Its relationship to his increasing participation to public affairs and his growing conviction to be active in this area of political and social matters. The relation of this to his theology and to his idea of the role of a clergyman in society.

by J. H. Wansbrough

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Sydney.

April 1970.
ABBREVIATIONS

H. R. A.  Historical Records of Australia

History  Refers to J. D. Lang's Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales

J. R. A. H. S.  Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society
INTRODUCTION

1. G. Nadel *Australia's Colonial Culture* p. 4. He states: "There are no proper biographies of Australia's founding fathers Wentworth, Lang, Campbell, and Parkes, so far, (1956)..."
CHAPTER 1

The quotation heading the chapter is from Lang's poem The Voyage of Life, which was written on board the Medway, during his second journey out to New South Wales in 1825. It was printed in Aurora Australis p. 33.

1. Sydney Gazette 29th May 1823. Lang commenced his duties almost immediately, as the issue of 12th June recorded that the previous Sunday he had "unfurled the sacred banner in the Old Public School Room".

2. Sydney Gazette 21st August 1823. The story connected with Captain Muddle, who captured the Andromeda in which Lang sailed from England to Van Diemen's Land was that he apparently threatened to flog some of his passengers. Lang and several others objected, and publicised the fact on arrival. Muddle, in the Gazette of 28th August 1823 stated that it was "during a moment of irritation occasioned by the mutinous conduct of one of my crew, and the impudent (to use John Dunmore Lang's favourite expression) behaviour of several of my passengers".


5. M. Kiddle, Men of Yesterday p. 150.

6. A. Gilchrist, John Dunmore Lang, Chiefly Autobiographical, forward p. xii.

7. Kiddle, p. 150

8. This fact will soon become abundantly clear, for almost without exception, every one of his many ventures left in its wake a trail of lacerated feelings among those he had come into contact with at the time.


10. J. D. Lang, Reminiscences, in Lang Papers, Vol. 24, Doc. 6-7. Apparently Lang's grandfather had leased the large farm and half
of the smaller on a nineteen times nineteen year lease, and gave the lessor the right to graze cattle on the remaining land, so long as it was not in crop. When the properties passed to Lang's mother, she commenced a lawsuit to rectify the matter of the grazing cattle, which she won, and the lessor in disgust sold his lease, which Mrs. Lang bought for £630. This meant the family had the whole of the land to farm, and also, as Lang points out; it meant it was easily sold to finance his parents' journey to New South Wales.

11. Lang Papers, Vol. 24, Doc. 3.


14. Quoted by Gilchrist p. 16-17.

15. Gilchrist p. 17. If Lang entered the University at 12 years of age, it would have been in 1811 or 1812. Thus he must have spent eight years at University to get his diploma in 1820.

16. Gilchrist p. 16. This is a quotation from W. Hanna, whose "Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers" was printed in 1854.

17. Thomas Chalmers, Problem of Poverty (a selection from Chalmers economic and social writings) p. 15.

18. Lang, History, 1837 ed., Vol. 2, p. 316. Lang stated that on his arrival in the colony there appeared to be three ways in which he could promote the general welfare and advancement of the colony - and the third was by the establishment of an academical institution on "the liberal and economical principles of the schools and colleges of Scotland".


20. Refer note 9 above.


23. Lang, Account of Steps Taken etc., p. 1.


29. Macmillan p. 44.

30. Macmillan p. 46. This particular reference to such work appeared in that journal in January 1820.


32. The *Morning Chronicle* article in the edition of 19th August 1824 was written by someone who knew the colony and its inhabitants very well. It has been assumed that it could have been written by Judge Field, who had been on unfavourable terms with Brisbane, and who had left the colony on 4th February 1824. Field had made his intentions of discrediting Brisbane known before his departure, so much so that Brisbane had sent Dr. Douglass, a magistrate and close friend, to England "to afford His Majesty's Ministers correct information" on colonial matters. But there is still no proof as to who wrote "this venomous essay in anonymity" (the quote is from C. H. Currey, *Sir Francis Forbes* p. 123).

33. Lang to Macarthur 9th March 1826, in *Lang Papers* Vol. 12, Doc. 53. See also note 23 above.

34. Brisbane directed his reply, which carefully answered all the accusations, to Bathurst (see note 31 above), but these were not acknowledged by Bathurst (Currey p. 123). Also, in his pamphlet *Settlement of Scots Church* (quoted by A. Gilchrist p. 22) Lang indicates his brother wrote to him after having seen Sir Thomas, who had said of John Lang's proposed idea of coming as a minister to the colony that he "would willingly promote the undertaking". Apparently Sir Thomas also indicated
that the least he could do, should John Lang decide to come to the colony, was to assist in building him a church. If this was the source of Sir Thomas's supposed invitation, why could not Lang have said so previously, instead of waiting until 1828 when this pamphlet was published?

Also, the same element of vagueness appears in the "conclusion" to the 1834 edition of the History at p. 442-3. Lang relates an incident which apparently was the forerunner of a series of events which culminated in his coming to New South Wales. However, he does not elaborate at all; he only describes the incident without detailing any of the participants, or how it happened that it led to his arrival in New South Wales. He does not repeat the incident in later editions.
CHAPTER 2

The quotation heading the chapter is from Lang's poem "The Heads of Port Jackson" which appeared in *Aurora Australis* p. 146, his first book of poetry, printed in 1826.


2. Quoted by D. S. Macmillan in *Scotland and Australia 1788-1850* p. 42. The same author also quotes the extract again in his introduction to a republication of Peter Cunningham's "Two Years in New South Wales" which he edited, at Introduction xxxix-xl.


4. Lang. Apparently grain often had to be imported from India and Batavia. T. H. Brain in *A History of New South Wales* (printed in 1844 at p. 88-9) makes the same point, and in a note refers readers to Lang's remarks on the granting of land to ex-convicts; they did not know how to make it productive, and hence could not be relied upon to help alleviate the grain shortages.

5. Lang. This remark was one of his typical anti-emancipist sallies. He could not abide them as a group having a hand in official policy. He continued with examples in support of his argument for immigration at an earlier date by citing the example of Van Diemen's Land, which encouraged free settlers at an earlier stage of its development.


11. Dr. Currey quotes the Chief Justice's comments upon this Act: "The powers of the government had been at once legislative, judicial and executive; your (he is writing to Under-Secretary
Wilmot-Horton Act abridged all these powers and created in the Supreme Court a check, indeed a controlling authority. I felt that sooner or later this power of the Judge would be considered by the Governor as an encroachment upon his authority". (p. 46).

12. Refer note 4 above for the problem of the ex-convict farmer.

13. C. J. King An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales p. 20-21. This point also is connected to note 4 above. Lang's comments on this matter show clearly his particular bias; what he objected to was the fact that Macquarie had promoted ex-convicts in place of free settlers. Perhaps this was so, but Macquarie saw his first duty as being the welfare of those in the colony, and an adequate food supply was imperative.


15. King p. 23.


17. F. K. Crowley "The Foundation Years, 1788-1821" in G. Greenwood (ed.) Australia a Social and Political History p. 13. Crowley also gives the following other figures:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free settlers</td>
<td>1, 307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial born</td>
<td>1, 495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>5, 668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial ships</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures came from Commissioner Bigge's Report of 1823.

18. Crowley p. 15.


20. Lang, History 1837 ed., Vol. 2, p. 15. In a Page note on the following page, Lang makes this observation on the inhuman treatment given a convict for failure to perform a duty:

"Man is essentially a tyrant: it is education - I use the word in its widest sense - that makes him humane in any instance. Whatever arrangement of society, therefore, invites any man with such power over the person and happiness of his fellow creature,
as is possessed by the master of a convict or the holder of a slave, is essentially evil, and ought doubtless to be depreciated as indicative of an unhealthy state of the body politic. As will be demonstrated in a later chapter, Lang was strongly opposed to the assignment system, and campaigned for its abolition.


25. R. Ward The Australian Legend p. 84. He had taken the quotation originally from F. K. Crowley in "Working Class Conditions in Australia, 1788-1851".


30. Clark Vol. 1 p. 170 (Governor King's attitude); p. 350-1 (Macquarie's attitude).


32. Roe p. 5.
CHAPTER 3

The quotation appearing under Part I and Part II is taken from Lang's Narrative of the Settlement of the Scots Church p. 108.

1. Marsden to Lang 2nd December 1823, in Lang Papers Vol. 6, Doc. 2.

2. Sydney Gazette 12th June 1823.

3. Lang Narrative of the Settlement of the Scots Church p. 11. The letter was not actually written to Lang, but to a mutual friend, and the information passed on to Lang.


6. C. M. H. Clark A History of Australia Vol. 1, p. 349-50. Lang also made mention of this point in his History, and branded such actions as "laxity of feeling and entire indifference" on the part of Sydney Protestants. His liberality is shown as having a very narrow scope. See Monthly Review 1834, p. 258-9.

7. Dr. James Bowman was the son-in-law of John Macarthur, and Principal Surgeon for the Colony. Bowman was apparently not so much a supporter of Lang as might be supposed, as Dr. Currey (in his Sir Francis Forbes at p. 125) in a quotation from one of Sir Thomas Brisbane's letters suggests that he was one of the Colonial Secretary's followers. Brisbane once said that he preferred to "manage the convicts compared with the gentleness of the different departments" and these gentlemen were John Oxley (Goulburn's coadjutor), Dr. Bowman and William Wemyss.


9. Lang to Macarthur. In the Narrative p. 16 this point is also mentioned and Lang indicates that Wemyss called him a "Young Man of moderate views". The use of moderate could have been a misprint.

10. Lang to Macarthur;

12. Lang maintained he did not move out of the school room merely because the Roman Catholics were using it, as Goulburn apparently suggested to Brisbane. But, as A. Gilchrist notes (p. 46) Lang claimed the Presbyterians were to be moved to let the Roman Catholics have the room. However, he had claimed:

(i) this was not fair;
(ii) the noise of a Catholic service would penetrate to whatever other room the Presbyterians were given.

Hence a complete move out of the school was the best solution. It is likely that he did move for these reasons, but it is also possible that any move from the school was attended with much emphasis on the fact that it was being given to the Roman Catholics in preference to the Presbyterians.


15. Notes on Sir Thomas Brisbane and the Scots Church, Lang Papers Vol. 1, Doc. 187-91. Lang indicates the memorial was prepared "contrary to my own suggestion and advice".

16. Sydney Gazette 23rd October 1823. The letter to the Editor was signed "Scaevola". "Scaevola" was obviously not a Presbyterian supporter, as he continued: "His Excellency's reply is most able ... and without refusing the required assistance of the Government, annexes to it certain conditions, obviously necessary and reasonable". He comments again, this time on the Presbyterians: "As a body in this colony they have now first presented themselves to public notice. A clergyman of their persuasion, whose talents or merits I by no means wish to question (though his prudence and experience appear, at best, problematical) has recently arrived among them; but be it remembered, a Volunteer Adventurer, unaccredited, unsanctioned by the Government at home!"

It may be as well to note that it was this attitude which Lang was trying to combat, for it had as its foundation a belief (it may only have been an implied belief) that the Anglican church was the established church of the colony. This point was discussed briefly in Chapter one, but it is interesting to note that the attitude of the Colonial Office was to favour the Anglican Church (and possibly by implication making it the established
church) whilst the Tory, Lord Bathurst, was in office. However, in the mid thirties the Whig, Lord Glenelg, advocated a policy in which he believed public aid should be available equally to all Christian religions (J. M. Ward in *Europe and the Antipodes* p. 88-9). But by this time, Lang’s ideas were changing towards the voluntary principle!


19. Lang to Macarthur 19th November 1827, *Macarthur Papers* Mitchell Library Reference A2900, Doc. 224-6. Dr. Douglass was appointed a J. P. by Governor Macquarie soon after his (Douglass’s) arrival in the colony in 1821, and was appointed Superintendent of the Government Hospital and the Female Factory at Parramatta. When Macquarie left, Douglass soon became a confidential friend of Governor Brisbane. In fact Brisbane wrote to Lord Bathurst in September 1822 thus: 
"... his single services to my administration have redounded to the honour of His Majesty’s Government more than the united efforts of any five magistrates in the Territory". (Quoted from C. H. Currey, p. 52). Also, Dr. Currey indicates that the attack by the "five magistrates" mentioned by Brisbane in the despatch quoted was made over what became known as the Case of Ann Rumsby and which, although it attempted to discredit Douglass, was aimed rather at the man behind Douglass, Brisbane himself.

20. Refer to note 15 above.

21. Lang, Narrative p. 17.

22. Lang Papers, Vol. 1, Doc. 188.

23. Brisbane to Bathurst, 23rd May 1825, *Transcript of Missing Despatches* Vol 4, p. 60. The *Morning Chronicle* article referred to concerns reference No. 32 of Chapter one. The article which appeared in that paper in London on 19th August 1824 was aimed at discrediting Governor Brisbane, and as an example of Brisbane’s method of government, Lang and the Presbyterians figure quite prominently over the issue of the memorial.

25. Brisbane to Bathurst.


27. Lang to Macarthur 19th November 1827.


30. A. Gilchrist p. 71.

31. Lang, Narrative p. 55.

32. Sydney Gazette 10th August 1824.

33. Brisbane to Bathurst, 14th August 1824, in New South Wales Governors' Despatches Vol. 5, Despatch No. 5 p. 618.

34. The full extent of the memorial is quoted by Lang in the Narrative, p. 12. Point No. 4 refers as follows: "The liberal support which your Excellency has afforded the Roman Catholics of this colony...".

35. Lang, Narrative p. 56-7. Lang pointed out to Wemyss in this letter of 17th August 1824 concerning the memorial which Wemyss would not sign, that he, Lang, had to write this letter so that Wemyss would be in no doubt as to the fact that Lang knew he was spreading the story that Lang would not let him sign, when in fact the opposite was the case. Also, people were believing Wemyss's story, and Lang felt that as a "man of religion" he could not let this pass without some attempt to correct the story at its source.

36. Gilchrist p. 60.


38. Horton to Lang 25th January 1825 in H.R.A. l, XII, p. 64.


41. Lang, Narrative p. 68-9, and Gilchrist p. 71.
42. Lang p. 64-5.

43. Lang to Macarthur 9th March 1826. The reference to Wemyss withholding George Lang's pay refers to an amount owing at the time of his death, and which apparently Wemyss refused to hand over, but later did so. Lang adopts a very vindictive attitude towards this incident in his discussion of it in the Narrative, p. 79-80.

44. Lang, Narrative p. 72.

45. The grant was made in 1828, and the land at that time had not yet been selected by Lang. H.R.A., I, XIV, p. 671.


48. Under-Secretary Twiss to Darling 26th September 1829, in H.R.A., I, XV, p. 179.

49. Lang, Narrative p. 108.
CHAPTER 4

The quotation at the commencement of this chapter is from Lang's History 1834 ed., where he refers to his desire to have the Sydney college committee proceed with plans for the college. It is quoted in Gilchrist, p.109.

1. This was Lang's Caledonian Academy. A Prospectus for this appears in the Lang Papers Vol.16, Doc.1, and is dated 3rd March 1826. In many respects the ideas which were expressed in this prospectus were incorporated into the Australian College in 1831.

2. Dr. Currey in his Sir Francis Forbes, at p.426-9 gives an account of the formation of the Sydney Public Free Grammar School, and also indicates the praise given to Halloran as a teacher by Commissioner Bigge during the course of his inquiry. Although deserving, this praise was apparently given with great reluctance.


6. A. G. Austin, Australian Education 1788-1900, p.10-12. Austin points out an interesting, if strange, fact, that Lord Bathurst, who had taken up and sponsored Scott's educational ideas, had apparently forgotten that he had advised the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada in 1820 that the privileges enjoyed by the Anglican clergy might have to be shared with the Presbyterians. Here he was in effect overlooking the existence in New South Wales of both the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians.

7. Austin, p.17.

8. Austin.

9. Lang maintained it cost approximately £19,000 to £20,000 p.a. for the Corporation to be kept in operation, and this money was made available by Treasury grants. As well, there were management costs of some £1,500 to £2,000, which was more than
the cost of the Church and School affairs in Scotland - these
details are from the History, 1837 ed. Vol. 2, p. 342; 1852 ed.
However, A.G. Austin suggests that the actual amount of the
Treasury grants received by the Corporation were more in
the region of:-

1826 - £11,600
1827 - £19,847
1828 - £19,300
1829 - £20,500
1830 - £16,500

In 1828 some 393,000 acres were made available to the Corporation
(These details are from Austin, p.18-19.)

10. Lang, History. The references are similar to those appearing
in note 8 above. These details appeared in Lang's letter to Lord
Goderich, written when he arrived in England in 1831 to enlist
his aid for the establishment of the Australian College. Lang
felt so strongly on what he was sure were various injustices done
to him over his later publication of this letter, that all editions
of the History from 1837 onwards contained a full account of the
proceedings involved.

11. Lang Papers, Vol. 16, Doc. I. In the Monitor of 23rd June 1826
appeared an item on the Caledonian Academy, indicating that fees
from tuition would go towards paying off the debt on Scots Church.


were not officially announced until 1830.

15. Lang, p.326.

16. Broughton to Lang 16th January 1830, from Lang Papers Vol. 16,
Doc. 5-10.

17. This day was being celebrated by Wentworth and his associates
as a date to be remembered - Anniversary Day, and rather a
radical day of celebration.

18. The Australian 27th January 1830.

19. A. Gilchrist, John Dunmore Lang, Chiefly Autobiographical, p.115.


22. This has already received mention in Note 15 above. However, further details regarding correspondence with the Colonial Office over the matter are to be found as follows:— in H.R.A. I, XIV; Darling to Huskisson September 1828 at p. 396, where Darling actually asked for a subsidy for a master for the proposed school; Sir George Murray to Darling April 1829 at p. 707, where the refusal is given, the reason being that there already existed a subsidy for two ministers.

23. There appears to have been some conflict over this point, as Lang in the various editions of the History indicated that he did intend to submit these proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. However, in a letter he wrote to the committee of the Sydney College just as he was departing to tell them of the reasons for his visit home, and of the fact that he was severing his connection with that college, he stated his intentions to form his own college "through the influence and assistance of my friends in England". (Gilchrist p. 116). A. C. Child in his "Studies in the Life and Work of J. D. Lang" (in J.R.A.H.S., Vol. 22, 1936 p. 211) indicates that Lang arrived in England with the intention of seeking private backing for his college. So, it seems a little difficult to determine precisely what is correct. However, if Lang set out expecting to enlist private aid for the furtherance of his own college, he must have abandoned this idea on the voyage over, and probably at the point when he thought of combining an emigration scheme with the college project. He could not carry out this programme without the approval of the home government. Perhaps this is surmise, but it would bring the History narrative into line with the documentary evidence available as regards Lang's intentions when he left the colony.

24. Lang, An Account of Steps Taken in England etc., p. 5.

25. Goderich to Darling 12th June 1831 in H.R.A., I, XVI, p. 22-3. Goderich indicates that he acceded to Lang's requests concerning the college because of "[the] importance of providing additional facilities for Education in the Colony".


29. Lang to Governor Bourke 26th December 1831, in Lang Papers, Vol. 2, Doc. 1-7. Lang gives Bourke an indication of the content of his conversations with Lord Howick. This letter also appears in H.R.A., I, XVI, p. 492; 6, where it formed one of the enclosures made by Bourke to Goderich over the attack which Lang had made against the Church and School Corporation after his return to the colony in October 1831. Lang's letter is an attempt to vindicate his actions, especially by reference to the valuable services it might be said he had performed for the colony in his conversations with officials of the home government during his recent journey.


32. Lang to Lord Goderich 15th March 1831 in Lang Papers, Vol. 17, Doc. 5. Lang gives to Goderich his conclusions on his examination of the situation of mechanics in Scotland:

(i) wages were low;
(ii) many were out of work, especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow;
(iii) many would be prepared to emigrate if their passages were paid, and they could arrange to refund the money from their earnings in the colony.

Lang must have also enlisted the aid of influential Scotsmen for this scheme, as in the Lang Papers Vol. 13A, Doc. 151, there appears a letter from the Duke of Argyle, dated 25th January 1831, indicating his approval for Lang's plan for Scottish emigration, and his desire to discuss the matters raised. He also adds that he thinks the plan would involve the co-operation of the home government. What action Lang took with the Duke's knowledge is not certain, but I would hazard a guess that had the Duke fully supported Lang's proposals, then Lang himself would have made much of this support.

33. Goderich to Darling 12th January 1831 in H.R.A. I, XVI, p. 22-5.


36. Goderich to Darling 29th March 1831, in H.R.A, I, XVI, p. 223. For Lang's letter to Lord Goderich referred to, see note 32 above. Also, a letter from Viscount Howick to Lang dated 28th March 1831 appears in Papers on Education p. 280, in which Howick
informs Lang of these revised payments as a result of the Stirling Castle venture being approved - £1,500 to be paid on the arrival of the vessel in the colony, and the remaining £2,000 to be paid at intervals, depending upon the building progress with the college.


38. Stated in an advertisement for the Normal Institution which appeared in the colony on 5th January 1835. McGarvie Papers.

39. The marriage certificate is to be found in the Lang Papers, Vol. 8, Doc. 7. It is dated 21st August 1831, the Rev. John Cleland married them, and Henry Carmichael was witness.

40. Agnes Thomson Memoirs p. 5-6.


42. Agnes Thomson Memoirs, p. 8.


44. Sydney Gazette 15th October 1831.

45. Sydney Herald 14th November 1831. The quotation continues: - "This emigration [scheme is] subservient to a great object: the education of youth in the higher departments of learning by the establishment of a college". The same article also reviewed Lang's pamphlet An Account of Steps Taken and does not give any indication at this stage of the opposition which was later to appear in its columns against Lang's activities with regard to education.
CHAPTER 5

The quotation heading this chapter comes from Lang's *History*, 1837 ed., Vol. 2, p. 359.


2. Lang, p. 32.

3. Lang, p. 32-3.

4. Lang, p. 33.

5. Lang, p. 41-3.


8. Lang, *History*, 1852 ed. Vol. 2, p. 492; and 1875 ed. Vol. 2, p. 432. The comments he makes in these instances are rather impertinent and by no means definite, as he gives no examples; also, they are extremely insulting towards those ministers who had come out to the colony, especially since he failed to indicate any particular minister who might be in this category. It was often through remarks such as this that Lang earned the reputation for indiscriminate condemnation which in reality was only partly correct.


10. The full title of this pamphlet is - *Account of Steps Taken in England with a view to the establishment of an Academical Institution or College in New South Wales and to demonstrate the Practicability of effecting an extensive emigration of the Industrious Classes from the Mother Country to that Colony.*

11. These proposals were contained in a letter to Lord Goderich dated 30th December 1830 which he wrote after arriving in London. He reproduced the letter in full in the pamphlet, *Account of Steps Taken* at p. 24-6.

12. This extract from *Account of Steps Taken* at p. 25-6. It was this particular statement which caused so much controversy to
arise over the publication of the pamphlet, and it would seem that no one was more surprised about that controversy than Lang himself.

13. As an instance of this we have the present example - Account of Steps Taken. However, as the details of this will be dealt with later in this chapter, it might be more appropriate to cite another example.

In his History (1852 ed.) Vol. I, p. 268-9, he refers to the opposition which was being formed against Governor Bourke over the Assignment Regulations, the Magistrates' Act and the Colonial Jury Bill, and indicated that Bourke could not bribe supporters with the offer of land grants or suburban allotments. Thus the opposition took a familiar form and one of the approved modes for lowering a Governor was to "... profess an uncommon degree of respect and attachment to one or other of his predecessors". In this case it was decided to erect a monument to Governor Darling. Lang inserted the following into the pages of The Colonist as a suggestion for the inscription for the monument:

To his Excellency
Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Darling K C B
For six years Governor of
New South Wales
erected
by those civil and military officers
and by those inhabitants of the colony
Whose private interests
he was always ready to promote
at the expense of the public.

Such was the effect of this, said Lang, that the parties concerned failed to proceed with the monument.

Another example concerned his fellow minister, the Rev. John McGarvie who, according to Lang, was responsible for much of the bad feeling which existed amongst the Presbyterians of the colony. In a letter Lang addressed to the Presbyterian inhabitants prior to his departure for England in 1839, he added that the following inscription should be placed upon a piece of plate which certain inhabitants of Sydney were proposing to give to Mr. McGarvie:

To the Rev. John McGarvie, A.M.,
The consistent advocate of shuffling and chicanery
in the Presbyterian Church Courts
And the zealous protector of irreligion and immorality
amongst the
Colonial Clergy.

..............................
This plate is respectfully presented
By that portion of the Scotch Presbyterian inhabitants
of Sydney and its Vicinity
Whose peculiar views, and practice, in accordance
with the present usages,
of civilised Society
Require the cloak of a prostituted form of religion
To cover their own
Practical Infidelity.
(Quoted from W. W. Burton The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, Appendix 18, at p. cxxxv).

McGarvie had been guilty of holding views opposed to Lang's, and was therefore bound to suffer for so doing.

16. Sir Roger Therry, Reminiscences of Thirty Years in New South Wales, p. 3.
17. This, in fact, is very nearly what happened over publication of his Account of Steps Taken. In this instance, he was basically trying to demonstrate how he had achieved success with the British Government, and what he felt should be the colonial authorities' approach to future emigration policy. But in so doing, it must be assumed he failed to consider that he might be maligning those who had conscientiously carried out previous colonial policies - Archdeacon Broughton being one. It would seem he failed to appreciate the effect his comments would have, and as a result, he nearly destroyed all his chances for the success of his various undertakings within the colony.

18. The many difficulties he encountered during the formation of the Scots Church, both with the government and from fellow Presbyterians and fellow colonists illustrate this point. These were dealt with in Chapter 3.
19. He used the columns of the Colonist to good effect for promoting this moral point of view. An example was his poem (or jeu d'esprit) on a local identity, John Thomas Wilson, who was leading just the type of life Lang found detestable. The outcome was a court case in July 1836 after Wilson had assaulted Henry Bull, the editor of the Colonist. Lang was apparently so taken with the whole episode that in the 1875 edition of the History,
he devotes a place in the appendix to this poem and to some
comment upon the effect it had. He writes in part: "It is
unnecessary to detail the legal proceedings to which this pub-
lication ... indirectly gave rise. They involved a struggle for
moral ascendancy, in which the powers of evil, numerous and
influential in the colony at the time, were arrayed in mortal
hate on the one hand against the interests of public and private
virtue on the other, while the whole colony were spectators to
the scene". (History 1875 ed. Vol. I, p. 446-7). One cannot
help but gain the impression that he enjoyed this type of exposé.
(See also Chapter 7 Reference 52).

20. D. Buchanan, Political Portraits of some of the Members of the
Parliament of New South Wales, p. 46. Admittedly, these
sketches are somewhat outside our period, but they show the
extent to which bias could be directed - and with Lang, it appears
that people were either for him or against him, seldom adopting
a mid-way attitude. As an example of Buchanan's unbounded
partiality for Lang, the following is a good, though none-the-less
nauseating, example: "... he is possessed of great talent, highly
cultivated; he has read a great deal and travelled a great deal;
his conversation is very interesting, instructing and amusing;
there is no bigotry or fanaticism about him; he is possessed
of great humour, has a keen appreciation of the ludicrous and
likes a joke amazingly; his mind is stored with every variety
of information; his society is very interesting and attractive,
all the more so from his mild, quiet, pleasant manner."
It seems unlikely that many, even in 1863, saw him in this light.
Certainly it is unlikely that his contemporaries of the thirties
would have subscribed to many of these laudatory phrases.

21. On this point it is interesting to note that in the History, Lang,
referring to his own efforts on behalf of the Australian College
says: "... for soon as it was reported ... that I was about to
return ... with an extensive literary, mechanical and physical
apparatus for the establishment of a new institution, the
foundations of the Sydney College were laid". (1837 ed. Vol. 2,
p. 339). This is not true, as he himself had been present with
the Chief Justice, Forbes, in 1830 when the foundation stone of
the college was laid. This is another example of Lang's
inconsistency, where possibly he writes to achieve an effect,
rather than to give the facts. Or else, he just forgot the facts,
which in the case of the Sydney College, seems unlikely.

22. This is the quotation referred to in note 12, and proved to be
the main point to which the Archdeacon took exception.
23. H.R.A., I, XVI, p. 451-3 for Broughton's letter to Lord Goderich. In this letter, Broughton appears to present his own case for consideration by Goderich purely on the basis of public report. And, on the same basis, he hoped Goderich would consider Lang's allegations. But he does suggest that it was up to Lang to prove that the following circumstances were so:

(i) that the standard of public morals and religion was lowered after the setting up of the Corporation;

(ii) that the clergymen involved with the Corporation had been more secular in their pursuits beyond the extent of other clergy.


26. Gilchrist, p. 139. Also, Lang made his complaint public by a letter published in the Sydney Herald on 26th March 1832, where he alluded to this breach of colonial etiquette.

27. Lang to Bourke 26th December 1831, H.R.A., I, XVI, p. 492-6. Lang made several other points of importance in this letter, the most interesting of which are the following:

(i) the Commissioners, in their letter on this matter, admitted that this was not the first time that such accusations had been made against them. Lang took this point, enlarged upon it and said "this admission is a direct acknowledgment ... in regard to the inefficiency, the expensiveness and the evil tendency of the Corporation [that such previous accusations] were merely the distant echo of the voice of the colony";

(ii) he also maintained that the Charter did not envisage the revenue from the whole of the lands granted the Corporation being used by that body, as the government reserved to itself the right to appropriate any surplus revenue;

(iii) he states that Lord Goderich was aware that the only reason he made the trip to England was to promote an academical institution for the colony - which should have been the task of the Corporation;

(iv) it was only when he had arrived in England that he realized the benefits which could be derived from emigration, and that the sale of the Corporation's land would "prove a blessing of incalculably greater value to the colony than was ever likely to result from the continuance of the Church and School Corporation".

This letter was a clever piece of constructed argument on the part of Lang, for it would appear that he built up most of his
arguments from the Commissioners' letter, rather allowing them to condemn themselves. However, Lang had unfortunately already damaged his own case from the outset by printing, without authority, the letter he had written to Lord Goderich (and referred to in note 12 above). This fact, together with the official position held by Archdeacon Broughton, must have meant that Lang really could not have succeeded from the outset.

28. Goderich to Bourke, 3rd April 1832, H.R.A., I, XVI, p. 590. It seems a rather vacuous comment for Lord Goderich to have made over the probable withholding of the loan for the Australian College. Rather, it would appear to be an attempt to help cover, with official approval, the actions of the Archdeacon on behalf of the Corporation - a body which Goderich no doubt wished could have been dispensed with long before.

29. H.R.A., p. 591. The effect this rebuke had upon Lang is difficult to determine, for if he is to be believed in what he wrote in his History, the only point upon which Lord Goderich censured him was for publishing his letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies without permission. (This fact is given in the editions of the History - 1837 ed. Vol. 2, p. 344; 1852 ed., Vol. 2, p. 524; 1875 ed. Vol. 2, p. 370);


31. H.R.A., I, XVI, p. 627-8. Also to be found in Lang Papers, Vol. 13A, Doc. 168. This was passed in the Legislative Council on 15th March 1832.

32. Sydney Herald 26th March 1832.


34. Gilchrist p. 139.

35. Apparently what Lang sold comprised the following:

(i) his father's grant of 2,000 acres at Bong Bong and Sutton Forest; sold for £1,500;

(ii) his own land of 1,200 acres on Lake Illawarra; sold for £2,400;

(iii) his father's town allotment of about one acre at Kent, Bathurst and Sussex Streets, together with the house; sold for £?

(iv) his own house - later it became Petty's Hotel, and is now the Red Cross Headquarters; sold for £?
This information from *Newspaper Cuttings* Vol. 12 p. 7 in the Mitchell Library. It appeared in the column *Old Sydney* in 1908 in the newspaper *Truth*.

In the *History* (1834 edition p. 369) Lang refers to settling French Protestant vine growers on "2000 acres situated in the district of Illawarra ... [which] happened unexpectedly to fall into my hands about three years ago". Presumably it was not the land referred to in (ii) above.


CHAPTER 6

The quotation which begins this chapter has been taken from: Angus MacKay "The Rev. Dr. Lang", in the Melbourne Review, Vol. III, 1878, p. 353.

PART I


2. Lang to John Macarthur 14th November 1831. Macarthur Papers, Ref. A2900, Doc. No. 297-8. It would seem that Lang was not averse to making use of all his influential friends and acquaintances in this matter. Apparently Francis Forbes was a friend, as Dr. Currey, in his work on Sir Francis Forbes (p. 429) quotes Mrs. Forbes as writing in her Memoirs: "Among our many friends one for whom we cherished a great respect was Dr. Lang". Also, as an indication of the date of this friendship, can be cited this quote also from Dr. Currey of Mrs. Forbes, on Lang's Stirling Castle venture: "My husband being of Scotch descent and a personal friend of Dr. Lang's, we were much interested in these new arrivals". (also at p. 429).

3. Macarthur to Lang 17th November 1837. Macarthur Papers, Doc. No. 298-9. This is a draft of a reply to Lang.


5. Sydney Herald 7th and 28th November 1837.


7. Lang to the Acting Governor 22nd November 1837, Lang Papers, Vol. 16, Doc. 47.

8. Lang made this action quite a feature of his chapter on the foundation of the Australian College in all four editions of the History - even the fourth (and last) edition has a page devoted to it. It was a problem, and a major one at that, as the College Council was far from agreeable to the full building scheme for the college being undertaken until the land was vested in the
college. Consequently, Lang had to undertake the building of two of the four houses at his own expense (Council meeting 5th June 1832 in *Lang Papers* Vol. 16, Doc. 70). In August 1832, Lang wrote to Bourke, again setting out all the details of the proposed transfer, obviously in an effort to hasten proceedings (Doc. 113). By the end of September, the draft of a Bill to enable the Trustees to alienate portion of their land had been prepared, and passed, and awaited only royal assent (Doc. 117 ff.).

This having been successfully accomplished, in March 1833 a memorial was prepared for the governor, in which the three surviving trustees of the Scots Church, John Lang, David Ramsay and John Piper, request a grant of more land for that church to compensate for that portion alienated to the college. It is not difficult to imagine Lang was the originator of this (Doc. 167).

9. **Meeting of the Council of the Australian College 27th December 1831, *Lang Papers* Vol. 16, Doc. 51.**

John McGarvie had left Portland Head in 1830 to take Lang's place at Scots Church during the latter's absence in England. He began an association with the *Sydney Herald* which first published in 1831, and wrote many of its leading articles. This connection was to last for many years. In 1832 a new church in Sydney was formed - St. Andrews - and Lang presumed that this was the outcome of McGarvie's stewardship of the Scots Church. Friendly relations between these two clerics steadily worsened after this. Rev. A. Dougan, *Portrait of a Scottish Pioneer Minister in Australia* - Rev. John McGarvie (unpublished).

10. **Meeting of the Australian College Council 27th January 1832, *Lang Papers*, Vol. 16, Doc. 57. Meeting of the Australian College Council, 27th January 1832.** This explanation does not accord with what Lang wrote to John Macarthur, as noted in reference 2 above, but it was possible he had abandoned that particular scheme, and replaced it by this one.

11. **Sydney College Annual Reports 1831-45, Doc. 7-8.**

12. For details of properties sold, see Chapter 5 Ref. No. 35.


17. Gilchrist p. 137.


19. Lang. For property sold see Chapter 5 Ref. No. 35.
   Lang believed in advertising his sacrifices. In the Preface p. iv-v of the 1875 ed. of the *History*, he makes an item out of the money he had expended for the public benefit, and quotes from a public meeting in 1870 where it was stated that the property disposed of would then have been worth about £100,000. With becoming modesty he then states: "The author would certainly not have made such a statement himself; but as it was made publicly, where the facts referred to were all well-known, he has no hesitation in saying that it was perfectly correct".


21. Sydney Herald 18th April 1833. Lang's letter in reply was printed in this paper.

22. Sydney Herald.


26. Lang to Australian College Council.


29. Stanley to Bourke - same despatch as (27) above.

30. Lang was apparently experiencing some difficulty in meeting the due dates for payment of amounts incurred for the charter of the *Stirling Castle* from John Ker in Greenock, Scotland. Evidence various items of correspondence in *Lang Papers*, Vol. 17; especially a letter from Ker to Lang, dated 28th March 1833, where Ker replies to a letter of Lang's in which Lang had apparently enclosed a copy of the *Gazette* in which appeared an
article indicating the visisstudes Lang was experiencing over the establishment of the Australian College. Ker replied that he hoped Lang's next letter would contain "documentary evidence of the failure of your Episcopalian opponents to deprive you of Government aid". He also mentions that he had informed Lang's various creditors of these facts, and apparently they were satisfied that Lang had done all he could to secure settlement of the outstanding debts.

Further evidence of these debts comes from another letter (admittedly after Lang's 1833 voyage home) from Ker to Lang 16th June 1835 (National Library Ref. JAF 158/26) in which Ker hopes for a remittance for an amount owing to a Mr. Andrew Crawford, Joiner, in respect of outfitting for the Stirling Castle. It would appear that Lang had placed himself very heavily in debt over both the emigration and education ventures of 1831. This could account for his extreme sensitivity where criticism was concerned, since the success of the college had to be assured if he was to recoup the moneys outlaid on its behalf, and repay debts he had contracted.

31. The Colonist 1st January 1835. This was the paper's first edition.


33. Currey.


35. Austin, p. 36-7.

36. Austin, p. 36. Austin makes an interesting point on this particular aspect of Bourke's administration, when he points out that, over the question of the Irish system of education, Broughton, the young man from a poor family stood as the conservative cleric and spokesman of privilege; whereas Bourke, the heir of landed estates and a product of a patronage-ridden army was a liberal governor and the advocate of social change.


38. As well as appearing in The Colonist, and in the 1837 edition of the History, this piece was printed in his Poems, Sacred and Secular, p. 127-30, which appeared in 1873. It is reproduced below, as it evidences the versatility of his writings. Apart from being highly amusing both in content and style, it also indicates the vitriolic nature of his pen.
THE IRISH STEW

I sing of good eating! There lately befell
A notable feast at a Sydney Hotel!
There was plenty for me, and plenty for you;
But the pride of the Board was an Irish Stew!

Who it was that got up the feast,
Is of many important things the least;
For a feast there was, and that is most true,
And the principal dish was an Irish stew.

There were guests of every rank and station,
Of every possible creed and nation;
Mahometan, Christian, Turk and Jew;
But the only dish was an Irish stew!

An Irish Roman Catholic priest
Got up in his place and blessed the feast,
And then helped himself, as he well could do,
To a trencher-full of the Irish stew.

He dived right into it all in a minute,
And showed there was never a Bible in it.
"For what", said he, "had the Bible to do
Either inside or outside an Irish stew?"

There was music too, both loud and shrill,
To cheer up those who were eating their fill;
And some, it is said, took mountain-dew
In plentiful draughts with their Irish stew.

Monitor Hall was the principal chaunter;
He sat, like the devil in Tam o' Shanter,
With a pair of Scotch bagpipes, and sung while he blew
"O there's no dish at all like an Irish stew."

For eight long years he had sung like a starling,
"O what a tyrant was General Darling!"
But alas! that good old tune's replaced with a new,
Since he's taken to play up "The Irish Stew!"

Meanwhile a poor editor, Richard Roe,
And his equally brainless friend, John Doe,
Stood up on their feet, as they used to do,
And began - "The aforesaid Irish stew - "
But their eloquence suffered a sad eclipse:
For the Judges speedily sealed their lips
And turned them out! So all they could do
Was to beg for some more of the Irish stew.

And other editors too might be seen
With their Tickets of Leave and their shamrocks so green,
They may thank English juries ('twixt me and you)
For their own tid-bits of the Irish stew.

But many, "tis said, turned sick to see
So uncommonly little variety;
While Scotch and English parsons too
Said they never would dine on Irish stew.

Then the head of the Normal Institution,
A hero of tact and elocution,
Got up on a stool (as he needed to do),
To be seen when extolling the Irish stew.

"There are some" he said, "who turn up their nose
At the richest and daintiest dish that goes;
But show me the puny sectarian who
Has a stomach that nauseates Irish stew!

"For upon my honour this excellent dish
Has the nature of herb, fowl, flesh and fish.
It suits all palates. Pray, try it, sir, do;
And you'll soon ask for more of the Irish stew.

"There's English, French, Latin and Mathematics,
Jurisprudence and Aerostatics;
There's cod-fish, and plaice and celery too,
Combined in this excellent Irish stew!

"'But as for religion' you say; what then?
Does every gentleman relish cayenne?
To season for one might poison two,
So we sha'n't season at all our Irish stew.

"But we'll have a spice-bottle at hand on a shelf,
That each may season it for himself,
Neither Pagan, Christian, Turk or Jew,
Shall ever season my Irish stew."

But it seems he had bolted full more than enough
Even of that super-excellent stuff;
For he stopped, turned pale, and began to sp--;
So here ends Course the First of the Irish Stew.
42. The actual terms, as agreed upon by Lang and Carmichael in London in 1831 covered several areas, but the last is the matter which was disputed. The agreement as understood by Carmichael for this point read as follows:

(6) if at the end of three years, for which period he, Carmichael, understands the guarantee to be given "the institution should not correspond either in point of emolument or of respectability with the prospect you have held out to me in both of these respects, and with my own reasonable expectations ... I shall be entitled to a free passage home for myself and family to England should I desire to return home." Henry Carmichael to Lang, London 25th January 1831, in Lang Papers, Vol. 16, Doc. 13.

43. See The Colonist, the following editions all contained letters or articles on this vexed question: 5th and 19th March, and 14th May 1835.

44. Lang, History, 1852 ed., Vol. 2, p. 537-8. This also accounts for the leading (if final) role Carmichael played in The Irish Stew (see note 38 above).

45. Lang, p. 538. The inclusion of Mr. Carmichael's present (1852) occupation was designed to demonstrate to all readers that Carmichael had not prospered since his departure from the college, and perhaps, how the Almighty had displayed his wrath to him in punishment for his actions. Lang's vindictiveness is at times almost difficult to believe; another notable instance being that concerned with the Rev. John McGarvie.

PART II

1. Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton to Lang 8th April 1831, Lang Papers, Vol. 13A, Doc. 157. Apparently Lang had written to Wilmot-Horton setting out his proposals for emigration. In this reply Wilmot-Horton discussed the proposals made by the Emigration Committee of 1826-7, showing that they contained all the elements of those put to him by Lang. He also expressed the view that to date the Committee's recommendations seemed to have been neglected.

2. R.M. Hartwell "The Pastoral Ascendancy" in Gordon Greenwood (ed.) Australia, a Social and Political History, p. 79. Dr. Currey (in his Sir Francis Forbes, p. 485) sees the hand of Lord Howick behind these regulations. Howick was Under-Secretary for the Colonies. However, they were issued in the name of Lord Goderich as Secretary of State for the Colonies.

3. Even so, some of the political heads who succeeded Bathurst after 1837 were not so far seeing. For instance, Michael Langley in an article "Wakefield and South Australia" in History Today October 1969, says referring to the year 1829: "... R.W. Hay (Permanent Under-Secretary) still regarded Australia as a settlement for those who had transgressed the law rather than as a home for those who otherwise might, so that the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, Sir George Murray, was content to announce that the Government wished to discourage emigration." But within a year, Goderich was back in this office, and more progressive views prevailed. (quote from p. 706).

4. The summary of these principles from R.M. Hartwell, p. 78-9.

5. Suggestions on promoting an extensive emigration of the industrious classes to New South Wales - submitted by Lang to the Governor dated 1st February 1832, Lang Papers, Vol. 17, Doc. 31. At the foot of this document, Lang's wife has written the comment "Had this plan been carried forth!!! Alas now for poor Australia." The comment is dated 1883.

6. Lang Papers, Doc. 31. D.S. Macmillan in his Scotland and Australia 1788-1850 p. 27, indicated that this group at Portland Head was not representative, because "such were their religious views and their social background that they sought an isolation where they could live with as little contact as possible with the rest of the Presbyterian community". Lang, in his History (4th ed., p. 77-8) mentions this, but says the settlement was, in those days, "the most exemplary in the colony". It would appear
that these settlers were not as representative as Lang would have had the governor believe, but their experiment did show that group emigration, from Scotland at least, could work.

7. Lang, History, 1852 ed., Vol. 2, p. 144. He claims he differed from Wakefield where matters of colonisation were concerned.

Child makes two points on Lang's immigational work; firstly that his efforts were original, and secondly that he took the initiative. However, Child also thinks that Lang isolated himself by working against the authorities, and this was so because he possessed determination but lacked tact in his dealings with them. The evidence today does not bear out these facts entirely. Firstly, his efforts were not original in that his ideas appear to have been obtained from material already available; his actual venture of the Stirling Castle was original in the sense that it put into practice the ideas which he had determined were possible of practical demonstration. But even so, the home government during 1831 had been in process of considering the question of free emigration quite seriously, and Lang's wish to see a shipload of emigrants put out for the colony (with the express purpose of aiding the Australian College venture) could have been done by the British government - in fact, Lang hoped that it would have been. His determination came into play when the government would not support the venture, and so he eventually carried it out himself. Secondly, although he may have taken the initiative, the only reason that this happened was for the reason mentioned above - that he needed the mechanics for the college. Also, he had probably set his mind on this venture being undertaken.

Without delving too deeply into the question as to whether Lang was a pioneer in the emigational field, it is of interest to refer again to D.S. Macmillan, in his Scotland and Australia 1780-1832. In the Introduction p. xviii he refers to Scottish emigration, indicating that "the case of John Dunmore Lang is probably a prime example of how uncritical acceptance can be given to the claims of prolific and repetitive writers... but his claims to be a great organiser of emigration... must be regarded with reserve".


13. Lang, p. 11-12.

14. Lang, p. 18. Lang himself indicated that these points could be summarised as the main ideas put forward in his lecture.

15. The *Sydney Gazette* 11th May 1833.


18. This letter was printed in *The Colonist* of 8th October 1835.

19. In this letter, Lang made the following comment on the Boards of Emigration in London: "[the] best interests of the colony are sacrificed to the private convenience and profit of interested and mercenary jobbers."


21. Scotland had begun to look towards Australia as a potential commercial market soon after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. The colony under Macquarie appeared to present a suitably stable area for possible commercial ventures. Also, the publication of various works on the situation in the colony in 1819-20 increased the knowledge of those interested in commerce. With the result that the Scottish merchants became extremely interested in the colony. (Macmillan p. 27-39).


23. C. H. Currey, *Sir Francis Forbes*, p. 488. It is interesting that Dr. Currey states 12,187 had migrated, whilst C. M. H. Clark in his *History of Australia* Vol. 2, p. 224 indicates that 2,848 only had received assistance.


25. Macmillan, p. 271-2. R. F. Eliot had been secretary to the Emigration Commissioners in 1831/2. He established emigration agencies in Scotland at Leith and Greenock, but until the bounty system came into force in Scotland in 1837, he was unable to break the monopoly held by the London shipowners, who appeared to use the bounty system for their own benefit. Dr. Boyter, a very able naval surgeon, eventually took charge of almost the whole
of the emigration activities in Scotland - selecting candidates and controlling embarkation, ships and supplies.

26. Glenelg to Lang, 29th March 1827. *Lang Papers* Vol. 17, Doc. 127. Also to be found in H.R.A., I, XVIII, p. 721, but here the letter is noted as coming from Lord Grey, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.


28. Lang, p. 287.


Lang to John Anderson 18th July 1836 Doc. 165.
Lang to Mr. Coak, 18th July 1837, Doc. 167.
A problem arose over the inability of the *Minerva* to arrive in the colony before 31st December 1837 - the expiry date of Bourke's proclamation of 28th March 1836 whereby the Government Notice of 28th October 1835 concerning bounties payable for emigrants brought out to the colony had been extended. For bounties to be payable, all emigrants had to arrive in the colony on or before 31st December 1837. The owners of the ship required Lang to give guarantees that they would be fully compensated if the ship arrived after that date.
See - Owners of the *Minerva* to Lang, 20th July 1837, Doc. 173-5.
John Ker to Lang, 12th September 1837 - Doc. 179.

PART III


5. Lang, p. 41-2. Also in 1837 ed. Vol. 2, p. 27-9. Archbishop Whatley, Archbishop of Dublin, was an advocate of humane, but corrective punishment, and was a severe critic of the transportation system as he felt it achieved no purpose whatever. He wrote a work *Thoughts on Secondary Punishment, in a Letter to Earl Grey*, in 1832 in which he outlined his ideas. He also wrote pamphlets on emigration and on political economy.


7. The assignment system came into operation in May 1823 as a consequence of Commissioner Bigge's recommendation. In 1833, an Act to consolidate and amend the Laws for Transportation and Punishment of Offenders, etc., was passed by the Legislative Council. At the same time a summary of the regulations for the assignment of convicts was published at the instigation of the Governor and the Chief Justice. This set out who could apply for assigned servants; how they were to be treated; punishment for various offences; and many other matters. C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, Vol. 2, p. 197, says: "Again Bourke and Forbes were reaching for that mean point between clarity of the law, humanity, reformation, and due punishment"; but apparently well-intentioned though these legislators were, the system could neither be properly defined nor policed, and in many instances became a by-word for cruelty and oppression.


10. There can be little doubt that one of the greatest evils which Lang saw in the transportation system - or certainly in its continuance - was the predominance of Irish Catholics amongst those transported. In his *History* (1837 ed., Vol. 1, p. 346)
and in *Transportation and Colonisation* (p. 46) he states that in convict ships arriving from England, ten percent of the convicts were catholic, and of convict ships arriving from Ireland, only five percent of those on board were Protestant. Surprisingly, he says nothing in these publications about the small number of Scottish convicts. The situation concerning transportation from Scotland has been detailed by A. G. L. Shaw in *Convicts and the Colonies*, p. 165. He states that per head of population the Scottish rate was less than one quarter that of England between 1810 and 1821, and about two fifths after 1830. R. Ward in *The Australian Legend* p. 45 attributes the small number of Scottish convicts not to the infrequency of crime in Scotland, but to the differences between the Scottish and English legal systems, which in Scotland meant that it was usually the hardened criminals only who were transported.

11. *This episode, together with Lang's venture of The Colonist is dealt with more fully in Chapter 7.*


14. Major James Mudie had written a pamphlet in 1834 entitled *The Vindication of James Mudie and John Larnach* following an uprising among the convicts on his Hunter River property *Castle Forbes*. Mudie was apparently a very harsh master, and did not agree with the liberal principles expressed by Bourke. His convicts eventually rebelled, and although the leaders of the uprising were hanged, the evidence at the trial of Mudie's treatment of his assigned convicts caused him to suffer a form of ostracism by his fellow colonists, and probably made many a colonist realize how abused the assignment system could be.


16. The ideas of J. D. Lang expressed in this paragraph have been taken mainly from his *History*, 1837 ed., Vol. 1, p. 338-42.

17. J. Metcalfe, *Edward Edwards - His Association with "New South Wales Its Present State and Future Prospects"*, p. 24. Metcalfe analyses Lang's comments on the political situation of the colony at that period, and relates them as they appeared in the *History* to other publications of the time, especially to James Macarthur's volume, which Edward Edwards helped to prepare, and also to some of James Mudie's publications.
18. This was a period of petitions and counter petitions, and an area in which Lang refrained from giving too much comment. The two petitions sponsored by the Sydney Herald comprised:

(i) an address to the King, which submitted that the flourishing condition of affairs in New South Wales was counter-balanced by depravity of manners, prevalence of crime (caused by insufficient police, relaxation of convict discipline, inadequate means for religious and moral instruction, and from the continued influx of transported felons). The petitioners looked forward to the day when free legislative powers would be granted them;

(ii) a petition to the House of Commons, which urged the House to appoint a committee to enquire into whether transportation should be continued; the capabilities of the colony as a free settlement; and how far it would be wise to change the constitution of the Legislative Council.

Both these petitions were published in the Sydney Herald of 2nd April, 1836.

There was, naturally, a counter petition on the part of the colonial liberals. This was decided upon at a meeting on 29th March 1836 of leading liberals, including Sir John Jamison, Dr. William Bland, W. G. Wentworth and about nine others. A general meeting was held on 12th April at the Royal Hotel, at which a petition to the House of Commons was drawn up. Its purpose was broadly to solve the problems of the existing Legislative Council in order to be able to establish a representative legislature, and to refute the charges in the Sydney Herald petitions that the colony was in such a degraded state. It also praised the manner in which Sir Richard Bourke had carried out his administration. These petitions show how much the colonists were concerned for their future - and that it was bound up with transportation and immigration.


20. Lang's continual trips back to Great Britain, and his writings to wile away the tedium of the voyages appear to have caused some amusement. The following appeared in an English or Scottish newspaper or journal, and now resides amongst Sir Thomas Mitchell's Papers, in Vol. 7 at p. 263. No doubt the good Doctor was most entertained by it.

Dunmore Laing is come again!
Dunmore Laing is come again!
Tell the news through bush and glen,
Dunny Laing is home again!
Dunny kens the craft o' teaching,
Has the gift o' gospel preaching.

Dunny Laing can cross the main,
Dunny can come back agen;
Coming, going, volumes writing,
Going, coming, books inditing;
Dunny needs nor rest nor phæsick
Writes when ither folk are seasick.

Prints them when he gets ashore
When he's landed writing more;

There are six verses altogether, and although it would appear to have been written much later than our period, it is none the less quite appropriate, for apparently his continual journeys back home did not go unnoticed.

21. J. D. Lang, Transportation and Colonisation. These particular causes of the failure of the transportation system are given a chapter each in that work - chapters 4 to 7 inclusive.

22. Lang, p. 80.

23. Lang, p. 81.


25. Lang.


27. H. Reeve Australia and The Penal Colonies, p. 4. This shows that contemporary reviewers were alive to the prejudices which Lang so often exhibited.


29. Lang Papers, Vol. 13A, Doc. No. 228: Sir William Molesworth to Lang 7th April 1837. Molesworth asks Lang to testify before the Committee. It is possible Molesworth had been advised by Lord John Russell of the existence of Lang's work on Transportation and Colonisation, as Lang had sent a copy to Russell on 29th March 1837. (See Lang Papers, Vol. 13A, No. 226). In another letter to Lang dated 29th April, Molesworth requests from Lang a copy of his work on Transportation. So no doubt by the time Lang gave his evidence, Molesworth and the Committee
would have been aware of its contents.

30. Currey, p. 491, gives some of Francis Forbes's opinions on transportation as given to the Committee. One of these was that by increasing the volume of emigration and reducing that of transportation, the British Government could eventually cease transportation altogether. He envisaged this taking place over a period of some five years. Molesworth's reply to this was: "Your Committee are of the opinion that the present system of transportation should be abolished."


32. Report, p. 263. Lang's ideal system, as outlined to the Committee, would follow these rules:
   - (i) from the start, the new community would encourage the immigration of labouring class families, and the settlement of small agricultural communities;
   - (ii) convicts would be used to prepare suitable localities for the immigrants;
   - (iii) assignment of convicts would not be made during the period of sentence, but a conditional freedom could be granted deserving convicts after fixed periods of service, and they could then hire themselves out as free labour to the settlers;
   - (iv) the importation and manufacture of "ardent spirits" to be prohibited.

He suggested Moreton Bay as a suitable area, and adds the comment that the free settlers ought to be carefully selected, as they should be immune to contamination from the conditionally freed convict - and here he recommends the free settlers be selected from the "Highlands of Scotland", as very few transported convicts had come from that area.

As it turned out, his recommendations were not implemented, but he himself tried to settle free immigrants at Moreton Bay some years later. The experiment then was not an unqualified success.

33. Currey, p. 491 (the quote comes from **H.R.A. Series 1, Vol. XIX p. 504**).


35. Currey, p. 492. The Council Resolutions quoted are the 9th, 11th, and 12th.
36. H.R.A. I. XVIII, p. 763 Glenelg to Bourke, 26th May 1837.

37. H.R.A. I. XIX, Bourke to Glenelg, 22nd November 1837.

38. Lang, Transportation and Colonisation, preface, p. v.

CHAPTER 7

The quotation heading the chapter is taken from Lang, History, 1837 ed., Vol. 2, p. 422-3, and concerns his attitude when referring to his exposure of the workings of the colonial press.

1. Lang, *Aurora Australis*. Advertisement vii-viii. It would be interesting to know whether Lang considered that the note he placed on one of the title pages had any relevance to the lines just quoted. The note reads briefly as follows:—Any profits arising will be appropriated towards the liquidation of the debt on Scots Church—"for which the author’s family have become responsible, to the amount of £1,500".


3. Lang, p. 156.


6. Lang, *Poems Sacred and Secular*, p. 155. This is part of Colonial Nomenclature, a poem which is absurdly inconsistent in its imagery from stanza to stanza.


9. Throughout various volumes of the Lang Papers in the Mitchell Library appear many pages of vocabulary from different Aboriginal tribes, together with their English equivalents. Lang apparently collected these on his numerous journeys throughout the colony. No doubt he was genuinely interested, but it also demonstrates how he was always following through some idea or project which was mentally stimulating. He seemed to be motivated by a force which kept him ever active. He also enlisted the aid of others in this quest for Aboriginal dialects, as in the Lang Papers, Vol. 10 appears a letter from the Rev. Archibald Macarthur to Lang dated 3rd July 1824, in which Macarthur indicates he had made enquiries on Lang’s behalf of the language of the Aborigines of Van Diemen’s Land, but had had no luck as yet.

11. This jeu d'esprit was written to deride Governor Bourke's Irish system of education. The full text of the poem appears in Chapter 6, Part I, Reference No. 38.

12. Nadel, p. 42


19. Darling to Lang, 23rd May 1834 in *Lang Papers*, Vol. 6, Doc. 90-102. As an example of Lang's unsubstantiated and general criticisms to which Darling objected was the following, which appeared in Vol. I, p. 184 of the *History*: Speaking of Darling, Lang says he "allowed himself to be guided by the opinions of men who were unqualified to guide him". Included amongst the documents referred to above from Darling are Lang's comments (Doc. 103-105) on Darling's letter. Lang has set out an answer to each one, but whether he actually sent the reply to Darling I have not been able to ascertain. His answer to Darling's objection to the remark quoted above was that he (Lang) was referring to Darling's two brothers-in-law, Mr. Condamine and Colonel Dumaresq., and he says: "It is rather complimentary to General Darling that such persons got the blame rather than himself". Then he continues by listing the various positions successively occupied by Dumaresq - those of Civil Engineer; Director of Public Works; Surveyor of Roads and Bridges and Colonial Treasurer. Lang states that his qualifications for each position could be questioned, but the important point was that in each position he might have been giving Darling advice, with the result that men who were better qualified were kept out, and consequently the advice received was not as good as it should (or could) have been. No doubt there was a certain validity in these criticisms, but Lang's comments were founded upon general
knowledge only, and not upon personal involvement; they were
the comments of an observer, but a very perceptive observer
all the same.

20. A further example of this unbalanced, but clever criticism is
to be found in the 1852 edition of the History at p. 268-9. This
again concerns Darling, but also brings in Governor Bourke,
who was unable to gain support from those who had previously
supported Darling, because he could not offer them Crown Grants.
For further detail on this matter, see Chapter 5, Ref. No. 11.

21. James Macarthur apparently supplied the ideas and the details,
and Edward Edwards then wrote the actual book. See J. Metcalfe,
"Edward Edwards, His Association with 'New South Wales Its
(This article has subsequently been reprinted separately).


23. For details of these petitions see Chapter 6, Part III, Ref. No. 18.

24. For details of James Medie, see Chapter 6, Part III, Ref. No. 14.

25. Metcalfe, p. 29 (in separate reprint).


27. Lang, p. 306. Apparently Lang had the work reprinted because
he wished to maintain his prior right to the theory he had put
forward. Also, the 1834 edition had brought him fame in certain
circles, and perhaps after his virtual retirement from active
politics and religion, he wished to recapture his past scholastic
interests.

28. Lang even quotes these reviews on p. 306.

29. G. B. Barton, The Poets and Prose Writers of New South Wales, p. 34.


32. The Colonist, 1st January 1835. The newspapers in the colony
at that time were:
The Sydney Gazette - founded in 1803
The Australian - founded in 1824
The Sydney Monitor - founded in 1826
The Sydney Herald - founded in 1831

The first three, to which Lang mainly objected, were chiefly emanciptist in policy, whilst the Herald was Tory (exclusive).

33. Sydney Gazette, 3rd January 1835. This paper indicated it intended to reveal the true facts of Lang's visit to England, and the double dealings over the matter of the Sydney College. This it did in its issue of 8th January, and it accused Lang of going to England as representative of the Sydney College, and under that guise, obtaining money for his own college. Admittedly, the Gazette did not suggest this quite so openly, but inferred it by quoting from the Quarterly Journal of Education in 1831. They suggested trickery had been used somewhere, but "be it understood we do not apply the phrase trickery to Dr. Lang. We would not do so, however innocent might be our intention, because we know the Doctor has a sharp eye to words... But trickery there has been somewhere".

34. New South Wales Literary Political and Commercial Advertiser, No. 1, p. 54. The article is entitled "Another Dose for the Rev. Dr. Lang...". It was written by the proprietor of that journal, a Dr. John Lhotsky, who was a medical practitioner, though he did not practice whilst in New South Wales; he was also a Roman Catholic. The monthly journal only lasted several years, and G.B. Barton described Lhotsky as an "eccentric personnage", and the reason behind the appearance of the journal as being the government's inattention to Lhotsky's geographical discoveries (Barton, Literature in New South Wales, p. 72). Whether due to his geographical training or not, his observation was very keen, and Dr. Lang and his various writings received close scrutiny.

35. The Rev. Henry Carmichael's departure from the Australian College was dealt with in the following early editions of The Colonist: 5th and 19th March and 14th May 1835.

36. The Colonist of 26th February and 16th April 1835 contained replies to letters from Rev. Samuel Marsden which had appeared in the Sydney Herald of 9th February and 9th April 1835. These letters reflect personal animosities on both sides. The issues concerned appear to be over the avowed "Episcopalian intolerance" Marsden was supposed to have shown towards a Mr. William Grook of the London Missionary Society and recounted by Lang in the History; and over an amount of £700 loaned by Marsden to Lang.
for the building of the Scots Church. In his 26th February letter, Lang indicated he would have sent this letter to the Sydney Herald rather than publish it in his own newspaper, but, when attacked in that paper some weeks previously by Mr. Carmichael, he wrote to the editor giving an explanation of Carmichael's charges, and received the reply that if he paid for it as an advertisement, it would be printed. Thus, he says: "I determined in consequence, never to write a syllable in their mercenary paper again". (Colonist, 26th February). And so Marsden wrote in the Sydney Herald, and Lang replied in The Colonist.

37. This type of statement is easily attributable to Lang. He appeared to have an unbounded faith in himself, and providing he had justified matters in his own mind, then any recipients of advice or comment as a result were bound, in his view, to be grateful. Even the failure of people to respond, or the voicing of criticism was not sufficient to deter him. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine that he brought the same notions to The Colonist, and gave his readers what he thought they needed. This attitude was with him to the end of his life, for when requested in 1876 to outline his chief non-political services to New South Wales, he named as one "Architectural", claiming that his importation of the Scots mechanics in 1831 added to the skills available for use in the colony's building - which was true (Sir Thomas Mitchell, himself a Scot, agreed: see Sir Thomas Mitchell Papers, Vol VIII, Doc. 597); but he phrased it in the following manner, stating that until the mechanics arrived, Sydney was a collection "of paltry wooden and brick buildings". No doubt the "polished stone" he preferred was very good, and his background in Scotland would, I suppose, lead him to prefer stone, but even in this matter there was no compromise; stone was the only building material. (Statement of the Principal Non-Political Services rendered to the Government and People of New South Wales).


40. This series of articles began on 26th March 1835, and was continued on 2nd April. It was an editorial on the history of the colonial press, and in many instances drew heavily on Lang's own History. On 21st May appeared another article entitled The Literary Profession or the Colonial Press, and on 4th June Colonial Patriots, or The Editor of the Sydney Monitor.
This Association was formed early in 1835 for the ostensible purpose of establishing a colonial political agency in London. Its chairman was Sir John Jamison, and it had at that time a provisional committee of some sixty persons (Clark, Vol. 2, p. 226). Some of its leading figures were W. C. Wentworth, Rev. Henry Carmichael, and Dr. Bland. The Association aimed at "isolating the hard core exclusives ... presenting them as anti-patriots opposed to the general welfare". (M. Roe, Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851, p. 81). But it rapidly became a voice through which liberal emancipist opinion was uttered, and it "insisted that - as in Britain - once a prisoner had served his punishment he should be eligible for full citizenship". (Roe, p. 82). It can thus be understood that Lang would be opposed to it, if not only because of its principles, but on the grounds of its membership e.g. Carmichael. In an editorial entitled Ourselves in The Colonist of 19th March 1836 are listed some of the paper's achievements, and amongst them the annihilation of the convict and emancipist press, which could be evidenced by the "feeble and expiring" efforts of Patriotic Association at that time.

Lang left Sydney for England again in July 1836, so it is possible that this summary was designed to indicate how important a journal it had been.
Even the Rev. Henry Carmichael wrote a pamphlet which he had printed in London in 1834, which was designed to show the advantages of emigration to New South Wales. He declared throughout this work that whilst there were undoubtedly opportunities to be found in the colony, society itself was not in a fit state due to the influence of the convicts (Hints relating to Emigrants and Emigration, published in the New South Wales Calender and General Postoffice Directory).

52. Lhotsky refers (on p. 57-61) to Lang's poem The Family Man which had appeared in The Colonist of 31st March 1836. This dealt at some length with the career of a well-known Sydney identity who was living the type of life which Lang deplored. The immediate effect of the publication was that John Thomas Wilson - the subject of the poem - assailed the editor of The Colonist - Henry Bull - who took the matter to court, where it was heard before the Chief Justice, and a verdict of £5 damages was awarded to the plaintiff. Lang, in his History (1837 ed., Vol. 2 p. 434) says that this award indicated what a poor view the colonists generally had of such a serious matter. And he wrote the same comment in The Colonist as well. The result was that his remarks were held to be in contempt of court by the Attorney-General, and the editor was then fined £100 for contempt. Lhotsky's view of the poem (or jeu d'esprit) The Family Man was that it enabled Lang to qualify "as the most luminous Pot-house song Poet of Australia". (Advertiser, No. 5, p. 57. See also Chapter 5, Ref. 19).

53. Lang, Statement of the Principal Non-Political Services rendered the Government and people of New South Wales. It seems strange that Lang should place architecture ahead of education and the improvement of morals on his list. Perhaps by 1876 he hoped to be remembered for more lasting qualities than the various contentious issues he had indulged in for most of his long lifetime.
CHAPTER 8

The quotation heading the chapter is taken from The Colonist of 16th June 1836, and is in part Lang's comment on a Memorial which was presented to the Governor giving reasons why the memorialists' disapproved of Lang's proposed journey to England on behalf of the Presbyterian Church. Lang presumed the Memorial was sponsored by those members of the Presbytery of New South Wales who were influenced by the Rev. John Mcgarvie (though Mcgarvie's name was not mentioned in this article in The Colonist). This article, written by Lang, defies those members of the Presbytery to dictate to him over the appointment of Presbyterian ministers (he refers to those in the Presbytery as members of "The Drunken Parsons' Friendly Society"). The quotation from the article is apt, not only because of the circumstances described above, but also as an indication of Lang's stand against all attempts to undermine, or question, his direction of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales.


2. M. Roe, Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851, p. 127.


5. Lang, The True Glory of a Christian Church, p. 16. He continues "such a population the Presbyterian Church has been divinely honoured to form in Scotland". Presumably the implication was that the same could eventually be the case in Van Diemen's Land (Which was where the sermon was being preached).


7. The Key to Predestination seems to be found in the interpretation given to Romans, Chapter VIII, verses 29-30. There appear to have been three basic doctrines of predestination evolved:
   (i) that which holds that God predestines salvation to those who future faith and merits he foreknew;
   (ii) that which holds that God has determined from eternity whom he will save and who will stand condemned, regardless of any
present actions to avert this decision. (This is the doctrine of double predestination, put forward by Calvin, but also held by St. Augustine, Luther and the Jansenists);

(iii) that which ascribes the salvation of man to the unmerited grace of God; and thus to predestination, but which attributes divine reprobation to man's sin and guilt. (This doctrine was put forward in the writings of St. Augustine, Luther and Thomas Aquinas).

Calvin developed the doctrine of double predestination further by indicating that this belief was the only possible assurance that man could have that, despite his sins and other failings he could depend on God to save him (i.e., he could only be sure he would be saved if he were one of the elect). This doctrine again was extended to where it became an explanation of how and why men act as they do in history (the doctrine of the decrees).

8. Gilchrist, John Dunmore Lang - Chiefly Autobiographical, forward xii.

9. Variations were apparent, even amongst the Presbyterians, and Lang was aware of this before he came to New South Wales. In his Reminiscences he quotes an example of a Scottish minister, James Adams, who held that man came into the world with equally strong tendencies to good as to evil, and that it depended upon circumstances which of these tendencies was most strongly developed. Lang apparently preached for him one Sunday, preaching his own brand of Presbyterianism. At the conclusion of the service the old clergyman indicated that he thought Lang had proved his point. Lang therefore suggested to him that he ought then to "admit the propriety of the inferences ... that we are all under the condemning sentence of God's law". To which Adams replied: "I dinna know, there are mair guid folk in the world than we ken o'." (This incident is quoted by Gilchrist, p. 18).

10. An interesting example of this is Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor of Germany from 1870 to 1890. An incident can be mentioned, although in time it lies outside our period, which is indicative of Lang's concept of his place in society; a place which was divinely ordained.

In the Lang Papers, Vol. 2, Doc. 1205, is a copy of a letter written by Lang in December 1874 to Prince Bismarck, enclosing a copy of the fourth edition of the History, which must have been just published (as its publication date is 1875). In part Lang writes: "Permit a stranger from the Antipodes who has been ever an admirer of your noble career to request your acceptance of a copy . . . ."
Lang always seemed to display a great interest in things German literature, Lutheran missionaries, German vine-growers; perhaps this was because of the Lutheran influence. But in Bismarck he must have seen many aspects of character and actions which he approved of. For example, Bismarck found his greatest happiness only in his family, as did Lang, and both men were not satisfied unless engaged on some enterprise of a public nature which absorbed most of their energy. There was also the question of their view of the Papacy. As for Bismarck, his religion has been described by A. J. P. Taylor in *Bismarck: The Man and the Statesman* at p. 21 as follows:

There was little in it [his religion] of love, except for his own family. He believed in the God of the Old Testament and of the English puritans, the God of battles. Luther or Oliver Cromwell would have understood... His religion gave to his unstable personality a settled purpose and a sense of power... The belief itself brought power. God was on his side; therefore he could ignore the opposition of men.

Lang's view was possibly more sophisticated, but nevertheless, the similarity of temperament coupled with religion is obvious. Dr. Busch in his volumes on Bismarck at his estate of Varsin-in-relates an incident which occurred when he was staying with Bismarck at his estate of Varsin in October 1877. Busch commented on the motto over the fireplace which had been chosen by Bismarck to appear on his coat of arms, "In trinitate robust", and translated it to Bismarck thus "And my trust is in the Triune God". Bismarck replied "Quite right, I meant it so". (*Bismarck, Some Secret Pages of His History*, Vol. 2, p. 329, by Dr. Busch). John Lang would not have disagreed.

11. Lang always wished to be sure he could influence circumstances. For example, his joining with the sponsors of the Sydney College was on the understanding that certain changes would be made in regard to religious instruction in the school. Also, his rejection of the offer to join with Archdeacon Broughton in the founding of an educational institution was made on the grounds that whatever the Archdeacon envisaged would be predominantly Episcopalian, and thus he, Lang, would be at a disadvantage.

12. Gilchrist, *forward xii*.

14. Oliphant, p.189. It was in the mid-thirties that Chalmers found that his plan did not attract State aid, and so he was forced to enlist private support. According to Mrs. Oliphant, between 1834 and 1841, Chalmers saw 222 churches formed, with the usual ministers, Kirk sessions and parish systems (p.190-1). It was a demonstration of the Voluntary Principle, a principle which Lang was later to embrace.


17. R. B. Walker, in an article entitled "The presbyterian Church and People in the Colony of New South Wales in the late 19th Century" (in the Journal of Religious History, Vol. 2, No. 1, June 1962, at p.55) gives as his opinion that the main difficulty encountered by the Church, both in its early years and apparently also in the latter part of the century, was that it was too isolated in its ideas. This isolation was manifested in that it ministered generally to expatriate Scotsmen, and imported its clergy. It was only later in the century that it began to try and interest the native born Australian, and to create and train indigenous clergy. But in order to do this, the Church had to forego much of its old Scottish tradition.

18. The Australian College must be exempted from this remark, as Lang had no wish to see it isolated. However, the College was regarded by Lang as separate and distinct from the Church, to which it was a neighbour, both in the physical and religious sense.


20. In the Lang Papers, Vol. 10, Doc. 139, is a letter from one William Newlands to Lang, dated 6th August 1835. The letter refers to having heard of Lang's difficulties with Henry Carmichael over the Australian College. Newlands continues by quoting an article appearing in The Scottish Guardian, where Carmichael had written that he was sorry at Lang's avowal of the voluntary principle "as it must lead to your exclusion from the Church of Scotland". So Lang's expression of the efficacy of this principle must have been made at least as early as 1835.

21. Lang Papers, Vol. 10. Many of the early documents in this volume, which contains Presbyterian Clergy correspondence, 1823-54, are letters from Archibald Macarthur to Lang, and most are seeking his assistance for various matters.
22. This is quoted from a "Letter to the Presbyterian inhabitants of the colony, 18th January 1839, on the eve of departure for England for the fifth time". It appeared in The Colonist on 19th January 1839 and also forms part of appendix 18 of W. W. Burton, The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, from which this quotation was taken, at p. cxxxiv.

23. The Colonist, 2nd June 1836, in an editorial on "The Irish System".

24. Lang, History, 1875 ed., Vol. 2, p. 357. The Denominational System envisaged that public funds for education were to be portioned out to the various religious groups of the colony, and as Lang points out on page 358, this resulted in each group trying to establish as many schools as possible so as to obtain a greater share of those funds.


29. Gilchrist, p. 143.


A Presbytery consisted of several parishes, which had united, and each parish sent representatives - usually the minister and an elder. The Presbytery had as its specific function the approbation of candidates for ordination and the delivery of licences to preach. It also acted as an ecclesiastical court of second instance, where appeals could be heard from the parochial council.

32. Lang to the Colonial Secretary, 26th June 1833, in Lang Papers, Vol. 13A, Doc. 178.

In the body of the letter, Lang indicated that the Governor must have been misinformed on the matter of the Scots Church Constitution, and says: "that it must have been either entire ignorance of the Constitution of the Scots Church, or altogether indifference to the spiritual privileges of the people that could induce any person to solicit His Excellency's interference in a manner so utterly at variance with both".

He also lists why he will withstand McCarvie's interference in the affairs of the Scots Church:

(i) because McCarvie has assumed an attitude contrary to the spiritual authority of the Principles of Justice of the Church of Scotland, which he himself assisted in creating;

(ii) in appealing to a civil authority on a subject relating to internal management he endangered the very existence of the Church of Scotland;

(iii) because it conflicted with the Constitution of the Church;

(iv) because it would not be in the best interests of the Church. Cooperation with the Elders was essential to keep good church management.

In typical fashion, even after he had signed the letter, Lang added a postscript to the effect that he did not intend the above comments to bring into question His Excellency's right to fix the salary of whoever should be appointed to the church during his (Lang's) absence.

33. The Colonist was widely used by Lang to bring these issues to public knowledge. The following ministers received full publicity over their various indiscretions:

(i) Rev. Thomas Thomson (Bathurst) for intemperance; The Colonist, 1st January 1835; 12th May 1835;

(ii) Rev. John Carvin (Patrick's Plains) for intemperance; The Colonist, 5th May 1835; 12th May 1835 (in this issue there appears a letter from three members of the Presbytery condemning The Colonist for printing details appearing in the previous issue with regard to Carvin, comments which, so they stated, were untrue);

(iii) Rev. John Cleland (Portland Head) for intemperance. He was charged with that offence by Lang; The Colonist 12th May 1835.

34. The letter was signed by John Cleland, Minister; John McCarvie, Minister; and William McIntosh, Elder, and appeared in The Colonist of 12th May 1835.

35. The Editor of The Colonist was given a letter which had been sent
to Dr. Lang to publish in the edition of 21st July 1836. Apparently it had come to the letter writer's knowledge that when Dr. Lang left, John Cleland had intended to lock the door of Scots Church until the matter of a replacement could be referred to the Moderator. But the writer pointed out that the congregation had exercised their right, and had appointed the Rev. Robert Wylie from the Australian College to act in Lang's absence. Apparently the writer made this known to Cleland, who was abusive in his reply. The editor of The Colonist then added his comment: "If Mr. Cleland really used the threatening language imputed to him by the respectable writer of the preceding letter, we suspect he must have done so under the influence of something stronger than water".

36. Bourke to Glenelg "1st July 1836, H.R.A., I, XVIII, p. 451. Bourke said in part that Glenelg should realise that "Dr. Lang and the Presbytery are at variance, and that the latter would by no means consent to leave the choice of ministers in his hands". Lang knew that selection should be made by the Presbytery of New South Wales.


39. Lang to the Marquis of Normanby, 14th June 1839 (written in London) in Despatches to the Governor of New South Wales, p. 82-3 - Despatch from Lord John Russell dated 7th September 1839.

40. These points were made by Lang in his "Letter to the Presbyterian inhabitants, 18th January 1839" and appears in W. W. Burton, Appendix 18, p. cxxiii. To continue the idea from the quotation on authority; Lang considered that this power was received directly from Jesus Christ, and the figure employed by old Presbyterian divines to illustrate this point was that of water flowing through a leaden pipe from a fountain. Christ was the fountain; living water was the power of authority which the ordained ministers received; and the church was merely the leaden pipe through which that water flowed.
CONCLUSION

1. Henry Ralph Francis to Sir William Macarthur (no date, but presumed to be 1875 or 1876 in Macarthur Papers Vol. 43, Doc. No. 369). The quotation from the letter continues: "the compositors must have been hard pressed to find the capital letters. They could not do what was suggested after a similar burst of cog-ism from Parkes 'split the d--- H's,.'"


BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. OFFICIAL SOURCES

B. OTHER OFFICIAL SOURCES:

(i) Manuscripts
(ii) Newspapers
(iii) Contemporary Articles, Books and Pamphlets

C. LATER WORKS:

(i) Books
(ii) Articles, Theses and Papers
OFFICIAL SOURCES

A. (Mitchell Library)

Despatches to the Governor of New South Wales (1281).

Great Britain and Ireland - Parliamentary Committees:

Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Volumes XII-XX.

New South Wales Governors' Despatches (A1203; A1209; A1210).

Transcript of Missing Despatches from the Governor of New South Wales (A1267-4).
OTHER OFFICIAL SOURCES

B. (i) MANUSCRIPTS (Mitchell Library)

Bonwick Transcripts (B. T. Box 52).

Brisbane, Sir Thomas, Letter Book (A1559).


Lang Manuscripts:
- Memoir of forebears (B878)
- Journal of Rev. J. D. Lang - Sermon Record 1820-1830 (B790)
- Verses, original and copies (B791)
- First commonplace book (B877)

Lang Papers: The following volumes proved essential for the period under review:

Volume 1 Manuscripts (A2221)
Volume 2 Letters from Dr. Lang 1831-1878 (A2222)
Volume 3 Letters to his family 1833-1852 (A2223)
Volume 5 Letters of Lang's family (A2225)
Volume 6 Letters to Dr. Lang 1820-1854 (A2226)
Volume 8 Personal documents 1811-1878 (A2228)
Volume 9 Personal and miscellaneous 1838-1873 (A2229)
Volume 10 Presbyterian Clergy correspondence 1823-1854 (A2230)
Volume 12 Presbyterian church documents 1823-1873 (A2232)
Volume 13, 13a, 13b Scots church, 1826-1887 (A2233)
Volume 16 Education 1826-1871 (A2236)
Volume 17 Emigration correspondence 1830-1849 (A2237)
Volume 24 Reminiscences (A2244)
Volume 27 Petitions, Addresses, Agreements (D293)
Volume 28 Second commonplace book (A2247)

McGarvie Diary (A1332)

McGarvie Papers (A1613)

McGarvie - Rev. John. - Memorandum Book (C254)

Macarthur Papers Vol. 3 (A2899), Vol. 4 (A2900), Vol. 43 (A2939)

Macarthur - James, Transcript of Letters with Edward Edwards (AM43)

Sir Thomas Mitchell Papers (A295-2; A295-3)

Papers on Education (A357)
Piper Papers (A255; A256)
Agnes Thomson Memoirs (A1532)
D'Arcy Wentworth Papers (A4073)
Wentworth Papers (A758)

(i) MANUSCRIPTS (National Library of Australia)

J.A. Ferguson Collection of Lang Papers: - (JAF 158)
Correspondence 1823-1893
Manuscripts, Writings and Notes
Various Documents
Newspaper clippings
Miscellaneous
Unsorted papers

(ii) NEWSPAPERS (Mitchell Library)

Australian, 1824-1840

Bathurst Free Press, May 1850

Bulletin, November 1882

Colonist, 1835-1840

Colonial Observer, 1841-1843

Sydney Gazette, 1823-1840

Sydney Herald, 1831-1840

Sydney Monitor, 1826-1840

Portland Mercury and Normanby Advertiser, May 1843

Newspaper Cuttings Vol. 12 - "The Australian College and Dr. Lang's Troubles" (Q991)

(iii) CONTEMPORARY ARTICLES, BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Australian College Reports: Sydney First Report 1832; Second Report 1836
Australian Quarterly Journal, 1828, for a review of Lang's "Narrative of the Establishment of Scots Church".

Barton G. B., Literature in New South Wales, Sydney 1866

Barton G. B. (editor) The Poets and Prose Writers of New South Wales, Sydney 1866

Berry Alexander (Reminiscences of; Being newspaper cuttings compiled into a volume in the Mitchell Library - ref. A926.3.

Braim, Rev. T. H., A History of New South Wales, 2 vols., London 1845

Buchanan, David, Political Portraits of some of the Members of the Parliament of New South Wales, Sydney 1863

Burton W. W., The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, London 1840

Carmichael, Rev. Henry, Hints Relative to Emigrants and Emigration, in New South Wales Calender and General Post Office Directory, Sydney 1834


Duncan W. A., "Notes of a Ten Years' Residence in New South Wales - for his friend Robert Porter" in Hogg's Weekly Instructor, Vol. v, Edinburgh 1847

Lang, John Dunmore (the printed books and pamphlets consulted are listed in order of publication):

Sermon, Sydney 1823
Aurora Australis, Sydney 1826
Narrative of the Settlement of the Scots Church, Sydney 1828
The Present Aspects and Prospects of the Church etc., Glasgow 1831
Account of Steps Taken in England with a view to the establishment of an Academical Institution etc., Sydney 1831
Emigration, Sydney 1833
An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales etc., 2 vols.,, London 1834
A view of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation, London 1834
True Glory of a Christian Church, A Sermon preached at the opening of St. Andrews, Hobart Town, 15th November 1835, Sydney 1835.
Transportation and Colonisation etc., London 1837
An Historical and Statistical Account etc., 2 Vols., London 1837
(2nd edition)
National Sins the Cause and Precursors of National Judgments,
A Sermon, Scots Church November 2, 1838 (a day of fasting on
account of the "late calamitous drought") Sydney 1838.
Letter to the Presbyterian Inhabitants of the Colony, 18th January.
1839, printed in W. W. Burton - The State of Religion and Education
in New South Wales, Appendix 18.
Letter to Lord John Russell, London 1840
The Moral and Religious Aspect of the Future America of the
Southern Hemisphere, New York 1840
An Historical and Statistical Account etc., 2 vols., London 1852
(3rd edition)
Statement of Facts and Circumstances etc., Sydney 1857
To the Scottish and Other Presbyterians etc., Sydney 1873
Poems Sacred and Secular, Sydney 1873
An Historical and Statistical Account etc., 2 vols., London 1875
(4th edition)
Statement of the Principal Non-Political Services etc., Sydney 1876
Origin and Migration of the Polynesian Nation, Sydney 1877

Lhotsky, Dr. John, Illustrations of the Present State and Future Prospects
of the Colony of New South Wales (Lhotsky was not designated as
the author, who was described as "an impartial observer") Sydney 1835

Macarthur, James (in association with Edward Edwards) New South Wales:
Its Present State and Future Prospects, London 1837


Mudie, James, The Felony of New South Wales, London 1837; and also
a reprint edited by Walter Stone, Melbourne 1964

New South Wales Literary, Political and Commercial Advertiser, 1835-1836
a monthly magazine.

Prospectus of the Sydney College, Sydney 1830 (includes Sydney College
Reports for the years 1831-35).

Quarterly Review, July 1840, for a review of E. G. Wakefield's "A Letter
from Sydney".

Reeve, H., Australia and the Penal Colonies, London 1837

Report of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of
Scotland relative to the divisions in the Presbyterian Church of
New South Wales, Edinburgh 1840
Review of 1837 edition of Lang's History - bound separately in Mitchell Library, Ref. 990.1.B.

The Church and School Corporation - Authoritative Documents evidencing its resources (no author given) Sydney 1844

Therry, Sir Roger, Reminiscences of Thirty Years in New South Wales, London 1863

Thomson, James, Remarks on the Status of the Presbyterian Church in the Colonies, Hobart 1835

Wakefield, E. G., A Letter from Sydney, London 1829 (the work does not acknowledge Wakefield as author but designates Robert Gouger as editor).

Wentworth W. C., Australasia, A Poem etc., London 1823
LATER WORKS

C. (i) BOOKS

Austin A.G., *Australian Education 1788-1900*, Melbourne 1951

Busch Dr. M., *Bismarck Some Secret Pages of His History*, 3 vols., London 1898


Cameron, Rev. J. C., *Centennial History of the Presbyterian Church in Australia*, Sydney 1905

Chalmers, Rev. Thomas:—

Chalmers on Charity, *A Selection of Essays*, arranged and edited by N. Masterman, Westminster 1900


Fawcett, J. W., *Life and Labours of the Right Reverend William Grant Broughton*, Brisbane 1897


Fogarty, Brother R., *Catholic Education in Australia, 1806-1950*, Melbourne 1959

Gilchrist, A. John Dunmore Lang - Chiefly Autobiographical 1799-1878, 2 Vols., Melbourne 1951


Nadel G., *Australia's Colonial Culture*, Melbourne 1957


Robinson J. C., *The Free Presbyterian Church in Australia*, Melbourne 1947

Roe M., *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, Melbourne 1965


Whatley Richard, *The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Matters of Religion* - especially an article included entitled "Discourse on Predestination" by a Dr. King, London 1833.

(ii) ARTICLES, THESIS AND PAPERS


John Dunmore Lang, Some Aspects of his Work and Character, an unpublished M.A. thesis in the Mitchell Library


Portrait of a Scottish Pioneer Minister in Australia - The Rev. John McGarvie, an unpublished paper written by and in the possession of the Rev. A. Dougan


Hanlin, Rev. F., "Sidelights on Dr. John Dunmore Lang" in J.R.A.H.S., Vol. 30, 1944

Langley, M., "Wakefield and South Australia" in History Today, Vol. XIX No. 10, October 1969

Mackay A., "The Rev. Dr. Lang" in Melbourne Review Vol. 3, 1878

Metcalfe J.W., "Governor Bourke - or the Lion and the Wolves" in J.R.A.H.S., Vol. 30 1944

