, and what is of still more importance, and what I have been for some time turning in my mind, I wish you would send out a few persons with *small salaries*, to take on them the office of schoolmasters. I say *small salaries*, because if you were to pay large ones, improper people would accept the situations. If you would let me look out for a few persons fit for the purpose, I should be greatly obliged to you, and I trust you know me well enough to believe me without asservations, that I make the proposal, not because I have four or five people that I wish to do jobs for, but because I am desirous of promoting the temporal and eternal happiness of the people who are in question. I have written in great haste, but I was unwilling to let a single post slip off after hearing from the Archbishop

without writing to you. I know you will excuse the freedom with which I have written, because you are always kind to me, and I am always, my dear D.,

Affectionately and Sincerely Yours,

W. WILBERFORCE."

What became of this Mr. Porter is not apparent, but he never went to Port Jackson. Mr. Marsden received assistance from England, several years after Mr. Johnson's return, in the persons of Messrs. Cowper and Cartwright, who arrived after the Bligh Rebellion.

In recording the history of the first Chaplain, one cannot help noticing that the appointment of the Clergyman was made through the good offices of Laymen, who influenced the Ministry: and in the apparent ignorance of the movement, or indifference to it, as seen in the conduct of Episcopal authorities in the Church. As with the first Clergyman, so with the second, all the negotiations seemed mainly outside of Bishops or the great Church Societies.

It is pleasing, then, to record the interest displayed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in securing to the Rev. Samuel Marsden the monetary aid he so much needed, and which had been withheld to near the time of sailing. The Prelate, also, rather suddenly expressed an interest in the Botany Bay Mission, even to request a letter to the Governor, commending the preachers to his protection. The appeal was made six years after the sailing of Mr. Johnson with the first fleet.

This communication, duly signed, *J. Cantuar*, and dated Lambeth, June 8th, 1793, bears not the name of the Official at the Colonial Office, to whom it may be supposed it was addressed.—

"DEAR SIR,—I intend this note as an introduction to the

Rev. Mr. Marsden to you, and I hope it will answer its purpose—for the circumstances under which he sails for New South Wales, probably the very beginning of next week, are such as really call for immediate and compassionate consideration.

“He has not yet received his appointment, nor does he know from what time his salary commences. He is obliged to provide gardening and farming utensils, absolutely essential to the situation, and not to be purchased in the Settlement. He has incurred other expenses previous to his departure, in consequence of his detention in London, which ought not to fall on him, when it is considered that he is going on a painful and laborious engagement, attended with great risks, where all the necessities of life are at a very high price, and flour particularly, a shilling per pound, on a salary of £146 only.

“He modestly requests a grant of thirty pounds on the accounts above stated; but I conceive he ought to have fifty at least; and that his salary should certainly commence at such a time as will not expose him to the necessity of getting into debt for the necessities of life before he is entitled to receive any part of it. To what has been said should also be added, that he is told he shall be obliged to pass two months at Corke, or possibly more, the expense of which he is furnished with no means of defraying.

“I should be obliged to you for a line of information, whether any measure is taken in respect to a place, or places of worship at Botany Bay, the want of which was so apparent from the letter which I communicated to you for Mr. Dundas's inspection. I hope, too, that the desires I expressed of his having a letter recommending him, and

the other Chaplain, Mr. Johnson, to the protection of the Governor, will be attended to, when it is considered how important the kindness and countenance of their superiors must be to them in a situation so difficult. What I have written in extreme haste, I recommend earnestly to your consideration, and request your speedy attention to it.

I am, with great regard, etc.

(Signed) T. CANTUAR."

All honour to this Archbishop for this judicious and kind thought of the New Chaplain for Botany Bay. Would that some similar consideration had been shown to the unfortunate first Chaplain!

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS' MISSIONARIES.

It seemed a strange fortune that brought to this lonely Chaplain of Sydney some Mission visitors from Captain Cook's Otaheite, now known as Tahiti of the South Sea Islands.

The London Missionary Society, established in 1796, to embrace all denominations—Church and Dissent—devoted its first attention to Cook's interesting South Sea Islanders, who, though enjoying life in a fine climate, with abundant supply of food, and a refinement far beyond that of the ordinary savage, were recognized heathen, though with a religion subsequently found to be as complicated as Greek

Mythology. To civilize them after the English type, and to dispose them to accept Evangelical Protestantism of the English order, was the hope of the founders of this Mission.

In the excess of their newly-awakened enthusiasm for the Pagans, the leaders neglected careful scrutiny into the fitness of their agents. Though a few of the latter had some education, the majority were men more or less illiterate. The directors neglected, also, due provision for their future temporal wants, leaving them to depend upon the heathen chiefs for maintenance, and forgetting that decent apparel was essential to respect in the eyes of those who distinguished social position by dress. A further mistake was made in thrusting a number of single men among such pleasing, but licentious people.

This want of judgment in the directors, and want of judicious behaviour in the agents, brought on grave difficulties, especially when civil war broke out in the Islands. Then it was that the Missionaries fled, as they got the chance by a whaler or trading craft, and made their way to the nearest British Settlement, which was New South Wales.

Among those who came to Port Jackson, in 1798, were John Cock, James Fleet Cover, Samuel Clode, Peter Hodges, Rowland Hassall, William Smith, Francis Oakes, and James Puckey. These were followed, in 1800, by James Cooper, John Buchanan, John Harris, William Shelley, and James Mitchell. Later still there came to the Colony, from the Islands, other Missionaries, as Gregory Warner, 1806; John Youl, 1807; and Henry Bicknell, 1808. Then came John Eyre, William Henry, and James Elder, 1810, with E. Lancelot Threlkeld, 1817.

Some stayed only till a vessel could be had to take them to England; a few, after a time, returned to mission work; but others came to stay in the Colony. The majority were content to work at their own original handicrafts, obtained grants of land, engaged in commerce, and made money. Part of them did religious service, in some connection with the Chaplains. One, Mr. Thelkeld, became a valuable worker among the Blacks; a second, Mr. Youl, entered the Church as an Assistant Chaplain; a third, Mr. Pascoe Crook, was a useful schoolmaster; a fourth, Mr. Oakes, became Chief Constable of Parramatta. Mr. Rowland Hassall, though not among the most cultured, became the most distinguished of all for probity, commercial energy, and rich possessions, but also for valuable moral and religious service in the community.

Extracts of letters from these gentlemen will throw great light upon the early social condition of New South Wales, and illustrate the active work of the Chaplains in the primitive days. On the present occasion, we have chiefly to confine their remarks to the person and engagements of the first Chaplain, with some few early references to his Assistant, the Rev. Samuel Marsden. As the writers were peculiar in their style, though marvellously improved, educationally, by their residence in New South Wales, the letters have not been here given *verbatim*, any more than as they appeared in printed missionary reports.

The arrival of the first band in Otaheite was on March 6th, 1797. The earliest letters from Port Jackson to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, in 1798, were apologies for leaving the field of labour. The detail of their hardships and ragged condition was a reflection on the Society, which did not fail to be of service to successors

in the Mission. Our quotations, will, therefore, concern the state of the Colony, with especial reference to the Chaplains.

Mr. Samuel High Clode, writing home from Port Jackson, September 26th, 1798, said :—" When we arrived, the Governor (Hunter) being informed of our distress, ordered us provisions, and although houses were scarce, yet the inhabitants (gave) us refuge, and in a short time provided us with houses to make us comfortable."—" Sent," said he, " to declare the Everlasting Gospel to the poor, perishing heathens at Otaheite, and now with an aching and sorrowful heart, I am forced to sit down and inform you where I am, and the reason thereof."

Referring to the opposition and wicked designs of certain Whites on the Islands, who were runaway sailors or escaped convicts, he says, " The ship *Duff* had not even left us one month before we were informed of their evil intentions. There was nothing that would satisfy them (the Natives) but our property. If it was on account of our speaking to them of God, and telling them of their unkindness, I should be enabled to meet death in all its forms ; but this was not the cause, for if it had I should not have left the Island." The illtreatment of his wife was most to be feared.

Messrs. Cover and Henry, September 1, 1798, had personal allusions to the Chaplain ; as, " We were very kindly received by him and Mrs. Johnson, who gave us and our wives an invitation to their house and table till such time as a suitable accommodation could be provided for us." Again,—“ Soon after Captain Blyth's departure in the *Cornwallis* for London, the disorders with which Mr. Johnson has been long afflicted, took a favourable

turn, and his health began to be re-established, which induced him to relinquish his intention of going to Europe."

Another letter, as it appeared afterwards in the *Evangelical Magazine*, has a somewhat different account of Mr. Johnson, and mentions an offer from these two missionaries to assist him and the other clergyman in their clerical duties; saying:—

"On our arrival here, we were informed that the Rev. Mr. Johnson had been for some time indisposed, and not able to perform the duties of his ministerial function, and that there was but one other minister (*a* Mr. Marsden, then residing at Parramatta) to attend all the Settlements in the Colony. We were much affected at this information, considering it providential that we were brought here; seeing that there was much need for us in the place. We conceived it our duty to inform Mr. Johnson of our arrival, and make a tender of our services in any part of the Colony he thought we might be useful, which we did the next morning, by letter, to which we soon received a very friendly answer, informing us that he would willingly do all in his power to encourage such persons as us in a Colony where sin and iniquity did so much abound, and requested us to visit him as soon as convenient. This we accordingly did, and were very kindly received."

A number of the original letters still remain in the archives of the London Missionary Society, a perusal of which we were most courteously granted. They were occasionally rather unintelligible, and had a curious fashion of appearing now and then in two different hands. Mr. Rowland Hassall, the most voluminous of the writers, displayed many years of fidelity to his principles.

In one letter he referred to a former communication, September 1st, 1798, the first date when others addressed the Directors, telling their sad tale, in which, said he, "We informed you of the circumstances which occasioned our removal from Otaheite to this Colony, and the prospect which presented itself to us of our being made useful in the Ministry of the Word here, since which our views have been beclouded, our expectations not so sanguine—the exercise of our minds various with respect to the path of duty," etc.

He is shocked at the people, like some in a fever, rejecting remedies for their relief in the Gospel. Elsewhere he calls New South Wales "this Colony of Corinthian degeneracy." Commencing services in the *Northern Boundary* district to the westward, he says,— "22 of the Settlers in the district, called Kissing Point, voluntarily offered to build a place of Public Worship, requesting us to continue among them, and use our influence with the Governor to appoint them a schoolmaster."

"We accordingly applied to Governor Hunter, who immediately appointed them a Schoolmaster, of our recommendation. His Excellency also gave them some materials towards erecting the building, which we expect will be finished in the month of November, when the Rev. Messrs. Johnson and Marsden have promised to open it. We have also recommenced the Sunday evening lecture in Parramatta, which is well attended. And likewise opened a place for preaching in Toongabbe, where we have about 100 hearers."

The great event for the year 1799 was the murder of the ex-missionary Mr. Samuel Clode, in connection with which the Rev. Richard Johnson's name often appears, as being so interested.

This event is described by several of the missionaries. Mr. James Puckey, September 1, 1799, wrote to the Society :—"My friend, Mr. Samuel Clode was murdered about half-a-mile from the town of Sydney, on the 3rd of July, 1799, for which two men and one woman were executed. The two men that committed the murder were hung in chains near the spot where Mr. Clode was found. This death was universally regretted. His funeral was attended with as great a pomp as the country afforded, attended by the Governor and the Rev. Mr. Johnson, the Missionaries, officers of the Colony, and several Captains of ships, in procession." A full account was signed by Messrs. Cover, Hassall and Henry, and dated Parramatta, 25th August, 1799.

The story as told by the last three is more circumstantial:—

"We are sorry to add that on the 2nd July, brother Samuel Clode was inhumanly murdered in the dwelling-house of one Thomas Jones, at the Brick Kilns, near Sydney, a little before sunset. The said Jones was a soldier, and being a townsman of brother Clode's, he had given him some pecuniary assistance, and was desired to call that evening for payment, when the said Jones, instead of paying him, beat out his brains with an axe, and afterwards concealed the body in a sawpit, which being discovered the next morning, and blood and brains traced along the path to the house of the said Jones, he and his wife, and one Elbury, were taken up as accomplices in the murder, and to the honour of the Governor, a Criminal Court was appointed the next day, at which they were tried and found guilty, and executed the Saturday following, etc."

“At the grave,” wrote Mr. Henry, “after the funeral service, we sang a hymn, after which the Rev. Mr. Johnson gave an excellent exhortation. On July 15th, the Rev. Mr. Johnson preached the funeral sermon. In the evening the Missionaries met at Mr. Johnson’s, where we had prayer, and an exhortation from Mr. Cover.”—“The affair of his murder appears a very dark dispensation of Providence to me.”

Ensign Bond, of the New South Wales Corps, who subsequently wrote the narrative, has this additional remark :—

“The above shocking murder can be attributed to that system of trading alone. The deceased had entrusted Jones with tea, sugar, rum, etc., and was to be paid from his occasional pay for one year. Jones had received and used the articles, but had not received his money from the Paymaster.”

The Rev. Mr. Johnson’s account is contained in the following letter to the Treasurer of the London Missionary Society, Mr. Joseph Hardcastle :—

“SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

“SIR—Though I have not the pleasure of knowing you in person, you will, I hope, excuse my freedom in transmitting to you a letter from this distant part of the world. I am sorry to add, upon so unpleasant and painful an occasion.

“By this time, I suppose, you have heard that part of the Missionaries, sent first to Otaheite, have left that Island, and have come to Port Jackson. These gentlemen arrived here at a time when I was confined to my room, through a long and severe illness. Upon their first arrival, Messrs. Cover and Henry, with their families,

spent a few days with us, after which they removed up to Parramatta, about fifteen miles from Sydney, where they still reside.

“Owing to my indisposition, it was sometime after, before I became any way acquainted with any others of the Missionaries; and with one or two, I did not feel disposed to claim any acquaintance, and fear the Society have been deceived in them; but I wish to be excused saying more upon that subject. A consciousness of my own infirmities makes me delicate in exposing those of others; to their own Master they must stand or fall. The apostle's motto I wish on all occasions to make my own—‘Be not high-minded, but fear.’

“During the time of my illness, Mr. Samuel Clode (Medical Missionary), frequently called upon me, and I believe was pretty well acquainted with the nature of my indisposition; and, soon after I recovered, a friendly intimacy was formed between us, and I confess the more I came to know of him, the more I esteemed him. But it has pleased God to remove my friend away from me, to meet him no more, until it pleases Him to remove me likewise from this vale of sin and misery.

“I will now, sir, give you a short account of this painful and melancholy event.

“Mr. Clode, some weeks previous to this, had signified to me his intention of returning to England; and, at this time, was preparing things necessary for the voyage. He had spoken to Captain Wilkinson of the *Indispensable*, and had so far agreed with him, that Captain Wilkinson had begun to provide a cabin for him; But, alas! a cabin of a different kind was preparing for him at the same time.

“A soldier of the name of Jones, had for some time owed Mr. Clode a sum of money. Mr. Clode now thought it necessary to ask for it; and, after some altercation, Jones desired him to call on Tuesday, 2nd July, in the afternoon, and he would settle with him.

“My friend had dined with me on the Sunday and Monday preceding, and was likewise in the Camp on the Tuesday, dined at Dr. Harris's, surgeon to the Corps, a gentleman who had from Mr. Clode's first arrival been very kind and friendly towards him,—providing him with a hut to live in, with plenty of vegetables, and giving him free access to his own barracks, at all times.

“About four o'clock he called upon us, sat a few minutes and then took his leave for the night, promising to call the next morning, and to bring something for my little boy, who at that time was indisposed. But truly it may be said, ‘we know not what a day may bring forth’; for the next morning, instead of seeing my friend, tidings were brought me that he was murdered,—was found in a sawpit under water, his skull fractured in several places, and his throat cut from ear to ear. Judge, sir, what was my surprize and horror upon receiving this information; a kind of stupor seized me, I could not believe it. It appeared as a dream, but recollecting myself, I immediately went and acquainted His Excellency, the Governor, with the melancholy news. The Governor, with several other officers, went with me to the place, where we found everything as was related; a scene so shocking as I never shall forget, but too painful and distressing for me fully to relate.

“It pleased God, however, that this horrid murder did not lie long concealed. Divine justice and vengeance soon

pursued and overtook his cruel and bloodthirsty murderer. News of this shocking event soon spread in all directions. Numbers of all descriptions of persons ran to the spot; Jones, the man before mentioned, among the rest, and was the first to lay the murder upon an innocent person, who found my friend in this melancholy state.

“But this wretch’s crime in the murder, and his no less wicked intentions in throwing it upon another, were both soon discovered. Suspicions falling upon Jones, the path leading from the pit to his house was closely examined, and blood traced, besides some of the dear deceased’s brains laid in different places to the very door, and, making further search in the house, blood was discovered in different parts, particularly in a small skilling, where, as afterwards appeared, my friend was dragged, after this horrid butcher knocked him down. An axe was found with blood and brains upon it, though it had been previously washed. A knife and blanket were discovered in the same state; and, upon examining the person of Jones, blood was found upon one of his fingers. These and other circumstances fully confirmed the suspicion of his guilt. Jones, his wife, and two other men who lived in Jones’s house, were immediately apprehended. The next day, Thursday, a Criminal Court was convened purposely to try them; when three, viz., Jones, his wife, and Elbury, were convicted upon the clearest evidence; and I fear the fourth, though acquitted, was a party in some way concerned. After their convictions I officially visited these three horrid monsters, who, for the purpose of obtaining a more full confession of this murder, and others it was conjectured that Jones had committed, were put in separate places.

“ Jones continued hardened to the last, his wife little better; but Elbury, struck with remorse, which was occasioned by what I shall hereafter mention, made a full confession of the whole transaction, first to a serjeant in the Corps, and afterwards to myself, which I took down in writing, and was to the following purport :—

“ The scheme was first planned by Jones and his wife, on the Sunday. Elbury was asked to assist in it, but at first refused. To gain him over, Jones gave him several drams of spirits; when at length, on the morning of Tuesday, he consented. Trotman, the other man that was tried, but acquitted, was sent, with Jones's two children, to a Settler's farm, for turnips. Mr. Clode was at that time in the town; and expecting to return home before dinner, it was the intention of the other three to dispatch him before Trotman and the children returned, but Mr. Clode not returning home so soon as expected, this scheme failed.

“ About four o'clock, two other soldiers (for Jones and Trotman belonged to the Corps) called in purposely to drink tea. At that time, Jones and Elbury were looking out for Mr. Clode; and seeing him come down the hill at a distance, they went into the house, and Jones proposed that his wife, together with the two soldiers, Trotman and the children, were to go to look at a piece of wood, which Jones was said to be cutting for the purpose of a canoe; this was agreed upon. Mr. Clode by this time was come to the door, was asked in, and a chair was set for him by the table, to settle his account with Jones. The axe I have already mentioned was placed in the corner of the room; with this, Elbury, coming behind him, was to knock him down.

“He took it up in his hand, but his heart failed him. He laid it down again, and went out of doors, where he staid a little while. Returning in again, he heard the first blow given by Jones. This inhuman wretch repeated his blows so often, that Elbury at last cried out, ‘for God’s sake, Jones, you have knocked him all to pieces.’ They then dragged him into the skilling, when Elbury came out again, Jones soon after him. Jones went into the skilling, and coming out a second time, took up a large knife. Elbury asked him what he was going to do with it. He replied, ‘D——n him, he moves, he is not dead’; and taking the knife, he went in again, and cut his throat from ear to ear, and then returned, both the knife and his hands reeking with blood.

“This he immediately washed, while Elbury scattered ashes over the room to conceal the blood upon the floor. The window shutters were put in, the tea things set against the company returned. After tea, liquor was set upon the table, and several songs were sung by Jones, his wife, and others. About nine o’clock Jones and Elbury went out, when they dragged their prey through a hole in the skilling, and taking him upon their shoulders, carried him to the pit, threw him in, and covered him over with green boughs, and then returned to their company, and kept up jovial mirth till after midnight.

“The Providence of God appears singularly in bringing this horrid murder to light. A man had been at work for several days upon the ground round this pit, and in the evening used to leave his hoe in the pit. Going to work the next morning, and looking for the hoe, he was surprized to see so many green boughs laid over the pit; suspecting something was there planted, *i.e.*, some property that had

been stolen was concealed, he put in his hoe, and removed the boughs, when he immediately saw the hand of a dead man.

“He then called out to another man cutting firewood at a small distance. Three or four others came at the same time, Jones among the rest, and immediately charged the man that first discovered Mr. Clode in this woeful plight with the murder, and to take him into the camp a prisoner. Jones came into camp with others to bring tidings of the murder, expressed his concern for the murder of a man he so much loved, and to whom he was indebted for his attention to him and family, in time of sickness, and again endeavoured to throw the murder upon the man that first discovered Mr. Clode in the pit.

“From the tale he told, and other circumstances concurring, the man was committed to prison ; but at the very time Jones was thus speaking, another man came up, myself and the Governor and other gentlemen present, and said to Jones, ‘Jones, you are the murderer, blood is traced from the pit directly to your house.’ He then began to protest his innocence and to repeat what I have before related. His house, his body, etc., were examined. He was taken to the pit, ordered to look at the body, and to touch it. He replied, ‘yes, I will, and kiss him too, if you please, for I loved him as my brother.’

“That this unfeeling wretch had reason to love Mr. Clode you may easily perceive by his wife’s declaration to me, while under sentence. Speaking to her of this horrid business, and lamenting the unhappy end of a friend I so much esteemed, she replied, ‘Oh ! sir, that dear man was the saving both of my life, and the life of my husband. His attention was such to Trotman, as I never saw in any

other person in my life. Three times a day he came to visit him, washing and cleansing his sores, and had it not been for his attention, he surely would have lost his hand.' Who, my dear sir, can hear such a declaration as this, but must shudder to think that such horrid monsters can exist !

"By an order from the Governor, the house in which the murder was committed, was, on the Saturday, pulled down, and burnt to ashes. A temporary gallows was erected upon the same spot, and at twelve o'clock, these three inhuman wretches were taken out and conveyed in a cart to the place, where, having discharged my duty as Chaplain, they were launched into eternity, to appear at the tribunal of a righteous, sin avenging God, and rather execrated than pitied by a numerous multitude of spectators. The bodies of the two men are hung in chains near the place, that of the woman given to the surgeons for dissection.

"In the interim, I gave directions to have the body of my deceased friend brought into the town to a small hut of my own, and ordered a decent coffin and shroud to be made. Numbers came to see him, and many with tears, lamenting his untimely end.

"On Friday his body was committed to the silent grave. The pall was borne by five surgeons (Dr. Harris, the gentleman above mentioned, being one) and Captain Wilkinson. His Excellency, the Governor, walked with me before the corpse. Messrs. Cover, Henry, Hassall, Smith, Oakes, and the two Puckeys behind the corpse, and after them several officers and others.

"After having read the Burial Service, a hymn was sung, given out by Mr. Cover. I then spoke a little upon

the melancholy occasion; many being in tears, and myself so much affected, that I, indeed, could say but little, but gave notice that I purposed to preach a discourse on the Sunday but one next following.

“The ensuing week, I preached two discourses, and on the 14th of July, preached in the morning from 2nd of *Samuel*, 16th and 17th verses, middle clause, ‘Is this thy kindness to thy friend?’ Spoke to the general character of the deceased, the aggravating circumstances attending his death, and concluded the sermon with an exhortation to different descriptions of persons. In the afternoon I preached from *Jeremiah*, c. vi, v. 10, ‘To whom shall I speak and give warning, that they may hear?’ which was intended as a solemn warning and exhortation to the living, and particularly to those guilty of drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, and the reigning vices committed in the Colony; the fatal consequences attending which, my dear sir, I have long seen and lamented, but alas! all to little or no purpose.

“The Missionaries attended church, hymns were sung, and the lines were given out by Mr. Cover. In the evening, Mr. Cover gave an exhortation at my house, to the brethren of the Mission, to my family, and some others, upon the same occasion.

“I promised to tell you what it was that occasioned Elbury to make a confession of the murder before. When the bell began to toll for the funeral of my friend, he asked what the bell was tolling for. The serjeant of the guard told him it was for the funeral of the person whom he and Jones had murdered. He was then taken out of the room; when, seeing the corpse just taken from my hut, he asked who it was walking with Mr. Johnson before

the corpse. He was told it was the Governor. He then hung down his head, went again into the guard room, burst into tears, desired me to read to him, and soon after made a full confession, which was in substance what I have above related.

“As I do not doubt but that Mr. Cover, and the other Missionaries, who have seen, and with me have lamented the unhappy end of my deceased friend, will write either to you or some other of the Directors, it was not necessary for me to write to you so fully, nor indeed, at all, upon the occasion. But for reasons I have given, I judged this was my duty, and I cannot conclude my letter without saying, that Mr. Clode's conduct, as a Christian, was both humble and exemplary; as a surgeon, humane and attentive, and as a Missionary, he spent much of his time among the natives, by whom, as well as by persons of every description belonging to the Colony, he lived beloved, and died lamented.

“I must now beg leave to apologize for the hasty and incoherent manner in which I have written this letter, and can only plead as an excuse, that having many letters to write by this conveyance, my domestic concerns, as well as official duties, to attend, and withal enjoying but a weakly state of health, I could neither be so particular nor correct as I could have wished, in relating so extraordinary, singular, and I may say, unexampled a circumstance of barbarity and cruelty.

“My friend Henry appears anxious to return to Otaheite. He is a studious, serious young man, and appears well adapted for the work upon which he was sent out, and I hope before long a door in providence may open for his return.

“Mr. Cover does not appear so anxious to return, unless a stronger body of people were upon the Island to defeat any evil intentions of the Natives. He is, I trust, a person of solid piety, and possessed of good ministerial abilities, and he, together with Messrs. Henry and Hassall, have, almost from their first arrival at Port Jackson, gone to the Settlements established in different parts of the Colony, to preach and exhort among the Settlers. I sincerely wish them success in their attempts and endeavours.

“His Excellency the Governor has been, and still continues to be, very kind and attentive to the Missionaries.

“That God may bless and prosper the Missions sent out to the heathen, in every place, is the fervent prayer of

Dear sir,

Your sincere well-wisher and humble servant,

RICHARD JOHNSON.”

This letter places both the ministerial and manly character of the Chaplain in a most favourable light before us in this day, as it did to those of his own time.

The year 1800 was an active one of correspondence. On April 20th, Mr. Shelley gave this melancholy picture:—

“We anchored in Sydney Cove, Port Jackson (spelt Jacson). Soon after Mr. Cover and Mr. Marsden came on board, having heard that it was a ship that had been at Taheity, but how surprized they were to see us in our forlorn condition. They went on shore, collected a few old clothes, and Mrs. Cover made us a shirt a-piece.” He added, “the people, who soon learned what we were, began to throw in our teeth the misconduct of some of the Brethren resident here.”

Mr. Hassall, April 22nd, wrote, “Satan has cause to triumph on account of our departure from Otaheity. As

I could work at the forge, I was very willing to stop. They thought it was my duty to go with the Brethren." He mentioned his living awhile at Mr. Marsden's farm in the North Bush; but that, on the Governor giving him one hundred acres of land, and the free labour of two convicts, he removed to a house belonging to Barrington, the celebrated pickpocket. He said, "Kissing Point Chapel has not been opened as yet for Divine Service, through repeated grievances and afflictions that the Rev. Mr. Johnson has laboured under from one cause or the other."

His letter of April 22nd gives the measurement of the Kissing Point Schoolroom, 30 by 14 feet, with a side room for the teacher, 9 by 7. The cost had been £40 12s. 2d., of which £14 5s. 1d. had been then received. At Toongabbie, "where most of the unruly prisoners are kept to hard labour," they were allowed "a large Government Hut for the worship of God."

He speaks gratefully of the kindness he and his family had from Mr. and Mrs. Marsden, and mentions that "Brother Shelley spends two nights a week to instruct singers belonging to Rev. Mr. Marsden's Church."

The barely legible letters of James Cooper, from Parramatta, has references to Mr. Johnson, saying:—

"The principal reason of me writing is, that coming here in such poor circumstances as we were, reduced me to borrow in the name of the Directors from the Rev. Mr. Johnson the sum of five pounds, which you will have to pay him. According to the letters which you sent here, you advised that if any money was wanting to ask the advice of the Rev. Mr. Johnson and Marsden with the Brethren. I went to them, and made known my case. Mr. Johnson said he would advance any small sum, as he

intended to go home to England. If he lives to see the Directors, he can give a full account."

Such kind sympathy, as the ex-missionaries had from the Chaplain, might well lead Mr. Hassall to exclaim, "Through the departure of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson from this Country, we shall be deprived of those which are as good to us as father and mother, yea, I have found him a good friend."

In Mr. Hassall's letter to the Mission Directors, October 14th, 1800, he writes, "I have this day settled with the Rev. R. Johnson for the twenty pounds sterling, which I gave him a draft upon you for, and destroyed the Bills of Exchange. I have done the above, partly because the Rev. R. Johnson has given me credit for the above sum, and further because I hope to have it in my power to discharge the same, since I have received the appointment I have." This was the Government charge of the granary at Parramatta—the foundation of the worthy man's good fortune. But he adds, "The above Draft was made to defray the expenses of Kissing Point Chapel and Schoolroom."

It is not strange to find Mr. Shelley, in his letter home, April 22nd, replying to the Directors, say, "According to your letters, you seem not satisfied on account of our leaving Otaheite."

On September 30th, alluding to former letters, he writes:—I have since that period drawn upon the Society for the sum of £34, in order to provide me a little clothing. If the Rev. S. Marsden had not shown me so much kindness, in getting me tools and slops from the public store, I should have been necessitated to have drawn for a greater sum. I am at present working at my own trade,

and hope I shall be enabled to get a genteel livelihood until I hear from the Society."

He continues, "Brother Hassall still continues to preach, and I am sorry to add with as little appearance of success. With regard to the conduct of the rest of the Missionaries in this Colony, Mr. Johnson will be able to give a circumstantial account. O that the Lord may appear, to heal the breaches which have been made amongst us!"

Mr. Hassall, of Parramatta, told the Directors on September 29th, 1800, "This comes in the *Buffalo*, by favour of the Rev. R. Johnson, who with his family is returning to England." "I have given to the Rev. R. Johnson an order on you for the said £20 sterling, which I hope you will do me the favour of answering, not only because it is the first I ever gave, but because it is for the very purpose you appointed. Brothers Cooper and Shelley, also, have given different orders to the Rev. R. Johnson upon you, for which, no doubt, they will be accountable."

In reference to this Kissing Point School, he says, "The subscriptions for the building, through some not paying their subscriptions, and its costing more than subscribed, I have been under the necessity of drawing to the amount of £20, with which I have defrayed every expense on the said, and retained a few pounds which I intend to dispose of in the following manner, viz., as there are several Settlers in that district who have it not in their power to pay for their children's schooling, I have given public notice that such persons by applying to me may have them taught gratis. Accordingly, they applied, and I have received several on the same grounds, for which I have to give the schoolmaster fourpence per week, per head."

His account of the opening of this early School and Place of Worship brings before us both the clergymen of the Colony, to do honour to the efforts of the nonconformist Missionaries :—

“ On the 16th of July last, was opened Kissing Point Chapel and Schoolroom, by the Rev. R. Johnson and the Rev. S. Marsden. The service began at 10 o'clock in the morning by reading the prayers of the Church of England, at the end of which was sung the 97th hymn, the Rev. G. Burder's Supplement, 'Dear Shepherd of, etc.' After which the Rev. R. Johnson preached from these words : 'And I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word, etc.,' *Heb.* 13 c., 22 v. Then was sung the 96th hymn of the Rev. G. Burder's Supplement, viz., "And will the Great Eternal God, etc.' After service there were three children baptized.

“ Mr. J. in his sermon was very faithful to the hearers, exhorting them to attend to the concerns of their own souls, to their families, and all around them. In the discourse, there were many pertinent remarks made, and I hope some good done. At least, I can say that I found some searchings of heart that proved useful to me in the Divine life. The Settlers all attended, and seemed to pay good attention to what was delivered. This Place of Worship was built by subscription, and is now opened through the week for a school. The Rev. S. Marsden gets on very fast with his new Church, he seems never happy but when he is in or about it.”

Elsewhere treating of the condition of the people, he finds most of the officials “bitter atheists and deists,” to his mind; and, in his controversies with them, he was “obliged to lay aside the Bible, as its authority was of no consequence with them.” It is probable that these

gentlemen resented his mode of speech, and want of education, rather than proclaimed themselves atheists and deists. The good man had not been accustomed to such hearers in England, or in the Islands. He said the lower class were "buried in ignorance and hardened in sin."

Then he turned from the people to the Chaplains, saying, "I have been often surprized, since I came to know the state of the Colony, and how the Chaplains have been circumstanced, that they have anything of the life of religion at all; but, especially Mr. Johnson, whose trials have been exceeding great, and his circumstances the most disagreeable; whereby it hath been the Lord that kept the spark alive in his breast, amidst the ocean of tribulations, temptations and afflictions, with which he hath been tossed since his coming to this wretched Colony. Great hath been the opposition he hath experienced in the faithful discharge of his ministerial duties. I cannot but here acknowledge the kindness and respect with which he and his worthy consort, Mrs. Johnson, hath treated Mr. Henry and myself. They have been truly like parents ever since our coming to the Colony; and, indeed, the Rev. Mr. Marsden and Mrs. Marsden have behaved remarkably kind to us all."

Though the Missionaries continued their correspondence to the Mission Directors for some years after this year 1800, yet it is not necessary to transcribe more than has here been done, that only being connected with Mr. Johnson's Chaplaincy, and not belonging to the career of Mr. Marsden, who had much more connection with them than had his sickly predecessor.

Zeal for the South Sea Mission, and kindness toward one of the workers in that field, led Mr. Johnson to write

again to the Treasurer of the Society, Mr. Joseph Hardcastle, of Upper Thames Street, London.

“SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

October 18, 1799.

“SIR,—In a pretty long letter which I lately sent you, relative to the melancholy death of Mr. Clode (which I believe I shall never forget) I assured you that Mr. Henry was anxious to return to Otaheite.

An opportunity at this time offering, he has embraced it, and in a few days will take his leave of us. The reason of my giving you this line is to give you my opinion of Mr. Henry, which I shall do in a few words, and that is, I believe him to be a sincere, pious, and zealous young man, whose heart is much engaged in the arduous work of a Missionary, and trust his absence from his post for a time, and what he has seen in this Colony, have been blessed to him, in teaching him more than, perhaps, he before knew of mankind, and return to his post and to his friends with a fresh relish for religious conversation, and rendered vigorous to y^e work to which he has been called, gratefully acknowledging the mercy and grace of God for making him to differ, not only from y^e world in general, but also from so many who professedly came out upon the same important expedition, but who, by their conduct, have shown themselves unworthy of holding so sacred and important an office.

“If I may, sir, be allowed to give my sentiments, I may say that I believe that some of those first sent to Otaheite, who have left it since, are much better away, and hope their purging will turn out for the furtherance of the pious wishes and endeavours of the Society. My friend Henry has repeatedly expressed the same opinion, and I

hope upon his return, he will find his friends left living in love, and unite hand and heart with them in the work in which they are engaged.

“ I believe Mr. Cover has no intention of returning to Otaheite, having taken a farm, he means, I understand, to remain some time longer in this country. He constantly preaches and exhorts every Sabbath in different places. His labours are greatly wanted, and I pray God they may be rendered useful. Mr. Hassall occasionally assists him, as Mr. Henry has done hitherto. Having spoken of these three, and poor dear Mr. Clode (whose labours and sufferings are over), I have said all I can. Some of the others are gone from the Colony, and with the remainder I have no acquaintance, as I cannot approve of their conversation and proceedings.

“ You will, sir, I trust, excuse my freedom (as I have conceived it to be my duty) in writing, and giving you the above information. Mr. Henry will write to England upon his arrival at Otaheite, and it will give me great pleasure to hear of his, and his brethren's success, and that God is blessing this, and every other evangelistic mission to the conversion and salvation of the Heathen, and am, dear sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

RICHARD JOHNSON.”

This about closed Mr. Johnson's connection with that Mission. His faithful utterances about the ill-selected Missionaries, attested by their own conduct, were of great service in the future of the Society. So novel was the undertaking, and so dazzled were good people with the newly awakened Protestant regard for the Pagan world, that one cannot wonder at the early mistakes or deficiencies of the Directors.

New South Wales, while getting some moral advantage from a few of the mission runaways, contributed not a little to the worldly prosperity of others. It should not be forgotten, that the heroic Rev. Daniel Draper, of the *London* ship renown, was a son in law of Mr. Oakes, of Parramatta, a Missionary refugee of 1798. The writer had the pleasure of a conversation with the aged Mrs. Oakes, at Parramatta, about her daughter, Mrs. Draper.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE NATIVES.

AMONG the sanguine hopes of some good men, at the Settlement of New Holland, was that of the conversion of the heathen. Captain Cook's account of the Pacific Islanders, and the charming narrative of the amiable Pelew Islanders, had suddenly awakened an interest in pagan savagedom among Protestants, although Missions had been established for centuries in a rival Church.

Some allusions to the gentle manners of the *Diemenese*, as the Tasmanian Blacks were called by the French naturalist Labillardière, as well as to the frank and gallant New Holland Natives, led some of the *Eclectic* Club to indulge pleasing visions of the convict Settlement becoming a means of conversion to the wanderers hunting the Kangaroo. Among those rather suddenly seized with affection for the ignorant but far-distant Islanders was the

Rev. John Newton, and, yet, he had some fears of the consequences following the connection of Christian and educated Englishmen with the dark barbarians. This is seen in a letter of his to Mr. Wilberforce, September 12th, 1788:—

“As to the Pelew Islands, if we could send them a Missionary by a balloon, it might be well. But I hardly know how to wish that Government should attempt to form a Settlement among so simple, untainted, and kind a people. I could almost wish they might never see another ship, unless one in distress and wrecked, like the *Antelope*, should give them a fresh occasion of exercising their generous hospitality. Alas! what a people will they be, if we make a Settlement upon their shores, to communicate to them wants and vices, and diseases, to which they are at present, happily, strangers.”

Alas! this prophesy applied, unfortunately, to the Pelew Islanders, the Sandwich Islanders, the South Sea Islanders, the Maories, the New Hollanders.

Mr. Johnson had the honour of being the first to attempt the civilization of our poor Blacks. He took one into his household, and his good wife tried to tame the wild creature into domestic habits.

According to Captain Hunter's narrative, Governor Phillip got several natives to come to his camp, and live among his convict servants. But the case of Mr. Johnson was a more serious and sensible trial.

In Governor Hunter's narrative, are various statements about it. A terrible mortality took place among the tribes in 1788, owing to confluent small pox. A boy and girl, so attacked, and deserted by their friends, were humanely tended by Dr. White. The boy was taken by

the Doctor, "the girl," said Hunter, "lived with the Chaplain's wife, and both she and the boy are very tractable." Elsewhere he has a further story:—

"Boorong, the native girl who had lived with the Clergyman, returned to him again, after a week's absence. By her own account, she had joined the young man who wished to marry her, and lived with him three days; but he had another wife, who, the girl said, was jealous, and had beat her."

The *Public Advertizer*, February 25th, 1791, reported: "A little girl, named Aharoo, almost eleven years of age, was brought into the Colony, with several others, who were in a terrible state from this disorder (small-pox). They all died except this girl, and a boy who was under the care of the Surgeon General. The Governor desired the Clergyman to take the girl into his family, and bring her up as a servant. She had been with him, when the officer (Lieut. King) had sailed, eleven months, and she had so far improved in speaking English, that she could understand almost anything she was bid to do. Her master had taught her a prayer or two, which she repeats to him morning and evening. He has also taught her the letters, and she begins to make some progress in reading."

Mr. Marsden has this characteristic account of the Natives:—"I have found something very peculiar in their constitutions and affections. I think it is hardly possible to attach them to our habits, customs, and friendships. I found it to be the case with two that I attempted to civilize, and my predecessor, the Rev. Richard Johnson, found the same want of attachment in two native girls that he took much pains with. One of my boys was taken

from his mother's breast, and brought up with my children for twelve years."

As the Aborigines and convicts soon came to blows in their intercourse, as was to be expected, the tribes held aloof from the Camp for a long time, and nothing like a Missionary work among them was to be thought of.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MR. JOHNSON AND THE REV. JOHN NEWTON.

THE interesting collection of letters bequeathed to the Religious Tract Society, and open, by official courtesy, to the author's inspection, reveals several features in the character of our Chaplain, and the peculiar circumstances of the new Colony, that the story may be given thus continuously in the words of the writers:—

On June 24th, 1789, Mr. Newton informed his young friend at the Antipodes: "No ship has yet sailed for New Holland since you left us." But he had the pleasure of hearing a part of the Voyage Journal read at the *Eclectic*, and trusts for a better account of the fruits of his ministry. He sympathized with his loss of the first infant; adding, in the language of the day, "The child is taken out of an evil world, and you will sorrow for it but once. You know not how often you might have sorrowed for it if it had lived."

On November 28th, 1789, the subject of an Assistant

Chaplain is continued: "The Lord provided and disposed Mr. Crowther for that service—he will prove a true helpmeet, a counsellor, and a friend. Many a time I try to realize to myself your first interview, and what a mutual pleasure you will both have in meeting together with one heart and mind." "The seed you sow in the Settlement may be sown for future generations, and be transplanted in time far and near. I please myself with the hope that Port Jackson may be the spot from whence the Gospel light may hereafter spread in all directions, and multitudes may rejoice in it who are at present covered with a thick darkness."

August 27th, 1790. "A distance of 20,000 miles, more or less, is but a trifle to those who, by being joined to the Lord, are of one spirit and one body. You are no more alone at Port Jackson, though separated from ordinances and Christian Society, than Adam was in Paradise, when he was the only human being on the earth."

Again he says: "I seldom sit down to dinner, but I compare our good cheer with the hard fare which is probably your allotment. I hope the Lord will give you encouragement to stay at your post, and if he does, I trust you will not indulge a dream of leaving it." In this letter he tells the story of the Rev. Mr. Crowther's return, and call upon him. The *Guardian* store ship, in which he had sailed, struck an iceberg to the South East of the Cape of Good Hope; and, although the crew managed to bring her back to Table Bay, she soon became a total wreck. Mr. Crowther was satisfied with sea experience, and returned to London by the first vessel, with no intention to resume his appointment."

In the next letter, November 9th, 1790, Mr. Newton

referred to the expected sufferings of the Colony from the loss of supplies in the *Guardian*. As to Mr. Crowther: "he has given up the thought of attempting to return to you again. He is an upright, good man, but does not seem to possess that firmness of spirit which, in my view, is essential to a Missionary."

November 10th, 1791. After condoling with him on his apparent want of success, he went on to say: "You live in such an awkward, unpromising corner of the Lord's great house, that it is not easy to find a competent person willing to go to you. It is not a service for mere flesh and blood to undertake. Mr. Crowther has been partly intimidated by what he met with abroad, and partly influenced by nearer personal considerations at home, to stay with us, and sleep in a whole skin."

Noting the starvation condition of the Settlement, he has this comforting word: "As to temporals—though if your Colonists could have behaved to me, as they have behaved to the Lord, I might, probably, very coolly leave them to perish for want of food. It is well for them, though they are not duly aware of it, that you are with them to pray for them. I trust for your sake, He will give you the lives of those that are with you. Perhaps their sufferings may be designed to bring their haughty spirits down and make them more attentive to your message."

May 9th, 1791. He seeks to comfort him, saying: "Possibly you are still slighted, still opposed, still tempted to think in a dark hour that you labour and spend your strength in vain. Though you long for success, you are not responsible for the want of it, if to the best of your judgment and ability you have been faithful."

January 21st, 1792, continues in the same strain: "God is establishing your character. In the few who attend at your Cabbage-tree hut or house, I see, or hope to see, the seeds of something good. I do not pity you much for living in a hut, you may be as happy there as if you had Lambeth Palace, and could dine every day upon plate." This epistle is humourously addressed, "To the Most Reverend the Primate and Patriarch of the Southern Hemisphere."

July 19th, 1792, is an answer to a letter conveyed by that smart officer, Lieut. Dawes, a genuine humanitarian, and who did afterwards good service at Sierra Leone. Mr. Newton was well pleased with him. Referring to the question of Assistant Chaplain, he observed:—

"We are enquiring and praying that the Lord would incline some suitable person to follow and assist you, but as yet no one appears to have zeal and self denial equal to the service." One naturally asks, why this question engaged no Bishop of the Church, but that the enquiry and prayer should be left to the nine members of the Eclectic Society.

"I pity you," he adds, "but not greatly. The Lord is with you, and you have eminently the post of honour. I should shrink, if not sink, under your difficulties, but you are upheld through them, and come off in almost every fight a conqueror. Now, like Lot, you are grieved with the madness and the wickedness of the ungodly. But you did not, like him, place yourself among them for the sake of a well watered country. A regard to the glory of God, and a desire to be useful to the souls of men, sent you, and keeps you, where you are."

Then comes a cheerful note:—

“All unite in love to Mrs. Johnson, and to little Miss Melbah (the infant daughter). We should like to see her, but as you live so far off, we are content to take it upon your word that she is the finest child in New Holland.”

January 29th, 1793. Here we have the first reference to the Pamphlet Address by Mr. Johnson to his flock. He thought if this were printed in England, he could distribute copies among those who either neglected his services, or could not attend them. The *MS.* was submitted for revision to John Newton, who was to see it through the press. Alluding thereto, he says:—

“I have made little other use of the liberty you allowed me, to expunge matter as I pleased, excepting now and then omitting repetitions, or drawing your thoughts into a closer compass, but I hope you will not find that I have added a single sentiment of my own. I trust that your address will operate as an effectual witness in your favor. There are, likewise, multitudes here, like minded with the poorest creatures in your Colony, and therefore, your Address is equally suited to them. Perhaps more so than anything we can say, for there are some touches in your book, which I think no man could use, or hit off so well, without taking a trip to Botany Bay.”

The poor fellow's over-sensitiveness is thus rebuked:—

“I believe, where you have heard of your name being treated with ridicule here, was either quite unfounded or much exaggerated. But be it true or false, more or less, I thought it would be acting below yourself to take notice of it. As a minister and a Christian, you will do well to pass by them in silence. The fable says that on a fine night, a parcel of dogs thought proper to bark and howl

violently at the moon; but the moon, well satisfied that they could not hurt her, replied with great composure, 'you may make what noise you please, but I am determined that I will *shine on*.' I think the moral is obvious and good."

May 24th, 1793, refers to the Governor.—"I sent your last acceptable letter (with a copy of yours to the Governor) to Mr. Wilberforce, as you desired. I am just informed that Governor Phillip has arrived. I hope his successor will treat you better than he did." That successor was Lieut. Governor Grose, by whom he suffered much more acutely than any rebuff from Captain Phillip.

The *Address* is thus spoken of: "Mr. Foster and I approve of the Address. I hope to send it you in print by the next ship. We can manage here for the expence; I should be sorry to put you to any."

The best part of this letter, to the good Chaplain, was the news of a coming colleague, as Assistant Chaplain, in the person of SAMUEL MARSDEN, a man about as opposite, in some respects, to Mr. Johnson as could be easily found:—

"The Lord has, at length, provided you an associate, Mr. Marsden, who, I hope, will deliver you this. May he be saved from Islands of ice, and every other danger. We like him well here, and I have little doubt but you will find him a Friend and Helper. But, perhaps, you will not be much or long together. I suppose one of you will be stationed at Norfolk Island. You will have the honour of being the first Apostle to the South Seas, but I think you will have no objection that others should be sent to take a share in your labours. Indeed, a voyage to New Holland, and the account of your situation there, are so

formidable, that it is not easy to find any who have zeal enough to follow you. But He who has sent two, can, *when he pleases*, send twenty. You are sent to lay the foundation stone, upon which others will build, and it will be more clearly seen by posterity than at present, that the Lord directed you by His counsel, and upheld you by His arm of power, that He appointed you to the honour of opening a plan, which He in His due time will accomplish. This is a greater honour than if you had been made a Bishop or Archbishop, or Cardinal or Pope."

November 9th, 1793. In this is the intimation to Mr. Johnson that it is "best not to deliver the sermon and letter to the Archbishop." The prudent Rector considered it safer on account of the position of the Primate at Botany Bay. He hoped to begin transcribing the Address for the printer the following week.

March 29th, 1794. Herein he acknowledges a letter from the Chaplain, of date May 7, 1793, nearly twelve months before. He encourages the troubled man, adding, "I trust the difficulties and hardships, which at times have made you think of returning to England, will soon be much mitigated, if not wholly removed. From the general character of Captain Hunter, the newly appointed Governor, I expect you will soon find countenance and encouragement, where you have hitherto met with little but neglect and ill-treatment, so that I hope you will yet live to see happy fruits of your labours."

Then comes some sage counsel:—

"I do not wonder, nor can I blame you, that you often felt cares and anxieties respecting your temporal concerns. But when you speak of the time spent in your necessary employment as so much lost time because it kept you from

your books and studies, I think you distressed yourself without just cause. I wish you to consider your Mission as a *Whole*, composed of various parts, each of which, in proper place, has its importance. If necessity required you to work with your own hands to procure necessary sustenance for your family, this was a part of your calling likewise. I judge that when you dig in your garden, or plant potatoes or cabbages, you serve the Lord as truly as when you are upon your knees, or in the pulpit, provided you do these things in a right spirit."

Another word upon ministerial feeling and work:—

"Nor do I blame you for being greatly concerned for the sins and enormities which you are daily witness to, and especially for the gross profanation of the Sabbath. I think you should be content with praying for them, and with bearing your faithful testimony against their evil, and not greatly distress yourself because you cannot effect impossibilities."

All evangelicals of that day had strong notions about eternal punishment, and indulged in lurid pictures of torments. Mr. Johnson, especially as being young, incurred ill will by his fierce, so-called, Methodist denunciations. John Newton replies:—

"You often speak of 'preaching awfully'—undoubtedly a declaration of the Law, and the penalty due to transgressors, is a part of our message. To persons in this state, denunciations of wrath, too frequently repeated, instead of working savingly upon them, rather tend to increase the enmity of their minds against God."

December 14th, 1794. This treats of a change of things. "It is the hope and belief of all your friends, that the arrival of Captain Hunter at Port Jackson will put an end

to most of the hard treatment and difficulties you have hitherto met with in the sad charge of your Ministry. The new Governor has expressed his friendly regard for you so strongly and frequently, and his determination to support and countenance you by his authority, that, perhaps, it might be more seasonable to caution you against the dangers of prosperity, than to console you on what you have already suffered. You had no reason to expect to be treated like a chaplain or a gentleman, while you would not conduct yourself as other chaplains and gentlemen usually do. If you had conformed to their manners and practices, they would not have respected you more in their hearts, but they might have been more civil."

August 27th, 1796. This also is an encouraging letter:—"The Governor's stated attendance at Church in the forenoon (a new experience for the Preacher), and his suppressing needless labour on the Lord's Day, will, I trust, have a visible good effect. As your outward situation becomes more comfortable, the *Enemy* will probably change his ground and mode of attack."

Knowing his fears about the evil reports of him, taken to England by the retiring Acting Governor, Major Grose, Mr. Newton has a kind word for him:—

"I believe you need not trouble yourself about Major G——. I do not think he has done or can do you any harm; and, probably, though you have reason to remember him, he may, by this time, in a manner have forgotten you."

Then comes the bright picture of Mr. Johnson's domestic life, and his home comforts after early hardships:—

"Your letter to Mr. Stokes gave a pleasing account of your garden and farm. Methinks I see you, like Abraham,

whom the Lord blessed. You have flocks, if not herds, chickens and pigs, and ducks, and I suppose men servants, and women servants."

April 1st, 1800. This is the last letter of the correspondence preserved of this great and good man, John Newton. The occasion of the close thereof was the ungrateful neglect of his old friend by the Chaplain of New South Wales. But the last words of the kind-hearted old man breathe nothing but benevolent wishes. One cannot but regret that Mr. Johnson so soon forgot his English friends, especially those who had served him. These are the final words:—

"You have dropped me of late years, and therefore, I make the less apology for dropping you. I seldom attempt more than to answer letters, and even this is more than I can do. At the age of 75, and with increasing engagements, I cannot write much. Give our love to Mrs. Johnson, Milbah, Ambrose, and the rest, if the Lord has given you more—and to Mr. and Mrs. Marsden, if I have not time to write to him. May the Lord bless you all, you and your children. And may the good seed you are sowing, spring up to flourish for ages. Notwithstanding the discouragements you have met with, I am persuaded the Lord has not sent you so far to labour in vain."

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CHAPLAIN'S ADDRESS OF 1792.

IN the correspondence between the Rev. John Newton and the Rev. Richard Johnson are references to an *Address* to Convicts, and others, in New South Wales, which was prepared by the Chaplain, and sent home to his friend for revision and printing, in order to be distributed. A copy of this very interesting publication is now in the British Museum. The Title is:—

“An Address to the Inhabitants of the Colonies established at New South Wales and Norfolk Island.” By the Rev. Richard Johnson, A.B., Chaplain to the Colonies. Written in the year 1792.

London:

Printed for the Author; and sold by Matthews, *Strand*,
Deighton, *Holborn*; Trap, *Paternoster Row*; and
Goff and Amey, No. 8, *Ivy Lane*.

1794.

The Dedication runs thus:—

“To all the inhabitants, and especially to the unhappy Prisoners and Convicts, of the Colonies established at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, this affectionate Address is dedicated and presented by their very sincere and sympathizing friend, and faithful servant in the Gospel of Christ, RICHARD JOHNSON.”

The size is 18mo. of 74 pages, each having 21 lines of about 7 words. The covering is of stitched paper.

Attached to the cover is the following printed slip:—

“As Mr. Johnson has ordered a great number of the Addresses to be sent to New South Wales to be *given* among the Settlers and Convicts, it is the wish of Mr. Martin and Mr. Foster, who are his Agents, to defray the expenses of the whole Impression, that the profits arising from the sale of the Remainder may be placed to Mr. Johnson's Account. Donations for this purpose will be received by either of his Agents.”

The *Introduction* is thus stated:—

“To the British and other European Inhabitants of New South Wales and Norfolk Island.

“MY BELOVED,

“I do not think it necessary to make an apology for putting this Address into your hands; or to enter into a long detail of the reasons which induced me to write it. One reason may suffice. I find I cannot express my regard for you so often, or so fully, as I wish, in any other way.

“On our first arrival in this distant part of the world, and for some time afterwards, our numbers were comparatively small; and while they resided nearly upon one spot, I could not only preach to them on the Lord's Day, but also converse with them, and admonish them more privately.

“But since that period, we have gradually increased in number every year (notwithstanding the great mortality we have sometimes known) by the multitude that have been sent hither after us. The Colony already begins to spread, and will probably spread more and more every

year, both by New Settlements formed in different places under the Crown, and by a number of individuals continually becoming Settlers.

“Thus the extent of what I call my Parish, and consequently of my parochial duty, is enlarging daily. On the other hand, my health is not so good, nor my constitution as strong, as formerly. And, therefore, I feel it impracticable and impossible for me, either to preach, or to converse with you, so fully, as my inclination and affection would prompt me to do.

“I have, therefore, thought it might be proper for me, and I hope it may prove useful to you, to write such an Address as I now present you with. I transmitted a copy of it to my friends in England, with a request, that if they approved of it, a sufficient number might be printed, and sent to me. Thus I am now able to leave with you a testimony of my affection for you, and of my sincere and heartfelt concern, for your *best*, because your *eternal*, welfare.

“My times are in the hand of God. He, and He only, knows how long I may live, or how long my present connection with you may continue. I trust, however, that so long as the All-wise Disposer of all events shall be pleased to spare my life and strength, and Government shall deem my services in this remote land necessary, it will still be, as it has hitherto been, my most ardent desire, uniform endeavour, and my greatest pleasure, to promote your happiness. And when re-called to my native Country, or removed by my God to my eternal Home, to receive that Crown of Righteousness, which I humbly trust is laid up for me, by reading and carefully perusing the following pages, I hope you will be convinced and

reminded how sincerely you were pitied, and how dearly beloved by

RICHARD JOHNSON."

Port Jackson,

October 30th, 1792.

After this came the *Advertisement*.

"The author hopes that all well-disposed persons will excuse the improprieties that they may meet with in this Address. It is the first time of its appearance in print, and may be the last. Nor would he have attempted it now, were it not for the very peculiar situation he is in, and the hope he entertains that his feeble, but he trusts, sincere attempt, may, by the blessing of God, be made useful to those unhappy persons with whom he is so nearly connected, and for whose salvation and happiness he is so deeply concerned.

"And he returns his most sincere and hearty thanks to those Christians of every denomination, for their kind remembrance of him at the Throne of Grace. He still hopes, because he still needs, a continuance of their fervent prayer to God for him, that he may be endued with those gifts, and with that wisdom, zeal and faithfulness, which are so needful to direct, support, and strengthen him—and may be favoured with more manifold and abundant success in that arduous, trying, yet honourable and, at times he may say, pleasant and delightful work, in which he is engaged."

Surely no man, whose heart was not in his work, and whose real good feeling towards the miserable outcasts forming his charge could be doubted, would have penned such personal allusions as in the foregoing remarks. Mr. Johnson may have been feeble, over-sensitive, and some-

what deficient in energy, but he was surely honest and true in his work, feared his God, and moved at the distress and vice around him, with an earnest desire for the prisoners' welfare.

THE ADDRESS.

(Extracts).

"I beseech you, brethren, suffer this word of exhortation. Your souls are precious. They are precious in the sight of God. They are precious to the Lord Jesus Christ. They are precious in my esteem. O that you yourselves were equally sensible of their value.

"We have now been here about five years; during that time, I trust, I have been faithful in the discharge of my duty, faithful to my God, my Country, my conscience, and to your immortal souls. I would, nay, I do, humbly hope that my labours have not been wholly in vain. Some of you, I trust, have been convinced of your folly, sin, and danger. . . . But I must express my fear that those of you who are thus convinced of sin, and converted to God, and reformed from your evil courses, are comparatively very few. It is too evident that the far greater part of you discover no concern for religion. . . .

"I have often explained to you, according to my sentiments, what is contained in the Gospel. But, as I fear, and indeed am well aware, that many of you, after all you have heard, still remain ignorant, I will now tell you again briefly and plainly, what my views of the Gospel are, that by putting this book into your hands, you may, if you please, more carefully and attentively examine and search for yourselves."

(Then followed a full account of his evangelical views

of Christianity, from the *Fall of Man* to the *Last Judgment*—supported by texts.)

“Brethren, I do not ask you what religious persuasion or denomination you have espoused. I fear that if I may judge of your hearts, by your actions, too many are destitute of any sense of religion at all. But I do not address you as Churchmen or Dissenters, Roman Catholic or Protestant, as Jew or Gentile. I speak to you as mortals, and yet immortals.”

PART II.

“I propose now to give you some advice.

“1. You must learn from the Word of God what you are to believe. The Bible is our only sure and infallible guide. . . . If you cannot read yourselves, you might prevail on some of your comrades to read it to you.

(Then came this note: “Two or three hours thus spent on the Lord’s Day, in instructing each other to read, would be a very commendable employment. I have often expressed my longing desire that such a plan was set on foot among you. And if there could be a convenient building erected for this purpose, I should think myself happy, not only to furnish you with books, as far as I am able, but also personally to attend and assist you, as much as my immediate calls of duty would permit.”)

“2. Observe and reverence the Sabbath or Lord’s Day. If you have families, you should call them together, and pray with them and for them. Numbers of you will not come to public worship at all, others but seldom, and then with much reluctance. I have here a more especial reference to those of you who are called Settlers or *Free* persons; you think, perhaps, and some of you say, that having served out your appointed term, you are now your

own masters, and have, therefore, a right to employ your time as you please. But, indeed, it is not so ; I must tell you, brethren, that my Commission from God, and my appointment from Government, extends equally and alike to all inhabitants, without distinction.

“I. Profane swearing is one thing against which I am especially bound to warn you. II. Consider what must be the consequence of that unclean and adulterous course of life which many of you follow. III. To exhort and caution you against theft, and all kinds of dishonesty and villainy. IV. Beware of idleness. V. Pay due respect, submission and obedience to your superiors.

“I do not mean to reflect harshly upon you for what is past, and cannot be recalled. Several of you, some to my knowledge, have left affectionate, tender, and sincere friends, husbands, wives, parents, brothers, sisters or children, in your native country, to lament your misconduct. Let me entreat you for the sake of these, to consider your ways. Great comfort it will afford to those who are now almost overwhelmed with grief on your account, to hear of your reformation.

“I would further plead with you, for the sake of the poor, unenlightened savages, who daily visit us, or who reside amongst us. O beware of laying stumbling blocks in the way of these blind people, lest the blood of their souls be one day required at your hands.

“Then I beg and entreat you, for *my sake*, to attend to the things pertaining to your true peace.

“Read this plain, affectionate Address seriously. Read it a second, third, and a fourth time, till your hearts are affected by it. Remember this is the advice of a friend, of one who sincerely seeks, wishes, and longs for your

happiness. *I* must answer for my preaching, and *you* for your hearing.

“I am, your affectionate Friend and Servant in the
Gospel of Christ,

RICHARD JOHNSON.”

Nothing in this narrative of the First Chaplain exhibits the character of the man in a more amiable, earnest, sincere way than this simple Address, to the most unfortunate and unhappy of our fellow countrymen in New Holland.

The pamphlet was reviewed in the *Evangelical Magazine* for the year 1794. Some extracts from the Notice are appended.

“When the stupendous plan of colonizing one of the remotest parts of the earth, with malefactors from this country, was first announced, whatever difference of opinion arose concerning its civil and political expediency, every friend to the spiritual interests of mankind, who knew Mr. Johnson's character, rejoiced at his appointment to be Chaplain to the intended Settlement. It is to be numbered among the salutary consequences (tending to the same object) of a connexion between some gentlemen, eminent for abilities, integrity and piety, and those who have direction of our public affairs.

“Mr. Johnson's acceptance of the charge was not merely dictated by the best of motives, but decided under the most distressing apprehensions of the difficulties, hardships and dangers inseparably attending it. The same principles have kept him at his post, notwithstanding the complicated discouragements which have arisen from want of the comforts and supports of life, the subtle villainy of the convicts, the blind ferocity of the Natives, and an

ignorance and hatred of true religion in those whose peculiar province it was, from duty to their country and mankind, to cherish and promote.

“The Christian world will learn with surprize and indignation, that no building has been erected or appropriated for the worship of God, after six years from the establishment of the Colony. The writer of this article thinks it incumbent on him to point out this cause for national humiliation, having been an eye witness to the same contempt for Christianity in other parts of the world under British Government. It is hoped, that the neglect and opposition of religion in New South Wales will in some manner be remedied under that gentleman (*Captain Hunter*), who succeeds to the chief authority there; as his manner of writing, and (as we understand) his general character, indicate a regard to the over-ruling Providence of God.

“Mr. Johnson very properly assigns, as reasons for this printed Address, the increasing numbers and extent of the Colony, and (which we lament) a diminution of his own strength and health; the unavoidable consequence of which is an impossibility of preaching to, or conversing with, all who are under his charge. The Settlements about Port Jackson seem, from the public accounts, to be twenty miles apart; and those upon Norfolk Island, some hundreds of leagues distant. This spot (Norfolk) difficult and dangerous as it is of access, was occupied very early, and has been visited by Mr. Johnson.

“It has, doubtless, been no small discouragement to him, in such circumstances, to have no fellow labourer in the Gospel with him. Some years since, a serious clergyman sailed in the *Guardian* frigate, but returned after

experiencing the utmost danger and suffering on the voyage, having been one of those wonderfully preserved in a boat, that left the ship when it was supposed to be irretrievably lost.

“In the first part of the Address, Mr. Johnson gives a summary of the Great Truths which, as a Minister of the Gospel, he is commissioned and commanded to preach. His language resembles that of the first century more than that of the eighteenth.”

After a lengthened notice of the work, the reviewer (doubtless John Newton) tells the following story:—

“A gentleman of literary eminence had the curiosity to converse with some convicts who had escaped from Port Jackson in an open boat across the ocean, and were afterwards brought in confinement to England. Amongst other subjects of enquiry, he asked what kind of a *Chaplain* there was at the Colony. The poor wretches, who had readily answered his former questions, hesitated at this, evidently impressed with awe. Their testimony, which, in this instance, will, doubtless, be deemed unexceptionable, was, that they *did not believe there was so good a man beside in the whole world*. That gentleman repeated the circumstance in a mixed company where, unknown to him, the person was, who had procured the office for Mr. Johnson.”

This Address may be called the first literary production of New South Wales.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CHAPLAIN AS A PASTOR.

THE testimony as to the kindness and sympathy displayed by the Minister is well established. He never courted Society, so called. He sought not the table of the Governor and principal officers, though acknowledged in the front rank of officialdom. But he did frequent the hovels of the poor, and was ever ready to attend the home of suffering.

And there was plenty to call forth the exercise of his charity. The terrible famine that oppressed the camp during the first few years, and may be said to have been chronic all the time of his stay, called forth his tenderness. Letters and official reports abundantly tell of that time of sorrow. The miserable convicts, half clad and half starved, had no strength to use their hoes, and hardened overseers suspended their orders to compel the toil. It was declared by one who wrote home, that he, and others, would have died from want but for the self-sacrificing Pastor, who shared his own miserable rations with the perishing ones.

His devotion to the sick and dying was fully recognized even by those who jeered at his Methodism. His own weak condition of health, greatly occasioned by want of needful nourishment, and his own sensitive nature to the

calls of humanity, might have been pleaded as an excuse for home-staying; but his pastoral visits, especially to the suffering ones, were even then esteemed the best of his services. Not a few of the callous men of crime honoured him for his consideration of the weak and miserable.

In seasons of great calamity his presence was known in alleviation and sympathy. We know how his heart was touched when the Transports landed many trembling victims of fever, and he heard the sad story of the voyage. In a letter, April 9th, 1790, a young man wrote: "I believe few of the sick would recover, if it was not for the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, whose assistance out of his own stores makes him the physician both of soul and body."

The congregation assembling beneath the shade or shelter of a great Gum tree, on the site of modern Sydney, to attend to the ministration of the Rev. Richard Johnson, would have a strange sight. The absence of the authorities and leading officials, except in the case of Governor Hunter, was to be remarked. For years before he had a building to receive worshippers, few came to join in the services. As to the rest, we have this picture in a letter from the first Assistant Chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, five or six years after Mr. Johnson's departure, addressed to Mr. Under Secretary Cooke:—

"No parent State, ancient or modern, have ever settled a Colony bearing similarity to this. But in the British Colony of New South Wales, it is to be lamented that, since its commencement to the present time, there has scarcely appeared a Germ of Virtue, on which to build a Hope of the general character changing for the better. The depravity and vice which pervades a large portion of

the community does, by its preponderating influence, affect the whole, and gives to the individual habits and manners much to be deplored. Any attentive, humane, observer who might visit the Colony, would soon be convinced of the truth of these remarks ; and, when he beheld a rising generation of several hundreds of fine children, exposed to a contamination fatal to body and soul, he would tremble for their danger."

The pessimism of that preacher was felt by some who contended for the Prize offered by Mr. Pitt and Lord Euston, in the London Society of Arts, upon the question "Whether Virtue may ever be expected to flourish in the rising Colony of Botany Bay ?"

And, yet, it did flourish, has flourished, and will in the future flourish, notwithstanding its beginning, and the evils brought by the selfish policy of those who, from their social position, should have been the promoters of virtue in the infant days.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE LIQUOR TRADE.

THE question of Alcoholic Drinks necessarily came before our First Chaplain. Though at that time of English History no temperance society existed, it must not be supposed that no alarm was felt among good men at the consequences of our national habit. Before the invention

of spirituous liquors, when wine and beer had no competitors, the vice of intemperance was not so prominent. It was far otherwise when *Hollands*, the *Elixir of Life*, the *Water of Life*, seized the public taste.

To the introduction of spirits from Holland, the manufacture of English Gin, Irish and Scotch Usqubaugh or Whiskey, with the sale of Jamaica Rum and French Brandy, the sad curse of both Christians and heathens is due. By the use of such drinks, the sanctities of family life were outraged, the ordinary immoralities were excited and strengthened, and the horrors of war were intensified.

No people in Europe fell victims to drunkenness more than the inhabitants of these Islands. No age of history suffered more from the desolation than that of Queen Anne and the Georges. To this evil may be mainly attributed the cause of so many being transported during the later years of George III. Crimes of all sorts were associated more or less with this indulgence.

When Governor Phillip went forth in 1787, it was the prevalent idea that alcohol, in some shape or other, was as essential to health and bodily vigor as to comfort and pleasure. A ration of rum was doled out to the soldier and sailor, to the constable and the civil official, and held essential to the worker, the student, the kitchen maid, and the lady. The difficulties of Government, everywhere, became multiplied by this supposed necessity of life.

In the transports that bore the first Fleet, the spirit cargo was inconsiderable; but, subsequently, when commanders of convict ships were permitted to carry goods on their own account, Jamaica rum formed much of the investment. The American whalers introduced Brazilian

spirits largely, while other vessels brought down Bengal rum. A little wine came through the Isle of France, and an occasional barrel of London Porter found its way to Port Jackson. Both Scotch and Irish whiskey were practically unknown, while gin, so common in London, seldom formed a freight to the South.

From the absence of drafts on banks, and the dearth of coin beyond copper tokens, rum furnished the currency or standard of exchange. As the guinea rarely stood at guinea worth, so a rum currency was ever a fluctuating one, according to supply. But flour, clothing, house and land had a sale in gallons of rum. It was the drink of the period, particularly when tea rose to several guineas per pound.

The habits of the people, and of the times, disposed to the use of spirituous liquors. With so few luxuries, an uncertain supply of necessities, and a general lack of stimuli to cheerfulness in such an abode, it was not surprising that the prominent source of excitement was sought in alcohol, and that intemperance gained so many votaries. Long before the dawn of total abstinence societies, there was no shame in the use of the glass, and only a general condemnation of vice to limit the ravages and sorrows of *Drink*.

After all, this was in the Colony but the reflection of matters at home. Yet even there, public alarm was excited at the spread of drunkenness. In England, Act after Act was passed to restrain the sale of liquor, and magistrates sought to lessen the evil by restriction to licenses. In Ireland, February 4th, 1791, a Committee of the whole House debated the excessive use of strong drinks, at which Grattan spoke, and at which resolutions

were passed limiting licences, punishing illicit dealers, and granting decided advantages to breweries over distilleries. One effect of the legislation was to diminish the consumption of spirits one eighth, and increase that of beer one fifth. Sir Lucius O'Brien had advocated the suspension of distillation itself for a limited period.

As so large a proportion of the prisoners came from Ireland, where the rage for spirits was so great, we cannot wonder that so many victims to drink came from the land of whiskey.

Governments felt the need of legislation. Even in Calcutta, in 1791, the following Public Order was issued:—

“Notice is hereby given that no retailers of spirituous and fermented liquors or intoxicating drugs will be allowed to keep their shops open for the sale of such drugs or liquors after sunset.”

A similar regulation was established in Sydney in early days, and the door was closed at the evening *Tattoo*. Governors Phillip and Hunter resolutely attempted to withstand the irruption. They tried to hinder the very landing of the casks. Then they fancied that to give the control of the sale to their own civil and military officers would be a useful check. Alas! that arrangement was full of trouble.

A Proclamation of February 11th, 1791, condemned the practice of convicts bartering both clothing and food for rum, inflicting penalties on seller and buyer. Order upon Order was issued to prevent the removal of spirits from vessels without a *Permit*, and also to limit the price per gallon under loss of license. Sunday drinking attracted constant police attention.

Officials procured *Permits* to trade with Captains of ships,

and then sold the drink to keepers of public houses ; or, in some cases, employed disreputable women to vend the liquor on shore. The Order of October 11th, 1801, ran thus :—" Whenever spirits or any other strong drink are taken out of a ship, on any account without the Governor's and Naval Officer's Permit, they become seizable wherever found." Alas ! one civil officer alone secured a permit to *bring* from India 5,000 gallons of rum at a fixed price. Such was the corruption among gentlemen holding high office in early Colonial days.

Home authorities, in a certain way, endeavoured to stem the evil, but in an odd fashion. Thus, Lord Hobart recommended the Governor to reward good convicts who ventured to attend church, by giving them a Sunday ration of rum as an encouragement.

Mr. Johnson, we know, was a fearless and constant preacher against drunkenness, and was never chargeable, as some preachers have been, with dealing in spirits. He was behind more than one Government Order favouring temperance, especially in his stand against trafficking officials. Here is a letter of his day, 1798, from the Secretary of State, referring to Governor Hunter's action :—

" The Duke of Portland has received a letter from Governor Hunter, dated 6th July, 1797, in which, after stating the great evils arising from the introduction of spirituous liquors into the Settlement of New South Wales, he proposes, as appears from the within extracts of his letter, a mode for preventing the same, by inserting a clause in the *Charter Party* of any ships sent there, which would serve to deter them from landing anything forbidden by the Port Orders without a regular Permit. I am directed

by His Grace to refer you to my letter of the 6th February last, and to inform you that His Grace particularly desires that the means suggested by the Governor may be taken, in order to secure obedience to his Orders, respecting the landing of any spirituous liquors without his Licence or Permit first obtained."

This prohibitive policy, signed by the Hon. J. King, Secretary of State, was thus sanctioned by a Tory Minister a century ago, long before the commencement of the temperance movement. The intention, worthy and statesmanlike as it was, and carried out as far as he was able, by good Governor Hunter, was altogether frustrated by the selfishness, cupidity, and disloyalty of the Colonial civil and military officials, who succeeded in the removal of Captain Hunter from his post, as they did with two other Governors.

One of the latter, Captain King, who arrived in Sydney before Mr. Johnson left it, and who, doubtless, felt the truth of the Chaplain's appeal on the drink question, afterwards, May 28th, 1804, issued this noble Proclamation:—

"In consequence of the illicit and improper means that have been adopted, and still continue, to import and introduce spirits into this Colony, in defiance of His Majesty's Instructions, my Orders consequent thereon, the Proclamations of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General of the British Possessions in the East Indies, and the communications to the American Consuls, with the present arrival of an American ship, having a quantity of spirits from Bengal by way of Manilla, joined to the several instances of ships not being allowed to land spirits thus illicitly brought, for the purpose of impoverishing the inhabitants, destroying their health, and

subverting the very interests necessary to be observed for the prosperity of this Colony, etc.”

Then followed the Order of an additional duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* to be paid by those allowed to land spirits, besides the duty of two shillings per gallon, and a wharfage of five shillings per cask or case. Then, to check the cupidity and oppression of traders, it was ordered that the liquor should be sold by the shippers at only six shillings per gallon. But all this was practically useless to restrain the bounds of the flood.

The Chaplain had exhorted and pleaded to but little purpose. Yet, the moralist of this day may regard with satisfaction the efforts of the representative of Colonial piety, and of a Government exercising the office of parent over the erring exiles, to limit the danger and trouble of drink. The action of the Free People, and particularly the servants of the Crown, thwarted and prevented the Prohibition Policy, deemed so necessary in the exceptional circumstances and times of New South Wales. After all, the official vendors of rum were eventually deprived of their corrupt position to do evil, and a better regulated liquor traffic was sanctioned by nobler principles, and by the public voice of the community.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS TO THE SOUTH.

THE spiritual condition of the *Great South Land's* inhabitants had moved the Christian hearts of some Europeans from the days of Magellan. As soon as the conversion of the American Caribs, Peruvians, Mexicans and others occupied the pious zeal of certain Catholic Orders, thought was turned to the then unknown people believed to dwell in the mysterious *Southern Land* of the far off Southern Seas.

When De Quiros, and his Captain, Torres, revealed the existence of the long dreamed of Territory, or the recognized outer fringe thereof, religiously called the *Holy Ghost Land*, an affecting appeal was made to the Spanish Emperor, Charles V., to claim it for the Church as a Mission ground.

It is, however, in the Marquis de Blossville's *Historie de la Colonization Pénale* that we have some touching references to this worthy object. It was shown that, in 1641, Athanasius Kircher declared that God would call a man to open the gates of Salvation to the Southern Nations. Paulinyer, Canon of Lisieux, descended from a native brought to Europe by Gonneville, hoped to be the man to establish a Mission in what he called *the Third World*.

The Marquis said:—"There is something touching in the thought, that he was fulfilling a sacred duty imposed by his nativity and his conscience. He addressed to the sovereign Pontiff the most urgent appeals, that America was evangelized under Alexander VI., and inferred that the Southern Countries should be so under Alexander VII. The worthy priest swells with indignation against the 'pretended apostles of America, those rough teachers, who plant the cross with the sword, who come like hungry wolves into the midst of the lambs.'" The Marquis assures us that St. Vincent de Paul warmly commended the schemes of the good Canon of St. Peter of Lisieux to evangelize Australia.

It should not be forgotten by British Protestants, that Roman Catholics have done good service in attempts to christianize the wild Natives of Australia, the Maories of New Zealand, and the Islanders of the Pacific.

It should not be forgotten that, when some priests of that Church, in 1786, volunteered their services, at no charge to Government, in order to keep alive the principles of religion in the hearts of the miserable men and women of their faith, about to be banished to Botany Bay, they were denied their earnest request, nor permitted to go to the great Island Gaol. It was enough to tell them that Government would have a paid Chaplain entrusted with the souls of people then holding varied creeds.

It should not be forgotten that, though for a number of years no minister but the paid Chaplains of one Church were sanctioned in teaching poor exiles from their own country, the ignorant wanderers of the forest were utterly neglected in their outer darkness.

But, thanks to the advance of a higher civilization, and

a more liberal spirit, Australia now enjoys not only perfect freedom of religious opinion, but every facility for bringing the good news to the coloured races.

Poor Mr. Johnson, from his want of health, and some lack of Christian charity, was not likely to interest himself in the Roman Catholics among his hearers, said to number four hundred in 1787, though none then brought direct from Ireland. It was sufficient for him that, according to his light, he preached the Gospel to them, whenever they were forced to attend his services; yet the authorities, as gaolers, rarely insisted upon attendances which they themselves so seldom gave. An Irish Priest, exiled for the affair of 1798, was permitted, for a short time, in 1804, to exercise his clerical functions, and then about twenty years passed before mass was again performed, under official jurisdiction.

CHAPTER XXX.

MEN HE MET AT BOTANY BAY.

WITH the officers of the Settlement, civil or military, our Chaplain could not have been said to have any intimacy. They met together, having only barrack tenements, in bachelor style. He had a home, with a wife and children there. His quiet, retiring habits unfitted him, apart from stricter views and tendencies of thought,

for association with the Colonial officials. This deprived him of sympathy from his equals in position, though he avoided something that might have been disagreeable.

There can be no doubt of the fact that he felt bitterly his own isolation, and was humiliated not less than grieved at the frequent absence of the authorities, civil and military, from his religious services. Part of the time the soldiers had their own regimental Chaplain, when attendance was required and given as official duty. But that, from the Governor downward, among the *Free*, absence from Church was the rule, and like negligence, following example, among the *Bond*, otherwise bound by terms of discipline to attend, must have been a painful trial to the preacher.

As seen elsewhere, his association with the returned, or runaway, Missionaries from Otaheite was also limited. He appears only connected with three of the number, though recognizing the worthy life of one, at least, resident at Parramatta, the station of his own colleague.

Among the convicts he was scarcely likely to make friends, though some of them had once moved in so-called good society, and were both refined in manners and cultured in conversation. He had, doubtless, a few who listened to his words with respect, and came somewhat under his pious influence. If not familiar with such, he held satisfactory communion with them. Yet he was conscious, too often, that, as these drifted upwards from bondage to stages of comparative freedom, he lost touch of them, in the general scramble for riches, if he were not tried by their lapse into the manners of their fellows.

There was one conspicuous figure in his day that might have attracted his attention, had he lived at Parramatta

and not at Sydney. This was the renowned GEORGE BARRINGTON, the gentlemanly London pickpocket, who had several times escaped legal conviction by the eloquence of his appeals to jurymen, and the personal influence which his polite demeanour brought to his aid.

Overtaken, at length, by justice, he was sentenced seven years to Botany Bay. On shipboard he was favoured, and on shore his conduct secured willing friends. However coarse and degrading the labour, he dignified it by his assiduity and attention. He was soon made a convict constable, and proved himself able and regular in duty, as considerate and courteous to offenders. He rose rapidly to be chief of the police at Parramatta, and the trusted of Authorities. By the short service of thirteen months, he was relieved of all badges of serfdom, and honoured by Governor Phillip with the Commission of the Peace.

If more prominent than others in official success, he was far surpassed by many in the acquisition of wealth, and the gaining of position by *Dollar* power in that community. There were those about Mr. Johnson in Sydney, whom he knew well as the companions of officers in trade and dissipation, but whose financial success did not blind him to their moral deficiencies, or raise them in his view above their former comrades in captivity.

But there were others, merely political offenders, who would not fail to arrest his attention.

First, there were the so-called *United Irishmen*, transported for attempted rebellion, or engagement in treasonable societies. They were but poor tillers of the soil, groaning less under tyranny than poverty, believers in the teaching that some outward political change would better their unhappy lot. Far be it from the writer to be

severe upon such sufferers, the victims of many centuries of intestine and tribal convulsions, and afterwards of the overshadowing by a more united people. Under their own native rulers, they were kept in ignorance and vassalage. Under Norman conquerors, they were still bound by the same fetters of tribal antiquity. Under a Parliament of Irishmen, they were oppressed in religion and freedom. Under attempted insurrection, after dreadful bloodshed, their fate was still dark and miserable.

The greatest troubles the infant Colony of New South Wales had to endure arose from the folly and brutality of the *United Irishmen*. It was a happy day for themselves when Colonial authority was established, having no just idea of freedom, and unable to trust in each others word and deed. Among such persons, alien in feeling and faith more than race, the Chaplain could find little common sentiment for friendship.

But the so-called *Scotch Political Martyrs* were very different persons; exiled for no outrage of public peace, never identified with deeds of violence, who had sought only by recognized constitutional means the restitution of liberties their fathers had known, and who required such changes of political laws as have been long since granted to their countrymen. English Reformers have erected a noble monument to their memory in a London Suburban Cemetery.

The five who were thus transported for sedition were Mr. Thomas Muir, an Edinburgh Lawyer; the Rev. Thomas Fysche Palmer, Unitarian Minister of Dundee, formerly a clergyman of the English Church; Mr. Maurice Margarot, of London; Mr. Skirving, and Mr. Gerald. These arrived in Sydney, September 25th, 1794. A Scotch Judge con-

demned them in Edinburgh. No one, in the Parliamentary Debate upon their fate, ever hinted of such a sentence if tried upon English law.

Both Skirving and the eloquent Gerald died in a few months, after receiving the kindest treatment from the Governor and all the officials. The others landed and were treated as gentlemen, being never ordered as convicts, but living at ease in their own homes. The Minister and Mr. Margarot fulfilled their terms of banishment, though only the latter lived to reach England in safety again, owing to the shipwreck and death of Mr. Palmer.

Mr. Muir's fate excited lively sympathy in America, where means were used to bring him secretly from the penal Colony. In his voyage, and afterwards, he experienced a variety of misfortunes, and was wounded in battle when on board a Spanish ship. Gaining the shore, he was invited to Paris by the French Republic, though dying of his wounds, in 1798. He received a public funeral in Paris.

Such men, who were honoured by the Governor, could not be accepted as friends by the official clergyman, for they were branded as seditious, but were, doubtless, respected by him, as they were true men. Mr. Muir was earnest in doing good; and, seeing the want of religious books, employed much of his time in copying out passages of scripture, and distributing these leaflets among the convicts. The influence of Mr. Palmer was exerted on the right side in Port Jackson.

The learned Unitarian was a friend of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsay of Essex Street Chapel, Strand. In a letter to him from Sydney, was contained this reference to the Chaplain, after the removal of Major Grose, the

Acting Governor, and the official enemy of the clergyman and of righteousness :—

“ On the first Sunday after Governor Hunter’s arrival, the Rev. Mr. Johnson, in his sermon, exposed the last Government, their extortion, their despotism, their debauchery and ruin of the Colony, driving it almost to famine by the sale of goods at 1,200 per cent. profit. He congratulated the Colony at the abolition of the military government, and the restoration of the civil one, and of the Law; and orders are thus given out that no officer shall sell any more liquor.”

Then, speaking of the new Governor, Captain Hunter, ever a friend of religion, freedom and the rights of the poor, he added, “ He, who is, I hear from all hands, a good man and their friend, is arrived, and the despotism and infamous monopolies of the last Government are no more.”

Brave words these from one so gentle and weak, uttered in the pulpit with the indignation of an aroused prophet of ancient Israel !

Mr. Palmer wrote of him, “ he is a dutiful son of the Church of England. He is a Moravian Methodist, and was bred, I believe, at Magdalen, Cambridge. I believe him to be a very good, pious, inoffensive man.”

Our Chaplain naturally, from residence at Port Jackson, became acquainted with the early explorers and voyagers. Governor Phillip made several explorations by land, as did also Governor Hunter. The latter had the satisfaction of finding a mob of wild cattle, descendants of the first stock, which fled into the forest soon after landing. The sight of the beautiful *Blue Hills* of the Interior inflamed the ambition of some, like Surgeon Bass, of H M. Ship *Reliance*, to penetrate the wooded thickets, and attempt the scaling of the picturesque sandstone Heights.

But the clergyman was brought into official connection with Captain Waterhouse of the *Reliance*, who first brought Merino sheep from the Cape to the Colony, and must have known well Lieutenant Flinders of that ship, who became so ardent a discoverer. He, doubtless, witnessed the departure of the little boat *Tom Thumb*, some nine feet long, in which the coasting trip was made by Flinders and Bass. He witnessed, in 1798, the departure of the small craft, *Norfolk*, of 40 tons, in which the *Tom Thumb* travellers breasted the waves of the previously unknown Strait between Van Diemen's Land and the Main of New Holland, and which was named after Dr. Bass. The Chaplain must have been a congratulator of the young men on their return from the first circumnavigation of the Island, now known as Tasmania.

Sea going vessels to India sighted the coal cliffs of the Hunter, the passage of Torres Straits, and new coast lands. The gradual increase of sheep and cattle called for extension of feeding ground, and led to the discovery of portions of the Interior; but little was known of New South Wales inland, beyond fifty miles of Sydney, until after the departure from the Colony of the Rev. R. Johnson.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHAPLAINS AS MAGISTRATES.

IN one respect there was a great difference between the two Chaplains. The first was distinctly mild-mannered, if not too gentle and retired a personage; the second, round headed and keen eyed, was impulsive if not rash, hasty, if not choleric, prompt in action, if not eager for the fray. Excited by what he deemed a wrong to the law, the church, or himself, he was ready to face any danger to defend a principle or meet a conflict.

Both, by virtue of their positions, were for years Justices of the Peace. The quieter man, in Sydney, would faithfully perform the civic duty required of him, but meddled not with politics proper, nor thrust himself forward in any social crisis. He of Parramatta, and quite conscientiously, in perfect agreement with his mental organization and temperament, was both watchful and enquiring in magisterial affairs, while as active in pursuit of wrong doers as decisive in penal inflictions.

Nothing of a rebellious character marked the very early years. It was only after the arrival of those who sought by force to remedy the ills of Ireland, that commotion was experienced. The *Defenders* and the *United Irishmen*, smarting under failure in Erin, carried to the seat of exile,

their implacable hatred of all Government, and entered into the wildest schemes of revenge in New South Wales and Norfolk Island.

In the last year of Mr. Johnson's stay, a conspiracy was discovered, and, as often so, revealed by Irish against Irish. The informer said another Irishman had told him that he was to gather the hidden pikes, that the soldiers were to be attacked when in the Parramatta Church, and that murder would then be let loose.

Upon this information, the Governor proclaimed Martial Law, and magistrates were required to make diligent search for the disaffected. The Rev. S. Marsden, J.P. was among the first in the saddle for the hunt, as the "horrible scheme" concerned his own district. We have an official letter of his, dated September 29th, 1800, which displayed more of the police than ecclesiastical character:—

"Sir,—We have not been able to come at any of the Pikes yet, whether we shall or no is uncertain. I think there will be sufficient evidence, before the whole is complete, to bring the matter to issue, and justify some severe examples of punishment. They are an unaccountable set of beings. It is difficult to prevail upon any of them who are accused to say a single word. We have a number confined, and probably shall see it necessary to send some of them down to Sydney to-day.

"We shall examine some more this morning.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) SAM'L. MARSDEN."

Had he been a rectorial Justice in England, after some half-starving poachers, his magisterial ardour might have been understood. But, as spiritual guide of such unhappy expatriated Irishmen, we might have wished some Christian

persuasive force were used. Yet, how could so zealous a partizan approach a set of ignorant, misguided Romanists, who were at times driven like sheep into his Sunday Sanctuary.

Of Mr. Johnson's part in this crusade after *United Irishmen*, we hear nothing. He may have used harsh language towards the murderer of his friend Mr. Clode, but he was impelled to anger the more on account of the soldier's base ingratitude. The first Chaplain was no hunter of men, although a justice, and no persecutor, though condemning error. Appointed a justice of the peace, by Governor Phillip, he was removed from office as Civil Magistrate, under the tyrannical military government of Colonel Grose, but reappointed at the solicitation of Governor Hunter, who had to transfer a military rule to a civil one in the Colony.

Mr. Thomas Arndell, as a Magistrate, gave Governor Hunter his opinion of the state of affairs under the late military government, which corroborated the testimony of the Chaplains. His letter came from Arthur's Hill, 25th July, 1798. A few extracts from the same will prove the Colonial disorder:—

“The departure of Governor Phillip was soon followed by a surprizing change; the wise and useful regulations he had so successfully adopted for the security and conservation of good order, and public peace, were in a moment almost annihilated, and a torrent of licentiousness bore down everything sacred and civil before it. Habitual drunkenness became the fashion of the times; the consequence was that crimes of every sort increased to an alarming degree, rapes and murders were not unfrequent.

“As no pains were taken to inspire a reverence for

religion, the Sabbath, instead of being passed by the people in attendance at Divine Service, was profaned as a day particularly appropriated to gaming, intoxication and the uncontrolled indulgence of every vicious excess. Such, sir, was truly the lamentable state of the Colony as to its moral and orderly conduct at the auspicious moment of your Excellency's arrival in 1795. The establishment of a civil police, extending through the several districts of the Colony, has powerfully operated to secure the peace and prosperity of the Settlers and inhabitants. Industry thrives, and is encouraged, with decent submission to the laws. In point of moral and civil order, it has been for the last three years infinitely superior to the years preceding."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ACTING GOVERNOR GROSE AND THE CHAPLAIN.

MR. MARSDEN's letter to Governor Hunter contains a serious indictment against the previous and Acting Governor, the first Chaplain's persecutor, and portrays the state of the Colony in the early days. The vehemence of reproach, and the extremely dark picture he has drawn, must be somewhat attributed to personal characteristics. The letter writer was rather over-sensitive as to the dignity and sacredness of his calling.

“PARRAMATTA, August 11th, 1798.

“Honoured Sir,—Having been directed by your Excellency to lay before you a statement of the immorality of this Colony prior to your arrival, I shall briefly submit a few particular facts upon which a general opinion may be founded. I am conscious no individual can truly represent the riot, dissipation, licentiousness and immorality which pervaded every part of the Settlement amongst the lower ranks of its inhabitants at the period in question. Gaming and drunkenness, and robberies and murders were common crimes. With due submission, I would appeal to your Excellency as an eye-witness and as a principal Magistrate, how the Colony was deluged with every species of sin and iniquity for several months after you landed at Port Jackson. These enormities shall partly be accounted for in what I now proceed to state.

“On my arrival at Sydney in March, 1793, I found my colleague, the Rev. Richard Johnson, involved in a serious quarrel with the Commander-in-Chief, then Major, now Colonel Grose. He complained of the opposition he met with in the line of his profession, and of the cruel treatment he had received from the Commander-in-Chief. My colleague represented, also, the licentious state of the Colony and the small hopes he entertained of any success in the reformation of the unfortunate prisoners, in consequence of the total neglect of all religion, and the great contempt cast upon his sacred office. I had not been long in the Settlement before I was convinced of the immoral state of its inhabitants, and that my colleague's representation was but too well founded. As a clergyman, I could not but feel for the people committed to our charge, being persuaded that all attempts to instruct them

in the duties of religion would be ineffectual, unless the police of the Colony was totally changed.

"The following facts I presume will be a sufficient foundation for the above persuasion. In consequence of this opposition and treatment my colleague received, his health was much impaired. On this account I was occasionally called from Parramatta to do duty at Sydney. One Sabbath, during time of Divine Service, in the morning, I was much interrupted by some of the prisoners breaking up ground near the Church. Service being ended, I remonstrated with the prisoners, pointed out to them the impropriety of their conduct in spending the time of Divine Service in manual labour, especially so near the Church. They seemed to treat my remonstrance with contempt; I, therefore, threatened to have them confined if they persisted to work in the evening. To my great mortification, these convicts had the audacity to persevere in their improper conduct till the evening. Divine Service being over, I applied to my colleague, he being a Civil Magistrate, to have them taken into custody for their open violation of the Sabbath, and contempt of me as a clergyman, and one of His Majesty's Officers. By his order they were immediately committed to prison. Their commitment was no sooner reported to the Commander-in-Chief, than he sent the Captain of the Guard to know the cause. I stated to him their whole conduct, and fearing lest any misunderstanding should take place, I immediately waited upon the Commander-in-Chief, and represented the prisoners' conduct to him also. He seemed displeased that they had been confined, and ordered them to be released. I told him I conceived there was just ground of complaint, as these men had

interrupted me in my public duty. He replied, the inhabitants of the Settlement had his permission to work upon the Sabbath, and begged I would never interfere again with the internal government of the Colony.

“From the sentiments expressed by the Commander-in-Chief upon this occasion, I was determined to prefer no more complaints, but to struggle with present difficulties till time and a change of Government should remove them. At the same time I could not but lament at the awful prospect (a prospect pregnant with every evil to the Colony) of seeing everything sacred and moral trampled upon. Such disrespect shewn to the sacred office of a clergyman, and such open violation of the Sabbath, countenanced in the Commander-in-Chief, could not fail of producing the most destructive effects upon the minds of such vicious persons as were transported to this place.

“The Lord’s day was spent by the principal part of the convicts, either in cabals, or labour, or gaming, or drunkenness, or robberies. If this unbounded licence granted by the Commander-in-Chief be maturely considered in all its serious and fatal consequences, I submit to your Excellency to draw the sad conclusion from the above premises. It is well known that all civilized nations have found it expedient for the maintenance of good government (waiving all other considerations) to inculcate upon the minds of their subjects a due respect for religion whether their national religion were false or true.

“Parramatta, the place of my residence, was no less a scene of everything immoral and profane. The Commanding officer there, Captain McArthur, was no more inclined to countenance a due respect for the Sabbath, than the Commander-in-Chief at Sydney. The Lord’s day was

generally spent in riot and dissipation by the Settlers, soldiers, and prisoners.

“The following melancholy circumstance will serve to show what was the state of order and morality at the time alluded to. One Sabbath day I had just done preaching, when a Settler came up to me and insulted me in the most daring manner. At that time he was in a state of intoxication. The Head Constable being present, I desired him to take the Settler, before Captain McArthur, there being no other magistrate at Parramatta. I immediately waited upon the Commanding Officer, and stated to him the Settler's improper conduct, and how riotous he had been in the camp that day, and requested he would have the goodness to confine him till he became sober, to prevent any more disturbance in the town. Instead of attending to my complaint, he considered it as vexatious, treated me unbecoming a gentleman, and dismissed the Settler in his state of inebriation.

“The consequence was, the second or third Sunday following, this same man was drinking in the camp as usual, when one of his companions stabbed him to the heart with a knife, of which wound he instantly expired. I was not informed when the murdered man was to be buried. Having learnt this by accident, I hastened to the place to perform the funeral rites; when, upon my arrival, I found his companions had buried him in the most beastly manner, after pronouncing the most horrid oaths, curses and imprecations over his corpse.

“I mention this circumstance to show your Excellency in what a hardened and profligate, and desperate state of mind the common people were. All idea of a Supreme Being, and respect for everything decent, moral and sacred,

seemed totally obliterated. Yet this was no more than might naturally be expected from such a description of mankind, when all, without exception, however infamous and abandoned, were allowed by those in authority to absent themselves from public worship, and to spend the Sabbath as their different passions and interests operated upon them.

“Being compelled, from a sense of duty, occasionally to represent to the Commanding Officer at Parramatta, the extent of excess and riot exhibited on the Sabbath in the open camp, in violation of all law, sacred and human, my representations were neglected, and my person insulted.

“Your Excellency cannot be ignorant, since your arrival, of Captain McArthur’s attempt, privately, to assassinate my character, and of his violent and shameful attacks publicly to ruin me for ever in the opinion of the inhabitants of this Settlement. Had his malicious intention succeeded, my authority and influence, and respect as a clergyman, must have been totally lost amongst them, and consequently my studies to instruct the people.

“It may seem a little indelicate for me to say, I feel a conscious security in my own integrity, and should have no reluctance to appeal to this Colony at large, how far I have acted correspondent to the dignity of my sacred office. Your Excellency will pardon this digression, when you reflect what an unfair advantage the above officer took of my situation to ruin my character and my peace of mind.

“There can be no part of His Majesty’s Dominions where the Clergy have been treated with so much neglect, and none where their influence and instructions have been

more necessary. I cannot but attribute to the neglect of public worship as a chief cause that idleness and prodigality, and excess and ruin, which have raged among the Settlers and prisoners. To show what subsequent ruin has come upon the Settlers and their families, I beg leave to refer your Excellency to those reports respecting their situation which I had the honour to lay before you in February last. It is not possible to exhibit a more convincing proof of the dissipation and immorality of this Colony than the beggary and ruin of this description of its inhabitants, who ought to be the strength and support of the Settlement. What I have now stated are well known facts, and I deem quite sufficient, without further enumeration, to furnish your Excellency with that information you require.

“Before I conclude this Paper, suffer me to express my gratitude for the happy change which has been made in the internal government of this Colony. Some months after your Excellency succeeded to the command of this Settlement, and had learnt from your own knowledge and observation the true state of its concerns, exertions were made to arrange its distracted affairs, and to establish order and subordination and quiet amongst the inhabitants. It is obvious the salutary effects of these exertions have been felt, more or less, in every district. The obstacles to order and subordination, and good government were, and have been, so great, that time and unwearied perseverance alone can remove them. Much, however, has been done since your Excellency's arrival, notwithstanding every opposition, to establish the prosperity and happiness of this Settlement upon a permanent foundation, the established laws of our country, and much still remains to be done.

“That every future attempt your Excellency may make to promote the general good, and to render these parts of His Majesty’s Dominions prosperous and happy, may be attended with success, is the prayer of

Your Excellency’s most obedient, etc.,

(Signed) SAMUEL MARSDEN.”

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR HUNTER, ETC.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HIS OFFICIAL TROUBLES.

THE peculiar trials and obstructions in his work, as Chaplain, are thus noticed in Mr. Johnson’s letter to Governor Hunter, dated Sydney, July 5th, 1798 :—

“I have received your Excellency’s letter of yesterday’s date ; and, in compliance with your request, I sit down to give you an answer as early as possible.

“Your Excellency, well knowing, however, the weak state I am in, and the afflictions I am labouring under for some time, will, I trust, have the goodness to excuse me entering into that length, in stating particulars, which otherwise I might do.

“Yourself, sir, being a kind of resident amongst us at the first formation of the Colony, and for some time afterwards, I need not state to you the plans adopted, and the

measures pursued by Governor Phillip, for the proper regulation and good order of the Colony, as well in a moral as civil point of view.

“Little or no alterations were made from these plans or measures, from the time you then left us, to that when Governor Phillip himself returned to England in December, 1792. Sometime previous to his going, I was, at his request, sworn in to act as a Civil Magistrate in your place, which duty I continued to perform until the time he left us, at which time the Colony was as peaceable, orderly and moral as could be expected, from such a description of people as the Colony was formed of.

“But no sooner had Governor Phillip left the Colony, than I was convinced that the plans or measures of Government were about to undergo an entire change. The Civil Magistrates, within two days, received an Order that their duty would in future be dispensed with, and from that time until your Excellency's arrival again in the Colony, everything was conducted in a kind of military manner.

“This, I believe, was the first step towards overturning all those attempts and endeavours that had hitherto been planned and pursued for the establishment of good order to be kept up amongst the different ranks and orders of the inhabitants of the Colony. Every Order that had been given, tending to promote morality and religion, seemed now to be laid aside, and fresh Orders issued, tending to banish whatever (in the opinion of a good and virtuous mind) is or ought to be first considered and promoted (and particularly in a Colony like this, where by far the major part of the inhabitants are lost to all sense of virtue, and abandoned to every species of wickedness),

viz., a reverence for the Supreme Being, and a strict observance of all His just and righteous precepts. But the case was much otherwise; for, within a month after Governor Phillip was gone, I received an order to perform Divine Service at six o'clock in the morning. A quarter before seven *The Tattoo* (as it was called) beat off for relieving the guard, so that I had barely three-quarters of an hour allowed me to go through the Church service, and this was all that was required for the day.

"I beg leave here to give your Excellency an anecdote that happened one Sunday morning at that time. I had got up at daybreak, as usual, to be ready in time to perform public service. At six o'clock the drum beat for Church. I met the soldiers at the place appointed, in the *open air*. Before I began, I heard the Drum Major give directions to two drummers to beat off at ten minutes or a quarter before seven as usual. Suspecting what was going on, I looked at my watch, read *part* of the Morning Service; then (without any singing) gave out my text, and had gone through about half of my discourse, when the drum beat, and the soldiers instantly got up, took their arms, fell into their ranks, and marched away. Judge you, sir, what must have been my astonishment and concern. I looked round, and saw about half-a-dozen convicts standing behind me, but (such were my feelings upon this occasion) I could not go on with my discourse, and therefore returned home, greatly distressed in my mind, at such barefaced profanation and infidelity.

"What I have above stated, your Excellency may conceive was a most effectual step to throw aside all regard or reverence for the Sabbath day, and to render all public solemn worship utterly contemptible. And such

were the bad effects, which this strange kind of an Order, and not less strange and unaccountable kind of conduct, produced. Seldom more than ten or twenty convicts (and sometimes scarcely any except my own servants) ever attended public service. The generality of them at the time were either asleep or in their hammocks, or sitting in their huts, or otherwise gone out to work for officers or other individuals. Spirituous liquor was the most general article and mode of payment for such extra labours, and hence in the evening, the whole camp has been nothing else often but a scene of intoxication, riot, disturbance, &c.

“Gaming was no less prevalent at the same time. Many of them I have myself detected at this work, both as I have gone to and returned from Church. Sixteen men were at one time detected by one of the constables within a hundred yards of the Church, and at the time I was preaching, numbers of them have gamed away the clothes off their back, and the very provisions served them from the public stores, for weeks and months before they became due.

“Hence so many flagrant and daring robberies that were committed at that time, seldom a night passed but in morning some fresh depredations were heard of; neither have I escaped these nightly visitors. Twice has my house been broken open, once through the wall, brick and half thick, and once through the tiling, and both times I was robbed of property to a considerable amount, which I had purchased for the use and comfort of my family.

“In this way things went on from bad to worse, and from worse to worse still, until (I will not say all vital religion and godliness, but) even almost all common morality, and even decency, was banished from the Colony.

“Seeing, my dear sir, such gross immoralities, depredations, drunkenness, riots, and even murders, daily committed ; seeing these becoming more open and flagrant, and seeing no steps taken to put a check or stop to such shameful and horrid proceedings, I could not forbear complaining and remonstrating against them. But all such complaints and remonstrances answered no other end than to add to the insults and pointed opposition I had already experienced in the performance of my public duty, and to oppress me the more in my domestic concerns.

“I cannot forbear giving your Excellency another instance of the most gross opposition I met with at that time. Once when a Criminal Court was held, there were two men sentenced to suffer death. The same afternoon I visited them in their lonely cells and intended to visit them again in the evening. The serjeant of the Guard called at my house the same evening with a request from the prisoners that I would spare them a candle. I sent one by my servant, and desired him to inform the serjeant that I would come to the prisoners in a few minutes. In less than half-an-hour the Serjeant came to my house a second time, brought back part of the candle, and informed me that he had received orders not to admit any person to see or speak to the prisoners, except Mr. Bain, *Chaplain to the Corps*. This message surprized me not a little.

“The Rev. Mr. Marsden was then arrived at the Colony, and was with me in the room at the time, and was under no less surprize than myself. We then agreed to go to the guard house together. We called for the Serjeant, begged he would repeat the message which he had before delivered at my house, which he did nearly in the same words. I replied, ‘I suppose, Serjeant, you know who we

are,' and asked if we could not be permitted to see and speak to the two men that were to suffer. He answered that he knew us very well, but that such were his instructions, that he could not admit us. We then returned home, when I immediately wrote a letter to the Lieutenant Governor, but received no answer.

"The next morning the Order for their execution was brought to me, that at such a time the two prisoners were to suffer, and that at their request, he had ordered Mr. Bain to attend them. All this was a fabricated falsehood, as I will prove by incontestible evidence by a person who was permitted to visit them, and who asked them several times whether they had ever made such a request, when both of them positively and frequently declared they never had; that they were surprized I had never been with them, and expressed (particularly the morning on which they suffered), an anxious wish to see me.

"I will give your Excellency another instance. A convict and his wife came one morning to my Church, and on their return home they met one of the constables, who asked them why they had not been to Church. They said they had been there. 'Where?' 'To hear Mr. Johnson.' The constable replied, 'Don't you know you are forbidden to go there?' He then threatened to have them punished if they did the like again.

"Had I time, my dear sir, would my health permit, and would it not be carrying my answer to your letter to a greater length than may be convenient, or intended for your purpose, I would readily give your Excellency a more full and particular account of the various difficulties, insults, oppositions, oppressions which I at the time above alluded to have experienced. But I forbear, this being

not altogether answerable to the purport of your letter, which is, not to give a detail of my peculiar situation or trials, but a general statement of the Colony, both before and since your arrival in it, in that high and important office you now sustain; neither would I, believe me, sir, have said so much respecting myself, but as I have been compelled to do so, this being so closely (I may say), inseparably connected with the general tenor or purport of your letter.

“I, therefore, only beg leave to inform your Excellency, that I have at different times given my friends in England full and ample information upon this general, and to me, painful subject. Either his Lordship, the Bishop of London, or Mr. Wilberforce, I believe, is at this time in the possession of those papers; and if your Excellency has any wish that those papers may be produced, as likely to answer any end or purpose you intend, I will readily write both to his Lordship, and my friend, upon the subject.

“If, sir, more evidence is necessary to prove the authenticity of what I have stated, either in the papers I have just mentioned, or in the lines I am now writing to you, I can likewise appeal to the Rev. Mr. Marsden, my assistant, who arrived in the Colony at the time public matters were thus conducted, and those immoralities were committed, and who, as well as myself, has often been shocked to see the Colony in such a state of disorder and confusion. But your Excellency need only recollect, and seriously reflect upon the general state of the Colony upon your arrival, and I am persuaded that all papers or appeals I could produce would be rendered unnecessary. The same immoral and licentious practices were then

committed, and were not got the better of, but by much patience, great exertion, and unwearied perseverance. And, yet, after all that has been done, I believe your Excellency is aware that much yet remains to be done, before the Colony be restored to that order and subordination, which is so highly requisite to good government, that is, for the prosperity of the Colony in general, and the happiness of individuals in particular.

“I hope, however, that the steps your Excellency has already taken, and are daily taking, will be attended with the much to be desired consequences of producing some order out of so much confusion, some reformation and morality out of so much abounding licentiousness and irreligion, yet has so long prevailed in, and almost overspread the Colony. Your having, sir, re-established the Civil Magistrates to the execution of their duty; your causing proper and substantial buildings to be erected as places of confinement and punishment of those vagrants as seek to disturb the public peace; your appointing a Night-watch, both in the camp and in the different districts throughout the Colony; the lenity you have shown to some, and the severity you have seen necessary to exercise towards others; in short, the various Orders you have issued, and the different regulations you have made, have, I hope, in some degree, already checked the abounding iniquity that once prevailed. And I would further hope (arduous and painful as your present situation may appear to be, and really is), ere you quit the Colony, that your continued, resolute exertions in pursuing those measures which you have adopted, you will have the happiness to see your exertions have not been rendered fruitless.

“Bear with me, my dear sir, whilst I add, that ever since our first arrival at, and first formation of the Colony, viz., for now nearly eleven years, it has been uniformly my sincere wish and endeavour, as well by precept as example, to promote the general peace and happiness of the Colony, and to the best of my knowledge I never deviated from, or disobeyed any Order given me, however contrary it might be to my own private sentiments, or painful to my feelings. I have equally endeavoured to inculcate the same kind of moral conduct upon the minds and consciences of others, an inward consciousness of thus having endeavoured to discharge my duty has ever afforded me matter of consolation, in the midst of all the insults, oppression, etc., I have met with, as well as under those bodily afflictions and infirmities I now feel, which I ever did, and shall, attribute to that illiberal and severe treatment I sometime past experienced.

“I should be happy, sir (should it please God to restore me to enjoy better health) to remain some time longer in the Colony, and to unite, according to my abilities, and agreeable to my office and station, whether as a Minister or a Civil Magistrate, in my endeavours for the public weal. At present, however, I have but little such hopes and expectations. The attacks of my complaints are both frequent and severe, and every relapse leaves me still weaker and weaker. All I can do at present is to pray for you, that the Supreme Being may give you that wisdom, patience, courage and other virtues so necessary to govern in a situation like yours, and that the Almighty may bless and succeed your wishes and endeavours to the prosperity and happiness of the place and persons, over

which you are appointed to govern. With such sincere wishes and fervent prayers for you, believe me, etc.

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON."

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN HUNTER, Esq.

This rather hysterical letter, from the gentle and oversensitive Chaplain, is not more a detail of personal wrongs and public evils, than a vindication of Captain Hunter's Government against the envenomed shafts of the military faction. It is to be regretted that the slanderers succeeded in their object, for the friend of the Chaplain was discourteously removed from his post.

The Governor's exertions to bring out a better state of things appear in his letter to the Duke of Portland, the Minister of State, dated June 10th, 1797. Extracts therefrom are:—

"It being now the unreserved opinion of all ranks (except those whose private interest it may be to wish for a continuation of confusion and profligacy) that from the regulations I have had the good fortune to establish, our police is now such that we have no disturbances or cries of alarm in the night. A proper respect is paid to the Sabbath day."

In his despatch of November 1st, 1798, he refers to the burning of the Church and Schoolroom, and mentions his fitting up of a storehouse for Sunday Services. Then he added:—

"My support of the Clergy, and the countenance which they are entitled to, and which, as a most necessary and essential part of that Civil Police, they will always receive from me, has not been much relished by the Colony at large, because order and morality were not the wish of its inhabitants."

The official troubles of the Chaplain were not imaginary ones.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CLERICAL CHURCH BUILDER.

At length, the patience of the long waiting Chaplain was exhausted. Excuses continued for delaying the Church. He saw his people suffering, he knew his own health suffered, from the exposure in all weathers, and he resolved upon action. He himself would build a Church.

Instead of going round to solicit subscriptions for the purpose, he made it a personal matter. Allowed by law a couple of convict servants, he could employ them. He could enlist the services of others after they had completed their task for the day. Trees could be felled, and roughly trimmed for posts. The woods provided their branches for wattle work between the posts. The damp earth could be plastered on the wattles to form a rude but weather proof wall. The roof could be thatched.

Only a little money would be needed for nails, hinges, etc., dear enough in the primitive store of the period. A few, a very few, things could be borrowed or begged of the Commissary. As to the labourers, he could pay them

in extra rations, and a few luxuries, as clothing, liquor, and tobacco.

So to work he went, and with an energy and resolution that must have astonished those who had seen him wait so long. Judge Advocate Collins says "he chose the situation of it at the back of the huts on the east side of the Cove. The front was 73 feet by 15, and at right angles with the centre projected another building 40 feet by 15. The edifice was constructed of strong posts, wattle, and plaster." He tells us, "Sunday was distinguished only by the riot and debauchery with which it was marked."

Bennet's "Australian Discovery and Settlement," affirms that the day of opening this unique Colonial Church was August 25th, 1793. It was begun on the 10th of June. A week after it was opened, the Minister wrote the following official letter to the Under Secretary of State in London:—

SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

September 3rd, 1793.

"HONBLE. SIR,—As Chaplain to this distant Colony, I humbly beg leave to state to you these following circumstances: viz., that from my first arrival in this country, which was at the first formation of the Settlement, I trust I have at all times endeavoured to discharge the various duties of my sacred function with fidelity and diligence.

"That in doing this, I have hitherto met with many and great inconveniences.

"That publick works of different kinds have been, and still continue to be, so urgent that no place of any kind has yet been erected, for the purpose of performing Divine Service.

“That my own health has been greatly exposed and at times not a little injured by these means.

“That for the same reason (I mention it with sincere concern) there has been too general and repeated neglect shewn to publick worship.

“That in these and such like considerations, I have at length deemed it advisable, and even expedient, on my own accord, and account, to run up a temporary shelter, which would serve the above important purpose until a better can be provided.

“That I have, to save expence, gone upon as reasonable and rough a plan as possible, that I have, since I began this work, devoted the principal part of my time to it, and have exerted myself to the utmost to get it completed.

“That I began this building on the 10th of June last, and have just at this time got it finished.

“That the Building which I have erected will seat about five hundred people, and hold one hundred more when necessary.

“That I have given in an estimate of the whole expence to his Honour, the Lieutenant Governor the real amount of which has been upwards of sixty-seven pounds, sixty pounds of which I have paid in Spanish dollars, and the remainder in provisions at or under prime cost.

“I humbly trust, sir, that what I have done will meet with your approbation, that it will be a means of rendering my own situation more comfortable than it hitherto has been, and also, of inducing these unhappy people, whose reformation I do so ardently wish to see, to attend more willingly and, consequently, more regularly, upon the solemn and public worship of God.

“I beg leave, sir, to apologize for intruding so much

upon your time, when matters of much weightier moment are daily coming before you ; but conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, and fully aware of the expediency of what I have done, in the above affair, I have been induced to take this freedom.

“ I have the honour, etc.,

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.”

The Under Secretary of State, when receiving this letter, may have been somewhat ashamed for the delay of Government in providing a Church, for such a class of people as those banished by the State to so distant and savage a region. One would suppose no other Christian Government of Europe could have been so heedless.

Yet this appeal was pigeon-holed, as of no immediate import. There must be further and stronger appeals before action could be taken.

The Chaplain, who had been reputed, and justly so, as a man of a meek and quiet spirit, submitting to injuries rather than resenting them, now entered into a conflict, and that with one who, for some reasons, had been unduly prejudiced against him.

When Governor Phillip retired from the Government, wearied out with the opposition he encountered from his own officials, and particularly from the officers of the New South Wales Corps, with their Commander, Major Grose, as a chief conspirator, he was succeeded in the rule of the Colony by Major Grose, afterwards Lieut. Colonel, who had been previously appointed Lieutenant Governor.

This gentleman had been the means of forming the Corps, as a private venture, though under the authority of the War Office. He went about enlisting persons, on the

security of receiving the command of the Force as Major, with the right of disposing of certain positions, as subalterns and captains, for his individual profit. Such an organisation, so constructed, became, by sheer audacity and corruption, the one dominant power in the Colony. They controlled, by highly improper means, the existing channels to wealth and influence—the seizure of lands, and the possession of all avenues of trade, particularly the traffic in spirituous liquors. Their only difficulty in the way of absolute reign was the Governor himself, who honestly sought to carry out the views of the British Ministry.

To secure their ends, it was essential that they worry Captain Phillip out of the Colony, and they succeeded. They pursued the same tactics with his successors, resisting their orders, maligning their official characters, obstructing the public service, sending home reports alike mendacious and slanderous, and employing threats against the more peaceably disposed inhabitants.

In this way, they ruined the reputation and happiness of the good Governor Hunter, made Governor King's existence one of unceasing annoyance and distress, and ultimately raised a rebellion against Governor Bligh, which brought on their own final destruction as a Colonial influence.

Such was the power against which the Chaplain had now to contend, and with which he struggled for several years with a courage and tenacity never supposed to belong to his nature. In fact, without intending it, he had placed himself at the head of disaffection, and fought for the oppressed and down-trodden of his poor parishioners, not less than for his own hand.

He had built this Church as a protest against utter indifference, or worse conduct, of the ruling military party. When, however, it was completed, he thought it within his right to present to the Acting-Governor an account of its expense.

This was done, not merely to show how a building could have been erected by the authorities at so small a cost, but because he had a legal claim to recover for the outlay. It was the duty of the State to provide a shelter for the worshippers, especially as the guardian of poor prisoners, and no obligation upon a Chaplain on a small salary and his rations ; so, he sent this letter to the Major :—

“SIR,—I have taken the liberty of giving you an estimate of the expenses which I have lately been at, in erecting a temporary place of worship at Sydney.

“I also request the favor of you to transmit the enclosed letter to the Right Honble. Henry Dundas, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.

“I am, etc.,

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.”

Major Grose, in forwarding that letter, chose to give his views of the transaction in a despatch to Mr. Dundas, dated Sydney, September 4th, 1793 :—

“SIR,—At the desire of the Rev. Mr. JOHNSTON (wrongly spelling the name) I have the honor to forward a letter written by himself, to request that some expenses he has been at in erecting a house for the purpose of public worship be reimbursed him.

“I cannot pass over this business without observing that Mr. JOHNSTON, who is one of the people called *Methodists*, is a very troublesome, discontented character. His charge for the church is infinitely more than it ought

to have cost, and his attempt to make a charge of it at all surprises me exceedingly ; for, on his applications to myself for a variety of little articles, with which he has been furnished from the stores, he has invariably stated, that, as he was building this church at his own expense, he hoped to be obliged, and on this account generally was accommodated with whatever he came to ask.

“In compliance with this request, I have enclosed the estimate of his expenses, but I beg not to be understood as at all meaning to countenance his application.

“I have, etc.

(Signed) FRANS. GROSE.”

RIGHT HONBLE. HENRY DUNDAS.

If a glance be given at the curiously constructed Bill, it would appear that no charge was rendered for articles from the Commissariat Stores, but mainly for labour. This was met by some cash, Spanish dollars, British money being very scarce in the Colony, and the rest in salt beef, salt pork, flour, tea, tobacco, and 20 gallons of spirits, then the circulating medium. Mr. Johnson was very minute in his bookkeeping.

A *fac simile* of this remarkable document is herewith presented.

The spirit of the Acting Governor is illustrated in an acknowledgment of a despatch, commending the newly arrived Assistant Chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, to his protection. The letter was addressed to Mr. Dundas, and dated 29th April, 1794:—

“Your instructions relative to the Rev. Mr. Marsden I shall particularly attend to, and it has always been my wish to make the clergymen as comfortable as I could. I have, however, not always received the most grateful

return, and was it not in pity to a large family, I should represent the disorderly behaviour of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, from whom I have received treatment very unbecoming his character as a clergyman to offer, and not very consistent with my situation to put up with."

Again, when in July, 1794, he was giving Mr. Dundas particulars of Colonial affairs, he adds a fresh bit of his ill-will:—

"Amongst the buildings that have been erected since the departure of Governor Phillip, a Church has been built that will contain a congregation of three hundred persons. I mention this circumstance particularly, because I am given to understand that the Rev. Mr. Johnston, who is really a most troublesome character, has endeavoured to persuade the Archbishop of Canterbury that ecclesiastical matters are not at all attended to, and that there is no place for public worship, excepting a building put up at his own expence."

As his application, endorsed with such commentaries from Major Grose, brought no satisfaction to the Minister, Mr. Johnson wrote again to Mr. Dundas, August 7th, 1794:—

"In a letter, dated September, 1793, I acquainted you that I had on my own accord, erected a place of worship and also stated to you my reasons why I did so.

"I have since learned that the Lieutenant Governor transmitted a letter home to you at the same time, wherein he has thought proper to disapprove of what I have done, and to speak of me in terms which I conceive I do not deserve.

"This, together with some subsequent differences that have arisen, has induced me to write home more fully

upon the subject. These papers I have transmitted to my honoured friend Mr. Wilberforce, to whom I beg leave to refer you for what information you may wish upon the subject.

“I am truly sorry that ever any differences of this kind should have arisen, and have ever studiously wished and endeavoured to avoid them. For this reason, had I been aware that my building a place of worship would have been the cause of such differences, I should never have acquainted you with what I have done. And, even yet, though I have made application, if it should be thought that I have acted improperly I neither desire nor require any compensation for what I have done.

“As to other disputes and differences that have happened, I must submit to your judgment, and the judgment of others, my superiors, whether I have been the aggressor, or whether I have been unavoidably brought into them by the severe and oppressive treatment I have met with, and shall endeavour to wait, and cheerfully submit to the issue.

“I am, etc.,

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.”

THE RIGHT HONBLE. HENRY DUNDAS.

It is much to be doubted whether the upright and really considerate Mr. Dundas ever saw this letter, as no notice was taken of it. This seemed to imply some suspicion entertained at Downing Street respecting the clergyman's character, and led the latter to write a longer and plainer letter to Mr. Dundas :—

“SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

April 8th, 1794.

“SIR,—In a letter dated the 3rd of September last, I

took the liberty of acquainting you that I had, on my own accord, erected a temporary place of worship, and in the same letter assigned my reasons for so doing.

"The above letter, together with an estimate of the expense, I put into the hands of the Lieutenant Governor, and requested that he would transmit the former to you.

"To my great surprize, I have since then been informed that, together with my letter, Major Grose has thought good to send you another, in which, instead of approving of, he has reprobated my conduct in this affair, and has also spoken of me in terms disrespectful and injurious to my character. Whether there was anything in my letter that merited such uncivil treatment, you, Sir, will be the best judge.

"As matters have, however, been thus stated, I think myself justified, nay, I feel myself compelled to give you another letter, and therein to write to you in a manner more open and unreserved.

"Major Grose is pleased to represent me as '*a discontented and troublesome character.*' He has not, however, signified in what respects, or for what reasons, I am so. However, since he has thus asserted the charge, I will, should this be true, endeavour to produce my reasons.

"Soon after Governor Phillip left the Colony, Major Grose gave out an Order for Divine Service to be performed at six o'clock in the morning, which Order though for various reasons not meeting my ideas, I strictly attended to.

"One morning, as I was going through the service, I was interrupted first, by the improper conduct of two soldiers, and soon after by the beat of a drum, when

instantly the Corps took their arms, got into their ranks, and marched away. I had then been barely three-quarters of an hour in the whole service, and was then about the middle of my discourse.

“Such strange and unprecedented conduct induced me to write to the Major, and to make a serious complaint of such improper proceeding, which I believe was the first thing that gave offence. But, whether being thus interrupted in the discharge of my duty, I had not sufficient reason to make a complaint, or, whether my conduct herein can be considered as any way criminal or improper, I submit, sir, to your consideration, I have consulted the Canons of the Church of England, and to them I would refer you, whether such conduct, as has been shown upon this occasion, is by any means justifiable or proper.

“The next circumstance which I believe has given offence was my building a place of worship. My reasons for doing so I have stated to you in a former letter; and whether my conduct in what I have done deserves censure, or merits condemnation (after having waited for five years and a half, and no prospect of any place being about to be built for this purpose), this, also, I do humbly submit, sir, to your impartial and candid consideration.

“Some time after I had built the Church, I made application for a Sexton, an old man, to ring the bell, to keep the Church clean, and to see that there was proper order and decency during the time of Divine Service. This request, though both reasonable and necessary, was denied me, though I then signified that this was the general custom throughout England, and I may say, is common amongst all nations.

“The burying ground is at a considerable distance from the Camp, and when I have gone to bury a corpse, it has often happened that the grave has been to alter, and sometimes make, on which account I have had to wait for half-an-hour, and sometimes longer, all this time exposed to heat or rain, and without any shelter or shade to cover me, and there being no one appointed for the purpose of digging a grave.

“From these different circumstances, you may judge, sir, whether I have not sufficient reason to be discontented. The soldier, it seems, is properly supplied with his regimentals, the surgeon has an hospital provided for his patients, and is supplied with medicines. Persons bearing other offices are furnished with what is needful for them to do their duty, and, for the same reason, I do not see why a clergyman should be denied what is necessary for him in the discharge of his duty. But such has been all along my situation, that I have neither had *Church* nor *Clerk*, (except my own free servant who fills up this place at Sydney), nor *Sexton*, for want of which convenience and assistance I have seen it needful to complain. But whether there was any impropriety of my making application for all this, I must, and do, humbly appeal to you.

“It was this last circumstance that gave rise to an unhappy difference that has taken place between the Lieutenant Governor and myself. When refused this request, so just, reasonable and necessary, I could not forbear signifying that I conceived myself extremely slighted, and that, as Chaplain to the Colony, I had reason to expect greater support. This occasioned some warm dispute and altercation, when some ill-natured and ill-founded reflections were thrown out upon me, which I

trust and flatter myself, my general mode of conduct has not merited.

“The treatment which I have met with since the above difference happened, has been all along very uncivil and severe, an instance or two of which I now beg leave to mention.

“Some time since there were four hundred acres appointed and measured out as Church land. This, a very short time before Governor Phillip left us, I had begun to clear, with the assistance of two or three men. Soon after, grants were given to the different officers, and *ten* men (some I believe had more) allowed to each officer to clear and cultivate their ground. I then thought it both proper and reasonable to apply to the Lieutenant Governor for more assistance, to clear the ground belonging to the Church, which request he refused to grant me; and, at the same time, signified that if I chose to resign my claim to the Church land, I should have a grant the same as others, otherwise he did not feel disposed to allow me any further assistance whatever.

“This circumstance, sir, induced me to write to you upon the subject. A grant of a hundred acres was then given me, and seven men more to assist in clearing and cultivating it.

“In consequence of a promise then made me (*viz.*, providing I made an opening of fifty acres before the end of November, I should have a cow), besides the assistance allowed me, I have laid out upon my ground considerably above one hundred pounds. But, instead of this promise being made good to me, all my men, domestics included, at a moment's warning, were taken away last November, except two, whilst all the other officers have to this time

the same indulgence and assistance allowed them, and three married officers of the Corps have had each a cow given them.

“In consequence of my men being taken from me, I have been obliged to take four men off the Store, to whom I have to pay at the rate of forty shillings per week, and, after all, my corn is exposed to perpetual depredations for want of proper assistance to protect it.

“I humbly conceive, sir, that my station, office and standing in the Colony (as well as situation with a wife and two dear and tender infants), entitle me to the same indulgence as was given to others: but whether such indulgence has been given me, you may judge from the above circumstances, having only *two* men allowed to me, whilst some have near twenty.

“I should not, however, be understood to ground any complaint upon the circumstance last mentioned, for whatever indulgences I meet with in these respects, I hope I am thankful. But when not properly supported in my office, and refused that assistance which, in order to do my duty, is absolutely needful, then I conceive I have a right to complain; and, whether my complaint herein be not well founded, from what I have above stated, I must again beg leave to submit to your consideration.

“I am properly aware, sir, of the subordinate station I hold in the Colony under Major Grose, as the Lieutenant Governor, neither am I conscious of ever once refusing to comply with the Orders which he has given, nor of being wanting in paying to him that respect and deference, which his superior and exalted station entitles him to, till he, seemingly having forgotten those mutual duties, which I conceive either do, or ought to, subsist, between a

Governor and a Clergyman, has treated me in a manner which I am sure my sacred office, and, I am persuaded, my general conduct, has never merited.

“As it is probable, however, that you may have some circumstances stated to you from another quarter, wherein my conduct may be represented in a light unfavorable and prejudicial, I trust you will suspend your judgment or opinion till you have seen, read, and examined both sides of the question.

“I have, for this reason, deemed it both proper and necessary (though, owing to my present situation and indisposition, I have found this attended with some inconvenience), to write a true and full statement of the whole affair to my friends. I have also written to his Lordship, the Bishop of London, to whom I have taken the liberty of enclosing your letter, at the same time requesting that, should it seem necessary, his Lordship would condescend to make application for the above papers, thereby to examine, whether my conduct has in any way or degree merited that severe treatment which I have met with.

“Should you, then, sir, see it needful, or should you find leisure or inclination to make further enquiry as to these different and, I am sorry to add, disagreeable circumstances (which I have ever endeavoured to avoid), I beg leave to refer you to his Lordship, and to the papers which I have mentioned, and after a fair and impartial examination has been made of what I have therein stated, I shall cheerfully submit to your and his Lordship’s judgment and decision upon the business.

“I again beg leave to apologize for intruding so much upon your time and patience, and am, etc.,

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.”

THE RIGHT HONBLE. HENRY DUNDAS.

This long letter was prepared under a deep sense of the wrongs the Church had received through his own persecution by Major Grose, and under the not too scrupulous Military Régime.

Though not a Thomas à Becket in spirit of resistance, he had not failed personally to rebuke the Lieutenant Governor for ill-natured and unfounded reflections upon his ministerial office, and the petty feeling exhibited toward him in the withholding of aid tendered to officials of like grade with himself.

Not a wealthy man, he had endeavoured to support his increasing family under most trying circumstances. He had to make needful purchases, out of his very poor salary, and had to pay for articles several hundreds per cent. above a proper valuation, through the cupidity and extortion of the very soldier-traders, whose enmity he had incurred by a denunciation of their vices, and their oppression of the poor. His efforts for the relief of his family, by some spare time devoted to the cultivation of the ground, were derided as derogatory to the cloth, and that by men who ever abstained from his Ministry.

At last the rampant tyranny of these commercial military men was held in check awhile by the arrival of a new Governor, Captain Hunter, upon whom these wolves of the community would be soon loosened. To him the long-suffering Chaplain made an appeal. This was written toward the end of 1795, though personal representation had been before made, without, apparently, the Governor's ability to render assistance.

"SIR,—I beg leave to state to you the following circumstances, viz., that after having made repeated applications, first to Governor Phillip, and afterwards to

Major Grose, the late Lieutenant Governor, for a place of worship to be erected, and there being no prospect of my applications being complied with, I was at length (after being in the Colony for about five years and-a-half) induced and resolved to erect a temporary place for that purpose.

“That when I had completed the undertaking, I laid before the Lieutenant Governor an estimate of the expences, requesting that he would transmit the same to the Honourable Mr. Dundas, not doubting but these expences would be refunded.

“But from letters which I have lately received from some respectable friends, some doubts have arisen in my mind, whether the application and request which I have made will be complied with

“After having declared that my sole intention in undertaking and accomplishing this business was for the good of the Service, I submit to you, sir, whether there could be anything unreasonable or improper in my making such a request and application.

“Should my conduct in what I have done meet with your approbation, I humbly request, sir, that you make such a representation of this affair to His Majesty’s Ministers, that these obstacles, which have unexpectedly arisen, may be removed.

“I have taken the liberty of enclosing to you, in brief, an estimate of the expense which I have been at in the above affair, and am, etc.,

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.”

SYDNEY, December 10th, 1795.

To His Excellency JOHN HUNTER, Esq., Governor, etc.

An estimate of the expenses in building a Temporary Place of Worship at Sydney, New South Wales, in the year 1793:—

	£	s.	d.
From June 10th to September the 3rd, Paid in various articles of necessaries to the amount of ...	7	15	2½
And from the 15th of June to the 19th of September, paid in cash	59	18	0
	<hr/>		
	£67	13	2½

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.

Meanwhile, his own private letters to English friends began to take effect. It was a very slow time. The excitement of war with France had done a little to move the Country, though soon to stir society to its very depths. But, generally, folks took their time about things, even as to answering letters. At last good Mr. Wilberforce made an appeal to his friend, the Minister, in which he stood up kindly and firmly against the evil words of Major Grose, writing:—

“MY DEAR DUNDAS,—As it may be longer than I expected before I have the pleasure of seeing you, and in the interim Captain Hunter may have sailed, I take up my pen, meaning to detain you as little as I can, on the subject of New South Wales. Mr. Johnson, the Chaplain, has transmitted me the copy of a letter you must have received from him, wishing me to mediate with you, for its favourable reception. However, when I tell you that he is one of the worthiest men breathing, the most active, the most humble, and at the same time very little acquainted

with the world, I trust I have said enough to excuse the step he has taken, and to obtain his reimbursement. In truth, £67 for a Church is rather a more moderate charge than Government, I believe, is used to, and I know from his private letters that he worked very hard with his own hands, and often by night as well as by day."

This turned the scale. In a despatch to Governor Hunter from Whitehall, January, 1797, occur these words:—

"If you are satisfied Mr. Johnson's account of the expenses he has incurred in the erection of a temporary place of worship is correct, I see no objection to your disbursing him the amount by a Bill on the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury."

But a new trouble came for the Chaplain. The First Church of Australia, his own erection, was consumed with fire. That catastrophe took place on the first of October, 1798. This is the account sent to London, November 1st, by Governor Hunter:—

"About a month past, some wicked and disaffected person, or persons, in consequence of a strict Order which I saw it absolutely necessary to issue, for compelling a decent attention to Divine Service, and a more soberly and orderly manner of spending the Sabbath day, took an opportunity of a windy and dark evening, and set fire to the Church."

The Governor immediately offered a reward of thirty pounds to discover the perpetrator of the deed, but without gaining any information. He did what he could for the distressed and mortified clergyman, and fitted up a large storehouse, just erected, for the use of the congregation.

The conflagration lasted but an hour. The children, to the number of from 150 to 200, had regularly used the building as their school, under the immediate supervision of the Pastor, the teachers being male and female convicts.

The Right Rev. Dean Kenny, of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Sydney, rather hastily wrote this version of the affair many years after :—

“But can anyone be surprised at its being set on fire by some one, since could anything be more intolerant than to compel the unfortunate prisoners to hear that which was contrary to their faith and conscience, and calculated, at least in respect to the Roman Catholics, to waken all their animosities to a Liturgy, on account of which their forefathers had suffered so much by the Penal Laws ?”

Yes, it was doubtless true, the first Church in Australia fell a victim to religious zeal and theological hate, and at the hands of men, perhaps steeped in crime, and taking God's name in vain, but who resented assumed persecution of creeds taught in their childhood.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE FARMING CHAPLAINS.

SOME writers have made themselves merry over the farming propensities of our two first Australian Chaplains. The first Presbyterian Minister, the Rev. Dr. Lang, made his reflections upon the desertion or neglect of clerical duties for the culture of glebes and farms. This gentleman said nothing about his own frequent and lengthened absence from his charge, on political and other public engagements. The Roman Catholic Colonial historian, the Rev. Dean Kenny, was somewhat one-sided in his reference to our first Pastor, saying :—

“The Rev. Mr. Johnson must have been very distasteful to the members of the Church of England when he turned a Moravian Methodist ; and, notwithstanding all that is said of his zeal and piety, he spent a great deal of his time away from his charge, on his farm at Kissing Point. He was very successful in horticultural pursuits, and his oranges sold sometimes at a shilling each. He returned to England with a good fortune, after having spent twelve or thirteen years in the Colony.”

The Kissing Point Settlement, in which this farm was placed, was about half way between Sydney and Parra-

matta, delightfully situated upon the Parramatta River, and very early occupied by Settlers. It was here that the first schoolroom was erected by voluntary contributions, and opened for public worship by Mr. Johnson, just before his departure. His 100 acre grant, in 1793, was given upon his relinquishment of right to 400 acres by Governor Phillip, as a sort of glebe, though no glebes existed by law till thirty years later. We read of another small grant to him on Cook's River, advertised to let on lease, in papers of 1812.

But, accustomed in England to the sight of clergymen cultivating the ground about their parsonage, the Chaplain thought the employment as useful to society as needful to himself. It is usually forgotten that his salary, in such a place, subject to such heavy calls upon it by high prices, was not sufficient for his needs. All the officers on the establishment engaged in trade or farming; and both Chaplains were induced by necessity more than profit, in the first instance, to act the primitive farmer.

There is among the Colonial archives a letter to Governor Hunter, then about to retire, signed by both Church Ministers, in which reference is made to their agricultural interests, in the demand for the extra convict labour, at the expense of Government, to which they were entitled for the performance of extra duty—that of acting as magistrates. The letter, at any rate, pleads for their farming privileges. It may be added that Mr. Johnson's name was made use of, not for his own personal advantage, as he was going to England, but as the senior Minister of the two, to serve the purpose of the thorough clerical agriculturalist, and most enterprising man of business, the Rev. Samuel Marsden.

“SYDNEY, October 3rd, 1800.

“SIR,—Understanding from a Public Order issued on the first day of this month, by His Excellency Governor King, that he was instructed to allow the acting magistrates the indulgence of five extra men-servants, for the purpose of carrying on their agricultural concerns, as a reward for their extra and laborious services, we beg leave to submit to your Excellency whether the services we have performed in that duty do not merit for us the same indulgence. We have both acted in that capacity from the time of your Excellency’s arrival in September, 1795, and hope our exertions for promoting the good of the public service, and establishing and maintaining the good order of the Colony, have met with your Excellency’s approbation. Your Excellency cannot be ignorant of the disordered state in which you found the Colony upon your arrival, and that the difficulties which have been thrown in the way of the Civil Power, have rendered that duty much more arduous and troublesome than it may perhaps be in future. We humbly request, for the above reasons, that you will have the goodness to submit the above representation to His Majesty’s Ministers. With all due respect we beg leave to subscribe ourselves, etc.,

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.

SAMUEL MARSDEN.

“His Excellency Governor HUNTER,” etc.

Mr. Johnson’s pecuniary trials at Port Jackson, as a Colonial Chaplain, have been well pictured in a letter from the Rev. S. Marsden to Mr. Commissioner Bigge, dated Parramatta, January 31, 1821:—

“A clergyman in England lives in the bosom of his friends. He is the Father and Shepherd of his flock.

They know his voice, and follow him. His houses are built, his vineyards are planted, his wells are dug ready to hand, his comforts and conveniences are all within his reach, and he had nothing to do but to feed his flock. On the contrary, I enter a country in a state of nature, where the ground has never been subdued by the mattock or the hoe. If I wanted a cabbage or a potatoe, I must plant them with my own hands. If I wanted a bushel of wheat, I must grow it or starve. I never had one given to me since I have been in the Colony, nor so much as a barn-door fowl. This is not the case in England. The clergy have often the first fruits of the earth, here they have none. My fees for fourteen years did not exceed one pound per annum. I was also placed in the centre of fellows that neither regarded me nor my preaching generally; and if, by my own manual labour, I raised a cabbage or potatoe, they would steal it from me.

“It was not from inclination that either the Rev. Richard Johnson or myself, in the infant state of the Colony, took the axe, the spade, and the hoe. We could not help ourselves, and we thought it no disgrace to labour. St. Paul’s own hands ministered to his wants in a cultivated nation, ours in an uncultivated one. If this is a reproach, it ought not to fall upon us. Our Country ought either to have made a suitable provision for us, or not to blame us if we laboured to supply our real necessity when exiled from our native country and friends.

“The Rev. Richard Johnson bore his difficulties and hardships, until his spirits and constitution were broken, and he returned to England a mere skeleton from vexation and toil, more than twenty years ago.”

The Parramatta Pastor might have added, that he had

himself outlived the days of real penury and difficulty ; and that, by his persevering strength, courage, and business faculty, he had gathered field to field, flock to flock, store to store, until he became a wealthy man. He need not envy the English clergyman, who never had the peculiar advantages of Colonial land grants and cheap labour, combined with the commercial spirit and animal energy, so lacking in the feeble senior Chaplain. The latter had all the rough times, retiring *perforce* just at the advent of days of good fortune.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE CHAPLAINS AND SCHOOL WORK.

IN some correspondence between Mr. Marsden and the philanthropist Wilberforce, we have a reference to the people then under the charge of Mr. Johnson and himself.

Writing in 1799, he naturally speaks of his own pastoral position :—

“I have the pleasure to inform you,” said he, “that after repeated application, and much difficulty, a Church is begun at Parramatta, which I hope in time to see completed.” He has, however, to add, “There is no immediate prospect of my colleague (Mr. Johnson) having one built at Sydney ; too many difficulties are thrown in his way, which he has neither strength nor

spirits to encounter." By his own possession of health, strength, and spirits, he had succeeded in laying the foundation of Parramatta Church. He kept on pegging away at the authorities for its completion. The Port and Capital, Sydney, had to wait a little longer for its Church.

In that letter, Mr. Marsden lifts the curtain a little to show why Governor Hunter, who meant so well towards the Church, and to the two clergymen, should have appeared so dilatory in the duty of Church erection, which a Spanish Governor would, under the pressure of public opinion, have been foremost to undertake:—

"The Governor himself has many embarrassments to contend with. His situation has been, and continues to be, as distressing as either Mr. Johnson's or mine. The evils under which the Colony groans have increased to such a magnitude, that Government alone (British) has power to redress them. Monopolies, and the price of every article of consumption have gradually increased to this very day, in proportion as the trading officers have advanced towards independency." . . . That the good man, in his indignation, had said further upon that subject we must allow, but which has been prudently left out by the editor of the *Wilberforce's Correspondence*.

It is well known that Hunter, who honestly sought to check the rapacity and tyranny of the military faction in New South Wales, in defence of the crushed Colonists, had to meet the full onset of those whose greed and grasping had been the chief terror of those early days. These made it as unpleasant for the Governor as they could, and that by their influence with authorities in England, not less than by obstructive annoyance in Sydney. Slanders, open or veiled, were freely circulated. Lucre

and patronage were jeopardized by the attempted reforms of His Excellency, and no effort was spared to effect his political ruin.

The Acting Governor, Major Grose, whom he had displaced, was ever opposed to the two representatives of morality, for the Chaplain and his Assistant were known opponents of military licence and trading officials. The Major's hindrance of Church-building, both at Parramatta and Sydney, is thus explained; and every movement of Captain Hunter on behalf of the object was checkmated by demands for convict labour and building materials in other directions.

But why, it may be asked, did the Home Government allow itself to be hoodwinked or thwarted, and the urgent appeals of the Colonial ruler be unheard or unnoticed, when the moral welfare of the distant dependency suffered so from illegal, unwarrantable, disloyal actions? It may be replied, because the military faction was all prevailing in that epoch, religious influence in Great Britain was at a very low ebb, and the Revolution in France absorbed all public attention. The Georgian era fitly represented the ignorance and corruption of the people.

Mr. Marsden observed further in his letter to Mr. Wilberforce, the anti-slavery hero: "It is truly a painful reflection, that the morals of the lower ranks of inhabitants should be sacrificed to the avarice of a few individuals. It was Governor Hunter's war against this illicit traffic, exercised by those officials through whom alone his own Government Orders could be carried into execution, that marked the worthy man as the foe of evil-doers. It was his denunciations of crime and fraud in despatches to Downing Street which hastened his fall from

Office, and his subsequent neglect by the British Ministry. He died a poor and almost forgotten man. His monument in Hackney Churchyard is one which should be honoured by visiting Colonists, and by every honest man.

The social state of the Colony in Mr. Johnson's period, is also illustrated in his colleague's remarks to Mr. Wilberforce upon education. It should be borne in mind that at that time, even in England itself, poor children were without schools. The two noble institutions, the British and Foreign School Society, and the National or Church of England School Society, had not commenced their labours when New South Wales was in its infancy. Dr. Bell, from India, and Joseph Lancaster, the humble Quaker youth, had not founded schools for the poor boys and girls on their respective systems.

It is well to know, however, that both the early Chaplains felt for the state of juvenile ignorance around them. Governor Phillip had expressed his interest in the bright little faces, and Governor Hunter did what he could for the young. Yet we have Mr. Marsden writing :—

“ We have got no public schools of any consequence. I have made several attempts to have one built at Parramatta, but have not yet succeeded. The only prospect of a Minister's usefulness is in the rising generation ; and before any good can be effected amongst them, a school must be built for their accommodation. The children are very numerous, but are brought up at present in all the vices of their abandoned parents ; and many children are totally relinquished, or cast upon Government for support and protection. These children, as well as the orphans, live with the settlers, or others who will receive them, and Government furnishes them with

provisions. The young girls, in particular, are all likely to be ruined for want of proper persons to superintend their education. If I once get my Church completed, I purpose turning my whole attention to the erection of a school, and then I shall hope to see some fruits of my labours."

Surely if Parramatta, the suburban retreat of officialdom, with its pleasant gardens and orchards, its contiguity to cornfields, felt the want of schools, how much more must Sydney, Mr. Johnson's location, with its larger population, its crowded, narrow streets and lanes, and dense jumbling of huts upon the *Rocks*, so called, have stood in need of schools! The little ones, that gathered about the sea shore at the Cove, were far less favoured with means of instruction than those noticed and blessed by the gracious Master beside the Sea of Galilee.

In another letter to the same gentleman, dated February 6th, 1800, he wrote: "I think it my duty to mention another subject of great moment to the happiness and prosperity of these parts of His Majesty's dominions, which is, the state of the poor orphans. No provision is made by Government for their education, nor yet by individuals. It may easily be made to appear that a proper establishment for these children would eventually be a great saving to the nation, in addition to the religious, civil and moral advantages which would accrue to the Colony. There are, I believe, upwards of eight hundred children in the Settlement. Some of these children were born on the passage to this Country, others after the arrival of their parents.

"Their fathers, in general, are either sailors, soldiers or prisoners. The former quit the country with the respective

ships they belong to; and the two latter have seldom either inclination or ability to provide for their children. In addition to these, some are orphans in the strictest sense, others relinquished by their unnatural mothers."

After this statement, exhibiting in so dark a light the community about him, he presents an appeal to the friend of Mr. Pitt, whereby some service may be rendered to the youth of both sexes, but especially the orphans and deserted, by the direct action of the Home Government, in the absence of means or sympathy in the Colony; saying:—

"From principles of humanity, it has been an established custom to issue a *full* ration of provision from the public store to every orphan or destitute child, as an inducement for Settlers and others to take them under their protection. Many, purely for the sake of the provisions, take these children, who would otherwise perish for want of care; but were there a public building, proper for the reception of these orphans, where their food could be dressed together, one-third of the provisions would be quite sufficient for their support. It should be remembered that the ration issued to the orphans is not given merely for the support of the children, but as a compensation to those who have the care of them.

"I have taken the liberty to lay this statement before you for your information. I cannot but hope if Government (British) were acquainted with the real state of the children in this Country, what a burden they are to the State, while, at the same time, their education and morals are totally neglected, they would be induced to adopt some means to lessen the expenses on the one hand, and on the other to have the children brought up in the principles

of morality and industry. If some private or public establishment is not instituted for them, they will be more abandoned than their unfortunate parents. At present, they are brought up in idleness, uncleanness and robbery, and scattered up and down in every part of the Settlement.

“I have had frequent conversations with Governor Hunter upon this subject. His Excellency is of opinion that if some person who had local knowledge of their situation was at Home to represent their state, some redress might be obtained for them.”

Thanks to such letters as these to Mr. Wilberforce, the letters written by Mr. Johnson to John Newton and others, the despatches which the Governor had sent to London referring to this terrible want, the conscience of Britain was aroused, and the attention of Statesmen was at last directed to Colonial morality. Before the end of 1800, the Ministry had evidently moved in the matter, and had given authority to the successor of Captain Hunter to regard the cause of these orphans.

In Mr. Marsden's letter of August, 1801, to Mr. Wilberforce, is written :—

“I have the happiness to inform you, that after much painful anxiety, and many difficulties, the Orphan School at Sydney is at length opened for the reception of sixty girls. I cannot but view this institution as the foundation of religion and morality in this Colony; without an establishment of this nature, to rescue the rising generation from ruin, it could never prosper. The unfortunate children who are now taken under the patronage and protection of the Committee for orphans must otherwise have been lost to society.”

Captain King, the founder of this admirable institution

for female orphans, was the first Governor who favoured the Colony with the presence of a wife. The moral influence of that lady was a boon to the Community. He was, as Mr. Marsden remarked, "not more happy in his administration than Governor Hunter was,—he finds much to contend with." In that letter he remarked:—

"I hope my colleague, the Rev. Richard Johnson, has safely arrived in England before this period. In consequence of his weakly state, I do not expect to see him any more in this country."

A letter bearing upon this school subject should be noted, as honourable testimony to Captain King's zeal on behalf of the orphan girls, half a dozen years before he became Governor of New South Wales, and while occupying the more subordinate position of Lieutenant Governor at Norfolk Island.

In the archives of the S. P. G. Society, we find as follows:—

Minute of Society.

From the Rev. Samuel Marsden, dated Parramatta, New South Wales, January 2, 1796, in which he transmits a letter he received from Governor King (*Lieutenant Governor*) in August, 1795, viz.:—

"Norfolk Island, August 3, 1795.

"DEAR SIR,—The satisfaction you seem to express for the little nanagement I have commenced for the protection and education of such female children as are deserted by their parents, leads me to hope that you will do everything in your power, not only to second and forward that institution (which I hope to complete on a larger scale), but you will also endeavour (if the plan of a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts will admit

of its protection being extended to these orphans), to procure a salary for the masters and mistresses, and such other assistance as may be admissible. Excepting the accidental application of small fines for the children's use, they are totally unprovided with every necessary. The Schoolmaster's name is Thomas Macqueen, the Mistress's Susannah Hunt.

“I am, etc.,

(Signed) PHILIP GIDLEY KING.”

The S. P. G. immediately granted ten pounds a year to each of these teachers. Rations and clothing were already provided, with resident quarters, by Government, as to all prisoners; the salary, therefore, small as it may appear to us now, was a fully appreciated grant.

The Minutes further records that, in addition to the girls under the schoolmistress, there were 75 boys on Norfolk Island then under the charge of Macqueen, one of the earliest Australian Schoolmasters.

Mr. Wilberforce's interest in juvenile Colonials led him to suggest one mode of helping Lieut. Dawes, a good officer of the Marines, about to return as a Settler to Port Jackson. In recommending him to the Secretary of State as a valuable moral agent, as well as an educated gentleman, he thought he would be very useful in the work of Colonial public instruction. He wrote as follows:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—Though I can hardly be so unreasonable as to expect that anything of business said to you in the street can make any strong impression, perhaps you may recollect my mentioning to you a person of the name of Dawes, who had written to you proposing to go out as a Settler to New South Wales, with his wife, and desiring

to know what encouragement would be given. The Colony can never have a more valuable acquisition, as I venture on my own knowledge to assure you, having had full opportunity of discovering his merits, and on that account, as well as from the personal regard I entertain for him, I wish him to be favoured on the terms as much as possible. Governor Hunter knows him very well, he having been in New South Wales from its first Settlement. I don't know in whose department this is, but I am sure you will excuse my troubling you on it, who, I presume, will continue in the administration of N. S. Wales affairs, and I shall be very much obliged to you for any service you can render Mr. Dawes in the affair. Meanwhile, be kind enough to write to him, as he is at a loss how to proceed. I have proposed him to Dundas to be Superintendent of Schools, which I trust Governor Hunter will be directed or authorised, if he shall see it practicable, both for the Native and European children. It was not his idea, but my own, and he thinks proper people to instruct the children may be selected from amongst the better disposed of the convicts. Pray mention this matter to Governor Hunter, and ask him about Dawes. I will desire my friend Mr. Henry Thornton to call on you on this business.

“(Signed) W. WILBERFORCE.”

August 2nd, 1794.

This Lieut. Dawes was one of the few helpers of Mr. Johnson in the Colony. Though it was necessary to establish schools before appointing a school inspector, Mr. Wilberforce had a prevision of the coming educational progress there.

A few weeks after the Settlement on Port Jackson,

Captain Phillip sent a small party to Norfolk Island, under the charge of Lieut. P. G. King. The little Islet in the South Seas was prosperous and happy under his care.

From his indefatigable pen, for no man ever wrote more numerous and lengthy despatches, we give two of his own records of the moral and educational movement in his domain during Mr. Johnson's period. Writing to his superior, Governor Hunter, in 1796, he said:—

“Although the performance of Divine Service has ever been regularly performed by an officer, yet there have been many who, in their last moments, have felt the want of that assistance which can only be administered by a clergyman. Many other obvious reasons render the presence of a person in that character necessary, were it only for the good effects that a tolerably moral discourse might have in deterring them from the committing of crime, who at present have no other persuasive against it than the fear of corporal punishment, which I am sorry to say, is very insufficient to effect that restraint which might be expected from frequent and well directed admonition. Another, and not the most inconsiderable benefit would be derived from the clergyman's inspecting and directing the education of the youth, in whom alone any reformation is to be hoped for.”

The great interest Mr. King ever felt in the young led him, as we have seen, to write to the Rev. S. Marsden about his juvenile charge, the children of the prisoners born on this harbourless, wild shore. It was probably about that time that Mr. Johnson paid his clerical visit to Norfolk Island, but of which we know so little from himself.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ORPHAN SCHOOL.

ONE of the last functions devolving upon the retiring Chaplain was with the Orphan School.

Captain Philip Gidley King, R.N., the New Administrator, did not assume the full Government until after the departure of Captain Hunter. The first gentleman, who had done good service for orphans on the Norfolk Island, naturally took up the work at Port Jackson.

He addressed the Committee of that Institution in a letter of August 7th, 1800, referring to his former effort, and his resolution to continue his labours therein, adding :—

“ On the persuasion of the great utility of such an establishment, to society at large, and this Colony in particular, I have made a conditional purchase of Captain Kent’s dwelling house, offices and ground, in the Town (provided the reasons I have assigned may be approved of by His Majesty’s Government at Home), for the reception and education of part of the orphans, the number of whom, and of other real objects for such an Institution, I am sorry to say, are 398, out of the 958 children accounted for at the general muster.

“I am informed by the Rev. Mr. Johnson that a sum of money and some property, arising from former subscriptions for the use of the orphans, and fines, remain in his hands, which that gentleman (who is returning to England) will deliver to the Rev. Mr. Marsden, whom I have requested to act as Treasurer.”

He mentions his wish to meet the “gentlemen and ladies” of Committee to confer upon the transfer of the children to their new quarters, and states that Mr. Marsden is contracting for materials for another house at Parramatta, which was intended to hold 200 children. The letter, addressed to “Gentlemen and Ladies,” names the persons for the conduct of the Institution, as :—

The Rev. Richard Johnson.

William Balmain, Esq.

Rev. Samuel Marsden.

John Harris, Esq.

Mrs. King (wife of the Governor).

Mrs. Paterson (wife of Lieut. Colonel Paterson).

These are “requested to act as a Committee, or any three of them, for managing and directing the orphan houses in this Territory, under the control of the Governor or Lieut. Governor, for the time being.”

The last personal or official duty of the Chaplain was, as has thus been shewn, in connexion with the new Orphan School. And upon his leaving Sydney, he became, by request, the bearer of particulars concerning this benevolent society to friends of the Colony at home. Naturally, one of these was Mr. Thornton, who took so conspicuous a part, with Mr. Wilberforce, in the appointment of both himself and the Rev. S. Marsden.

In a letter addressed to that worthy Banking Firm,

then conducted by the sons of the philanthropic Mr. Thornton, the Parramatta Minister sent on from Sydney, October 11, 1800, the following:—

“The Committee have, with the permission, and at the earnest request of His Excellency, Governor King, taken the liberty to transmit a copy of their proceedings by the Rev. Richard Johnson, to England, and have requested that gentleman to lay them before you.”

It was with lively satisfaction that the Chaplains secured the co-operation of the New Governor in their efforts to restrain vice, as the Order of the 4th October, 1800, informed them, viz.:—

“The Governor (P. G. King) confirms Governor Hunter's Orders of the 28th of August, 1798; the 29th of November, 1799; and the 25th of August, 1800, respecting a proper attention being paid to the observance of the Sabbath, and a general attendance on Divine Service. All sentinels and watchmen are to confine every person who may be strolling about the towns of Sydney and Parramatta during the hours of Divine Service.”

The last part of this Order received but scant attention, excepting in the case of wandering convicts. As the Free population rapidly increased, from the penal term of prisoners having expired, and these persons resenting any further interference with their liberty, it was judged safer to resort only to moral means, and public opinion, to regulate Church attendance.

The acknowledgment of Mr. Johnson's services, in relation to the Orphan School, was duly made before his departure, as the following extract from the Committee's Proceedings declares:—

“The above gentlemen and ladies being met the 8th day

September, by appointment of Governor King, do offer themselves as a Committee for managing, etc.

“Ordered, that the Rev. Richard Johnson, late Treasurer, about to return to England, do submit his account of monies received by him for the Orphan School, to the Committee.”

“The Rev. Richard Johnson’s account produced to the Committee; and, on examination, there appears to be a balance as follows:—

“Balance due the Orphan School, £114 16s. 0d.

“Articles in Mr. Johnson’s possession, purchased by cash, appropriated for the use of the Orphan School:—

Nine pieces of Chintz.

Two Shawls.

Two pieces of White Calico.

Three pieces of Red Gurrah.

One piece of Print, 35½ yards.

Six pieces of Gingham.

Two Leggers of Brandy, containing 304
Gallons, in the Public Stores.

“Due by cash, lent for the use of the Public Gaol, to be paid by Mr. Balmain, £200 10s. 9d.

“Ordered, that the thanks of the Committee be given to the Rev. Richard Johnson, for his attention and assiduity in the concerns of the orphans in this Colony, whose situation that gentleman is so well acquainted with, that he is requested by Governor King and the Committee to use such means as may appear proper to him, and as opportunity may admit of, to solicit the charitable donations of those who may be induced to second the designs of the Committee, in rescuing nine hundred and fifty-eight children from the future misery to be expected

from the horrible examples that they hourly witness from their parents, and those they live with :—to withdraw them from whom, the Rev. Mr. Marsden is now contracting for the building a spacious house for their reception at Parramatta, in addition to the house conditionally purchased from Captain Kent at Sydney.

“Resolved that a subscription be immediately opened for receiving the charitable donations of such persons as may be disposed in this Colony to countenance this Institution.”

We may be tempted to smile at this humble beginning of a grand movement in the work of morality and education, amidst the grandeur of subsequent efforts, but must surely feel gratified for the exertions of such men as Johnson and Marsden in the darkest days of New South Wales.

Some of our readers may wonder at no reference to Sunday Schools in the story of our First Chaplain. There is the record of his service in the Day School, and in the Orphan School. He laments continuously the breaking of the Sabbath, and the Sunday street play of children. Yet we have no hint of a preventive beyond *Public Orders* to attend religious services, with threats of pains and penalties for non-observance of official commands. Why did not the Minister establish Sunday Schools?

It is forgotten, that in Protestant England, before the time of Raikes, Christians were content with home lessons by parents, and public recitations of the Catechism. The Roman Catholic Church, on the contrary, obeyed an ordinance of the Council of Trent, that Bishops should see that, in every parish, the young be taught, “by proper persons, the elements of the Faith and obedience to God

and their parents." Few are aware that the sainted Charles Borromeo, Bishop of Milan, selected laymen and goodmen to teach the young in Sunday classes; though the Abate Castello of Milan, in 1536, first originated the Sunday School System.

Without doubt Mr. Johnson wished he could follow the Borromeo idea; but how was he to get suitable laymen and women to do the work? Could he, among the few and doubtful Free, make a selection? Could he entreat and appoint *proper* persons to teach morality and religion from among convicted prisoners? He did what he could do personally. It was years after he had left, that individuals could be gathered to conduct Sunday classes for young people. The first Methodist Missionary, Samuel Leigh, began his religious functions in the Colony by acting as Sabbath School Teacher under the Rev. S. Marsden. The Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke asked permission for Mr. Leigh to go to Port Jackson. The reply was that he might go there, at the Wesleyan Society's expense, but *only* to labour as a schoolmaster. The first free Australian Sabbath School Teacher was, therefore, a Wesleyan Methodist.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

HIS RETURN.

SEEKING relief under frequent and painful illnesses, and some respite from the anxieties and worries of his Chaplainship, his thoughts turned from Botany Bay to Old England, his native land. With this view, he applied for *Leave of Absence*, a common circumstance in those times, and far too often prolonged, if not for indefinite periods. He wrote thus, on July 12th, 1798, to the Duke of Portland:—

“I beg leave to inform Your Grace, that my health has for some time been upon the decline, and that at present I am in so weak a state as not to be able to discharge the duties of my sacred office. The faculty here have frequently given it as their opinion that the only, or at least the most likely, means of my health being restored, is by returning for a time to my native Country.

“On this account, and that I may likewise have an opportunity of settling my domestic or private concerns at Home, I hope your Grace will be pleased to represent my wishes to my Gracious Sovereign, and that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant me leave of absence from the Colony until my health is better; in doing this your Grace will confer the greatest obligation upon, etc.,

“(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.”

Eventually, he left Port Jackson, in company with the retiring Governor, Captain Hunter, though more than two years after his application for leave. In those times, one had to wait a long while for a reply from the Colonial Office.

Mr. Johnson returned to his native land a different man to what he had been, as the humble friend of John Newton and the protégé of the great Wilberforce. He had become both grave and prudent by his New South Wales experience. He went forth a young man, ignorant of life and society. In thirteen years, amidst a very mixed community of Government officials, commercial traders and convict workers, he had gained much acquaintance with both public and private manners and customs.

Like most servants of the Crown out there, he had not wholly neglected his own interests. He left England a poor man, but returned one with sufficient funds to keep him from some pecuniary anxiety. He could have saved little from his salary of £182 10s., and the fees of his office were in that day very moderate indeed. But he took advantage of his grants of land, with free prisoner labour, provision rations, and facility of disposing of his produce. He utilized his opportunities, and sold out fairly successfully.

He was fortunate in not needing immediate assistance. He could afford to rest, and recruit his health, which had suffered by the real hardships and annoyances of his position in such times. He was now free from responsibilities, and their accompanying trials.

Some might have asked why he, with his Missionary spirit, had left those poor sheep in the wilderness. But his Assistant Chaplain, who had charge at Parramatta,

undertook to serve Sydney every other Sunday. Not like Mr. Johnson, a delicate and infirm man, the Rev. Samuel Marsden enjoyed vigorous health, and superabundant energy, to supply both pulpits. It is not improbable that Mr. Johnson's retirement made little appreciable disturbance of clerical routine—much less than if his assistant had moved from the field—and the Sydney folks were not generally so eager for Church that they could not for awhile be content with one service a fortnight.

CHAPTER XL.

FORGOTTEN ON RETURN.

THE neglect of our Chaplain by the British Government after his return to England, was something like that exhibited to his fellow-voyager, Governor Hunter. A little light shone forth after his Memorial, and hope arose, but only to be disappointed. The letter to Lord Hobart was a plea for salary or office:—

“MY LORD,—I have received your Lordship's obliging letter, and beg leave to return you my sincere thanks for the favour you have done me in presenting my Memorial to the Right Honble. Mr. Addington, and also for that encouragment which your Lordship has given me to hope that I shall be provided for in the Church.

“In my Memorial, I acquainted your Lordship that I returned from New South Wales in the month of October, 1800, and arrived in England in May last. Being from that time unprovided for, I humbly request to hope that your Lordship will be pleased to give Directions to the Agent for the Colony to pay me the moiety of my salary, until such provision be made for me in the Church, as your Lordship has given me encouragement to expect, in doing which you will confer a further obligation upon

“My Lord, your Lordship’s most obedient,
and most humble servant,

RICHARD JOHNSON.”

No. 60, Pater Noster Row,

February 9th, 1802.

LORD HOBART.

Government Services were then not too promptly paid, and promises of positions in any Service, but the Naval or Military, were not too readily fulfilled, as Mr. Johnson found out. His former labours and privations were alike forgotten in the whirl of public affairs, and the voice of appeal got lost in the rumbling of cannon and the shout of war.

The correspondence in reference to the pay and Church patronage is here presented, as contained in Mr. Johnson’s letter to Mr. J. Chapman, Under Secretary, at the close of 1808, and in connexion with Mr. Marsden’s visit to England, and his good offices on behalf of his old colleague:—

BUNWELL, NR. ATTLEBOROUGH, NORFOLK,

December 2nd, 1808.

“SIR,—Previous to my receiving your letter, which was brought to me yesterday evening, I had received a letter

from Mr. Marsden upon the subject, and on the same evening gave him an answer, which I was in hopes would have been sufficiently explanatory to have enabled him to settle with Mr. Chinnery (Agent for the Colony) without giving you the trouble of writing to me.

“ Since I received your letter, I have looked over some papers, and from them will give you what further information I am able.

“ On Saturday, the 20th of March, 1802, I first obtained an interview with Mr. Sullivan, who asked me if I purposed to return to New South Wales? I replied, that on account of my weak state of health, and the little prospect of a speedy recovery, I durst not venture. This I supposed he considered as resigning my Office as senior Chaplain.

“ I then solicited (as by my friends Messrs. Wilberforce and Saml. Thornton I had before done) that some indulgence should be shown me in consequence of my long and painful services fourteen years, as the first Chaplain appointed and sent to that distant infant Colony. Mr. Sullivan then desired me to call again on Tuesday, when he would inform me of Lord Hobart's pleasure upon the subject of my application. Accordingly, on the 23rd, I called again, when Mr. Sullivan told me that the utmost that could be done for me was to allow me my whole pay from the time of my leaving the Colony, the 22nd of October, 1800, to the end of two years; and then desired me to call again the next day.

“ Having signified to Mr. Sullivan that I supposed Mr. Marsden would expect something for doing my duty, when I called the next day, one half of what Mr. Sullivan had signified the day before I should receive was stopped,

and he gave me an order to Mr. Chinnery, to receive one year's salary, which, by an order upon the bankers, at Charing Cross, from Mr. Chinnery, I received on Tuesday, the 30th of March.

"I trust, Sir, you will pardon the liberty that I shall now take of stating a circumstance or two upon the subject of my application to Government, for some small consideration to be shewn me in consequence of my, I cannot forbear repeating, long and painful services in New South Wales. I certainly did hope and expect that either I should be allowed my half-pay, as I have understood some other civil officers, who have served in that country, but not so long as I have done, have obtained, or that I should have been presented to a small living which might have rendered my situation in the decline of life comfortable.

"His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, advised me to memorial Lord Hobart upon the subject of a living. This I did, and his Grace was pleased to present it with a strong recommendation. A few days afterwards I received the following letter from Lord Hobart.

'SIR,—I have taken an opportunity to lay your Memorial before Mr. Addington, and I have great pleasure in acquainting you that he is not without the hope of being able to procure for you some provision in the Church.

I am, etc.

'(Signed) HOBART.'

"About the same time I received the following letter from his Lordship the Bishop of London.

'REVEREND SIR,—I received your letter of the 10th, and should have answered it sooner but I waited till I had seen and conversed with the Archbishop of Canterbury on

the subject, which I have now done. I have the satisfaction to inform you that His Grace has delivered your Memorial, with a strong recommendation, which I hope will have its weight. I shall at all times be ready to record His Grace's exertions in your favour, and with my best wishes for your success.

I remain, etc.,

‘ (Signed) B. LONDON.’

“ Upon receiving the above two letters, I could not but for some time entertain a hope that my, I trust, reasonable application, would have been finally successful, but now, for about *seven years* since I made that application, I remain wholly unprovided for, and am under the painful necessity of serving as a Curate.

“ But may I yet entertain a hope, sir, that, through your kind offices, my case may again be represented to Lord Castlereagh. And should I by this means attain the object of my long and ardent wishes, some humble situation in the Church, or otherwise, my half pay, I hope I shall ever prove grateful for so great a favour conferred upon, sir,

“ Your obliged, etc.,

“ (Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.”

JAMES CHAPMAN, Esq.

The above will be bad reading for Australian Colonists, and particularly Australian Churchmen. It is humiliating to think that the Memorial of such a faithful, and long-suffering servant of Government should be allowed to be left without attention. Reduced to accept the position of a curate in some country village, to maintain his family, his character might have secured him some modest position of a more permanent kind in the Church he had served.

Though our first Chaplain had retired from Colonial duty, he had a reasonable conviction that he had not been well treated by Government. He, doubtless, made a mistake in not presenting a strong claim immediately upon his return, especially when Governor Hunter, who had returned in the same vessel, and was his friend, could have pleaded for him. Yet it is possible that, in addition to his native modesty, he was aware that his chief had been rather hastily recalled by the Colonial Office, and could have done little for him at Downing Street.

It was sufficiently known that he had endured great hardships at Port Jackson, had incurred considerable expense in a period of high prices, maintained by the merchant military officers, and had suffered in health less from climate than by worry and neglect. If not absolutely poor upon arrival in London, he had not improved his pecuniary position as some would have done in like circumstances, and something better than a curacy might have been found for the first Chaplain of a new Colony. He was not the man to beat up for advocates among his friends, and we have no record of his making use of any official in either of the Church Societies.

He seems to have been content to husband his little resources, to occupy himself in some quiet performance of duty in retirement, and to devote himself to his family. So he continued his uneventful life until his former Assistant, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, came home. Naturally, this gentleman sought out his old comrade, and found him occupying the humble position of Curate at West Thurcock, near Grays, Essex; now a busy river-side industrial locality, but then an out-of-the-way agricultural village.

The man of business, full of practical wisdom, with a fixed intention to serve his friend, induced him to open up a correspondence with the Colonial Office, as an initiatory process. The modest, halting character of this letter is no bad indication of the mental peculiarities of the writer. Anyhow it provided a lever with which Mr. Marsden hoped to work with some benefit. We present it entire :—

WEST THURCOCK, NR. GRAYS, ESSEX.

May 29th, 1809.

“SIR,—The Rev. Samuel Marsden informs me that my answer to your letter transmitted to me some time ago, relative to my retiring from the public service of New South Wales, is not conclusive. I can only say that I left the Colony in September, 1800, and received my full salary up to the 10th of October, 1801, and no more. I afterwards told Mr. Sullivan (Under Secretary) *verbally*, though no written resignation was sent to the Office, that in consequence of my bad state of health, which had been destroyed in the Colony, I should not return, and from that period have received nothing further from Government, though I might justly have expected that some provision would have been made for me in the Church, after such long services, or that at least, I should have been allowed to have retired upon half-pay, as others of my rank, though not so long in the Settlement, had been allowed that indulgence.

“I am, sir,

Your humble and obedient servant,

RICHARD JOHNSON.”

JAMES CHAPMAN, Esq.

Armed with this moral lever, the worthy man went

round to old friends of the Colony and Church, as he had met at the Eclectic Society, and to more strictly Episcopal quarters. His ardour and good nature were rewarded. Some Colonial authorities have not written kindly about Mr. Marsden's lengthened stay in England, all through the Governor Bligh troubles at Sydney; but we may reckon upon one good service done by him during his leave of absence, and that was seeing justice rendered to his former friend and colleague.

CHAPTER XLI.

CLERICAL LIFE ON RETURN HOME.

It has been difficult for the writer to trace his career after his return to England, though he searched archives at Lambeth Palace, and in the Bishop of London's Library at Fulham. At the latter place, Bishop Temple's Secretary kindly aided him, much to the damage of garments, among dusty piles of ecclesiastical documents.

Mr. Johnson was not a wealthy returned Colonist. He went out too soon, and returned too early, for much accumulation. As a family man, he was careful to gather something extra, beyond his clerical income, for his children's maintenance, and he was careful of what few sources of gain came in his way. He lived not in the

time when large grants of good land were made, but had to be content with small doles of inferior quality. Rich glebes, often coming to successors, were not his to enjoy.

One farming venture, like his orange grove industry, proved of greater service to the Colony, in after years, than to himself while there. It is alluded to in a London paper of November, 1800:—

“Recent letters from the Rev. Mr. *Jackson* (Johnson), Chaplain to the Colony in New South Wales state its condition to be most promising: grain of all kinds, but more especially barley, was abundant; and some hop seeds, which about three years since were sent from England to this gentleman, had thrived in such a manner, that several plantations had been formed, and porter of the best quality produced from it.”

Yet, though he had saved something, which enduring the effect of high prices on the comfort of his family, Mr. Johnson did not return a man of such competence as not to require further labour. After visiting friends, and resting awhile for health sake, he had to seek employment in his profession. As elsewhere noted, he was disappointed in an expectancy of securing some humble vicarage, and had to submit to the drudgery of a poor curacy.

To one place the writer effectually traced him. This was West Thurcock, near Grays, beside the River Thames, in Essex. The clergyman there was good enough to look back in his Church Registers, but was unable, as the writer had hoped, to recognize Mr. Johnson as a former vicar. Upon a suggestion that he might have occupied some less dignified position, a fresh search was made, with the result of discovering his name among the list of curates.

It was from this little Essex village, in the capacity of poor curate, that the first Chaplain of New South Wales, who had endured so much in the dark and trying time of the Colony, ventured to express his disappointment.

That letter would have gone the way of his former letters, stowed away in a pigeon-hole for oblivion, had not his old Church friends in London, excited to action by the busy Mr. Marsden, endorsed the appeal by their applications.

One early result was his appointment, in 1810, to the Rectory of St. Antholin, near the water side of the City ; whose church is now pulled down. To this was connected the Church of St. John the Baptist. But that with which his name is more connected was the perpetual curacy of Ingham in Norfolk, where he was inducted 1817. The present Vicar of Ingham wrote courteously to tell us, that the Church Register mentions Mr. Johnson conducting a funeral at Ingham as late as on June 4th, 1827. But there is some mistake in the year, as it was on March of 1827 that the worthy Minister of Ingham left this world.

That, in his seclusion in this Country, he had not lost interest in Australia will appear from a letter he addressed to the Under Secretary of State, on behalf of Mr. Youl, formerly belonging to the London Mission of the South Sea Islands, and, after joining the Church of England, becoming Chaplain at Port Dalrymple, now Launceston. This letter, doubtless, aided that gentleman's appointment in Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania.

“ ROCKINGHAM ROW, NEW KENT ROAD.

February 15th, 1815.

“ SIR,—I hope you will not deem it presumption in me addressing these lines to you, when I have stated my reasons for taking such a liberty.

“When the Colony in New South Wales was first established, I was appointed as Chaplain, and as such was resident in that remote part of the world (including the passage out and back to England) for upwards of fourteen years.

“During so many years’ residence, and endeavouring to fill so important a duty, you will readily suppose, sir, that I am not altogether unacquainted with the then moral state of the Colony, and which from the general reports received from thence, since my return, I fear that in this respect, it has made but little improvement.

“I have, sir, from the beginning, been uniformly of opinion that the morals of the Inhabitants should be one of the prime objects attended to, and that for that important end the strictest care should be taken as to the persons appointed as Chaplains sent out to instruct them, and you will pardon me when I say that I do conceive that amongst a description of persons as those who in general are sent out to New South Wales, those clergymen will be found more likely to be useful in promoting the most important objects of morality, and religion, who are of plain habits, and who humbly yet zealously devote their time and talents in the discharge of their clerical duties, than those of more refined taste, or profound learning, and who for this very reason may not be so diligent in visiting them, which from experience I have found so important a part of a minister’s duty, and as y^e most likely means of his being made useful.

“Such a person I have every reason to believe is the person in whose behalf I have been induced to address you—Mr. Youl; and should he, by Lord Bathurst, be appointed as Chaplain to the Settlement at Port

Dalrymple, or elsewhere, I am fully persuaded he would not be found wanting in fulfilling with faithfulness and diligence the important duties entrusted to his care.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON."

HENRY GOULBURN, Esq.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE WORKER'S END.

THOUGH the Chaplain was apparently worn out with worries, privations, and consequent ill health, not, as often assumed, by an unsalubrious climate, his voyage home, in the genial company of Governor Hunter, did much to restore his nervous condition. Subsequently, his residence in the country parts of England tended to his further improvement. Anyhow, he lived to a ripe old age.

His history, however, was almost entirely confined to his engagement with the Australian Colony. We know little of his early career, and little of the last six-and-twenty years of his life. He was content with the honest discharge of clerical duty, and never seeking, like his Assistant and successor, the battle and storm of active and public work. Of him might almost be said that he lived, laboured, and—died.

No sensational account has been preserved of his last days. He simply passed away.

The monument to his memory was erected in the Church of St. Antholin, which we failed to find on a visit to that centre of modern warehouses, but which was carried off to St. Mary Aldermary, on the union of the two parishes under the so-called *Union of Benefices Act*. The Rev. Lewis Barrett White, Rector of St. Mary Aldermary, was good enough to send the writer a copy of the inscription upon that Monument.

The Church stands opposite the Mansion House Station in Cannon Street. On a visit thither, the gloom of a London fog caused the sculptured letters to be almost unintelligible. But this was the Memorial:—

“To the Memory of the Rev. Richard Johnson, B.A., who died March 13th, 1827, aged 74 years. He was the first, and for many years the only, Chaplain appointed to the extensive Colony of New South Wales, and afterwards 17 years Rector of these parishes, where he faithfully preached Christ and Him Crucified.”

He is thus shown to have remained faithful to the Evangelical views which he held in company with those great religious contemporaries, William Wilberforce, John Newton, and Charles Simeon.

The mother of his children, and the worthy partner of his trials and joys, survived him nearly four years. The following tribute to her memory can be read upon the same monumental stone:—

“Also, the remains of Mary, many years wife of the above Richard Johnson, and the affectionate companion of his voyage and residence abroad, who died with like sentiments as her husband, on the 24th day of January, 1831, aged 78 years.”

Thus the impression remained, after so many years, that

the time spent in New South Wales, though but a sixth part of his whole life, was that by which he was best known, and most worthily remembered. There was the consciousness that, notwithstanding ill-health, privations and trials, he did a good work among the unhappy exiles of England. Had he lived to our day, he would have encountered difficulties of another order. His Protestant dependence upon Scripture, as the only foundation of Faith, would have been confronted with the revival of Church authority from the Fathers, and the adoption of ceremonial rites, and ancient Catholic ideas, wholly at variance with the views of the Eclectic Society and his Evangelical brethren. The growth of Biblical criticism, and the demands of evolution and science, would have added to his perplexities. As it was, he lived in a period of complacent belief, of uneventful ecclesiastical change, and passed most of his clerical days in the honest, but unexciting performance of public duty and private virtue.

*

*

*

*

*

New South Wales underwent changes after the return of Mr. Johnson to England.

Although Trading Officers continued their unprincipled exactions, in spite of Orders from Home, a new Commercial race of Freedmen and Immigrants contended with them in the market; American whalers brought notions for sale; Captains of convict ships had their private investments; and London merchants, at last, learned the existence of Port Jackson.

Imperial funds, rather than exports of Australian produce, provided the means for purchases, till oil, timber, skins and wool, assured other sources of income. Want

of supplies, from which the Chaplain and his people had so long suffered, ceased with the progress of agriculture and the increase of stock, under so fair a climate, and so generous a soil.

As men got free by the service of their sentence term, and as both labour and capital gradually found direct way from Europe, the constitution of society altered. A new element of population threatened, for awhile, some difficulty, if not danger. The Freedmen, known as Emancipists, often contended that the country was intended for themselves, and rather resented the intrusion of those not burdened with legal disabilities. Yet the Immigrant was ranged against the Emancipist in an opposition more apparent than real.

The Press took an active part in the social strife, and even Governors took opposite sides of the question. It was assumed that if the Law's demands had been satisfactorily paid, the Freedmen could claim equal rights with the Free. The Emancipist, often better educated, and more wealthy, than the other new-comer, at length obtained, through the British Government, the political status he sought, and peace followed. Distinctions disappeared. Cessation of Transportation to New South Wales nearly sixty years ago, and free immigration, assisted or voluntary, combined to dispose of the difficulty, and formed one united community.

All this struggle was, for the time, a serious trial for the workers in moral and religious fields, and for that reason needed this explanation, so that the reader may comprehend the transformation of society since Mr. Johnson's period. The population gathered in number, consolidated in prosperity, and became more orderly. The

grosser forms of vice hid themselves from the public gaze, and the popular tone grew purified and elevated, although Intemperance, a British national vice, continued its ravages in Australia.

Two years after the Chaplain's departure, the *First Press* of that Southern World began its beneficent sway. The first printer rose from the ranks of serfdom himself; and, though his Paper was under official censorship, he conducted it for the people's real good.

After Mr. Johnson retired, the Rev. S. Marsden was appointed chief Chaplain, doing most valuable service. He continued to occupy Parramatta, while the excellent Assistant Chaplains, Mr. Cowper, of Sydney, and Mr. Cartwright of the Hawkesbury, were powers for righteousness in New South Wales.

But a year or two after the first Preacher had sailed, there was a notable change. Two clergymen, both Irish, both convicts, on account of the Rebellion, one a Protestant, the other a Roman Catholic, were alike allowed by the Governor to exercise the public duties of their respective communions. He who was of Rome, upon receiving his official pardon, returned to Ireland in peace, and the rites of his church were not publicly resumed for many years. The other became an Assistant Chaplain of the Church of England.

The Wesleyans established themselves on the new ground long before the Presbyterians; though it was not till nearly forty years after the first clergyman had gone, that Scots and Methodists, with Roman Catholic priests, were admitted as recipients of State Pay alongside the Anglican Chaplains. The subsequent abolition of State Aid to Religion, placed Protestants and Catholics upon

one common level in the eye of the Law, powerfully tending to denominational tranquility and citizen good fellowship.

Education has had a wonderful advance. At first, the public schools were connected with the Church of England, as they only could have monetary assistance from Government. Roman Catholics made the first stand against what was regarded as an injustice to their children, and they were soon followed by Presbyterians, and other Protestant bodies, in a claim for school recognition and pay. Undue favoritism to one section of the population was afterwards removed by legislation, and each denomination, according to census returns, secured a share of the Treasury funds.

More recently, the Colonial Parliament, after closing the door in payment for religion, declining to recognize the clergy in the rule of the class room, established a general system of Public Instruction, granting aid only for secular teaching.

This change of front, both in religion and education, marks a decided departure from the policy of Chaplains reigning supreme in both departments of the state. While some may sigh over the loss of denominational pre-eminence, the public interests of the Colony have been conserved by the removal of old barriers to freedom.

Altogether, New South Wales has developed a progressiveness in true civilization, un-dreamed of by the contemporaries of the *First Preacher*; and the Colonists now enjoy political, social and moral advantages not to be exceeded; perhaps, in any part of the British Dominions.

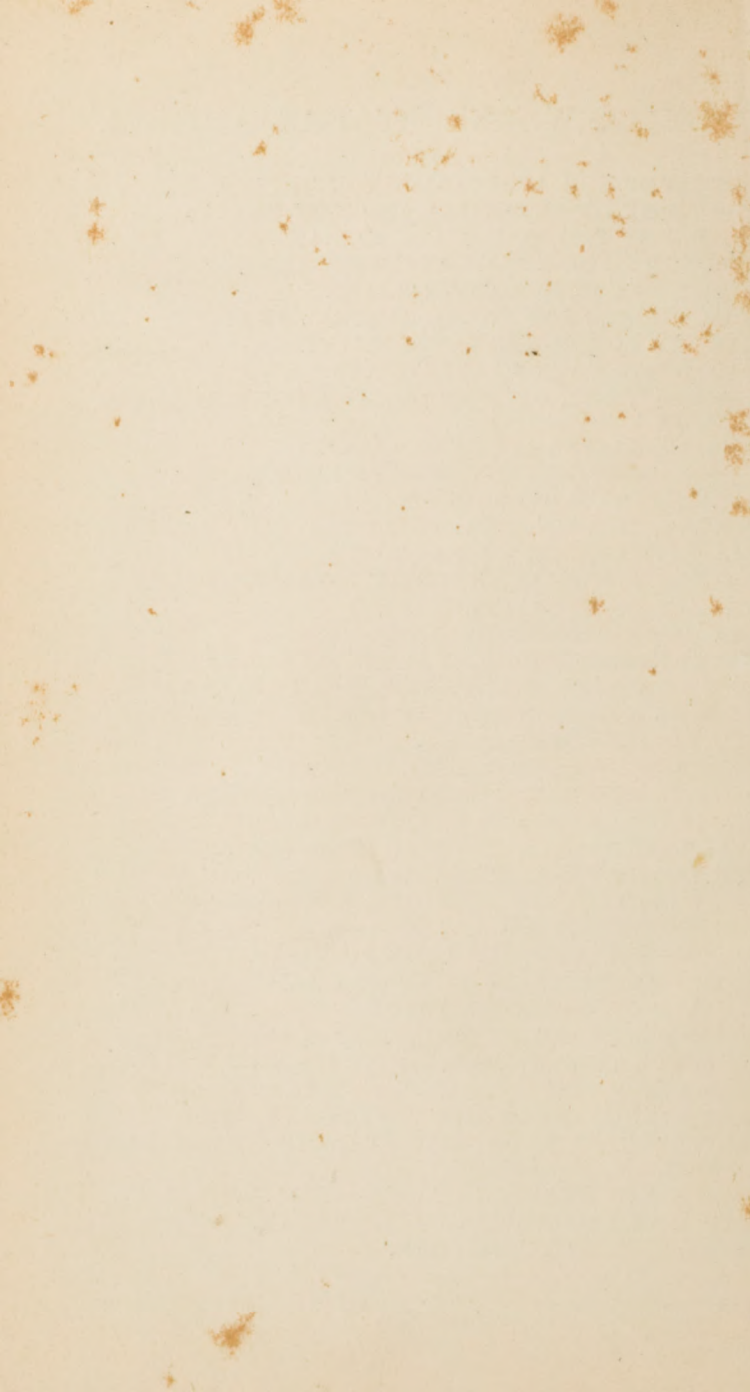


THE END.

J. P.
ci
re-ci
zeu.

COLONIAL WORKS BY THE AUTHOR.

GEOGRAPHY FOR AUSTRALIAN YOUTH. 1845.
GEOGRAPHY OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.
GEOGRAPHY FOR YOUNG AUSTRALIANS.
ASTRONOMY FOR YOUNG AUSTRALIANS.
BOTANY FOR YOUNG AUSTRALIANS.
BIBLE STORIES FOR YOUNG AUSTRALIANS.
GRAMMAR FOR YOUNG AUSTRALIANS.
READER FOR YOUNG AUSTRALIANS.
DISCOVERY, ETC., OF PORT PHILIP WITH FIRST LAND
SALES.
BOROONDARA AND ITS LAND SALES.
BUSHRANGERS OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.
EARLY DAYS OF MELBOURNE.
BUCKLEY, THE WILD WHITE MAN OF PORT PHILLIP
JOHN BATMAN, THE FOUNDER OF VICTORIA.
WESTERN VICTORIA; AN EDUCATIONAL TOUR.
THE LILY OF TASMANIA. A Story.
MIKE HOWE, THE BUSHRANGER. A Story.
WESLEYAN METHODISM IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.
MAP OF VICTORIA, WITH GEOLOGICAL FEATURES.
NOTES OF A GOLD DIGGER IN 1852.
GOLD DIGGERS' MAGAZINE.
RESOURCES OF QUEENSLAND.
WESTERN AUSTRALIA; ITS PAST AND FUTURE.
BRITISH COLONIES AND THEIR RESOURCES.
FRENCH COLONIES AND THEIR RESOURCES.
LAST OF THE TASMANIANS. Illustrated.
*DAILY LIFE OF THE TASMANIANS. Illustrated.
*LOST TASMANIAN RACE. Illustrated.
*CURIOUS FACTS OF OLD COLONIAL DAYS.
*FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF AUSTRALIA.
*ROMANCE OF THE WOOL TRADE.
*SETTLEMENT OF PORT PHILIP. Illustrated.
HUNDRED YEARS' HISTORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.
EARLY STRUGGLES OF AUSTRALIAN TRADE.
EARLY STRUGGLES OF THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS.
EARLY STRUGGLES OF NEW ZEALAND TRADE AND
PRESS.
CLIMATE AND HEALTH IN AUSTRALASIA.
CLIMATE AND HEALTH IN SOUTH AFRICA.
AUSTRALIA'S FIRST PREACHER.



An Estimate of the Exp^s

The different work men employed —	Spots	Time
Cutting Posts, Rafter &c —	gall.	Do ^s
1st Grasp —	2 ³ / ₄	39
Long Boat, & my own D ^o _{bat}	4	46
Sawyers for 1750 of Kent —	4	9
Thatcher —	¹ / ₄	—
Timber Carriage —	—	—
Outside Carpenters	5	22
Wattler & Plasterer —	—	—
Labourer to D ^o —	—	—
Tempering & wheeling Clay —	¹ / ₄	—
Leveling ground & other work	—	—
Inside Carpenters —	¹ / ₄	—

An Estimate of the Expenses in building a Place of worship at Sydney. New South Wales

The different work men employed	Quito	Ten-	Pork	Beef	Tobacco	Tea	Computed Price of the above provisions	The Real Price of D ^y	Paid in Dollars &c	Computed Price of D ^y whole Building	Real Price of D ^y
Cutting Posts, Kaylers &c—	2 3/4	39	4	7	—	—	2 11 4	1 9 8 1/2	1 10 6	4 1 10	3 0 2 1/2
1 st Grap—	4	46	11 1/4	20	—	—	3 15 3 1/2	2 5 7 1/2	3 10 6	7 5 9 1/2	5 16 1 1/2
Long Boat, & my own D ^y —	4	9	—	—	—	5	2 17 0	1 2 6	4 12 0	6 19 0	5 14 6
Sawyers for 1750 of Kent. batt	4	—	—	—	—	—	2 0 0	0 18 0	5 4 6	7 4 6	6 2 6
Thatcher—	1/4	—	—	—	—	—	0 2 6	0 1 1 1/2	4 0 0	4 2 6	4 1 1 1/2
Timber Carriage—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— — —	— — —	3 18 6	3 18 6	3 18 6
Outside Carpenters	5	22	3 1/2	6 1/2	3	—	3 8 8	1 15 9	13 15 0	17 3 8	15 10 9
Wattle & Plasterer—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— — —	— — —	4 10 0	4 10 0	4 10 0
Labourer to D ^y —	—	—	—	—	—	—	— — —	— — —	3 15 0	3 15 0	3 15 0
Tempering & wheeling Clay—	1/4	—	—	—	—	—	0 2 6	0 1 1 1/2	1 0 0	1 2 6	1 1 1 1/2
Levelling ground & other work	—	—	—	—	—	—	— — —	— — —	2 17 6	2 17 6	2 17 6
Inside Carpenters—	1/4	—	—	—	—	—	0 2 6	0 1 1 1/2	6 13 6	6 16 0	6 14 7 1/2
									2 5 6	2 5 6	2 5 6
									0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0
									2 0 6	2 0 6	2 0 6
									54 18 0	74 7 9 1/2	67 12 11 1/2

to Estimate of the Expenses in erecting the above
or by any Person I am required —

Richard Johnson. Chaplain

MB The computed Price of Herts is 10 Gall. Flour 6 6d. Pork 8 — 8y^d Tobacco $\frac{1}{2}$ — The 8.
 The Real Price wth they cost Me. — $\frac{4}{6}$ — 4 — 8 — 4 — 8 — 5.
 The above Estimate is made, exclusive of the Labour of my own
 servants which, altogether, has been about eighty days —

DSM

ML

A 922.3

J

AN5758478

DSM/ A922.3/ J

Australia's first preacher :
the Rev. Richard Johnson,
first chaplain of New South
Wales

STATE LIBRARY
OF N.S.W.



N2133788

