AN

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF

NEW SOUTH WALES,

BOTH

AS A PENAL SETTLEMENT

AND AS A BRITISH COLONY.

BY

JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D.,

SENIOR MINISTER OF THE SCOTS CHURCH, AND PRINCIPAL OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE, SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

"We have seen the land, and, behold, it is very good."

JUDGES xviii. 9.

LONDON:

COCHRANE AND M'CRONE,

WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL.

1834.

PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

AN

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF

NEW SOUTH WALES.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE DISTRIBUTION, EMPLOYMENT, CONDITION, AND CHARACTER OF THE CONVICT-POPULATION.

Exilium non supplicium est, sed perfugium portusque supplicii.

CICERO PRO CÆCIN. c. 34.

"Banishment was not decreed as a species of punishment by the laws of Rome, but was rather a state of refuge and an asylum, of which the law, in certain cases, permitted the criminal to avail himself."

FOR some time after the original establishment of the colony of New South Wales in the year 1788, the whole of the convict-population, with the exception of those individuals who were retained as house-servants by the Government officers of the settlement, were employed on account of the Government, either in agriculture or in the public works. In process of time,

however, free emigrants arrived in considerable numbers and settled in the colony; and many individuals who had arrived as convicts became free by servitude, and established themselves advantageously, either as agriculturists in the country, or as mechanics or shopkeepers in the towns. In this state of things, it became a usual practice on the part of the colonial government, to assign one or more convicts to private persons who were able to maintain and employ them either in Sydney or in the country; to relieve the government of the cost of their maintenance on the one hand, and to assist deserving individuals to whom their services were of value on the other. The convicts so assigned were employed variously according to the pursuits or occupation of the master—some as house-servants, some as shopmen, some as mechanics, but the great majority as farm-servants and stock-keepers. And to incite the convict or prison-population of the colony to good conduct, persons of that class who had conducted themselves well, but were not entitled to any indulgence from the Government, were occasionally favoured with tickets of exemption from Government-labour, and allowed to employ themselves for the period specified in the ticket for their own advantage; while persons of the same class who had served a certain number of years, without being guilty of any fresh misdemeanour, were allowed tickets of leave, which implied a permanent indulgence of a similar kind during good conduct. The ticket of leave was procurable, according to the colonial regulations, by a convict for seven years at the expiration of four years; by a convict for fourteen years, at the

expiration of six years; and by a convict for life, at the expiration of eight years. The Governor was empowered, moreover, to grant both conditional and absolute pardons whenever he deemed it expedient to do so; either of which, as well as a certificate of freedom, implying that the period for which the individual had been transported had expired, was supposed to restore him to all the rights and privileges of a free subject in the colony. That such a system of management was well calculated to promote the grand object of Government, in the establishment of the colony of New South Wales—I mean the reformation of its convict-population—the reader will doubtless acknowledge; and that it actually had such an effect in many instances I am happy to bear testimony. It is only to be regretted that a counteracting influence, arising both from the measures of Government and the general procedure of its officers, was too often and too successfully exerted in the modes I have already particularized; and that the private interests and the passions of individuals, from whom better things might have been expected, were supposed to be linked with the perpetuation and extension of the vice of the colony, rather than with its gradual advancement in the practice of virtue.

Till the year 1821, when the current of free emigration began to set in strongly for the colony, the number of free persons in the territory was comparatively small, and the great majority of the convict-population had consequently to be employed variously in the service of Government. I have already had occasion to show that this was decidedly a most unfortu-

nate state of things for the colony; and that the health and vigour of its body politic would have been promoted in a great variety of ways, had the system so early and so strongly recommended by Governor Phillip been duly followed up, or, in other words, had there been a much earlier influx and a much greater amount of free emigration.

The talent for managing masses of men is unquestionably one of the rarest gifts of the Creator, and the case is surely by no means altered, nor the difficulties it implies in any way diminished, when the persons to be so managed are in a state of thorough depravity. In short, it was a matter of absolute necessity that the government of the colony, being thus deprived of the stay and support of a numerous free population, should have been entrusted, in the earlier stages of its existence, to men who really possessed this talent and who were known to do so; for the command of the troops that were required to protect the settlement was a matter of very inferior consideration. Great mistakes, however, were committed in this respect; and the management of the convict-population of the colony was entrusted, in many instances, to men who had neither the wisdom nor the virtue which a situation of so much real difficulty imperatively required. The consequences, as might well be anticipated, were unfavourable in the highest degree to the morals of the settlement.

I have already particularized the modes in which the numerous convicts in the service of Government, up to the close of Governor Macquarie's administration, were distributed. A large proportion of them were

employed in the various processes connected with the Government buildings and the other public works in progress throughout the colony. The remainder were employed chiefly on the Government or experiment-farms. The erection of such buildings, I mean for the most part, and the establishment of such farms, were temptations into which the Government of the colony naturally fell, from the superabundance of convict-labour—of which it always possessed the unlimited command and the absolute disposal—and from the want of a free emigrant agricultural population, to enable it to disperse the convicts all over the territory, and to employ them in much greater number in the labours of the field.

This superabundance of convict-labour led, during the earlier part of the administration of Sir Thomas Brisbane, to an arrangement which was highly beneficial to a number of respectable settlers in certain parts of the colony, but of which the continued influx of free settlers prevented the extension to other districts, in which it would doubtless have been equally beneficial, and soon led to its entire discontinuance. The arrangement I allude to consisted in the institution of *clearing-gangs*, or parties of convicts in the service of Government—each under the charge of an overseer—who were stationed for certain periods on the lands of private individuals to fell and to burn off the standing timber. This was done at so much per acre, the proprietor who obtained the indulgence engaging to pay the Government in wheat—the produce of the land so cleared by Government-labour.

This arrangement, which I believe was introduced at the suggestion of Major Goulburn, then Colonial-Secretary of New South Wales, was exceedingly well devised; for, while it provided suitable employment for the convicts in Government-service, and insured the enforcement of a uniform and salutary discipline, it was of singular benefit to the free settler, in enabling him to cultivate a much greater extent of land than he could otherwise have done. The clearing-gangs were all numbered, and were under the charge of a general superintendent, who could ride about to the different farms on which they were respectively stationed, and inspect them occasionally; while the overseer of each was responsible for the due performance of the allotted quantum of task-work. Had a system of free emigration been encouraged and promoted, as it ought to have been from the first settlement of the colony, and had the Government assisted the free settlers by some such arrangement as this, the following good effects would have resulted to the colonial community: a large extent of land would have been brought into cultivation, and the Government would have been saved the necessity of importing wheat from foreign settlements at a prodigious expense; a large proportion of the convict-population would have undergone a species of training in the service of Government, that would afterwards have rendered them useful servants to the free settlers, and disposed and fitted them for the peaceful pursuits of agriculture on the attainment of their freedom; while those useless and expensive conservatories of vice and villany—the Government-farms

and penal settlements of the colony—that grew up under a different and impolitic system, would never have existed; and the towns of the colony would have been assemblages of industrious citizens instead of grand nurseries of dissipation. Nay, if the colonial government had even employed a portion of the superabundant convict-labour of the colony in clearing small farms for emancipated convicts of good character, and retained possession of such farms till the expense of clearing them had been paid for from the produce of the soil, it would assuredly have been consulting the best interests of the colony, and promoting in a high degree the gradual reformation of its convict-population. In short, it was so much the interest and the duty of the colonial government to disperse the convicts over the territory, and to employ them as much as possible in the labours of the field, that, if a concentration of the convict-population had even been the result of circumstances unconnected with the measures of Government, the Government ought to have interposed in every possible way to effect their dispersion. In the ages immediately after the Deluge, when the principle of concentration was adopted by a large proportion of the human race, whose ambitious leader said, "Go to, let us build us a city and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, *lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth;*" the principle of dispersion was enforced, we are told, by Divine interposition. For "the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded; and the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they

have all one language; and this they begin to do: *and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do.* Go to; let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. *So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city.*"

It has hitherto been the practice of the Government of New South Wales to pursue the same uniform system of treatment in the case of all convicts arriving in the colony from the mother country, without regard to the various degrees of their previous criminality.* The forger, the betrayer of trust, the highwayman, the thief, the pickpocket, the burglar, are all treated in precisely the same way as the Whiteboy from the bogs of Ireland, who has probably been sentenced to transportation under the provisions of the Irish insurrection-acts. In short, there has never been any attempt in the colony to classify the convicts according to the various degrees of their transmarine criminality.

This has surely been a great error in the penal system of the colony, and its evil tendency has been apparent in three different ways. In the first place, it has tended to reduce to the same level in iniquity those whom the

* There have been two or three solitary instances of atrocious criminals being forwarded at once to a penal settlement, on their arrival in the colony, in consequence of express orders to that effect from home; and Sir Robert Peel, I believe, when Secretary of State for the Home Department, directed the *literary* or *educated* convicts to be sent to the penal settlement of Wellington Valley in the interior. These however have been but rare exceptions to the general rule.

law had improperly visited with the same punishment, without regard to their respective demerits. In the second place, it has tended to blunt the moral sense of the prison-population of the colony, in regard to their power of discriminating between the lighter and the darker shades of criminality. And finally, by placing before the free portion of the community cases of individuals whose punishment had apparently exceeded their crimes, it has given rise to a sort of morbid sympathy on the part of no inconsiderable portion of the colonial community,—a feeling which regards the state of a convict as the result of misfortune rather than of misconduct.

The colonial government, however, has not been so much to blame in this matter as the reader may perhaps imagine: for if the criminal courts of the mother country have sentenced one individual to fourteen years' transportation, for a crime of much inferior enormity to that of another who has been sentenced only to transportation for seven years, it is not for the colonial government to attempt to remedy the acknowledged defects of the penal system of Great Britain, by ordering a new apportionment of punishment in New South Wales. The root of the evil is to be sought for in the penal code of the empire, the defects of which are great and obvious, and ought forthwith to be remedied. Besides, it very frequently happened in the earlier years of the colony, that no record of the convict's guilt was transmitted along with him to the land of his banishment. The convicts were landed from the transport-ship, like a herd of cattle, on the shores of Port Jackson,—one for

seven years, another for fourteen, and a third for life; but the *why* and the *wherefore* they were so landed on these distant shores could be learned only by inspecting the records of the Old Bailey at the other extremity of the globe, or by searching the ponderous registers of Newgate and Kilmainham.

When a convict-ship arrives in Sydney harbour, it is the practice of Government to reserve as many of the convicts, whether labourers or mechanics, as are required for the public service.* The rest are assigned to persons who have previously transmitted duly attested applications for convict-servants to a Board appointed for the purpose; regard being generally had to priority of application, and newly-arrived emigrants being usually supplied in the first instance. The Board at present consists of the principal Superintendent of Convicts and the Colonial Treasurer. One pound sterling is paid to Government for each convict so assigned, as the price of his bedding and slop-clothing, which he carries along with him to his future master's. If the master resides in Sydney, he is employed in the various menial capacities in which house-servants are employed in Europe. If he resides in the country, as is much more frequently the case, he is employed in tending sheep or cattle, or as a farm-servant.

The convict-servants on the different farms of the

* The public works in the colony, with the exception of roads and bridges, and other works of a similar kind, requiring mere labour and not mechanical skill, are now uniformly performed by contract,—very much to the benefit of the public. The convicts reserved by Government are consequently very few in number, comparatively, now.

colony are usually lodged in huts formed of split-timber, and thatched with long grass or straw, at a little distance from the proprietor's house. Two of these huts, with a partition between them, form one erection; and each of them is inhabited by four men. A large fire-place is constructed at one end of the hut, where the men cook their provisions, and around which they assemble in the winter evenings, with a much greater appearance of comfort than the sentimentalist would imagine. Rations, consisting of ten and a half pounds of flour, seven pounds of beef or four and a half pounds of pork, with a certain proportion of tea, sugar, and tobacco, are distributed to each of them weekly; and they receive shoes and slop-clothing either twice a year or whenever they require them. Pumpkins, potatoes, and other vegetables, they are allowed to cultivate for themselves.

On my brother's farm at Hunter's River—and I believe a similar system is pursued on most of the large farms throughout the colony—the overseer rises at daybreak, and rings a bell, which is affixed to a tree, as a signal for the men to proceed to their labour. The greater number follow the overseer to the particular agricultural operation which the season requires; the rest separate to their several employments, one to the plough, another to the garden, and a third to the dairy, while a fourth conducts the cattle to their pasture. The bell is again rung at eight o'clock, when the men assemble for breakfast, for which they are allowed one hour; they again return to their labour till one o'clock,

when they have an hour for dinner, and they afterwards labour from two till sunset.

The condition of a convict in New South Wales depends greatly on the character of his master. It is in the power of the latter to render his yoke easy and his burden light; it is equally in his power, however, to make him superlatively miserable. In general, the lot of a convict in the colony is by no means a hard one. For the most part, he is better clothed, better fed, and better lodged, than three-fourths of the labouring agricultural population of Great Britain and Ireland; while, at the same time, his labour is beyond all comparison much less oppressive. In a great many instances, indeed, the object of the convict evidently is to get as much, in the shape of allowances, and to do as little, in the shape of hard labour, as possible.

The grand secret in the management of convict-servants is to treat them with kindness, and at the same time with firmness; to speak to them always in a conciliating manner, and at the same time to keep them constantly employed: and it is nothing less than absolute blindness to his own interest, and a want of common sense amounting to downright infatuation, that can lead any master to treat them otherwise. It must be acknowledged, however, that such infatuation has prevailed in New South Wales to a lamentable extent; and has greatly retarded the advancement of the colony on the one hand, and occasioned much misery on the other.

A free emigrant settler, who has perhaps been riding

about the country for a fortnight—neglecting his own affairs and troubling his neighbours—returns to his farm, and finds that his convict-servants have been very idle during his absence. He talks to them on the subject, and his choler rises as he talks; and he curses and swears at them as if he had taken his degree at Billingsgate, instead of being a free landed proprietor in His Majesty's colony of New South Wales. One of the convicts—a man who has perhaps seen better days—replies in no measured terms; and the master immediately exclaims, with the highest indignation, "You convict-scoundrel, do you speak to me at this rate?" and, taking the overseer to witness that the man has spoken insolently to his master, he forthwith hies both overseer and man to the nearest magistrate, who perhaps resides ten miles off, and gallops after them himself an hour or two afterwards. On arriving at the magistrate's, the settler, who is a remarkably good Protestant, kisses the book,* and swears that the man spoke to him insolently. The overseer, who is a staunch Roman Catholic, confirms his master's deposition by kissing the same book on the other side, on which the worthy magistrate—who knows that the Bible was sent him for kissing and not for reading—has religiously

* If the reader is an Episcopalian or a Roman Catholic, he will doubtless consider the practice of *kissing the book*, in taking an oath, a very rational and a very scriptural one; but as a Scots Presbyterian, accustomed to see an oath taken by lifting up the right hand solemnly to Heaven, after scriptural example, I confess I can see as little reason or scripture for it as for eating a piece of a dead chief's body, like the savages of New Zealand. The latter, indeed, is a harmless practice; I wish I could only say as much for the former.

pasted a bit of whity-brown paper, cut with a pair of scissors, in the form of a cross. When this *religious* ceremony has been gone through, the magistrate, assuming a very grave aspect, sentences the convict to receive twenty-five lashes for insolence to his master, and he is accordingly delivered over to the scourger of the district. In the mean time, the farm is deprived of the superintendence of the master, the exertions of the overseer, and the labour of the convict; while the other convicts, disheartened and disgusted at the obvious injustice with which their fellow-labourer has been treated, do just as little as possible.

As soon as the man who has been flogged is fit for labour, he is ordered to the plough; but perceiving that a thick strong root crosses the furrow at a particular point, he contrives the next time the bullocks reach that point to run the plough right against the root and snap it asunder. "You did it on purpose, you scoundrel!" says the infuriated settler, who has indeed good reason to be angry, for the season for ploughing is perhaps nearly over, and two or three days must elapse before the plough can be repaired, as there is no blacksmith within fifteen miles. The man, to whose corrupt nature revenge is so delicious that he does not deny the charge, but who is perhaps the best ploughman on the farm, is accordingly hied off immediately to his worship again, and, after the same pious ceremony of kissing the calf's-skin binding of the desecrated book, and the whity-brown paper-cross has been re-acted, is sentenced to "three months' hard labour on the roads, to be returned to his master at the expiration of that period."

The man returns accordingly at the expiration of his sentence; but being addicted, as most convicts are, to the use of colonial tobacco, he allows a spark to fall from his tobacco-pipe, on his way to his labour, very near his master's largest wheat-stack, at a time when the latter happens to be off the farm; and in less than a quarter of an hour thereafter the stack is observed to be on fire. One would naturally suppose that in such a case of emergency, all the men on the farm would immediately run to extinguish the flames. Such a supposition, however, would be very far from the truth. The convicts are so conscientious, forsooth, that they will not do any thing which their master has not particularly told them to do; and he has never told them to extinguish the flames when any of his stacks should accidentally catch fire. Besides, they have a task assigned them which they must not leave. In short, nothing gives them greater pleasure than to see their master's stack burning; for they know he must give them the regular ration, procure it where he may, or send them back to Government, in which case they will have a chance of being assigned to a better master. By and bye, the master returns at full gallop, in time enough to see where his stack stood. He has reason to suspect that a conspiracy has been formed against him by his men; but, to save him the trouble of bringing any of them to justice, four of them immediately *take to the bush*, i. e. become bushrangers, subsisting on plunder. In a month or two thereafter, two of them are apprehended for robbing a settler's cart on the highway, and tried, and convicted, and condemned to death; and the wretched

men assure the minister who may happen to visit them in the gaol or attend them on the scaffold—(I have received such information in such circumstances myself when it was too late to falsify)—that it was the arbitrary and unfeeling conduct of their master alone, that brought them to an untimely end.

I may be told, perhaps, that this is a supposititious case, and that all of these circumstances have not occurred in any single instance. It is immaterial, however, whether they have or not, as I can testify right well where and when they have all occurred singly.

Some settlers think it necessary, forsooth, to humble their convict-servants and to make them fear them. An instance of this kind I have heard of in the colony with indignation and horror. A settler, requiring some office of a very disagreeable and offensive character to be performed about his premises, ordered one of his convict-servants to perform it, instead of adopting the much more efficacious mode of offering him a small reward on his doing it—a piece of tobacco, for instance, or a little wine. The man had perhaps seen better days, and therefore, feeling indignant at being set to such an employment, flatly refused. The master coolly ordered him off to a magistrate, who sentenced him to receive either twenty-five or fifty lashes for disobedience. The man returned to his master, who gave him the same order a second time, which the man a second time refused to obey. He was again taken before the magistrate, and sentenced to be flogged as before; and it was not till this degrading and brutalizing operation had been repeated a third time, that the spirit of the miserable

convict was sufficiently broken to allow him to obey the mandate of his relentless tyrant.*

That there are incorrigible characters whom neither kindness nor severity can overcome, I am quite willing to allow; but that kind and judicious treatment will render the great majority of convicts peaceable, industrious, and contented, is, I conceive, equally indubitable. One of the best-regulated farms or rather estates in the colony, is that of Colonel Dumaresq, a brother-in-law of His Excellency General Darling, and a resident landholder on Upper Hunter's River. The law on Colonel Dumaresq's estate is the law of kindness, and incitements to industry and good conduct are rewards, and not punishments. The convict-labourers or farm-servants reside in white-washed cottages, each having a little garden in front; and prizes are regularly awarded to those who keep their cottages in the best order. Divine service is performed by the Colonel every Sabbath at twelve o'clock, agreeably to the forms of the Church of England; all the farm-servants being required to attend, and the hour of meeting being intentionally late that the men may not have time for any extensive excursion after dinner. The result of such a system is just what might be expected.—The men are sober, industrious, and contented.

* 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, invests 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 deprecated as indicative of an unhealthy state of the body politic.

On those farms or estates on which the convict-servants are treated with kindness, and at the same time with firmness—and I am happy to state that the number of such farms throughout the territory is considerable—they will often evince as much devotedness in their master's service on occasions of emergency as is ever shown by free servants in the mother country. An alarming fire happened to break out on my brother's farm during one of the years of drought, which, communicating with the upper branches of a number of lofty forest-trees in the immediate vicinity of a range of farm-buildings, containing property to a considerable amount, threatened for thirty hours in succession to destroy both the buildings and the property they contained. The exertions of all the convict-servants on the farm to extinguish the flames were zealous and unremitted, and it was only through these exertions that the property was saved; one man having had the very jacket he wore half-burnt in the fire, while another, for his equally laudable exertions, received a ticket of leave from His Excellency General Darling, on being recommended for that indulgence by his master.

The influence of religion, I am sorry to acknowledge, is scarcely ever taken into account by the great majority of the settlers of the colony, in their procedure towards their convict-servants. Divine service is performed regularly every Sabbath by a few of the more respectable proprietors—in some cases according to the forms of the Church of England, in others according to those of the Church of Scotland—certainly, however, not in the proportion of one case out of every five, perhaps ten.

Not a few of the settlers weigh out their servants' weekly rations and settle their farm-accounts on Sunday; while in many instances the men are allowed to cultivate ground for themselves on the Sabbath, on the plea that they would probably be doing something worse if they were not so employed; and no account is taken of the manner in which they spend the day, no attempt is made to induce them to spend it in a way conducive to their spiritual welfare. In short, Sunday is the day appropriated by a great proportion of the settlers for paying and receiving visits, for dining any where but at home, and for attending to any thing but the concerns of religion. The influence of such procedure on the general morality of the territory, and its evident tendency to counteract the benevolent designs of His Majesty's Government for the reformation of the convict-population, may be easily conceived.

From the preceding details it will doubtless appear evident to the reader, that it is not only quite possible for a respectable family to live comfortably in the midst of a number of convict-servants, but that kind and judicious treatment will in all likelihood render even such servants obedient on the one hand, and highly profitable to their master on the other. For although there is nothing more common in the colony than to hear masters exclaiming against the idleness and the insolence, and the discontentedness and the villany of their convict-servants, I have seen enough to induce me to believe that the fault is most frequently on the other side. In fact, there are comparatively few masters in the colony who manage their convict-servants with the requisite discretion.

When a convict or prisoner (for that is the colonial phrase) becomes free, either by serving out the period of his sentence of transportation or by obtaining a pardon, he employs himself in the way in which he is most likely to succeed in the colony; and if an industrious man, the experience he has already gained in the country speedily enables him to find eligible employment. The only difference in this respect, between a person who has thus acquired his entire freedom and a ticket-of-leave holder, is, that the latter is confined to a particular district, and is liable to lose his ticket for various petty misdemeanours,—as for drunkenness or disorderly conduct,—which would not affect the standing of a free subject, while on the other hand he can neither hold property, nor sue and be sued in his own name.

During the last six or eight years twelve or thirteen convict-servants, who had been assigned to my own relatives in the colony, obtained their freedom, either absolutely or conditionally, chiefly on my brother's farm; and as we had only lost sight of one of them up to the month of June last, an account of their subsequent history and present circumstances will serve as an instance of the actual working of the system of transportation. It is a favourable instance, I acknowledge; but I have reason to believe that other instances equally favourable have occurred on other agricultural and grazing estates in the colony, although it must be confessed that the result is generally much less favourable.

The first of the number was a Scotch radical, and had been one of those misguided men who attempted

to revolutionize the mother country during Lord Castlereagh's administration, in the year 1819 or 1820, and were taken with arms in their hands at Bonniemuir near Stirling. Having been a weaver in Scotland, and finding that there was no employment in New South Wales for persons of that occupation, he learned the trade of a house-carpenter during his term of bondage, and, shortly after obtaining his freedom, married a native of the colony, who had been a maid-servant in my family for two or three years. He afterwards purchased, partly I believe with borrowed money, an allotment of ground in the town of Sydney, for which he paid about a hundred pounds, and on which he has since built a neat cottage, in part of which he now resides with his family, earning, I presume, about two pounds a week as a mechanic. The Scotch radicals were all sentenced to death, and had afterwards been transported for life; but in virtue of an Act of Parliament relative to Scotch convicts, passed during the reign of Queen Anne, which, however, has recently been repealed, they all obtained their liberty in the colony at the expiration of seven years. Political offenders of this kind are doubtless not to be considered as felons; but all the other cases I am about to mention were of the latter description.

The second of the number was an Englishman, a rough-carpenter and painter by occupation. On obtaining his freedom he married a young woman who had arrived in the colony free, and had also been for a considerable time a maid-servant in my family. He now re-

sides in Sydney, and works as a journeyman mechanic, being a sober, industrious man.

The third was an Irish Roman Catholic, a convict for life. He was assigned to my relatives on his arrival in the colony in June, 1824, his occupation being that of a tailor. In the year 1830 he obtained a ticket of exemption, and afterwards a ticket of leave. He married a native of the colony, the daughter of a Roman Catholic family of convict origin, and he is now well employed as a tailor on his own account in Sydney, having two or three journeymen and apprentices. He is a sober, industrious man.

The fourth was a bricklayer, a peaceable, industrious man, from one of the midland counties in England. This was the individual whom, I have already mentioned, my relatives had lost sight of; but they had reason to think favourably of him from his conduct while in bondage.

The fifth was a Scotchman from Glasgow. After obtaining his freedom, he was employed for some time as an overseer on my brother's farm at a salary of £25 a year, exclusive of rations, &c. He is now in a different situation, and has a salary of £40 a year.

The sixth was an Irishman—a Roman Catholic, I believe. He is now employed as a hired overseer in charge of my brother's sheep and young cattle, at a grazing farm about thirty miles from the one on which he resides.

The seventh was an Englishman. He is now employed as a hired overseer on the farm adjoining my

brother's, and has hitherto given entire satisfaction to his employer.

The eighth was an Irishman, rather up in years, of the name of Murphy. He was assigned to my relatives on his arrival in the colony in 1824, but being a convict for seven years, and conducting himself well in the mean time, he obtained a ticket of leave in 1828. After he had been two years in the colony, I recommended and forwarded his application to the Governor for the indulgence of having his wife and children sent out to him at the expense of the Government; and, as his conduct previously had been unexceptionable, his petition was granted. His wife, however, having no idea of there being any such honest way of getting out to Botany Bay, had, previous to the arrival of the Governor's recommendation in behalf of herself and her children, committed some act of grand larceny just sufficient to insure her transportation for seven years—expressly, I believe, with a view to rejoin her husband.* Murphy had got some intelligence of the circumstance before his wife's arrival, from some fellow-countryman, who had in the mean time arrived in the colony in a similar way, and requested my brother to apply for her as a maid-servant. This was accordingly done; and Mary O'Brien, a tall, stout, raw-boned Irishwoman, who might otherwise have been sent to a distance of two hundred miles

* I have reason to believe that the instances in which crimes are committed merely for the purpose of insuring the transportation of the criminal, are very few in comparison with the gross number of convicts transported. A different idea is entertained I am aware; I apprehend, however, without just grounds.

in an opposite direction, was marched up one morning to the kitchen of my house in Sydney, to wait for a conveyance to Hunter's River, and learned to her inexpressible joy, that she was in a few days to rejoin her husband. Murphy and his wife were for some time employed in charge of the dairy on my brother's farm. They afterwards rented a few acres of land a few miles off on the bank of the river, and have since done exceedingly well. They have now a colonial family of one or two children, and no fewer than sixteen head of cattle.

The ninth was an Irishman from Dublin, a convict for seven years, who obtained a ticket of leave and rented a few acres of alluvial land on Hunter's River, after having served four years on my brother's farm. He had previously been quite unaccustomed to agricultural labour, but had acquired so much knowledge of the operations of Australian husbandry during his term of bondage, and was withal so industrious, that, in little more than twelve months after he began to fell the first tree on the few acres of thickly wooded land he had rented, he had upwards of a hundred bushels of wheat to dispose of, besides a considerable quantity of maize. This man had a wife in Dublin, for whom the Government had agreed to provide a passage out, but he had not heard of her from the time of his leaving Ireland.

The tenth was an Englishman, an industrious man, who has lately formed a joint-stock concern with the individual I have just mentioned.

The eleventh was a Scotchman from Fife, who had twice attempted to escape from the colony, in conse-

quence, I believe, of the hard usage he had experienced at the hands of some of the other convict-labourers on the estate of his first master, Sir John Jamison, K.G.V., from having given information against one of them for stealing his master's property. He was unsuccessful, however, on both occasions, and, on being apprehended the second time, he was sent to the penal settlement of Moreton Bay for two years. On his return to Sydney and his being again assignable, I was induced, from having seen him in the jail on his way to the penal settlement, and felt an interest in his case, to apply for him for my brother, to whom he was accordingly assigned. He was placed in a situation of trust on my brother's farm, and acquitted himself well. On obtaining his ticket of leave, he rented, in conjunction with another Scotchman in similar circumstances, fifty acres of alluvial land in the district of Hunter's River; and, when I last heard of him, he and his partner had cleared and cropped about eight acres of their land with wheat, maize, and tobacco.

The twelfth was an Irishwoman, a widow; whose only son had also been convicted and transported at the same time, I believe for the same offence, and was assigned to a retired military officer residing at Hunter's River. When the mother obtained her ticket of leave, she was hired by my brother's family as a housemaid at a dollar a week; but when her son also obtained his freedom, they both took a small farm on lease in the district, on which they now reside and are doing well.

There are many individual cases which have incidentally fallen under my own observation in the colony,

in which a much higher degree of worldly prosperity had been attained than in any of those I have just mentioned. Such cases, indeed, could not be considered so decisive in regard to the *general* working of the system of transportation, as the list I have now given. It may be worth while, however, to detail one or two of the cases I allude to.

I had occasion to visit the settlement of Illawarra, about seventy-five miles to the southward of Sydney, in the month of April, 1830. The journey being too long for a single day's ride, I had to spend a night by the way. The house of a magistrate of the territory, whose cordial hospitality I had repeatedly experienced on former visits to the interior, lay near my route; but, choosing rather to confer than to receive a favour, I turned aside to the little cottage of a small settler, who I knew had arrived in the colony as a convict, though he had been free at the time I allude to for many years. The settler had originally been a Presbyterian from the north of Ireland. He had enlisted in a Scotch regiment quartered in the north of England, whither I understood he had gone as a petty dealer or hawker. Having committed some crime, however, of a minor character, he was sentenced to seven years' transportation. His wife, whom he had married in the colony on obtaining his freedom, was a native of the south of Scotland. Her mother had died when she was very young; and her father, who I understood had been a person of indifferent character, had married a second time, and left the children of his former wife to find their way through the world as they best could. I have reason to believe,

however, that both husband and wife were not merely outwardly reformed, but really and sincerely penitent; and from the gratification which my tarrying for the night under their roof afforded them, I could both perceive and feel that when one has nothing else to give than that friendly countenance which the Word of God imperatively calls for, on behalf of those who are turning from the error of their ways, there is nevertheless a deep and affecting meaning in the Scripture maxim, *It is more blessed to give than to receive.*

"I bought this farm," the settler told me in the course of my visit, "the year I got my liberty. It 's a thirty-acre farm—very good land, Sir; and I was to pay a hundred pounds for it, for you know it was cleared but not stumped.* The year I got it I only put in four acres of wheat, for it was rather late in the season. The wheat was very cheap that year; but the next year I put in fifteen acres with the hoe—all with my own hands—and I had as many bushels off it as there are days in the year" (i. e. 365 bushels, or 24⅓ bushels per acre). "The wheat was very dear that season, and I sold a great part of my crop at 14*s.* 6*d.*, but the cheapest I sold was half-a-guinea a bushel; and I cleared my farm that year. I lived in that hut you see till the debt was paid, and then I built this weather-boarded house. We have every thing comfortable now—plenty of wheat, corn, potatoes, and every thing else we require. Indeed, it 's a good country, Sir, for an industrious man. At home I would only have had a

* I. e. the roots of the trees were left standing in the ground.

day's labour and little for it, and perhaps not even that. But here I have a farm of my own, and every thing comfortable. I have much reason to be thankful that ever I came here, and I hope there 's forgiveness for what 's past."

In short, the aspect of things about the settler's little establishment justified the account he had given me both of it and of himself, and I was most happy to afford him such general commendation and such pastoral encouragement as his character and circumstances peculiarly called for. As I had two days' journey to perform on horseback, ere I could reach his little cottage on my return to Sydney, I gladly availed myself of his offer to supply me with a fresh horse, that my own might be in better spirits and condition on my return; and in riding rapidly along on the spirited Australian steed—the produce of sheer industry and economy—I could not help wishing, from the very bottom of my heart, that a hundred thousand families of the labouring agricultural population of Great Britain and Ireland could be gradually conveyed to a country in which the same industry and economy would infallibly lead them to the same degree of comfort and independence.

On my way back to Sydney, the settler gave me to understand, that as he had no family in the colony, and as both he and his wife were advanced in life and might not survive much longer, it was his intention that whatever property they might leave at their death should be left to the Church—meaning the Presbyterian church in communion with the Church of Scotland in

the colony. I told him, however, I could not countenance any such practice, in any case in which there was reason to believe that the parties had relatives alive; and as the old man had signified that he had children alive when he left Ireland, I took a memorandum of their names and ages, and of the parish in which they resided, and told him I should in all likelihood be able to let him know something about them in due time.

I had occasion to return to Europe in the month of August following, and again embarked for New South Wales on the 1st of June, 1831, having in the mean time chartered a Scotch vessel to carry out to the colony a large party of free emigrant Scotch mechanics with their wives and families, to erect the Australian College buildings. As soon as the arrangements for the sailing of the vessel were definitively fixed, I wrote to the Presbyterian minister of the parish in the north of Ireland where the old settler had resided, detailing his circumstances, and stating that if his son were alive, and of good character, and would come to Greenock by a certain day, I would give him a passage to New South Wales. The Presbyterian minister to whom I had written was dead, but his successor informed me in reply that the young man was alive and well; that he was of sober and industrious habits; that he was married, and had a wife and one child; and that both he and his wife were members of his own congregation. He added, moreover, that, on informing the young man of the circumstances of his father, he immediately resolved to accept of my offer, intending to leave his wife and child

to follow him by some other opportunity. For this purpose, the husband and wife walked as far as Londonderry, a distance of twelve miles, the former intending to embark on board the steam-boat for Scotland; but when they reached their intended parting-place, their mutual affection overpowered every other consideration, and they both returned to their native parish.

The time for the vessel's sailing was too near when I received this information to admit of my writing my clerical brother a second time, to inform the young man that he might bring his wife along with him; but on arriving in New South Wales, and informing his father of the circumstances I have mentioned, he requested me to procure the family a passage out by one of the first vessels from Scotland. I accordingly did so, and the young man arrived with his wife and two children in the colony towards the close of last year. I saw him in Sydney a few days before embarking on my present voyage. He told me he had *wrought harder* in New South Wales than ever he had done in Ireland, he and another man having put in eighteen acres of wheat on his father's farm during the present year. Indeed, I have reason to believe that Presbyterians of the humbler classes of society from the north of Ireland—especially if they have been accustomed to agricultural labour—would be the most valuable class of persons that could be imported into New South Wales, with the view of forming—what has hitherto been so greatly wanted in that colony, and without which it can never prosper in the proper sense of the term—a reputable colonial peasantry. They are generally poor, frugal,

industrious, and sober; and, in regard to the fear of God and the practice of pure and undefiled religion, I have reason to believe they are at least equal to the peasantry of Scotland, though far less favourably circumstanced—being situated on the confines of Popery on the one hand, and around the high places of Episcopacy on the other.

I had occasion to spend a few days in the north of Ireland, in travelling across the island from the southward in the year 1822; and I could not help remarking with real pleasure the striking improvement of the country, and the superior aspect of the cottages of the peasantry, on getting within the Presbyterian limits, among the descendants of the Scotch colonists that were settled in the province of Ulster by King James the First. The favourable opinion I was then led to form of the inhabitants of that part of the sister-island has been fully confirmed by the intercourse I have had in the colony of New South Wales with persons of the middle and humbler walks of life from the north of Ireland. And as the Irish (who are chiefly Roman Catholic) convicts are sent exclusively to New South Wales, none of the convict-ships from Ireland being allowed to go to Van Dieman's Land, it appears to me that if it should be practicable to effect an extensive emigration of agricultural labourers from the mother country to the former colony, it would be proper for various and obvious reasons, to have a considerable portion of such emigrants from that part of the united kingdom.

An incident of a trivial, but at the same time of an affecting, character, which fell under my own observation

in New South Wales, will serve to illustrate the character of that part of the Irish population to which I allude. A family, the head of which had been a convict from the north of Ireland, whose wife and children had been sent out to him by the Government, settled on a small farm about sixty miles off in the interior, and on one occasion came to Sydney, in their bullock-cart, for the baptism of a child. The wife, it seems, had been a member of a Presbyterian congregation in the north of Ireland, whose pastor, in common with other three ministers of the same communion, conceiving it unlawful to receive assistance in any way from the Government, declined accepting any part of the *regium donum*, or royal gift of £40,000, which is annually distributed among the Presbyterian clergy of that island. On leaving her native country, the good man had given her many advices in regard to her future conduct; which he doubtless conceived were the more necessary, as he told her she would never again see either a minister or a place of worship of her own communion. And the circumstance recurred so strongly to the poor woman's recollection, on entering the Scots Church in Sydney for the first time, and finding herself once more within the walls of a Presbyterian place of worship, that she was completely overpowered and burst into tears. It is of such materials, doubtless, that a virtuous and industrious agricultural population for the colony of New South Wales can be most easily formed.

On my first journey over-land to Hunter's River, in the year 1827, my guide and fellow-traveller proposed to halt for an hour to procure some refreshment for

ourselves and our horses, at the house of a small settler whom he knew about twenty-five miles from Sydney. I assented, of course; for it was then high noon, and we had as much farther to ride ere we could reach our resting-place for the night. While the settler and my fellow-traveller were attending to the horses, I stepped into the cottage or hut, which was a tolerably good log-hut, formed of split timber and covered with thatch; and while water was boiling, to make tea for our refreshment—for in *the bush*, or uncultivated country in New South Wales, tea is the universal beverage, and is drunk at all times and by all sorts of persons—I got into conversation with the settler's wife, who was nursing an interesting little child, and who willingly gave me a history of her family.

She was a native of the colony. Her parents had arrived (of course as convicts) in the first or second fleet during the government of Captain Phillip. On acquiring their freedom, and probably on their marriage, they had got a small grant of land at Toongabbee, the first agricultural settlement in the territory. On this land they continued to live—cultivating the ground, and rearing poultry, pigs, and cattle—till by industry and good management they had acquired several other small farms, and till their stock of cattle had increased to a considerable herd. In the mean time they had reared a family of seven or eight children; all of whom had arrived at manhood, and most of whom were married and settled throughout the territory. For as any native of the colony of good character could easily obtain a small grant of land from

Government at the time I allude to, a young man, whose parents had trained him to industrious habits, and given him a few pigs and cattle to begin with, had only to go forth with his axe and hoe into the forest to make himself comfortable and independent for life.

The settler entered the hut just as his wife had related these particulars; and as the latter had to be otherwise engaged, in making the requisite preparations for our homely refreshment, I easily induced him to give me his *Personal Narrative* also: for persons in the lower walks of life, who have done tolerably well in the world, are seldom backward in relating the successive steps that have led them to their ultimate prosperity. He had been bred a cobbler, and been transported for seven years from the city of York. Being an industrious man, he had been enabled to earn a little money ere he had accomplished his term of penal servitude, by making or mending shoes, on his own time, for the small settlers in the neighbourhood of the place in which he had been assigned as a convict-servant. With this money, and a little more which he had saved from his earnings after he obtained his freedom, he had purchased the farm on which he then resided. It was a hundred-acre farm, and was entirely covered with timber at the time he bought it. It had cost him in this state £58. 10*s*. In the mean time he had married *that there woman;* at which announcement his affectionate spouse laughed heartily, with an expression of countenance, moreover, which indicated that she had no reason to regret the event.

Some time after the cobbler had purchased the hun-

dred-acre farm, he ascertained that the new line of road to Hunter's River would run along the side of it. This immediately enhanced its value a hundred per cent; and he was accordingly offered double the price he had paid for it ere he had cut down a single tree. He wisely however preferred retaining it in his own hands, and had accordingly been living on it at the time I refer to about two years. He had got a considerable part of it cleared and fenced during that interval, and had a field of wheat of several acres of extent, and another of maize, besides a plot of potatoes and vegetables, and had even purchased another hundred-acre farm in the immediate neighbourhood. I presume his wife had brought him a few cattle and pigs as her dowry. These had increased to a considerable herd; and two of their children (for they had four in all—three boys and a girl) were out with them in the bush,* or forest,—one with the pigs, and the other with the cattle. The settler told me he had a mare also, which he afterwards showed me with no small degree of self-complacency as I was mounting my horse. I commended his industry and economy in the strongest terms, and was thereby enabled to procure his favourable attention to recommendations and advice of a different description. I was sorry to learn, however, on questioning him as to how he did for the education of his children, that there was no school in the neighbourhood, and that neither he nor his wife could read or write, or, in the colonial phrase,

* The word *bush*, which sometimes signifies the country in general, but more properly the uncleared part of it, is merely the Dutch word *bosch*, signifying wood or forest.

that they were *no scholars.* But as he told me at the same time, he intended to apply to Government for some old man, (as a convict-servant,) who could read and write, to teach them these accomplishments, and do any little service that was required about the house, I proffered my assistance in endeavouring to procure him a man of the description he required.

It is unnecessary to direct the reader's attention to the bearing of this case, as well as of the others previously detailed, on the highly interesting and important question as to the propriety or impropriety of continuing transportation as a species of punishment for felony. Had the Toongabbee settlers been sent to serve out their term of transportation in the Hulks, or in a Penitentiary in England, they would in all likelihood have returned to their former haunts at the expiration of their period of sentence, to prowl upon society as before; and the one would in all likelihood have rotted in jail, and the other have died on the scaffold. They were transported however to a penal colony, and were there transformed into industrious and reputable citizens—acquiring property both in land and cattle by their own good conduct, and rearing a numerous family of children; each of whom, on attaining man's estate, goes forth with his axe into the vast forest to extend the limits of civilization, and to fill the wilderness and the solitary place with the habitations of men. In like manner, had the York cobbler been sentenced to serve out his seven years of transportation in the Hulks or in a Penitentiary at home, he would probably have returned to his native city to look for employment on

obtaining his freedom. But he would there have found to his cost, that he had irretrievably lost caste in society, and that no respectable master would employ a liberated felon. He would thus have sunk in his own estimation. He would therefore in all likelihood have returned perforce to his former courses, and he would perhaps have cost the Government in the end much more to try and to hang him, than it actually did to transport him. In the penal colony of New South Wales he has become a reputable member of society, and an independent proprietor of land and horses and cattle,—the husband of a virtuous wife, and the father of four interesting children. There are many such cases in the colony; and if there have not been many more, it is owing, I conceive, in great measure, to the gross misconduct of influential individuals among the free population of the colony in every stage of its past existence, and to such acts of misgovernment on the part of its rulers as I have already particularized or may yet enumerate.

With the knowledge of such facts as these, one cannot help feeling surprised at the inconsiderate recklessness with which sweeping assertions like the following are hazarded by a writer of high character and standing, on a subject with which he is necessarily most imperfectly acquainted. In allusion to the various species of punishment either in practice or in contemplation, Archbishop Whately observes, "It has been decidedly proved that transportation is *worst of all*, and open to more objections than any that has been or can be proposed, or conceived as a substitute." And again,

"The removal of criminals to our Australian colonies was an experiment whose failure, though not anticipated to the extent that should have been expected, has in some degree been forced by experience upon the minds of most."

As a colonist of New South Wales sincerely desirous of advancing the general prosperity of that colony—as a minister of religion still more desirous of promoting the moral welfare of its anomalous population—I for one should not be sorry though not a single additional convict were ever to be landed in New South Wales, or a single additional sixpence of British money to be expended on account of convicts in its territory. For I am persuaded that if the Government of the colony were placed on such a footing as to develope its vast resources with energy and discretion, and to expend its available revenue with economy and efficiency; and especially if the funds arising from the sale of waste land within its territory were to be placed under the management of a board of intelligent and active colonists, instead of a board of gentlemen in London, to be appropriated exclusively to the encouragement and promotion of free emigration to the colony—the colony might well dispense with any future accession to its convict-population, and might in perfect sincerity address the administrators of the law in the mother country in the language of the poet,

Claudite jam rivos, pueri; sat prata biberunt.

But as a British subject—as a citizen of the world, not less deeply interested in witnessing and in pro-

moting the full accomplishment of that great and worthy object for which the colony of New South Wales was originally established,—I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion and belief, that it would be nothing less than absolute madness for the British Legislature to discontinue the transportation of felons to the Australian colonies, for the purpose of experimenting on the projects of Archbishop Whately.*

I deny the Archbishop's premises, viz. that "the transportation of felons is an experiment whose failure has been decidedly proved." At the same time I ask the reader whether any man, after perusing the pre-

* "How are we to account for the attachment of the richer colonists to this horrid system of transportation? By their want of free labour; by their anxiety to keep that slave labour, without which each of them could use no more capital than his own hands could employ. They say, and with perfect truth, that if the supply of convicts were stopped, the colony would be ruined. Assuredly the colony would be ruined, unless the richer settlers should find the means of obtaining either free labour, or that kind of slave labour which they have in America."

England and America, pp. 113 and 114.

The colony would *not be ruined* though not a single man from England, either free or bond, should ever be landed on its shores in addition to its present population; but its progressive advancement would in that case, I confess, be much less rapid than if the system of transportation were continued, and the influx of free emigrants greatly increased. It is preposterous, however, to talk, with the author of the able and original work just quoted, of the system of transportation being continued by the British Government because of the patronage it affords His Majesty's Ministers. "If English convicts," says that writer, "were punished by imprisonment at home, though the English aristocracy would have to bestow upon their dependants more places, such as that of jailer or turnkey, they would miss the disposal of a number of places such as gentlemen will accept. The Governor of New South Wales is a jailer; but, being called Your Excellency, and paid accord-

ceding sketches of the history of New South Wales, can say that that experiment has ever yet been fairly or properly tried? The fact of the matter is simply this: for a long period after the colony of New South Wales was originally established, and during the most important period of the past existence of that colony as a penal and experimental settlement, the attention of the British Government was entirely absorbed by the overwhelming concerns of *a just and necessary war*, which, however it may have eventually increased the

ingly, he is thankful for his place—as thankful as any one ever is for a place which he has obtained by electioneering services."—Ibid.

The Governor of New South Wales is not a jailer; for two-thirds of the inhabitants of that colony are free persons, and not inhabitants of a prison. It is a very easy thing, however, to call nick-names. How easy, for instance, would it not be to call the Governor of Jamaica a negro-driver, because a large proportion of the population of that island consists of negroes in a state of bondage!

But even supposing the salaries of all officers of the crown in New South Wales reduced to the American standard, and the profitable patronage of the Home Government in that colony done entirely away,—I, as a British subject, equally interested in promoting the national welfare with the author of "England and America," and perhaps as competent to express an opinion on the subject of transportation as that writer, would still maintain most decidedly, that the system of transportation ought to he continued by the British Government—not indeed for the benefit of New South Wales, or of any other penal settlement on the Australian continent, but for the moral welfare of the mother country itself. The abuse of a system—and who that reads these pages but will acknowledge that the whole system of the Australian colonies has been little else during a great part of their existence than a grand abuse of the system of transportation?—is no argument against the proper and well-regulated use of it. The system of transportation and the principle it involves are good in the abstract—nay, noble; it is folly and incapacity, or something worse than either, that have made them appear otherwise to the people of England.

glory of the nation in the estimation of fools, has only served, in the estimation of every wise and of every Christian man, to demoralize the nation, and fearfully to increase the amount of the national misery and of the national crime. Meanwhile the entire management of the noblest experiment that was ever made by any civilized nation since the foundation of the world—I mean the experiment of a penal colony on a great scale—was recklessly entrusted to mere chance, to ignorance, to incapacity, to the full play and the uncontrolled operation of the worst passions that disgrace humanity. And is it in such circumstances, then, that we are to be coolly told by His Grace of Dublin, sitting in his study sixteen thousand miles from the scene of action, that the experiment has decidedly proved a failure?

Instead of investing a naval or military officer with the multifarious and often incompatible powers that were most injudiciously combined in the person of the Governor of New South Wales, from the first establishment of the colony, had the British Government appointed a council of seven members,—consisting of men of experience in the management of criminals, men of general intelligence, of decision of character, and of approved philanthropy,—entrusting to that council the administration of the whole affairs of the colony, giving them a strong and efficient police for their support, and placing the officer in command of the troops required for the protection of the settlement entirely under their control,—the important experiment involved in the establishment of the colony of New South Wales would have received

a fair trial, and its issue, I am confident, would have been entirely satisfactory; the reformation of the convicts would have been general, rapid, and progressive; and thousands, and tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands of British money, which, to say the very least, were lavishly and unprofitably expended under the system actually pursued, would have been saved to the nation. It is only after an experiment conducted in some such way as this—I mean in a way somewhat accordant with right reason and common sense—shall have been made and eventually proved a failure, that I shall ever be induced to subscribe to the sentiments of the Irish Archbishop; for, of all species of punishment, I am persuaded that, under a proper system of management, transportation would be found to combine, in the highest degree, all the four requisites which the Archbishop himself most wisely establishes, in being *humane, corrective, cheap,* and *formidable.*

The preceding quotations from Archbishop Whately's work I have merely copied from a newspaper, having never had an opportunity of consulting the work itself; of whose merits, in other respects, I should be sorry to say a single syllable in depreciation. I have met, in a similar quarter, with the following statement relative to the system of transportation, from some paper on the subject in the London Review: "In the generality of cases, the discipline undergone in the colony should be sufficient even to *undo the evil of the voyage;* to remove but the *additional contamination* contracted during the voyage out is more than either reasonable conjecture or experience would allow us to hope." It is thus taken

for granted, as a thing that admits of no doubt whatever, that the voyage-out is essentially and uniformly demoralizing in its tendency on the inmates of a convict-ship. I do not pretend to have acquired so much experience in the matter in question as the anonymous author of this statement, who of course writes in London—a place where, I presume, *experience* is procurable in the same wholesale and general way as every thing else in the book-line. I have spent only four or five months of my life, and made only one voyage to the Australian colonies, in a convict-ship; but I am confident that the inmates of that vessel were landed in the port of their destination with better feelings and dispositions than they entertained, and better fitted for the station they were to occupy in the land of their banishment, than they were when they were received on board in the Thames. Divine service was performed twice every Sabbath during the voyage—once on deck, when all on board (passengers, soldiers, sailors, and convicts,) attended—and once in the *prison*, or portion of the *'tween-decks* appropriated for the convicts. I proposed to the Surgeon-Superintendent to perform divine service also in the prison once every day during the week; but that gentleman, conceiving that twice a week would be sufficiently frequent, it was accordingly performed every Tuesday and Friday evening. The service on these occasions consisted in reading a portion of the Word of God; after which an exhortation or address, founded either on the passage read, or on some incident of the voyage, was delivered, an extempore prayer being then offered up, and a psalm or hymn sung. A low

malignant fever prevailed for some time on board the vessel after we lost sight of the English land; and, after crossing the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, a number of the convicts were attacked with scurvy—a very unusual circumstance in the more recent voyages to the colony—of which, and of other diseases, no fewer than five persons died ere we reached the meridian of Van Dieman's Land. These circumstances may perhaps have helped to induce a better tone of feeling than might otherwise have prevailed; at all events the general conduct of the convicts throughout the voyage, and especially their demeanour during divine service, were unexceptionably respectful and decorous. A day or two before we reached Van Diemen's Land, where the convicts were to be landed, and where, as I had to proceed to Port Jackson, I was likely to see them no more, I received a letter of thanks and good wishes from a considerable number of those who had been most observant of divine service during the voyage. It was a sort of acknowledgement which was altogether unexpected on my own part, and I could not help regarding it at the moment as a genuine expression of good feeling.

The present Archdeacon of New South Wales, in a letter addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Dieman's Land on the subject of penal discipline, has recommended the abolition or rather discontinuance of *transportation for seven years*, on the ground that the comparatively short period of bondage which that sentence implies in the colony may operate, when the circumstance is reported in England, as an incentive to

the commission of crime. I am not prepared to subscribe to that recommendation entirely, though in the present state of public feeling in Great Britain, on the subject of transportation, I conceive it would not be altogether inexpedient to make trial of the penitentiary system recommended by Archbishop Whately, with convicts sentenced to transportation for seven years. My own opinion, however, in regard to the probable working of that system, is, that a great proportion of the convicts would just return to their former courses, after completing their period of sentence in the penitentiary, and be apprehended, tried, convicted, and transported, or perhaps capitally punished at last. The question therefore resolves itself in some measure into a question of expense.* Independently, however, of that consi-

* The transportation of criminals to the Australian colonies was formerly a very expensive affair to the mother country; but reform has already reached this branch of the public expenditure, and the saving effected has been very considerable. The opening of the trade to China is likely to lead to a still greater saving in this item of public expenditure, in consequence of the increased competition among ship-owners for freight for their vessels on the outward voyage; New South Wales being very little out of the way for vessels bound for Canton. The freight of a large vessel, hired by Government to carry out convicts to Van Dieman's Land in the month of November, 1833, cost for each convict only £6, exclusive of provisions. The convict's ration would not cost, I conceive, more than nine-pence per day; which, for four months, or one hundred and twenty days—the average duration of the voyage out—amounts to £4. 10*s*. additional. The Surgeon-Superintendent has full pay, a small gratuity for every convict landed in good health, and a free passage home; and there is also a gratuity given to the ship-master when he deserves it. In addition to these charges, which of course are smaller in amount for each convict in proportion to the greater size of the vessel, the cost of medicine and slop-clothing, and the expense of the military

deration, transportation for seven years leaves the liberated felon, on the expiration of his sentence in a penal colony, with far fewer temptations to return to his former evil courses, than those with which the liberated felon, issuing from the hulk or the penitentiary, is assailed in England, and with far higher incentives and far more favourable opportunities to pursue a course of industry and honesty for the future.

The system pursued in the colony, in regard to the distribution and assignment of female convicts, is somewhat similar to the one I have already described in regard to the other sex. When a female convict-ship arrives in the harbour, the circumstance is duly announced in the Government Gazette, and families requiring female servants are invited to make application according to a prescribed form. The applications are generally more numerous than the Government can meet, and the females are assigned only to reputable families, according to the best judgment of the Board appointed for the purpose. Many of them make good servants, and in due time get well-married—chiefly to emancipated convicts, living either as agriculturists in the country, or in one or other of the various capacities in which the lower classes are employed in towns; the colonial government being always willing to grant permission for the marriage of a female-convict, provided

guard, are to be taken into account. The sum of £15, however, will cover the whole cost of a convict's transportation to the Australian colonies; and I should like to know how Archbishop Whately will contrive to get rid of him, in all probability for ever, at a *cheaper* rate.

she is either a spinster or a widow, and provided the intended husband is a freeman and able to maintain a family.

It sometimes *unfortunately* happens, however, that the female-convict, who has an opportunity of forming an eligible connexion in this way, and thereby acquiring her immediate liberty, has a husband alive in England, or has been *imprudent* enough to declare herself married on her arrival in the colony, under the idea that *she will be more respected*, forsooth, (for that is the usual account of the matter,) as a married woman. In such cases, it becomes a matter of importance to prove either the death or the non-entity of the English husband, and the expedients that are resorted to with this view are often highly ingenious. About seven years ago, I solemnized a marriage between a reputable young man, a native of the colony, and a female-convict who had been transported from Paisley, in the west of Scotland, for some malpractices in a manufacturing establishment in which she had been employed. The young man was a carpenter, and it seemed his Scotch wife turned out so much to his satisfaction, that his brother was induced to think seriously of espousing another Scotch female-convict who had arrived by the same vessel from the same part of Scotland. The brother's intended was the assigned servant of a respectable Scotch family residing near Sydney, and was naturally enough desirous of being *on her own hands*, as the wife of a free mechanic who could earn from thirty shillings to two pounds sterling a week; but she had a husband in Paisley, and how to get him disposed

of was the difficulty, for she had duly informed the Government of her being a married woman on her arrival in the colony. The difficulty, however, was not too great to be surmounted—at least the parties thought so—and a letter was accordingly written, purporting to have come from some relative of the female's in Paisley, and communicating the *distressing* intelligence of the Scotch husband's death. The letter was brought me for my perusal by the two brothers, with a view to my soliciting permission from Government (which must uniformly be obtained in the first instance by some clergyman of the territory, in the case of either party being a convict,) for the publication of banns. I observed to the young men, before reading the letter, that it had no post-mark; but they readily explained that circumstance, by informing me that it had been brought out by the Scotch carpenter of a convictship lately arrived, who knew the parties; and indeed the exterior of it bore the appearance of its having been for months in a carpenter's tool-chest, or in some situation in which it would have been equally soiled. The letter was dated sufficiently far back for the accomplishment of a voyage to New South Wales in the interval, and was written with great ingenuity. It communicated a variety of particulars relative to persons and events in the town of Paisley, which in any ordinary case would have given it the indisputable character of a genuine letter. There were even a few incidental notices respecting one of the ministers of Paisley, which were exceedingly well conceived for the purpose of practising on clerical gullibility. Unfor-

tunately, however, in lamenting, towards the close of the letter, that the female-convict to whom it was addressed was destined to spend the remainder of her days in so distant a part of the earth, the letter-writer had written the word *earth* in the cockney-style—*hearth*. It immediately struck me that this peculiarly English species of bad-spelling could not have occurred so far north as the town of Paisley, where the vowel sound commencing a word is never aspirated; and I therefore returned the letter to the young men, telling them that I was persuaded it had been written in the colony, and that no such marriage as they contemplated would be allowed by the Government. A few weeks thereafter, the woman absconded from her master's service, and was married to the currency lad, by an episcopal clergyman in the interior, as a free woman. As her flight, however, was immediately reported to the authorities, she was traced, apprehended, and sent to the third class in the factory—the place of punishment for female-convicts—the marriage being held null and void.

Many of the female-convicts conduct themselves in an unexceptionable manner, and rear large families of interesting and promising children, when reputably married in the colony; for it is not an unusual case for a woman, who has been exceedingly depraved and absolutely unmanageable in a single state, to conduct herself with propriety when advantageously married. Others, however, are indifferent enough in either condition, and when assigned as servants to respectable families are got rid of and returned to Government with all convenient speed. But the fault is by no means

uniformly on the side of the convict. A remark—which I recollect having heard the eccentric, but truly apostolic, Rowland Hill make at a public meeting of the friends of a Female Penitentiary Society in London many years ago—is unfortunately too well suited to the meridian of New South Wales: "Mistresses are always complaining," said the venerable old man, "of their having bad servants; but I will tell you what, ladies, there are a great many bad mistresses too."

There are instances of persons of the industrious classes of society, who have arrived free in the colony, marrying female-convicts, and having no reason subsequently to regret the step they have taken. The experiment, however, is a dangerous one, and is sometimes attended with a different result. About seven years ago a reputable Scotch mechanic, who was able shortly after his arrival in the colony to take jobs on his own account, was infatuated enough to marry a female-convict of prepossessing appearance, but unfortunately of little else to recommend her. Previous to his marriage, he had been regular in his attendance on the ordinances of religion; but his wife had various other more eligible modes of spending the Sabbath than going to church, and he had accordingly to accompany her on Sunday-excursions of pleasure to the country. Unfortunately, however, his wife very soon got *into trouble*, as it is technically termed in the colony; i. e. into the commission of some crime or misdemeanour, which issues in the individual's flagellation, or imprisonment, or transportation, or death by the law—for the phrase is sufficiently extensive in its signifi-

cation. She had been concerned in a riot, which two free persons lodging in her husband's cottage had raised during his absence, and was immediately carried by the constables before the police magistrate of Sydney, who decides in a summary way in all cases in which convicts, whether married or not, are concerned. The offender was in this instance sentenced to three months' confinement, in the third or lowest class in the factory at Parramatta. One of the rules of that institution is, that no female shall be *admitted* into the third class without having previously undergone the operation of shaving the head; and the poor husband was in this instance so much distressed at the sorry appearance which he thought his wife would exhibit, when divested of her hair, that he actually called at my house to request that I would forward a petition which he had prepared to the authorities, that the operation might for once be dispensed with in his wife's favour. During the conversation that took place on the occasion, I took an opportunity to remind the Scotchman of his recent neglect of the ordinances of religion, and I accordingly saw him in church for a few Sabbaths thereafter. His wife, however, returned to him again at the expiration of her sentence, and I saw him no more.

When female-convicts are returned to Government by the families to which they have been assigned, or are sentenced to punishment by the magistrates for petty misdemeanours, they are forwarded in a covered waggon to a sort of Bridewell at Parramatta, called *the Female Factory,* in which there are generally from

two to five hundred female-convicts, under the charge of a respectable matron and the superintendence of a committee of management. They are divided into three classes. *The First Class* consists of those who from particular circumstances have not been assigned as maid-servants to private families on their arrival in the colony, or of those who have been returned to Government by their masters without having any crime charged against them, or of those whose good conduct has merited their elevation from the inferior classes. All the females of this class are assigned as maid-servants, on being applied for by reputable persons, in the same way as on the arrival of a female convict-ship, the state of the Factory being announced weekly for the information of the public in the Government Gazette. *The Third Class* consists of incorrigible females, or of those who have been sentenced to a certain period of penal confinement in the Factory on account of some misdemeanour; and *the Second Class* consists of those who have served out their period of sentence in the *Third*, and who are undergoing probation ere they are again advanced to the *First*. The inmates of the Factory are employed variously, according to their characters and stations in the establishment, but chiefly in the processes connected with the manufacture of a coarse woollen-cloth, called *Parramatta cloth*, of which blankets and slop-clothing are made for the convict-servants of settlers throughout the territory.

With a view to disperse the female-convicts more widely over the territory, and to enable respectable

families in the interior to procure female servants with greater facility, the present Governor has established subordinate factories at Bathurst and Hunter's River, to which a proportion of the female-convicts from each ship are forwarded on their arrival, and in which those that have been returned to Government by their masters are kept for re-assignment in the district; and I am happy to add that the measure is likely to be attended with general benefit. Indeed, the system of management pursued for a long time previous, in regard to that portion of the prison-population of the colony, was obviously and outrageously preposterous. For instead of adopting every possible means to effect the dispersion of the female-convicts, that they might at least have some chance of getting reputably settled, and even winking at pettier peccadilloes for the accomplishment of so important an object, they were generally immured, to the number of five or six hundred, within stone-walls and iron-gates. The impolicy of such a system will appear from the following consideration, in addition to various others that will naturally suggest themselves to the reader, viz. that there are frequent instances in the colony, as I have already had occasion to observe, of females who had been perfectly unmanageable when imprisoned in the Factory, subsequently becoming remarkably quiet and well-behaved wives and mothers of children.

There are comparatively few instances of female-convicts committing capital offences in New South Wales. An instance of the kind, however, happened to fall

under my own observation several years ago, in the following rather singular way. I was proceeding alone in a gig one Monday morning to solemnize a marriage at a considerable distance in the interior, when a young man, decently attired in the garb of a sailor or ship-carpenter, who was walking towards Sydney, requested to know whether I was some other person whom he named. There was a feeling of distress evidently pourtrayed in the young man's countenance, that induced me to ask him some question that immediately elicited his affecting story. He had arrived in the colony a few months before, as the carpenter of a convict-ship, and, finding that he could obtain eligible employment in Sydney, had obtained his discharge from the vessel, and remained on shore. On the Saturday evening previous, he was sitting in his lodging, after having finished his week's labour, when some person, entering the house, incidentally mentioned that he had just been at the Supreme Court, and had heard sentence of death pronounced on a man and woman for robbing their master, a respectable settler residing about forty miles from Sydney. The name of the woman, which the stranger also mentioned at the time, coinciding with that of a sister of his own, who had suddenly disappeared from her father's house in London about two or three years before, and never afterwards been heard of by her relatives, it immediately struck him that the woman might possibly be his lost sister. He accordingly went forthwith to the jail, and, having obtained admittance, found to his inexpressible grief that the woman under sentence of death was actually his own

sister. His parents, he told me, were poor but honest people, who had reared a large family of eight or nine children, and she was the only one of the number who had gone astray. On consulting some person as to what was proper for him to do in such circumstances, he was told to get a memorial to the Governor drawn up on his sister's behalf, and to have it recommended, if possible, by her master. He, therefore, went forthwith to a person in Sydney who wrote memorials for hire, and got a document of the kind drawn up. The writer was an emancipated convict, and the memorial was written in the usual style of such writers—taking for granted, as a matter of course, and strongly protesting the innocence of the criminal, and insinuating that his present situation is the result of misfortune rather than of misconduct. It was eleven o'clock at night before the precious document, which cost, if I recollect aright, two dollars, was finished; but, as soon as it was completed, the young man, who had never been a mile out of Sydney before, instantly set off alone and on foot through the gloomy forest to the residence of his sister's late master, to request him to recommend the memorial. He had reached his destination, and had got about half-way to Sydney on his return, when I met him on the following Monday morning. On reading the memorial, I was apprehensive it would rather do harm than good, and therefore desired the young man to accompany me to a house a little way on, where we could obtain materials for writing, and where I should write something, which I had reason to hope would be of more service to him. The young man

gladly accepted my offer; and I accordingly wrote a short account of the manner in which he had discovered his sister, and the anxiety he had manifested on her behalf, soliciting that if the ends of justice could possibly be attained by a milder punishment, the feelings of the community might not be outraged by the execution of a female, who had probably been herself the unhappy victim of some unprincipled seducer. The young man was extremely grateful for the little service done him, and I was happy to learn afterwards that his unfortunate sister's sentence of death was commuted into a milder punishment.

Convicts who have been guilty of crimes and misdemeanours in the colony are subjected to various sorts of punishment, according to the real or supposed enormity of their respective offences. These punishments are *flagellation, the tread-mill, hard labour in irons on the roads, transportation to a penal settlement,* and *death.* Of these the first two are awarded by a Bench of Magistrates; the third and fourth by the Court of Quarter-Sessions; and the fourth and fifth by the Criminal or Supreme Court. In regard to the first of these species of punishment, viz. flagellation, it is generally allowed that its tendency is to degrade, to brutalize, and to harden the individual; and it cannot be denied that it is often resorted to in the colony at the instance of masters, when milder treatment would be much more efficacious. His Excellency, the present Governor of New South Wales, seems to have been of this opinion; for in a late colonial enactment he has considerably restrained the power of the inferior judi-

catories, in regard to the infliction of that punishment. The second and third species of punishment I have enumerated are unexceptionable in their character, and they have this in particular to recommend them, that their infliction is directly conducive to the benefit of the community; the tread-mill being employed to grind corn, while the labour of the road-gangs opens up new, or improves existing, lines of communication with the distant interior. There are strong objections, however, to the frequent recourse that has hitherto been had to the fourth species of punishment above mentioned, viz. *transportation to penal settlements;* and the same objections that are urged in the mother country to the punishment of death, except for murder and for certain other crimes of peculiar enormity, apply with undiminished, if not with increased, force to the case of New South Wales.

There are three objections to the system of transportation to penal settlements, which has hitherto prevailed in New South Wales, which I conceive the Colonial Legislature, or rather the British Government, which bears the whole expense of these establishments, would do well to consider. In the first place, the penal settlements are enormously expensive. In the second place, they are productive of little or no benefit to the colony. In the third place, they are almost entirely unnecessary.

During the government of Major-General Macquarie and Sir Thomas Brisbane, there were penal settlements, either simultaneously or in succession, at Emu Plains, on the Nepean River, at the eastern base of the Blue

Mountains; at Wellington Valley, on the Macquarie River, about eighty miles beyond Bathurst, in the western interior; at Newcastle, at the mouth of Hunter's River; at Port Macquarie, at the mouth of the River Hastings; at Moreton Bay, at the mouth of the Brisbane River; and at Norfolk Island; the last three having been formed, and the one at Newcastle discontinued, during the government of Sir Thomas Brisbane. The convicts at these settlements were employed in erecting buildings, such as barracks for soldiers, convict-barracks, jails, lumber-yards, hospitals, houses for the various officers attached to the respective establishments, &c. &c., and in clearing, fencing, and cultivating land. All these operations were carried on at a prodigious expense to the British Government; but as that expense was included under the general head of the "Expense of the Convict Establishments of the Colony," the whole of which is borne by the mother country, it would be difficult, as it is otherwise unnecessary, to estimate the cost of each particular settlement. In process of time, however, when the influx of free emigrants and the demand for convict-labour occasioned the breaking up, first of one and then of another, of these penal settlements, it was found that the buildings, which had cost so much in the erection, were for the most part of no use whatever to the colony, and were consequently suffered to go to ruin or sold for the merest trifle, and that hundreds and thousands of convicts had thus been in reality laboriously occupied for years together—doing absolutely nothing. At Newcastle, for instance, there were large commodious buildings erected, during the

government of Major-General Macquarie, of all the different descriptions I have just enumerated: but when Hunter's River was thrown open to free emigration during the government of Sir Thomas Brisbane, and the convicts removed to Port Macquarie, it was found that, as there was not a single acre of land near Newcastle worth the trouble and expense of cultivating, the proper site for a town for the district was at the head of the navigation of the river, at a distance of twenty miles from the actual place of settlement. Newcastle, therefore, became *a deserted village;* property in it was not worth the having; and several of the Government buildings consequently fell into a state of gradual dilapidation. As it was necessary, however, to maintain a Government establishment in the district for the general welfare of the population, it was still stationed at Newcastle, on account of the buildings already erected in that locality—to the great inconvenience and annoyance of the settlers, who were thus compelled, for instance, to carry every sick convict they required to send to the district hospital, twenty miles farther than the station at which such a building ought to have been erected. At Emu Plains also, various Government buildings were erected, though not to the same extent, which eventually proved equally unserviceable; and though a considerable extent of land was cleared, fenced, and cultivated, at that settlement, it cannot be doubted that every acre so cleared and cultivated cost the Government double, triple, or quadruple the sum it will ever realize.

The establishment, growth, and magnitude of the

penal settlements, in the formation of which so much valuable labour was thus lost to the colony, and so much British money absolutely thrown away, were attributable chiefly to the impolitic system pursued by Governor Macquarie, and to the check which was given during His Excellency's government to free emigration. It remains to be inquired, how far such settlements are necessary—whether they might not be dispensed with in great measure with much benefit to the colony—and, supposing that they ought to be retained to a certain extent, what purpose the formation of a penal settlement ought to serve in the New South Wales colonial system?

I do not suppose that it would either be practicable or expedient to dispense with penal settlements altogether. There are incorrigible offenders who must be thrust out of society, as well for their own benefit as for that of the public, and whose pestilential influence would corrupt and debase even an iron-gang. For the confinement and punishment, if not for the reformation, of such offenders, the penal settlement of Norfolk Island is admirably adapted, as it presents no possibility of escape to the criminal. It would be proper, therefore, I conceive, to retain that dependency as a permanent penal settlement, in which the atrocious criminal might receive his bitter portion of hopeless exile and hard labour for life, and in which the criminal of a lighter shade of guilt might be put to his probation for a longer or shorter period, according to the degree of his criminality. In regard, however, to the majority of the convicts who are now sent under colonial sen-

tences of transportation to Norfolk Island, and to the other penal settlement of Moreton Bay—I am confident I express the opinion of every person of intelligence of the class of free settlers in New South Wales, when I state my own—that the ends of justice could be equally attained by subjecting them to hard labour in irons on the roads and bridges of the settled parts of the colony, under the vigilant superintendence of an efficient police; the degree of restraint being proportioned to the degree of criminality, and the convicts who had been found guilty of more serious offences being stationed in the more distant and wilder parts of the territory. By this arrangement the labour of the majority of the convicts, now for the most part unprofitably employed at penal settlements, would be expended usefully for the colony, while the mother country would be entirely relieved of the cost of their maintenance. Their safe custody could, with proper precautions, be secured in the one case as effectually as in the other, while the punishment could with the utmost facility be rendered equally severe.*

The useful purpose which penal settlements ought to serve in the New South Wales colonial system, independently of the means they afford of subjecting incorrigible offenders to a comparatively severe system of penal discipline, is to prepare the way for the successive formation of a series of free settlements throughout the

* The huts of the road-gangs at every encampment could be inclosed within a strong stockade, for the construction of which there are materials in abundance in all parts of the territory; while the superintendent and the officer of the guard could be lodged in comfortable frame-houses, that could be taken asunder and removed on the backs of pack-bullocks, and set up again at the next encampment.

territory. This purpose, however, could undoubtedly be served without any such waste of money and labour as has hitherto occurred at the penal settlements formed on Governor Macquarie's principle; for I see no reason whatever why every tree that is cut down, and every stone or brick that is laid upon another, at the expense of Government, in any part of the territory, should not contribute to the permanent prosperity and progressive advancement of the colony, as well as such operations uniformly do when carried on by private individuals acting for their own private advantage. In the event, therefore, of a certain amount of convict-labour being disposable for the purpose of forming a penal settlement in a part of the territory previously unoccupied, let it be kept steadily in view, that the object of that settlement is merely to prepare the way for the formation of a free settlement, and that all the operations to be performed by the convicts are to be of such a kind only, as shall most effectually facilitate the accomplishment of that object. With this view let an accurate survey of the locality intended for the new settlement be made in the first instance, and its capabilities, in regard to soil and to available means of communication, be fully ascertained. Let a site for a future town be fixed on, and a plan of it drawn; and let such buildings as may be permanently required for Government purposes, after its discontinuance as a penal settlement, be erected in suitable situations. Let roads be formed in every proper direction, and a large extent of land cleared for future cultivation. And when these operations shall have been duly performed, let the whole establishment

be removed to another locality, and the township and district thrown open for the settlement of free persons, whether emigrants or emancipists; those convicts who had fulfilled their term of banishment, or had otherwise merited such an indulgence, being allowed to remain. In this way penal settlements would form the vanguard of civilization in the colony; they would prepare the way for its progressive and rapid advancement; and they would render the circumstances of free persons occupying newly opened settlements much more comfortable than they can possibly be under the present system.

Had the penal settlement of Newcastle been conducted on this principle, and had the labour of the numerous convicts, who were so unprofitably employed at that settlement for years together, been expended in clearing land, and in forming roads for the free settlers to whom the land was afterwards to be surrendered, the result, in regard to the circumstances and the condition of the earlier settlers at Hunter's River, and the general prosperity of that important district, would have been very different from what it actually was. Nay, the Government might even have been repaid by the settlers the whole expense incurred in the clearing of the land.

Were an extensive emigration of reputable free agricultural labourers, with their wives and children, to take place from the mother country to New South Wales, penal settlements might in every instance be converted, in the way I have just mentioned, into flourishing agricultural free settlements almost instantaneously. The

land might be divided for this purpose into small farms, varying in extent from twenty to a hundred acres, according to the nature of the soil; a certain number of acres being cleared and fenced by Government on each farm, and a log-house of the simplest construction erected for the accommodation of a family. Each of these farms might be let by the Government, on the opening of the settlement, at a rental payable in grain at the nearest Commissariat Store; the tenant having it in his power to purchase the farm at a certain price and within a certain period by instalments. In this way also, numerous emancipated convicts and ticket-of-leave holders, of reputable character, might be advantageously settled in the out-stations of the colony, where they would be removed from the influence of strong temptations, and be encouraged to propriety of conduct by the good example of a virtuous population. In short, an extensive emigration of the kind I have described is absolutely necessary to insure the proper working of the penal system, as well as the moral health and welfare of the colonial community.

In regard to the infliction of the punishment of death, except for murder and for certain other crimes of peculiar enormity, it is generally acknowledged that the penal code of Great Britain is both sanguinary and inefficient. The excellence of the criminal code of any country consists in the due apportionment of punishments to offences; and the excellence of the judicial system of any country consists in making the punishments so apportioned uniformly follow the crimes to which they have been awarded. It argues a lamentable

imperfection in the state of the law, and exceedingly impedes the course of justice, for the royal prerogative of mercy to be systematically resorted to, to correct the real or supposed severity of the former, and to render the latter accordant with right reason and the better feelings of enlightened humanity. Much rather let such punishments be decreed in the first instance, as the judges will award and the executive inflict.—In short, it intimately concerns the interests of morality throughout the British empire, to effect a speedy and complete change in so anomalous a system.

The punishment of death has little or no influence in the colony in deterring from the commission of crime; for it is not inflicted in the great majority of cases in which the sentence has been actually passed. Besides, the criminal has every advantage in New South Wales from the frequency of perjury, and from the prevalence of that foul system of legal chicanery, which regards the screening of the most consummate villain from the punishment he has merited, as an achievement equally honourable and equally meritorious with the deliverance of innocence itself from the gibbet or the stake. But when the punishment of death is actually inflicted, as it is not unfrequently for crimes of much inferior enormity to that of murder, it has just as little influence on the prison-population in general, as the prospect of it has actually had on the criminal. In fact, the criminal is regarded by those whom the spectacle of his punishment is supposed likely to influence, merely as an unsuccessful speculator in the grand lottery of the law, who has staked his last dollar and drawn a halter. He

is sympathized with accordingly by his old companions, who assemble in great numbers to see how he dies, and who are doubtless encouraged from the profanation of the services of religion, that not unfrequently takes place on such occasions, to believe that if it should come to the worst with themselves also, a little timely intercourse with a minister of religion, and especially with a Roman Catholic priest, will settle all accounts and make them happy at last. Nay, the dead body of the criminal is perhaps carried to the house of some relative or acquaintance after the executioner has done his duty, where it is *waked over* with all due formality, and where the particulars of his last mishap are circumstantially related by a crowd of visitors; the proper degree of censure being dealt out on the lawyer who conducted the defence, for not acting his part as he usually does on such occasions; and poor Paddy or Joe or Dan, who of course is pronounced *happy now*, is at length followed to the grave by a numerous train of mourners. In one case of this kind, in consequence of having visited the criminal in the jail previous to his execution, I was waited on by a deputation of his friends to *read prayers*, forsooth, over his carcase in the burying-ground of Sydney, that he might be *earthed over* with some degree of *éclat*.

The uniformly demoralizing character of such scenes, and the withering and blasting influence of the feelings they awaken, might surely teach the legislature of Great Britain the propriety of limiting the punishment of death to the crime of murder, and to those other enormous offences which all Christian nations have

agreed to visit with the last punishment of the law. In witnessing such scenes as those I allude to, I have been irresistibly impressed with an idea, which my own experience of the miserable perverseness of human nature has induced me to believe neither unreasonable nor unfounded, viz. that there are individuals who would actually be incited to crime by the prospect of such a death and such a burial. Better surely that the system of Venice—revolting as it seems to Britons—should be revived than that such a system should be continued; that the criminal should be conducted at midnight over the Bridge of Sighs, and the work of death performed by torchlight and in solemn silence, in the presence of no other witness than the jailer and the sheriff!

Besides, it has happened in New South Wales, as it has done repeatedly in the mother country, that the innocent have suffered the last punishment of the law while the guilty have escaped. In the earlier times of the colony, a private of marines, who had settled on the Hawkesbury and was known to have accumulated considerable property, announced his intention speedily to return to England. Just as he was ready, however, to pack up and be off, his cottage was attacked at midnight by armed ruffians, and in the scuffle that ensued he was mortally wounded. His house was then rifled, and a quantity of property carried off. Property of the description stolen being subsequently found in the house of two men residing at Windsor, about twelve miles farther up the river, suspicion was immediately awakened, and the men were of course apprehended, and charged with the robbery and murder. The property that was

identified was a quantity of tea, with which a number of nails of a particular kind were found mixed; the marine's wife having testified in the course of the trial that a number of nails of that kind had accidentally fallen into their box of tea. The widow having sworn, moreover, to one of the men as the person who fired at her husband, they were both found guilty and condemned to death. The men acknowledged that they had gone down the river in a boat on the night of the robbery, with an intention to rob the marine's house, but not to commit murder. On arriving at the spot, however, they found they had been anticipated; another party of desperadoes being actually engaged at the moment in robbing the house. In these circumstances, they concealed themselves at a little distance from the house, to watch the issue of the affair; and observed the robbers *plant* or conceal a quantity of the property, of which they had just plundered the cottage, in their immediate neighbourhood. Watching their opportunity, therefore, they carried off the property to their boat, and made the best of their way to Windsor. But the whole story was apparently so improbable that nobody believed it, and the men were executed forthwith. Several years afterwards, however, an emancipated convict-settler of the name of Fitzpatrick, who lived several miles farther down the river than the unfortunate marine, was found guilty of some capital offence and condemned to death. Before his execution, Fitzpatrick, whose apparently reputable character and easy circumstances had completely diverted suspicion into other channels, confessed that it was he who had robbed and murdered the ma-

rine, that he had gone up the river with one or more accomplices on the night of the murder, and with an intention to rob the house, in a boat with muffled oars, and that, after shooting the marine and rifling the house, he had concealed a quantity of the plunder in the neighbourhood; but that on returning afterwards to carry it off, he had found, to his astonishment and disappointment, that some person had *sprung the plant*—a cant phrase for discovering and carrying off property which another person has stolen and concealed.

In the year 1828, six criminals, who had all been found guilty of capital offences and had received sentence of death, were ordered for execution. Three of them were Protestants, and three Roman Catholics. I had visited the former repeatedly before the execution of the sentence had been definitively fixed on by the executive council. One of them maintained his entire innocence of the crime of which he had been found guilty; but, as that is no uncommon occurrence, I paid no attention to it. All of them, however, indulged the hope of a commutation of their sentence into transportation to a penal settlement for life; especially as their crimes had not been attended in any instance with bloodshed or personal violence. But as soon as the Sheriff had at length announced to them that their sentence was to be carried into execution, two of the Protestants confessed that, in addition to the crime for which they were deservedly to suffer death, they had also committed the highway robbery of which the third Protestant and one of the Roman Catholics—a very young man of the name of Lynch—had been found

guilty, on the evidence of a woman who swore to their persons; but that they had (naturally enough) concealed the circumstance so long as they had any hope of escaping with their own lives.

The execution was to take place on a Monday morning; the Sheriff's announcement to that effect having been made to them on the Thursday or Friday previous. I did not see the men after the intimation had been given them till late on the Saturday evening; but I was then forcibly struck at the earnestness with which the two Protestants maintained their own exclusive guilt, and the entire innocence of the third Protestant and the Roman Catholic Lynch. Determined, however, not to do any thing in the matter precipitately, I visited them again on the Sabbath morning; and, the impression made upon my mind of the truth of the men's statement the preceding evening being then confirmed, I determined to mention the circumstance to the Sheriff, and accordingly did so during the interval between the morning and afternoon's service, intending, in the event of that gentleman's opinion coinciding with my own, to ride up to Parramatta (where the Governor was then residing, about fifteen miles off,) in the evening, to solicit a reprieve for the third Protestant and the Roman Catholic Lynch.

The Sheriff observed, that it was no uncommon thing for criminals under sentence of death to act precisely in the way I had described—one or more, on finding that it is all over with themselves, confessing themselves guilty of crimes they had not committed, merely to get off some old companion, perhaps, who is really guilty,

and thereby render him the last service in their power: and, conceiving that the case I have detailed was just one of that character, he dissuaded me from applying to the Governor on the subject. This was a view of the case which had not occurred to me; and, as it served materially to weaken the impression produced by the scene I had witnessed in the jail, I determined not to do any thing further in the matter.

I again visited the criminals, however, about ten o'clock on the Sabbath evening, and, from what occurred during my visit, I was fully persuaded of the correctness of my first impression; for while the man who had uniformly protested his innocence was apparently calm and collected, the agony of the other two at having brought two innocent persons to the scaffold was extreme, and I may add, if I know any thing at all of human nature, was undoubtedly unfeigned. Besides, I ascertained that they had had no previous acquaintance with the third Protestant; who had been an assigned servant to a settler on the Hawkesbury, and was characterized by his master as a quiet inoffensive man.

In these circumstances, I considered it my duty immediately to report the case to the Governor. With this view, I wrote out a statement of it on going home, as I did not expect to find His Excellency up at the early hour at which it would be necessary for me to reach Parramatta, in order to return to Sydney before the execution. I reached Government-House at Parramatta before six o'clock on Monday morning, and found both the Governor and the Colonial Secretary in

the area in front of it, the latter having been at Government-House the preceding night, and being then just about proceeding to Sydney. The Governor—General Darling—heard my verbal statement of the case, and held a private consultation with the Secretary on the written one; the result of which was that they both coincided in opinion with the Sheriff, and deemed it inexpedient to delay the execution of the sentence.

I accordingly returned immediately to Sydney, and about two miles from Parramatta met the late Roman Catholic Priest of Sydney, the Rev. Mr. Power, who had come to the same conclusion with myself, in regard to the innocence of the lad Lynch, and was actually on his way to the Governor on the very same errand. Having apprised him, however, of the result of my visit, he deemed it unnecessary to proceed any farther, and we accordingly returned together to Sydney. I saw the men once more, immediately before the execution, which took place about nine o'clock, when they all suffered death; and I still firmly believe that two of them were entirely innocent of the crime for which they were hanged. Cases of this kind, which it is evident may occur in any country, should surely have some weight in inducing the imperial legislature to render the punishment of death somewhat less frequent than it has hitherto unfortunately been, under the operation of the sanguinary criminal code of Great Britain and Ireland.

I have already hinted at the frequency of perjury in the criminal courts of the colony. In a community so peculiarly constituted as that of New South Wales,

such a state of things is, doubtless, to be expected. I have long been of opinion, however, that the practice of the criminal courts of the colony, in regard to the mode of administering oaths, has a direct tendency to lessen the guilt of that enormous crime, and consequently to weaken the obligation of an oath in the estimation of the public. There is nothing, it will doubtless be acknowledged, of greater importance to a community than the prevalence of a high regard for the sanctity of an oath; and there is nothing which the legislative and judicial systems of any country ought to guard against with more watchful jealousy, than the prevalence of an opposite feeling. The immense superiority of the practice of the criminal courts of Scotland, in this particular, over those of England and the colonies, cannot fail to be obvious to any person who has had an opportunity of contrasting the method of procedure in the one case, with that which obtains in the other. In the courts of Scotland, the administration of an oath is regarded as a matter of too much importance to be entrusted to any person but the judge or highest law-officer of the court. When an oath is to be administered, a deep silence prevails all over the court; the judge rises from his seat, and, desiring the witness to hold up his right hand to heaven, repeats in a solemn manner some such formula as the following, which the witness repeats after him, only changing the pronouns: "You swear in the presence of Almighty God, before whom you shall answer at the great day of judgment, that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—So help you God!"

In short, the scene is impressive and affecting in the highest degree; and the happy result is the general prevalence of a feeling of reverence for the sanctity of an oath, among all classes of the Scottish people, amounting in those of the humbler walks of life almost to superstition. Long may such a feeling prevail among my countrymen! It is one of the best bulwarks of the national virtue—one of the best securities for the national prosperity.

In the criminal courts of England, however, (I mean in those of the British colonies, the practice of which, I presume, is exactly similar to that of the English courts,) oaths are administered amid the jabbering of the lawyers, and the tittering of their clerks; the judges being perhaps employed in arranging their papers, and the spectators each talking to his neighbour! Oaths are administered, moreover, in the English courts, (*horresco referens*,) by the common crier or lowest officer of the court! As soon as a witness has taken his place in the box, this personage steps up to him with the court-Bible in his hand, and asks him whether he is a Protestant or a Roman Catholic—handing him the Bible with the plain side of the cover upwards, if he is a Protestant, but if a Roman Catholic, with the other side uppermost, which of course has a cross etched upon it, like the whity-brown paper-cross on the magistrate's affidavit-Bible. The crier then pronounces the following words, in a tone of voice somewhat similar to that of a crier of "Almanacks for the ensuing year;" "The evidence you shall give in the case between our Sovereign Lord the King and the

prisoner at the bar shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—So help you God!" The witness then kisses the book or the cross, and returns the Bible to the crier. In short, if an oath is to be regarded as a solemn appeal to the judgment-seat of Almighty God for the decision of matters of importance between man and man, a more complete desecration of a deeply affecting religious service cannot well be imagined, than the English colonial practice in regard to the administration of oaths, or a more direct encouragement of perjury among the lower classes of the colonial population.

Besides, as the obligation of an oath depends, in the estimation of illiterate persons of the prison-population of the colony, on the circumstance of bringing the lips into actual contact with the book or cross, a witness of this description, who is desirous of giving evidence to suit his employer, kisses only the nail of his thumb, and of course swears falsely with a clear conscience. Again, it is quite in the power of a lawyer of ability of a certain description, who is accustomed to deal with evidence of this kind, to get a pliable witness to say whatever he chooses by merely putting what are technically called *leading questions;* while those of the Crown lawyer are in all likelihood uniformly answered in the style of the famous Majocchi, *Non mi ricordo.* On the other hand, if a witness has a mind of his own, and will not be *led*, the colonial lawyer of the class I have just been describing has another resource for his client; and that is, to browbeat him, and put him down with impudent and irrelevant questions, or by pretending to have

discovered some minute discrepancy between the different parts of his evidence, and thereby insinuating a suspicion of his having perjured himself. In a state of society in which such procedure and such practices prevail around the fountain of justice, it is not to be wondered at that there should be comparatively little reverence for the sanctity of an oath. In short, the courts of justice in the Australian colonies are doubtless one of the prime sources of colonial demoralization; and if some such reform as the one proposed by the late Jeremy Bentham could be effected in the judicial system of these colonies, I am sure their best interests would be essentially promoted.

It is the character of miserable mortals, however, to be perpetually running to extremes. In a country in which the grossest and most unblushing perjury is of daily occurrence, and but very rarely the subject of judicial investigation, one would imagine that a charge of *wilful and corrupt perjury* would not be suffered to be lightly preferred against a reputable individual holding a respectable standing in society. There has recently, however, been a case of this kind in the colony, the anomalous character and the unprecedented issue of which have occasioned universal astonishment; while, I am sorry to add, it has established a precedent of the most injurious tendency in regard to the peace and welfare of the colonial community.

In the year 1822 Mrs. Garratt, an English lady, who had been in great measure deprived of her means of subsistence in the mother country by the death of her husband, emigrated with her large family to the Austra-

lian colonies. Two of her sons having been unfortunately drowned in Van Dieman's Land, and her four daughters having been respectably married in New South Wales, she settled at length in the latter colony, where she rented a large house in Sydney, which she occupied not unprofitably as a respectable boarding-house. Mrs. Garratt died in the year 1832, leaving as her executor Dr. Charles Smith, a medical practitioner in Sydney. In the mean time the husband of one of her daughters, Mr. Mark Riddle Thompkins, a ship-master, of good education and of a respectable family in the west of England, having been unfortunate in the colony, went, I believe, in quest of more eligible employment, to the Isle of France, leaving his wife in New South Wales. Mrs. Thompkins, having received a good education, turned it to good account during her husband's absence, by keeping a respectable school for young ladies in Sydney; and by good management and economy she had even accumulated a little money—a material circumstance which I learned incidentally from the late Mr. Walter Roger, the son of a Scotch clergyman in Aberdeenshire, and a member of my own congregation, who had married a sister of Mrs. Thompkins, and was then Under-Sheriff of the colony.

It was natural for Mrs. Thompkins to place entire confidence in Dr. Smith in regard to the management of her pecuniary affairs; and it was equally natural that these affairs should be managed through the intervention of Mr. Roger. Mr. Roger, however, unfortunately died suddenly in the month of January, 1833, about which

time also Captain Thompkins returned to New South Wales. It appeared immediately thereafter, that Mrs. T. had lent Dr. Smith, who was engaged at the time in some building speculations, the sum of £500 at interest, for which Dr. S. had granted her a power of attorney, or some such legal document, on which judgment could be entered without expense, and which had been drawn up and duly attested by Mr. Roger. Payment of the money so lent was for some reason or other required by Captain Thompkins, on his wife's behalf, shortly after Mr. Roger's death. This, however, Dr. S. absolutely refused, alleging that he had never received the money, but had granted the document to Mrs. T. for some private purpose; and that in fact she had never been in the way of having so much money to lend.

In the mean time Mrs. Thompkins was residing in apartments in the house which had been occupied by her mother; Mrs. Garratt having secured to her the use of these apartments till the expiration of her lease, which, it seems, was rather an advantageous one. In the capacity, however, of executor for Mrs. G., Dr. S. went one morning with a *posse comitatus* of sheriff's officers, and other worthies of a similar description, to institute a search in Mrs. T.'s apartments, for articles of property, which he alleged she retained in her possession, belonging to her late mother. Mrs. T. happened to be alone in the apartments at the time, and refused to admit Dr. S. and his party. The Doctor, however, being a man of nerve, was not to be refused admittance, and accordingly, calling for an axe, which

was immediately brought him, began to batter away at the door of the apartments—like another Ajax at the gates of Troy.

Captain Thompkins, who happened to be from home at the moment of Dr. Smith's arrival, entered the house at this crisis, and naturally enough expostulated rather indignantly with Dr. S. on his illegal and outrageous procedure. What ensued I do not know; but Captain Thompkins went forthwith to the police-office, doubtless in a state of violent excitement, and making affidavit to the effect that Dr. Smith had committed an assault and battery on the door of his wife's apartments, that he had flourished an axe about his own head, with which he had aimed a blow at him, and that he considered both his own and his wife's life in danger from the Doctor's violence,—Dr. S. was bound over to keep the peace.

Conceiving it, however, an intolerable imputation on his character, to have it sworn that he had aimed a blow with an axe at Captain Thompkins, Dr. Smith immediately instituted an action against Captain T. in the Supreme Court of the colony for *wilful and corrupt perjury*. The evidence adduced on the trial, which was chiefly that of sheriff's officers and convict-servants—persons of the lowest class—was conflicting and contradictory in the highest degree. The Judge observed particularly that it was so in his charge to the Jury, which, agreeably to the colonial charter in regard to criminal cases, consisted of seven military officers. A verdict of guilty, however, was returned. Captain Thompkins was sentenced to twelve months' imprison-

ment, and had actually been lodged in the common jail of Sydney to undergo that sentence during the last week of June last—the week before I embarked for England.

I feel myself strongly called on to make a few remarks on this most anomalous case; and if in doing so I should call in question the discretion of the Judge and the competency of the Jury, I trust I shall not be accused of doing any thing more than becomes a disinterested individual, who has merely the paramount interests of morality and the general welfare of the community at heart.

The case, of which I have just detailed the particulars, was tried in the month of June last, before the Honourable Francis Forbes, Chief Justice of New South Wales, and member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of the colony. I am happy to state that I entertain the highest respect for Mr. Forbes, both as a lawyer and as a man of supereminent intellectual ability. But there are *idols* peculiar to the legal *den*, as well as to the military and the naval; and it is quite possible that in the case I allude to, the Chief Justice may have been burning incense unwittingly at their shrine. The man who is accustomed to regard every case that presents itself for decision, according to its bearings on the points and technicalities of law, is apt to overlook the bearing of particular cases on the general interests of society; just as the man who is accustomed to view minute objects close at hand through a magnifying-glass, gradually loses the faculty of discerning large objects at a distance. Or, to vary the meta-

phor, the law is like a pair of green spectacles; every thing seen through it appears of exactly the same colour.

The point of importance, to the clearing up of which the Chief Justice appears to have brought the powers of his masculine understanding in the case in question, was, whether Dr. Smith had actually aimed a blow at Captain Thompkins with an axe, as the latter had stated in his affidavit. The evidence on that point, His Honour informed the Jury, was conflicting and contradictory; and if the latter had brought in a verdict of *not guilty*, I believe it would have been more in accordance with the private opinion and the anticipations of the Judge. But the point of paramount importance, which His Honour appears to me to have overlooked, was, *whether it was proper, in a colony so peculiarly constituted as New South Wales, to permit the establishment of a precedent for the instituting of actions for wilful and corrupt perjury on such frivolous grounds, and for thereby subjecting reputable individuals to the chance of being ruined for ever through the machinations of malice and revenge?* Whether it was in the power of the Chief Justice to have turned the case out of court altogether, I do not know; but the general interests of the community surely required, or rather imperatively demanded, that it should not have been treated merely as a case of common legal business, in which the main point to be ascertained was whether the statement in Captain Thompkins' affidavit was borne out by the fact.

Dr. Smith's ostensible motive for instituting the action for perjury was a desire to clear his own cha-

racter, and to further the ends of public justice.* But it seems to me that that gentleman had entirely forfeited the protection of the Court, as far as his character was concerned on the occasion in question, by his own violent procedure, which had evidently been the sole origin of all the subsequent proceedings. For, lest the reader should imagine that I have given any colouring to the transaction, it is proper to mention that, after the action for perjury had been decided, a counter-action was instituted against Dr. Smith, in the civil side of the Supreme Court, for the assault and battery of Captain Thompkins' premises, in which the latter obtained a verdict of £50 damages with costs.

But if the Chief Justice was at fault, what must be thought of the competency of the jury of seven officers, bearing His Majesty's commission, whose verdict consigned a respectable individual, who had evidently been the injured party in the case, to a life of ignominy and to a twelvemonth's confinement in a jail at Botany Bay among the vilest of felons? If I am not greatly mistaken, the Jury rested their verdict on the fact, which it seems they conceived had been elicited from the mass of contradictory evidence, that no blow had been aimed at

* The action, I believe, was, technically speaking, commenced at the instance of the public prosecutor, (the Attorney-General,) on the information of Dr. Smith. By this arrangement, Dr. S., who was evidently deeply and directly interested in procuring the condemnation of the accused, was allowed to appear as an evidence against him, which, I believe, under any other legal disposition of the hostile forces, would not have been admitted. But if this is *law* under any arrangement, the reader will probably ask, What is *justice*? for they are evidently two different things.

Captain Thompkins. But surely that fact was not the only one to be ascertained, in order to establish a charge of wilful and corrupt perjury against that unfortunate individual. Captain Thompkins swore only to what he professed to believe; and how could the Jury have ascertained that he did not believe that one of the blows that were aimed at the door, which was afterwards found to bear many and indelible marks of the Doctor's prowess, had been aimed at himself? Surely a man who enters his own house, and finds a stranger breaking open the door of his wife's apartment with an axe, has good reason to swear the peace against the intruder: and if in the excitement and fury of the moment, he should even mistake, or exaggerate, or misrepresent some of the minor circumstances of the case in his affidavit, is he to be allowed no latitude whatever in so trying a situation? Are his words to be weighed in the scales of an apothecary, and his future standing in society, either as a reputable man or a perjured villain, to depend on the minute correspondence of every syllable with the actual fact? If I am robbed of ten sovereigns on the Parramatta road, and make affidavit that they were taken out of my waistcoat pocket, is the bush-ranger who committed the outrage to be allowed to bring an action against me for wilful and corrupt perjury, because, forsooth, he can produce the evidence of two accomplices to prove that the sovereigns were abstracted from the inside pocket of my great-coat? The main point for consideration in Captain Thompkins' affidavit—the *corpus delicti* which it alleged, viz. that a violent breach of the peace had

been committed against his family by Dr. Smith—was fully substantiated; and I am confident that no intelligent jury of twelve honest men, either in England or in New South Wales, would have suffered the minuter details of that affidavit, though actually proved by unexceptionable evidence to have been inconsistent with the fact, to be made a peg on which to hang an action for wilful and corrupt perjury. In short, I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion, that the verdict in the case in question was not only contrary to the plainest dictates of common sense, but under all the circumstances of the case absolutely monstrous.

CHAPTER II.

JOURNEY OVER-LAND TO HUNTER'S RIVER, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF AN AUSTRALIAN FARM.

Sic ego desertis possim bene vivere sylvis,
Quo nulla humano sit via trita pede.
PROPERTIUS.

Thus could I live in desert wilds,
Where human foot had never trod.

THE principal agricultural and grazing district in the colony of New South Wales is that of Hunter's River, to the northward of Sydney. Hunter's River empties itself into the Pacific Ocean at Newcastle—a small town beautifully situated at the head of a romantic bay, the entrance of which is about seventy miles distant from the heads of Port Jackson. At the entrance of the Bay of Newcastle there is a small but rather lofty island, called Nobby's Island, somewhat resembling the Craig of Ailsa or the Bass Rock on the coasts of Scotland, and consisting apparently of indurated clay supporting a stratum of sand-stone, over which there is a stratum of coal, the clay appearing to rest on a substratum of silicious substance. The indurated clay, of which I have seen various specimens, although I have not myself landed on the island, consists

of thin laminæ, into which it may be easily separated with a knife, and which present innumerable impressions of vegetables. I have seen such impressions in specimens of the clay obtained at a height of fifty to a hundred feet above the level of the sea. It appears indeed to consist of nothing else but masses of vegetable matter, which, at some former period in the history of the earth, must have floated in a solution of clay. Nobby's Island has evidently been originally joined to the main-land; the intervening channel to the southward being still narrow, shallow, and rocky, and the successive strata of which it is composed corresponding with those of the main. It is a very remarkable and interesting object on the coast.

A packet for goods and passengers used formerly to ply between Sydney and Newcastle once a week; goods and produce being conveyed to and fro, between Newcastle and the head of the navigation of the river, distant about twenty or thirty miles from the coast, in a barge. Several other small vessels also plied on the main river and the other two navigable streams that fall into it, carrying direct to Sydney the produce of the farms along their banks; but the annual loss of life in these vessels, on the coast between Sydney and Newcastle, was very considerable. My father lost his life in this way, with about sixteen other persons, in the month of April, 1830. He had been residing for some time previous at my brother's farm on Hunter's River; but, requiring to come to Sydney, he had been induced to venture on board one of the small trading-vessels, as the regular packet had been detained a week

longer than her usual time in Sydney by northerly winds. Shortly after the little vessel had got out into the open ocean, it began to blow freshly from the westward. Unable to proceed along the coast to the southward, she was seen returning to the port of Newcastle on the evening of the second day after she left it; but as both wind and tide were strongly against her, she was obliged to put about again and stand out to sea. A strong southerly gale succeeded almost immediately thereafter, in which it was supposed she had gone down with all on board, as she was never afterwards either seen or heard of.*

The arrival of a steam-boat in the colony in the year 1831, to ply between Sydney and Hunter's River, was therefore of incalculable benefit to the latter district, as well as to the colony in general. There are now two on the course, each of which makes a trip to Hunter's River once a week, and there will shortly be a third of much larger size. The steam-boat leaves Sydney at six o'clock in the evening, reaches Newcastle about the same hour next morning—the ocean part of the voyage being thus performed during the night—and arrives at the Green Hills, or the head of the navigation of the Hunter, at the distance of four miles from the town of Maitland, about eleven o'clock; the whole distance being about one hundred and twenty miles. The town of Newcastle, I have already observed, has somewhat the appearance of a deserted village. It is reviving, however, though rather slowly, and is likely eventually

* My grandfather also lost his life in a similar way, about fifty years before, on the coast of Jamaica, in the West Indies.

to become a place of considerable importance, as it is situated in the centre of the great coal-field of the colony, and as the Bay forms a good harbour for small vessels.

Coal abounds along the east coast of New South Wales to a vast and unknown extent. It is frequently discernible from a black streak along the face of the perpendicular cliffs that form the coast-line, a mile or two off at sea; and it is worked at Newcastle with comparative facility. The Australian Agricultural Company enjoy the exclusive privilege of working the coal-mines of the colony for a certain number of years, and they have erected works for the purpose in the immediate vicinity of Newcastle of considerable extent. The main-shaft is on the declivity of a hill or bank running parallel to the course of the river, about a furlong from the water's edge, and the coal is raised to the surface by steam-machinery. It is then placed in large trucks, which are made to descend along an inclined plane by their own weight; the angle of inclination being about thirty degrees, and the weight of each descending truck being employed to raise an empty one, by means of a connecting chain passing around a system of wheels or rollers at the upper extremity of the plane. The truck is then pushed, by one or two men stationed for the purpose, along an elevated horizontal railway, which terminates in a jetty; the moveable extremity of which is so constructed as to place the truck right over the deck or open hold of a vessel loading coals in the river. The slip-bottom of the truck, which is moveable by a spring, is then thrown open, and its whole

contents descend into the vessel's hold without further trouble.

Coals are sold at the jetty on behalf of the Company at eight shillings a ton. The quantity sold last year, I was told by a gentleman residing in the neighbourhood, realized about £2500; but the salaries of persons connected with the works, the price of labour, and the tear and wear of machinery, amounted to about an equal sum. There is reason to believe, however, that the consumption, and of course the sale, of coal will ere long be increased tenfold in the colony; for besides the quantity sold for exportation, and the daily increasing consumption of steam-engines and factories, families in Sydney already begin to find it a less expensive and more convenient sort of fuel than wood.

When Newcastle was a penal settlement, a jetty or breakwater was commenced, to extend from the mainland to Nobby's Island, with a view to improve the navigation at the entrance of the harbour, by shutting up the shallow, rocky channel to the southward of the island, and thereby widening and deepening (which it was expected would be the result of the operation) the channel to the northward. The work, however, was discontinued during the governments of Sir Thomas Brisbane and General Darling; but it has just been resumed under the vigorous administration of the present Governor, and will, in all likelihood, afford suitable employment for two or three hundred convicts under colonial sentences for two or three years. Some colonial Goth, whose antipathy to interesting natural scenery seems to be a sort of inherent or original sin, has even

proposed to level Nobby's Island altogether, on the plea of its having been repeatedly found guilty of taking the wind out of the sails of vessels entering the harbour. I trust, however, the colonial government will adopt the wiser expedient of erecting a light-house on its elevated summit; for the island has surely been long enough at a penal settlement, to entitle it to indulge the reasonable hope of escaping decapitation—the last punishment of the law.

Hunter's River, or the Coquun, as it is called by the Aborigines, runs in an easterly direction for upwards of a hundred miles, from the high ranges of mountains in the interior to the Pacific Ocean. It is formed from the junction of various smaller rivers, that traverse these ranges in various directions to the right and left. It is navigable, however, only for about twenty-five miles in a direct line, or about thirty-five by water, from the coast. At the distance of twenty miles by water from Newcastle, it receives another river of considerable magnitude from the northward, called William's River, or the Doorribang; and at the head of the navigation, or about thirty-five miles from Newcastle by water, it receives a second river, called Patterson's River, or the Yimmang, each of which is navigable for a considerably greater distance than the principal stream or main river.

For the first fifteen or twenty miles by water from the mouth of the river, the land on either side is generally low, swampy, and sterile, though for the most part thickly covered with timber; but higher up and along the banks of the two tributary rivers, the soil for

a considerable distance from the banks is entirely alluvial and of the highest fertility, and the scenery from the water exceedingly beautiful. Let the reader figure to himself a noble river, as wide as the Thames in the lower part of its course, winding slowly towards the ocean, among forests that have never felt the stroke of the axe, or seen any human face till lately but that of the wandering barbarian. On either bank, the lofty gum-tree or eucalyptus shoots up its white naked stem to the height of 150 feet from the rich alluvial soil, while underwood of most luxuriant growth completely covers the ground; and numerous wild vines, as the flowering shrubs and parasitical plants of the alluvial land are indiscriminately called by the settlers, dip their long branches covered with white flowers into the very water. The voice of the lark, or the linnet, or the nightingale, is, doubtless, never heard along the banks of the Hunter; for New South Wales is strangely deficient in the music of the groves. But the eye is gratified instead of the ear; for flocks of white or black cockatoos, with their yellow or red crests, occasionally flit across from bank to bank; and innumerable chirping parroquets, of most superb and inconceivably variegated plumage, are ever and anon hopping about from branch to branch. I have been told indeed that there is nothing like interesting natural scenery in New South Wales. My own experience and observation enable me flatly to contradict the assertion. There are doubtless numerous places throughout the territory uninteresting enough, as the reader may conceive must necessarily be the case in situations where the prospect of a settler's

cleared land is bounded on every side by lofty and branchless trees. But in many parts of the territory, both to the northward and the southward of Sydney, both beyond the Blue Mountains to the westward, and for many miles along the Hawkesbury and Nepean rivers that wash their eastern base, I have seen natural scenery combining every variety of the beautiful, the picturesque, the wild, and the sublime, and equalling any thing I had ever seen in Scotland, England, Ireland, or Wales.

The following pastoral by an Australian poet, whose name I am not at liberty to mention, will show that there is something to captivate the admirer of nature in the woods and wilds of Australia, and will also afford the reader some idea of the rural scenery on the banks of Hunter's River and its tributary streams:—

ODE TO YIMMANG WATER.

On Yimmang's banks I love to stray
And charm the vacant hour away,
At early dawn or sultry noon,
Or latest evening when the moon
Looks downward, like a peasant's daughter,
To view her charms in the still water.
  There would I walk at early morn
Along the ranks of Indian corn,
Whose dew-bespangled tossels shine
Like diamonds from Golconda's mine,
While numerous cobs outbursting yield
Fair promise of a harvest-field.
  There would I muse on Nature's book,
By deep lagoon or shady brook,
When the bright sun ascends on high
Nor sees a cloud in all the sky,
And hot December's sultry breeze
Scarce moves the leaves of yonder trees.

Then from the forest's thickest shade,
Scared at the sound my steps had made,
The ever-graceful kangaroo
Would bound, and often stop to view,
And look as if he meant to scan
The traits of European man.
There would I sit in the cool shade
By some tall cedar's branches made,
Around whose stem full many a vine
And kurryjong* their tendrils twine,
While beauteous birds of every hue—
Parrot, macaw, and cockatoo—
Straining their imitative throats,
And chirping all their tuneless notes,
And fluttering still from tree to tree,
Right gladly hold corrobory.†
Meanwhile, perched on a branch hard by,
With head askance and visage sly,
Some old Blue-Mountain parrot chatters
About his own domestic matters:
As how he built his nest of hay,
And finished it on Christmas-day,
High on a tree in yonder glen,
Far from the haunts of prying men:
Or how madame has been confined
Of twins—the prettiest of their kind—
How one 's the picture of himself—
A little green blue-headed elf—

* The kurryjong is a tree or shrub abounding in alluvial land, the inner bark of which is used by the natives for the manufacture of a sort of cord, or twine, of which they make nets, bags, &c.

† *Corrobory* is a native word, and signifies *a noisy assemblage of the Aborigines.* It is also used occasionally in the colony, to designate a meeting of white people, provided their proceedings are not conducted with the requisite propriety and decorum; as, for instance, the meeting of the Benevolent Society in Sydney, in the month of June last. At the St. Andrew's dinner, also held in Sydney, in the year 1829, an infamous Gaelic toast, of which a false translation was put forth (whether wittingly or unwittingly I know not) by the gallant chairman, was drunk with applause by the gentlemen present; for which reason the meeting has ever since been deservedly designated, "*The Scotch Corrobory.*"

While t'other little chirping fellow
Is like mamma, bestreaked with yellow:
Or how poor uncle Poll was killed
When eating corn in yonder field;
Thunder and lightning!—down he fluttered—
And not a syllable he uttered,
But flapped his wings, and gasped, and died,
While the blood flowed from either side!
As for himself, some tiny thing
Struck him so hard, it broke his wing,
So that he scarce had strength to walk off!
It served him a whole month to talk of!
  Thus by thy beauteous banks, pure stream,
I love to muse alone and dream,
At early dawn or sultry noon,
Or underneath the midnight moon,
Of days when all the land shall be
All peaceful and all pure like thee!

The country along the course of the Hunter appears to have undergone considerable changes in its physical conformation from the inundations of the river. In some places the river has been entirely diverted from its former channel, leaving a line of long narrow lagoons to designate the place of the ancient rushing of its waters; in other parts of its course, lakes, whose existence cannot be doubted for a moment, have gradually disappeared, and been succeeded by grassy plains, islands, or peninsulas. This is particularly obvious at Patrick's Plains, a level tract of alluvial land of considerable extent, about thirty miles from the town of Maitland, as well as at the Green Hills at the head of the navigation. At the latter of these localities, the rivers Hunter and Patterson, or, as they are called by the black natives, the Coquun and the Yimmang, approach to within two hundred yards of

each other, and, then diverging, inclose between their deep channels a peninsula of upwards of eleven hundred acres of alluvial land, forming almost a dead level. The peninsula, which the natives call Narragan, but which the late proprietor, Mr. Harris, a native of Dublin, called *the Phœnix Park*, is without exception the finest piece of land, both for quality of soil and for beauty of scenery and situation, I have ever seen,—being entirely of alluvial formation, and bounded on all sides, with the exception of the narrow isthmus that connects it with the main-land, by broad and deep rivers, the banks of which are ornamented with a natural growth of the most beautiful shrubbery; while over its whole extent patches of rich grassy plain, of thirty or forty acres each, alternate with clumps of trees or narrow beltings of forest, as if the whole had been tastefully laid out for a nobleman's park by a skilful landscape-gardener. Mr. Harris has informed me, however, that in digging a well, somewhere near the centre of the peninsula, he found pieces of charred wood at a depth of nine feet from the surface, or beneath the present level of the river. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the beautiful peninsula of Narragan was formerly a lake, and that it owes its existence to successive deposits of alluvium from the two rivers.

Previous to the introduction of steam-navigation in the year 1831, the uncertainty and danger of the existing mode of conveyance by water, between Sydney and Hunter's River, induced the majority of those who either resided in, or occasionally visited, the latter

district to travel by land. The distance is about one hundred and thirty miles, and the journey generally occupied three days.

The first time I travelled across the mountains—in the year 1827—I had a young man, who lived as a settler at Hunter's River, for my fellow-traveller and guide. Our horses had each a long tether-rope wound about their necks, to fasten them with at night. We had each a valise or portmanteau affixed to the saddle behind, containing a small supply of provisions for the mountain-part of the road, and a boat-cloak lashed to it before to serve as our covering when bivouacking in the open forest during the night. A tin quart-jug to make tea in on the mountains, and a pistol to strike a light, completed our equipment.

The country from Sydney to Parramatta—the first part of the road to Hunter's River, comprising a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles—is in general of inferior quality as to soil, though in some parts of it there appears to be good land. Its vicinity to Sydney, however, renders it valuable. The greater part of it has therefore been cleared for a considerable distance on either side of the road; and the number of neat cottages and comfortable villas that are seen at moderate intervals to the right and left indicate the neighbourhood of a bustling and thriving capital. Indeed, land of any kind adjoining a public and well-frequented road in the colony is always considered highly valuable; for, though it should produce absolutely nothing to the agriculturist, it will at least serve to build a public-house on—a sort of crop which

is cultivated in all parts of the territory in which it can possibly be grown with the least prospect of success. Indeed, the number of these nuisances, each of which produces £25 annually to the colonial revenue, is the most striking feature in the scenery of the Parramatta road, and speaks volumes for the colony. There are the *Spinning Wheel*, and the *Cheshire Cheese*, and the *Cherry Gardens*, and the *Ship*, and the *Duke of Wellington*, and I do not know how many other *signs of the times* along the highway from Sydney to Parramatta; at each of which the poor emancipated convict-settler, who is just beginning perhaps to do well in the world, may easily get himself dead-drunk on returning home from Sydney market with the price of his load of wheat or maize, or pigs, or poultry. And lest he should have resolution to drive his bullock-cart forward without stopping to bait, there are Jem Tindall and Dennis Flanagan, sitting quite comfortable in the tap with the window wide open, bawling out to him "to stop a bit, and they 'll go along with him; for it is getting dark, and the bush-rangers are out."

I have heard of a poor settler of this class, who left the Hawkesbury with a well-furnished team and a well-filled cart of produce, coming to Sydney and disposing of his goods at a fair price. Unfortunately, however, he happened to meet in the market an old associate, who had arrived in the colony as a seven years' man and had just obtained his ticket of leave, and with whom perhaps he had often stolen in company in merry England. It was impossible to resist the temptation to adjourn with so old and *tried* a friend to

one or other of the public-houses adjoining the market-place, to talk over their eventful histories. *There* the narrative of the ticket-of-leave man became so interesting, and the Bengal rum so enticing, that all thoughts of home and the Hawkesbury were thrown to the winds; and the price of one bushel of wheat was dealt out after another, till the whole proceeds of his load were gone. He had still, however, a good cart and team, and the publican "knew a friend who had just need of such a thing at his farm." A bargain was accordingly struck—"no bad bargain either," the publican assured him—and the two friends continued to drink on. "Have n't you a bit of land at the Hawkesbury?" said the publican to his oblivious guest, after he had sojourned at his house so long that the price of the team and cart was nearly exhausted. "Have I not?" said the settler—"as good a thirty-acre farm as in the township, every acre of it cleared." "I have a mind to buy a farm thereabouts," said the publican; "what would you say to thirty pounds for it?" "You mean to make a man of me all at once," said the settler sarcastically, recollecting that the price offered was not one-fourth the value of the farm; but he was not in the humour of higgling about the price of his property, and the publican, therefore, soon brought him to his own terms. The deed of sale was accordingly made out in due form; for it is easily done "where no stamps are used." The price was then paid before witnesses, in dollars at five shillings. The settler thought there was some mistake in that mode of reckoning the price, as he had certainly meant *sterling;* but, the publican assuring

him he had meant no such thing, the matter was *amicably* arranged. It was only, however, after the price of his farm had been reduced to ten dollars, that the settler awoke from his dream, and determined to proceed homeward. He left Sydney with a light purse and a heavy heart, imprecating curses upon himself and on all the publicans of the colony, at every public-house he passed on the way to Parramatta. He had resolution enough to pass through the *camp* * without visiting any of its haunts of dissipation; but, on reaching the halfway-house to Windsor, he met the Hawkesbury carts coming to Sydney with produce, and was tempted to "stop a bit" with some of his old neighbours, to learn how matters had been going on in his absence, and to explain the circumstance of his tarrying so long in Sydney. He had still his ten dollars remaining, and he had only to take one glass of the publican's Bengal to have them no longer. In short, he very soon got dead drunk again; and when he awoke from his stupor, he found he had been sleeping in an out-house, and that his good blue-cloth jacket and black beaver hat of colonial manufacture had been exchanged for an old canvass jacket and straw hat not worth a farthing. In this respectable attire he made the best of his way to the Hawkesbury, whose broad and quiet stream he had not gazed on for seven weeks before. His heart throbbed instinctively as he looked in the direction of his log-hut, at the door of which his affectionate Molly

* The *old hands*, as they are called in the colony, who still recollect the time when the towns of Sydney and Parramatta were *encampments* or rows of huts, generally prefer the old appellation.

—I am sorry I cannot call her his wife, although she was the mother of his children—used to watch his return from Sydney. No Molly was there; and when he reached the scene of desolation, he found that there was neither a pig remaining in the stye nor a stool in the cottage! Leaning on the door-post of his deserted cabin, with his head resting disconsolately on his shoulder, he continued for some time utterly lost in the bitterness of self-reflection; till he was roused at length to fury and desperation by the unsolicited information he incidentally received from a neighbour passing his door. "Molly," said the rustic, observing that he looked rather sorrily—"Molly has gone to live with M'Manus t' other side the river, and has taken the childer with her."

The reader will not be surprised when I inform him, that some of the largest estates and some of the largest fortunes in New South Wales have been gotten together in some such way as the one I have just exemplified, viz. by *doing business in the public line.* But he will scarcely be prepared for the additional information, that there are gentlemen in the colony—magistrates of the territory, and men of unquestionable honour, forsooth,—who are mean enough to speculate on this lamentable propensity of the lower orders to drunkenness, by building public-houses in the most alluring situations, and getting them licensed by the bench of magistrates in the district, and letting them at exorbitant rents.

The country between the Blue Mountains and the Pacific Ocean generally consists of a thin coating of sandy soil on a substratum of tenacious clay. The

clay retains the moisture which percolates through the soil above it, and thus renders land comparatively productive, which in England would be good for nothing. This is quite the character of the cultivated land near the village or town of Parramatta; the population of which, including that of its immediate neighbourhood, amounted in the year 1828 to four thousand six hundred and eighteen persons. Parramatta has a rural aspect, and there is an appearance of quiet and retirement about it which the town of Sydney certainly does not exhibit; and in George Street, the principal street of the town, which is about a mile in length, the houses are all detached from each other, and have generally small gardens in front as well as in the rear. Government-House, a plain building of two stories, occupies an elevated and commanding situation, within a pretty extensive domain commencing at the upper end of George Street; and the Commissariat Store, a large brick-building on the bank of the river, to the course of which the street runs parallel, forms its termination at the other extremity.

The Hunter's River road branches off from the road to Windsor and the Hawkesbury, about three miles beyond Parramatta. For several miles onwards, the forest on either side of it consists chiefly of lofty ironbark trees, the soil being moderately good, and the pasture in moist seasons highly luxuriant. About nine miles from Parramatta the road crosses the settlement of Castle Hill, one of the earliest-formed agricultural settlements in the territory. In this neighbourhood there is a large extent of cleared land of good quality,

and the country has an undulating appearance, which relieves the eye, and is highly pleasing.

It was at this part of our route that my fellow-traveller and myself halted for refreshment at the cottage of the *ci-devant* cobbler, the particulars of whose history I have already related. After a ride of twenty-five miles from the settler's cottage through a very uninteresting and sterile country, in which sand-stone hills and stunted trees were the only objects that the eye could discover, the sun was just beginning to descend beyond the distant Blue Mountains, when we were suddenly delighted with the view of the broad Hawkesbury River, winding along in a deep valley far beneath us. In the upper part of its course the Hawkesbury flows through a champaign country, on which its own successive inundations have gradually deposited many feet of the richest alluvial soil. But, for sixty or seventy miles towards the ocean, the mountain ridges on either side of it approximate so nearly, that the river has scarcely room to flow between them; and it merely leaves a small patch of alluvial land, sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other, as it sweeps more closely to the opposite bank. At the point, however, at which the road to Hunter's River crosses its channel, the valley of the Hawkesbury is of considerable width: the river, which at this part of its course is at least a quarter of a mile broad, suddenly changes its direction; and, as it sweeps close to the precipices on the one side, it leaves a delta of alluvial land of several hundred acres on the other of the highest fertility. Nearly opposite this point of land it also receives a tributary

stream called *the First Branch*, on either bank of which there are numerous small settlers located for a distance of many miles, as the rich alluvial land which the settlers chiefly cultivate is more frequently met with on the *Branches* than on the main river. The delta I have just mentioned belongs to Mr. Solomon Wiseman, a very prosperous settler, whose large two-story stone-house had been most opportunely transformed, at the time I refer to, into a comfortable inn; the situation of which, overlooking the delta and the river, and facing the mountains on the opposite bank, is interesting and romantic in the very highest degree. Indeed, so much pleased were His Excellency the late Governor and Mrs. Darling with the scenery in this vicinity, that they rented a part of Wiseman's house, and lived in it for some time.

The rays of the setting sun were glowingly reflected from the smooth glassy surface of the broad river, when this beautiful scene suddenly burst upon our view. Patches of wheat nearly ready for harvest, and fields of Indian corn, appeared to the right and left along the main river, and, as far as the eye could trace it among the mountains, on either bank of its tributary stream; while the yellow tints of the one, and the deep healthy green of the other, beautifully contrasted with the sombre shades of the forest, and the grey rocks that were ever and anon peering forth along the sides of the mountain. The road, from the high level from which we had first seen the river to the plain below, was formed by the late colonial government, across deep ravines and along the edge of frightful precipices, with

prodigious labour, and doubtless at very great expense. It is an easy task, however, to descend a mountain by a good road. We were speedily at the foot of the precipices, and safely lodged in the inn. Our evening repast was light and pleasant. Shortly after it was finished, we invited our host and hostess to attend our evening devotions, and we then retired to our separate places of repose to resume our journey at day-break.

The first rays of the rising sun were just beginning to gild the summits of the lofty ridges on either bank of the Hawkesbury, when we led our horses on the following morning towards the river, which we crossed in a punt or ferry-boat constructed for the conveyance of men and cattle. The road on the opposite bank is still more precipitous, and has obviously required greater labour for its construction. Numerous convicts were at work on it as we climbed the mountain. Having slowly gained the summit of the ridge, we again mounted our horses, and trotted at a brisk pace along an excellent road, over a mountainous and sterile country, for about twelve miles. We then dismounted for breakfast, near a small stream of limpid water, in a valley called *the Twelve-Mile Hollow*, unsaddled our horses, and, fixing the ends of their tether-ropes, turned them out to browse for a little on the miserable vegetation which the place afforded. My fellow-traveller then struck a light with his pistol, and immediately kindled a fire, on which he placed the tin-jug or quart-pot, which he had strapped for the purpose to his saddle-bow on our leaving the small settler's, and which he had previously filled with water from the brook. When the water

boiled, he measured the requisite quantity of tea in the palm of his hand, and threw it into the pot; and then, adding a quantity of sugar, he broke off a twig from the dead branch of a tree, which he humorously told me was called *a spoon* in the Australian dialect, and stirred the mixture. When the tea was sufficiently boiled, he carried the jug to a little pool of water, in which he placed it for a few minutes, to cool it,—and we then breakfasted, not less comfortably than romantically.

For a mile or two from the place where we halted for refreshment, the road, which was only a footpath at the time I refer to, though it is now an excellent road throughout, lay along the bottom of the valley; but we were soon obliged to dismount again to climb up the precipitous side of a steep mountain, to gain the summit of what the colonists call "a dividing range." These ranges, which are flanked on either side by deep and sometimes impassable ravines, traverse the country in many places for a great distance, either in a northerly and southerly or easterly and westerly direction; and the traveller has therefore merely to ascertain the proper range, to ascend to its summit, and to follow it in all its circumvolutions, to reach the proposed termination of his journey; for, if he should attempt to pursue a direct course by descending into the gulleys, he would in all probability lose his way and perhaps perish of hunger. The summits of these ridges are just broad enough for the construction of a carriage-road, and they are often so level that a person on horseback can trot along them for miles together without the slightest interruption.

The stage we had now commenced was eighteen miles in length; but the frequent mountings and dismountings, to climb or to descend the rocky sides of the mountains, made it appear much longer. In many parts of the route the road was so very bad that I am sure most English horses would have refused to face it. It seemed as precipitous in some places as the stair of a church-steeple; and how the poor horses could either ascend or descend I was frequently at a loss to conceive. The colonial horses, however, are remarkably adept in such situations. My own was an Australian by birth, and was so trustworthy and so much *au fait* on the mountain-road, that I had only to throw the reins on his neck at the dismounting places, and he would either ascend or descend the steepest and ruggedest precipices, as quickly as I could possibly follow him, without ever leaving the track.

Along the miserable valley of the *Twelve-Mile Hollow*, and up the sides of the rugged and sterile mountain beyond it, to a height, I should suppose, of not less than fifteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, I was exceedingly gratified at observing innumerable specimens of one of the most splendid flowers in the whole botanical kingdom,—I mean the *Doryanthes*, (or spear-flower, as the word signifies,) commonly called by the colonists the *gigantic lily*. This splendid flower shoots up a single upright stem, about an inch and a half in diameter, from a tuft of blady and acuminated leaves, to the height of from six to twelve feet, which all at once expands at its highest point into a bunch of beautiful blood-red flowers considerably larger than a man's head. The

contrast which this splendid flower, which would doubtless constitute one of the most attractive ornaments in the gardens of kings, forms with the stunted trees around it, and the sterile sandy soil from which it springs in the crevices of the rocks is striking in the highest degree; and it strongly recalled to my recollection the beautiful lines of the poet, which were surely never more appropriate—

> Full many a gem of purest ray serene
> The dark unfathom'd caves of Ocean bear:
> *Full many a flower is born to bloom unseen,*
> *And waste its sweetness on the desert air.*

At the termination of our second stage, we arrived at a place of which the mere name is a sufficient description—*The Hungry Flat.* It affords neither bread for man nor grass for horses, and its only recommendation is a stream of delicious water, at which both the horse and his rider gladly and luxuriously quench their thirst. We again unsaddled our horses at this resting-place, and allowed them to roll themselves on the sand, or to pick up any thing in the shape of sustenance they could find among the bushes. My own horse, however, being an old traveller and having more good sense than his four-footed companion, thought it better to await the opening of my little portmanteau than to swallow a few nauseous leaves of the gum-tree, and accordingly received a piece of a *damper*—the colonial name of an unleavened wheaten cake baked in the ashes—with neighing satisfaction.

In half an hour we were again on horseback, trotting

along towards the valley of the Wollombi, at the head of which we arrived towards sunset, after traversing about eight or ten miles more of sterile mountainous country. The valley of the Wollombi extends in a northerly direction towards Hunter's River for about thirty miles. It is bounded on either side by mountain-ranges covered with timber to their summits, and throws off numerous *arms*, as the settlers call them, to the right and left, some of which extend for a distance of twenty or thirty miles among the mountains. These arms, as well as the principal valley, abound in excellent pasture, and afford sustenance for numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle; and the contrast, on descending the mountain, from a region of absolute sterility into a fertile valley, in which the hungry horses are ever and anon tempted to steal a mouthful of grass as they trot along to the next resting-place—is equally striking and agreeable. The numerous cattle-tracks, however, in this part of the country, and the comparative thinness of the timber, rendered the road particularly intricate to inexperienced persons, about the time I allude to.

About a year after my first journey over-land to Hunter's River, I had occasion to visit that district a second time. I was accompanied by a respectable proprietor of land at Hunter's River, and by a convict-servant of my brother's. I was the only one of the party, however, who had ever travelled the road before; and, as it was winter, and consequently quite dark when we reached the foot of the mountains after a long and fatiguing day's journey, I confessed myself quite un-

able to point out the way along the valley, and proposed to trust ourselves to the guidance of my horse, of whose ability to act creditably in the responsible capacity in which I proposed to employ him, I felt perfectly confident. To this proposal, however, my fellow-traveller was unwilling to consent, and he therefore led on in what appeared to him the broadest track. In the direction of that track we rode along between two ranges of mountains for seven or eight miles. At length, however, we lost the track, and ascertained beyond all possibility of doubt that we had also lost our way. As it would have been absolute madness to have either gone forward or attempted to retrace our steps in such circumstances, we agreed to bivouack for the night on the side of a hill near a pool of water; and accordingly, unsaddling our horses and fastening the ends of their tether-ropes to trees in the neighbourhood, we struck a light and kindled a large fire, each of us collecting for that purpose numerous branches of fallen trees; and our convict-servant speedily made us a very comfortable tankard of tea. As soon as we had finished our repast, I read off a chapter from a small Greek Testament, which I had carried with me as a pocket-companion, by the light of our large fire; and we then knelt down together to offer up our evening devotions to the God of the hills and the valleys, the dry land and the sea. Our convict-servant—a tall brawny Scotchman, who was remarkably attentive to our comfort—then gathered an armful of fern, (Scoticè *braken*,) of which there was abundance in the neighbourhood, for each of us to repose on; and accordingly, wrapping

ourselves in our boat-cloaks, we lay down to sleep as near the fire as possible, for it was excessively cold. For my own part I was unable to sleep, and lay for several hours listening to the horses browsing at hand or the owls whooping in the distance, or gazing at the smoke of our large fire curling upwards and losing itself among the branches of the tall trees around us. About one o'clock in the morning, the moon arose over the tops of the mountains; and as soon as she had attained a sufficient height to illuminate the valley, I arose also, and, leaving my two fellow-travellers sound asleep by the fire, walked first a mile or two in one direction, and then a mile or two in another, to endeavour to find the footpath we had lost trace of the evening before. Bush-roads, as they are called in New South Wales, are formed by the person who first traverses the forest, notching the trees with an axe in the direction of his route; and the way to ascertain which of two doubtful tracks is the public road, or a mere cattle-track, is to examine which of them has the trees notched along its course. I could find, however, neither notched trees, nor the marks of any horses' footsteps but our own, along the various tracks I examined in the clear moonlight; and I was therefore obliged to return to our large fire and await the rising of the sun. At day-break we again mounted our horses, and, retracing the track we had travelled along the preceding night, we were fortunate enough to regain the road, and were enabled to pursue our journey.

On my first journey along with the Hunter's River settler,—who was better acquainted with the route,—we

rode about nine miles down the valley after sunset, and bivouacked on the side of a hill near a pool of water. We happened to be near the sheep-station of a respectable free-emigrant settler; and the convict-shepherd or overseer in charge of it—a very obliging sort of person—brought us a bucket to hold water for our tea, and a piece of salt pork to relish it. He roasted the pork for us by using a branch of a tree sharpened at one extremity as a substitute for a fork, and holding it within a reasonable distance of our bonfire. After breakfasting in the morning we acknowledged his kindness by giving him all that remained of our mountain-store, as we had again got within the limits of civilization.

The valley of the Wollombi consists rather of pasture than of arable land, and during the years of drought it afforded plentiful subsistence to numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. In the upper part of it, a chain of ponds, forming in one place large sheets of water, gives an interesting character to the landscape; in the lower part of it, clumps of trees, alternating with considerable patches of naturally clear land, diversify the scene. The late colonial government established about ten families of the Royal Veteran Corps in the lower part of the valley of the Wollombi, giving each of them about a hundred acres of land, with one or two cows and rations for a certain period, and building each of them a good cottage or log-house. Families of the same Corps were also established, during General Darling's government, at Maitland and Patterson's Plains, in the district of Hunter's River, at Bong Bong

in Argyle, and in the district of Illawarra. Soldiers, it is true, generally make but indifferent farmers. They are neither industrious in their habits nor economical in their domestic arrangements; and they frequently sell their land as soon as their length of possession entitles them to do so. But the attempt on the part of the late colonial government was undoubtedly praiseworthy, and the plan pursued for the comfortable settlement of the veterans highly judicious.

Every habitable district in the colony has its tribe of aborigines or black natives; and many of these tribes are not unfrequently in a state of warfare with each other, though at peace with the Europeans. The Wollombi tribe had a deadly feud a few years ago with the tribe inhabiting the adjoining district of Illalong; and the latter, I was informed by a respectable settler in the valley the last time I travelled over-land to Hunter's River, had a short time before testified their vindictive feelings in a most ferocious manner. Three boys of the Wollombi tribe had been induced by three different settlers in the valley, to reside in their respective families. They were marked out as objects of vengeance by the Illalong natives; and, accordingly, about a hundred of the latter, who were seen at sunset one evening at Illalong, travelled a distance of between twenty and thirty miles during the night—a thing almost unheard of among the aborigines—and arrived in the neighbourhood of the settlers' houses in the Wollombi very early on the following morning. Two or three of their number were detached to each of the houses to entice the boys out. The latter, it appeared,

were apprehensive at first that their neighbours had come to their vicinity with no good intentions; but, being at length prevailed on to join the *corrobory* of Illalong natives, the latter suddenly formed a circle around them, and, attacking them simultaneously, beat them to death with their *waddies*. Immediately after the perpetration of this deed of murder, the Illalong natives returned to their own district. My informant happened to pass the assemblage just as the boys were dying; but, as he was alone and unarmed, his interference with the infuriated natives would have been dangerous to himself, and could have been of no avail to their unfortunate victims.

In the course of our third day's journey, I called, along with my fellow-traveller, at the houses of several respectable settlers on our way, and at sunset I had the pleasure of reaching my destination on the fertile banks of the Hunter.

Hunter's River was named in honour of His Excellency Governor Hunter, during whose government it was discovered. Its two tributary rivers were called William's and Patterson's Rivers, in honour of Colonel William Patterson of the New South Wales Corps. Preposterously enough! for all the three rivers had had native names much more beautiful and highly significant, as all the native names are, from time immemorial. Every remarkable point of land, every hill and valley in the territory, has its native name, given, as far as can be ascertained from particular instances, from some remarkable feature of the particular locality—insomuch that the natives can make

appointments in their forests and valleys, with as much accuracy in regard to place, as an inhabitant of London in the streets of the metropolis. Thus *Jerran* or *Frightful* is the very appropriate name of a frightfully precipitous mountain near Liverpool Plains; *Bardo Narang* or *Little Water* is the name of a small stream or creek that empties itself into the Hawkesbury; and *Cabramatta* or Cabra-pool is the equally appropriate and descriptive name of a chain of ponds abounding with the *cabra*, an insect of the *teredo* family, resembling in appearance the contents of a marrow-bone, which insinuates itself into the hardest timber under water, and of which the aborigines make many a delicious meal. Surely then, when there are such unexceptionable and really interesting names affixed already to every remarkable locality in the country, it is preposterous in the extreme to consign these ancient appellations to oblivion, in order to make way for the name of whatever insignificant appendage to the colonial government a colonial surveyor may think proper to immortalize. Such, however, was the system uniformly pursued in the colony by all the predecessors of Major Mitchell, the present enlightened and talented Surveyor-General of New South Wales; who, I am happy to say, has set his face against this egregious folly, and has thereby in great measure *reformed* the colonial nomenclature, by retaining the native name of any remarkable locality whenever it can be ascertained, and by using English names very sparingly. Indeed, if the native names are to be changed in any instance, let them be displaced only for those of men who deserve to live in the memory of

the colonists, and not for such *nomina obscurorum virorum*,* as are at present stuck in every direction over the whole chart of the territory. For my own part,

> I like the native names, as Parramatta,
> And Illawarra, and Woolloomoolloo;
> Nandowra, Woogarora, Bulkomatta,
> Tomah, Toongabbee, Mittagong, Murroo;
> Buckobble, Cumleroy, and Coolingatta,
> The Warragumby, Bargo, Monaroo;
> Cookbundoon, Carrabaiga, Wingycarribbee,
> The Wollondilly, Yurumbon, Bungarribbee.

I had frequently enquired of intelligent settlers residing on one or other of the three rivers in the district of Hunter's River, what the native names of these rivers were; and I confess I was not a little surprised that none of them had ever had the curiosity to ascertain them, or could give me any information on the subject. I happened, however, when riding alone in the district one day, about four or five years ago, to overtake a solitary black native who was travelling in the same direction, and whose name he told me was *Wallaby*† *Joe*—a name which had probably been given him by some of the convict-servants of the neighbouring settlers. I found him rather an intelligent and somewhat communicative personage; for on asking him, among a variety of other questions bearing on the native mythology, the native names of the three rivers, he immediately told me that the main or Hunter's River was called Coquun; the first branch, or William's River, Doorribang; and the second, or Patter-

* Names of obscure persons.

† Wallaby is the native name of a small species of kangaroo.

son's River, Yimmang. These names are now pretty well known in the district. The first of them—Coquun—is not likely to displace the English name, nor is it desirable it should; although the native name is occasionally preferred by the Australian versifier, as the following quotation from another colonial pastoral, by the author of the "Ode to Yimmang Water," will evince. But, with all due respect for the memory of Colonel William Patterson, whose most unclassical name is already immortalized in the township of *Patterson's Plains*, I think it high time, and in every way desirable, that the native names of the rivers Yimmang and Doorribang should forthwith be restored.

> Exhausted by the summer sun,
> The school-boy fords the broad Coquun;
> For then the slow-meandering stream
> Shrinks from the hot sun's fiery beam,
> And like a wounded serpent crawls
> From Cumleroy to Maitland Falls.
> But when th' autumnal deluge swells
> Each little brook in yonder dells,
> And twice ten thousand torrents pour
> From cliff and rock with deaf'ning roar;
> O then he rolls with manly pride,
> Nor steam nor storm can stem his tide.

Although the reader will be able to form a general idea of rural life and of farming operations in New South Wales, from the desultory remarks scattered over the preceding pages, it may not be improper to give a more particular description of an Australian farm, and especially of one combining in some measure the various characteristics of an agricultural, grazing, sheep, and dairy establishment on a moderate scale. If I had

been equally well acquainted with the present state and progressive improvement of any other farm of a similar kind in the territory, I should certainly not have selected one belonging to a near relative of my own: but as all the information I have acquired of the interior of the colony has been obtained chiefly in the course of rapid visits to its different settlements in the discharge of clerical duty, I cannot be supposed to have had equal opportunities for observation in any other quarter. Besides, as the farm I allude to was not taken possession of till the actual commencement of the long drought,—the most unfavourable period for agricultural operations which the colony has ever experienced; and as the improvements effected upon it have rather been the result of persevering industry, and judicious economy, than of a large outlay of capital; and as the convict-servants employed on it have to my certain knowledge become for the most part, and indeed almost without exception, useful, obedient, and contented servants, under a system of management which any person of a conciliating disposition accompanied with a degree of firmness could put in practice and would find equally successful, I do not know that a fitter instance could have been selected.

My brother, Mr. George Lang, arrived in New South Wales as a free emigrant in the year 1821, and obtained a grant of a thousand acres of land, which he selected on the banks of the Yimmang or Patterson's River, about five miles from the town of Maitland, in the district of Hunter's River. As he held an appointment, however, in the Commissariat Department, he did not immedi-

ately take possession of his land, but retained the appointment till the month of December, 1824, when he resigned it with the intention of proceeding forthwith to his farm; but, being seized in the mean time with an inflammatory fever, he died in Sydney in the month of January following, in the twenty-third year of his age, and during my own absence in England. The land consequently fell to my younger brother, Mr. Andrew Lang, who had arrived in the colony a few months before as an agricultural emigrant, and who afterwards obtained an order for a grant of land on his own account from Earl Bathurst, which he selected in the same district to the extent of twelve hundred and eighty acres, about thirty miles farther up the river. My surviving brother did not take possession of the land on which my late brother had proposed to settle, till January, 1826; and, as he had to reside in Sydney the whole of that year, he entrusted it to the management of an emancipated convict overseer, who proved a very inefficient servant, and did very little in the way of improving it. Nothing in reality could be said to have been effected on the land till the beginning of the year 1827, when my brother settled upon it himself.

My deceased brother's grant—which he had named *Dunmore*, as a mark of filial affection towards a revered relative still alive, to whose Christian principles and uncommon energy of character I shall ever be under the strongest obligations—consisted partly of a belt of heavily timbered alluvial land, extending about a mile and a half in length along the windings of the river, which at that part of its course and for several miles higher up is both deep

and broad—sufficiently so indeed for the largest vessels —although towards the ocean, which is about forty miles distant by water, there are shallows which a large vessel could not get over. Beyond the belt of alluvial land, there are two large lagoons, nearly parallel to the course of the river, the frequent resort of innumerable wild ducks, and occasionally of pelicans and black swans. The beds and banks of the lagoons consist of the richest alluvial soil, the rest of the farm being good forest pasture-land, very lightly timbered.

The settlement of the Scots Church in Sydney having been attended with much greater difficulty and expense than was anticipated, and certain influential Scotsmen in the colony having rather augmented than diminished the burden that was thus entailed on its friends, my relatives had been induced to make common cause with myself, in bringing whatever capital and credit they could command in the colony to bear upon the ultimate accomplishment of that object. My brother was consequently left with comparatively little capital to commence with upon his land; but he was fortunate enough to escape the influence of the *sheep and cattle mania*, which was then just at the highest; for while various other settlers, who had also but recently commenced farming at Hunter's River, mortgaged their land to buy large herds of cattle to stock it, he remained satisfied with the few he already possessed, and determined not to buy more till he could pay for them. With these cattle a dairy establishment on a small scale was formed on the farm, while agricultural operations were commenced on the alluvial land. The dairy was managed

by the Irish Roman Catholic family, of whose colonial history I have already given an outline; the dairy produce, which was then bearing a high price in the colony, being regularly forwarded to Sydney to meet the various items of expenditure incurred in the maintenance of the other convict-servants on the farm.

These servants, whose number was gradually increased from four to upwards of thirty—as additional men could from time to time be obtained from the colonial government, and as maintenance could be raised for them from the land—were variously employed in felling and burning off trees for the clearing of land for cultivation, or in grubbing up the roots of those that had been already felled; in ploughing, sowing, reaping, threshing and grinding wheat; in planting, hoeing, pulling, and threshing Indian corn; and in the numberless other operations that require incessant attention and incessant exertion on a large agricultural establishment in New South Wales, where the soil, the intending emigrant will bear in mind, is not hidden from the view as in the British provinces of North America, for six or seven months together, under an impenetrable covering of frozen snow, but where the plough and the hoe and the sickle are kept in successive and unintermitting motion all the year round.

In this way about one hundred and fifty acres of heavily-timbered land have been successively cleared and cultivated; the stumps of the trees, which are usually left standing in the first instance, being for the most part rooted or burnt out. The extent of land under wheat last year was about eighty acres, an equal

extent being under maize, including a late crop on part of the wheat-land. The wheat is ground into flour and sold in that state in the town of Maitland, in the immediate neighbourhood, the maize being either forwarded for sale to Sydney or used in feeding horses, or in fattening pigs and poultry on the farm. Potatoes and tobacco are also grown for sale, besides supplying the consumption on the farm, which, in the latter article especially, is by no means inconsiderable. The dairy-produce during the four summer months, November, December, January, and February, is cheese, which is sold in Sydney by the hundred weight or ton; during the rest of the year it consists of butter, which is forwarded to Sydney by the steam-boat in a fresh state every week, and sold in the market; the quantity forwarded weekly for some time before I left the colony being I believe from seventy to one hundred pounds. The price of that article of produce varies from one shilling to eighteen-pence a pound.

In the course of last year, (1832,) when the cattle on my brother's farm had increased to a herd of about three or four hundred, he purchased a flock of fine-woolled sheep, which, if I recollect aright, cost fifteen shillings each, with the intention of forming a grazing establishment on his own grant of land, which had previously been lying waste. The dairy-cattle being accordingly separated from the herd, all the rest with the sheep and young horses were sent, under charge of a hired overseer and two convict-servants, to form a grazing station at the distance of thirty miles.

In the mean time, as several hired mechanics with

their families were occasionally employed on the farm, besides free sawyers and other hired labourers, all of whom received rations of flour, &c., as part of their wages, it was found that there was a considerable loss of time and waste of material in grinding wheat for so many people—about fifty in all—with the common steel mills in general use in the interior. A horse-mill was therefore erected, and, in consequence of its being resorted to by the neighbourhood, a windmill was afterwards added; a threshing-mill, and a mill for the manufacture of Scotch barley—the first that had been constructed in the colony—being subsequently appended to the original machinery.

A garden, in which all the sorts of fruit-trees I have enumerated in the preceding chapter were successfully cultivated, had been formed on the farm several years ago by a free emigrant Scotch gardener, hired for the purpose; but being within reach of the inundations of the Hunter, it was completely destroyed by a high flood in the year 1830. A second garden, however, has since been formed beyond reach of the inundations, with a vineyard and orchard, both of which, when I visited the district in the month of June last, (1833,) were in a high state of forwardness. The gardener is one of the machine-breakers, transported from the agricultural counties of England in the year 1831. He had been employed in the same capacity for many years, in the garden of a clergyman in Shropshire, and was assigned to my brother on his arrival in the colony. He is without exception the most industrious man I have ever seen, and one of the commissions I was charged with

on leaving the colony for England, was to endeavour if possible to get out his wife and child, as he told me he had no doubt of being able to do well both for himself and his family in New South Wales.

The first dwelling-house erected on my brother's farm was formed of rough slabs of split timber, the lower ends of which were sunk in the ground, the upper extremities being bound together by a wall-plate. It was thatched with reeds or coarse grass, and contained three apartments—a parlour or sitting-room, a store-room, and a bed-room, each of which, however, was occasionally used for other purposes. The kitchen was detached, and was inhabited by a convict-servant and his wife. The bare ground served as a floor, and the interstices between the slabs were plastered with a composition of mud, the walls being white-washed both within and without. This homely building, which I am sure would not cost £20, was afterwards furnished with glass windows and a floor of rough boards, and served as the farm-cottage for three or four years. By that time considerable improvement had been effected on the land, and a suitable situation had been pitched on for the future and permanent dwelling-house. A range of out-buildings of stone, intended for a kitchen, store-room, &c., was accordingly erected in that situation, and fitted up and occupied as a second temporary residence, the wooden building being then given up to the farm-overseer. At length a permanent dwelling-house was erected adjoining the out-buildings, on an elevated and commanding situation, between the two lagoons, and about half a mile from the river. It is a two-story

house, built of hewn stone, having a verandah or covered portico all round. It was nearly finished when I left the colony.

In short, the maxim of all prudent settlers in the salubrious climate of New South Wales is the one divinely recommended by King Solomon, nearly three thousand years ago, to the Jewish colonists whom he seems to have settled in some of the conquests of his father David; for it can scarcely apply to the case of a country already settled: "Prepare thy work *without*, and make it fit for thyself *in the field; and* AFTERWARDS *build thine house.*"—Proverbs, xxiv. 27. A prudent settler, who expends his capital in improving his land, and in securing a profitable and regular return for his labour, in the first instance, will be able, in a very few years after his first settlement, to build a much better house than he is likely to erect on his farm when there is no other improvement effected upon it; and the inconvenience of being but indifferently lodged in the mean time is but a small matter comparatively in a climate like that of New South Wales.

The advantages enjoyed in such cases as the one I have just described, over those likely to be enjoyed by respectable free emigrants arriving in the colony at present, are, 1st, The more eligible tenure of the land; which, in the case of emigrants arriving in the colony a few years ago, was granted in portions of five hundred to two thousand five hundred and sixty acres at a small quit-rent, but which is now uniformly sold by the colonial government at a price of not less than five shillings an acre. 2nd, Superior locality; the farm I have just

described being situated in the centre of a comparatively populous district, and possessing the inestimable advantage of steam-navigation.

At the same time, it must be recollected that in other respects equally important, the circumstances of the colony are incomparably more favourable now than they were seven years ago for the settlement of a respectable family, either in the interior or on the coast. The same amount of capital which it required to stock a large farm moderately with horses, sheep, and cattle, seven years ago, will *do more than purchase a farm of the same extent now, and stock it also.* Besides, the cost of maintaining a family for twelve or eighteen months after their arrival is at present less than one half of what it was at the period I refer to, while the price of wool—the staple article of colonial produce—is as high as ever. To the sheep or cattle-farmer, distance is a matter of very small moment; for cattle travel to the market themselves, and the cost of conveying wool to the shipping-port, from a great distance in the interior, is comparatively trifling. On the other hand, the extension of steam-navigation along the eastern coast of New Holland will, I am confident, very soon render it a matter of no consequence to the agriculturist, whether he is fifty or five hundred miles from the capital, provided he is within reach of a navigable river, or harbour, or good roadstead, on the coast. In all likelihood there will very shortly be a steam-boat plying regularly between Sydney and Hobart Town, the capital of Van Dieman's Land. In that case an agriculturist would just be as favourably situated for the colo-

nial market at Twofold Bay, at the southern extremity of the Australian land, as at Hunter's River.

In short, I see no reason why persevering industry, or rather vigilance and economy, should not lead to equally favourable results in the present circumstances of the colony, with those to which they have evidently led in the instance I have mentioned, as well as in many others, with which I am not so intimately acquainted. Let the reader not imagine, however, that there is any thing to be gained in New South Wales without persevering industry conjoined with prudent management and economy. Wherever our lot is cast in the wide world—whether we are called to earn a mere livelihood by contending with the unpropitiousness of the seasons and the stubbornness of the soil, or to struggle for far higher interests with hostile principalities and powers, this is the uniform condition of mortality,—

Nil sine magno
Vita labore dedit mortalibus;

or, in other words, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground."

CHAPTER III.

NOTICES OF THE SETTLEMENTS OF BATHURST AND ILLAWARRA.

"The man waxed great and went forward, and grew until he became very great. For he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants." Genesis, xxvi. 13.

THE road to Bathurst, or, as it is more frequently called, the *Great Western Road*, branches off from the Parramatta road at the eastern extremity of the town of Parramatta. At the distance of a few miles from Parramatta is the settlement of Prospect, the residence of several small settlers, and of a few families of higher class. In this neighbourhood the country, which is of an undulating character, exhibits that singular feature which I have already mentioned, and which is elsewhere observable in the colony; the ground on the declivities and on the summits of the hills being of inexhaustible fertility, while in the hollows or lower levels it is comparatively unproductive. I have myself frequently observed, when riding in the interior, either before sunrise or after sunset during the winter months, that while the temperature on the high grounds was

mild and pleasant, it was extremely cold in the hollows; perhaps in consequence of the colder and denser air sinking, from its greater specific gravity, to the lower levels. The black natives of the colony have observed this peculiarity in the Australian climate; for instead of making their encampments for the night, and kindling their diminutive fires, in the gulleys or hollows, as one should have supposed they would have done, they more frequently select as their temporary resting-place some elevated situation. I should not imagine that this atmospherical peculiarity has any thing to do with the nature of the soil in such localities, but it may perhaps have some influence on the vegetation.

Beyond the settlement of Prospect, the Western Road skirts along the old government agricultural establishments of Toongabbee and Rooty Hill, and the houses of respectable landholders are observable at irregular intervals to the right and left. At length the Blue Mountains are seen, through an opening in the forest, towering upwards, at a distance of ten or twelve miles directly in front; the road running for a considerable distance, in a due westerly direction, as straight as an arrow, and the lofty trees on either side of it forming a vista somewhat similar to that which is formed by two corresponding rows of pillars in an old Gothic cathedral. The intervening valley of the Hawkesbury then opens gradually on the view, presenting a large extent of champaign country, through which the river Nepean, spreading fertility in its progress, like the ancient river of Egypt, winds romantically along the base of the mountains.

The hospitable mansion of Sir John Jamison of Regentville occupies an elevated and commanding situation at a considerable distance to the left of the road, having a great extent of rich alluvial country in front, the Blue Mountains, with their dark mantle of forest, to the left, and the river Nepean flowing placidly between. The river is crossed in a punt at Emu Ferry, about thirty-five miles from Sydney; the deserted Government establishment of Emu Plains—where it is intended to form a town, for which indeed the locality is admirably adapted—being situated between the river and the mountains. From Emu Plains the mountain road ascends Lapstone Hill—a steep and difficult ascent of four miles—the summit of which, with the level ground beyond it, forms a sort of pedestal for the higher mountains to spring from. There is a comfortable inn on the top of Lapstone Hill, called *The Pilgrim*, at which travellers generally halt for their first day's journey, the distance from Sydney being about forty miles. The first time I travelled to Bathurst, however, my fellow-travellers and myself rode a few miles farther, and halted at a military station called *Spring-wood*, the accommodations on the mountains being then very inferior to what they are now. Our host at Spring-wood was a corporal of the 3rd Regiment, or Buffs, now in India; the wooden walls of whose humble dwelling were ornamented with a portrait of "*Lord Anson*," a picture of the "*West India Docks*," another of "*Christmas drawing near at hand*," and a third exhibiting "*the Stages of Man's Life compared to the twelve months of the year*;" the homely character and style

of which may perhaps be inferred by the reader from the circumstance of their being for sale, at sufficiently low prices, at the "Wholesale Toy and Marble Warehouse, Great St. Andrew's Street, Seven Dials."

A serjeant or corporal of the 48th Regiment had been stationed some time before the period I allude to at Cox's River, another military station on the Bathurst road. He had been an industrious man, and had accumulated some property both in goods and cattle in the colony—as much even as amounted to £300. But the regiment being ordered to India, and no interest or entreaty being available to procure his discharge, he disposed of his property; and on coming to Sydney, in a state of mind which the reader will doubtless commiserate, he commenced drinking the price of it with some of his old companions in right earnest. In this inglorious employment he was unfortunately so successful, that in the space of six weeks he had left himself quite pennyless, and was consequently ready to embark on equal terms with the rest of his company for India. Though I cannot by any means defend the soldier for thus sinking under the pressure of adversity, I cannot but pity him; and I cannot help regretting, moreover, the operation of a system which thus deprived the colony of an industrious and deserving individual, who would in all likelihood have reared a virtuous family, and been a blessing to his neighbourhood, for the purpose of landing an additional drunken soldier on the ramparts of Fort George.

There is another subject of regret connected with the military system of the mother country, as it regards the

colonies and the Indian empire. The regiments of the line that are stationed in the Australian colonies, of which there are always two in New South Wales and one in Van Dieman's Land, are uniformly sent on to India after five or six years' service in these colonies. At the expiration of that period, there is always a numerous flock of interesting sprightly children belonging to the regiment about to proceed to India, all of whom must of course follow their parents to that deadly climate, where both parents and children are mowed down like the standing corn before the sickle of the reaper. Now there might surely be some better and more humane arrangement effected without detriment to His Majesty's service, the families being allowed for instance to remain in the colony, and a few unmarried recruits being forwarded from the mother country to supply their place. It would doubtless be the interest of the colony of New South Wales to reimburse the mother country from the colonial revenue for all the additional expense which such an arrangement would cost, to procure so large a periodical accession to its free population. We have had colonial projectors who would willingly have lodged a *detainer* upon the children in all such cases, and allowed the parents to proceed to India with their respective regiments, placing their orphaned offspring at agricultural nursery-establishments in the interior of the colony, to be conducted on the *soup-kitchen* or *Owen and parallelogram* style. But although persons of this class are evidently of the order of cold-blooded animals themselves—an order which the naturalists inform us is entirely desti-

tute of natural affection—British soldiers, it must not be forgotten, are of the order *mammalia*, having warm blood and breathing by lungs, and are consequently possessed in a high degree of the feelings and affections of men. Their children, in short, are not to be torn from them and penned up in a separate stock-yard, like a number of colonial calves, to be fed till they reach maturity out of a common pail.

From the top of Lapstone Hill to a short distance beyond Spring-wood the ascent is so gentle as to be scarcely perceivable. The country consists chiefly of forest-land of inferior quality; the trees are lofty and for the most part of the iron-bark species; and though the inferior vegetation is scanty, there is food for horses and cattle. For the next thirty-five or forty miles, however, the country which the road traverses consists of immense masses of sandstone-mountain piled over each other in the wildest confusion like Pelion on Ossa, while trees of moderate elevation and of an endless variety of botanical families are seen in every direction, *moored in the rifted rock*. The mountain range traversed by the Bathurst road is the dividing range that separates the numberless deep gulleys that communicate with the valley of the Grose River—one of the parent streams of the Hawkesbury—to the right, from a similar series of impassable ravines, communicating with the valley of Cox's River above its junction with the Warragumby or rather the Wollondilly* to

* The reader will easily perceive that the last-mentioned of these rivers is the only one of the three that has been permitted to retain its mellifluous and doubtless highly appropriate barbarian appellative.

the left. The road has consequently to follow all the sinuosities of the range; so much so that the course of a traveller on the mountains very much resembles that of a ship beating up against a head-wind; for he finds, to use the maritime phraseology, that although his *log* indicates a rapid progressive motion, he has after all made but a very few miles of *westing*.

Having left Spring-wood long before day-break, on a cold winter morning, when the ground was covered with hoar-frost, we had reached the summit of a lofty eminence called *King's Table Land*, nearly four thousand feet above the level of the sea, in time to behold the glorious phenomenon of the rising sun gradually lifting up the dark veil of night from the valley of the Hawkesbury, as it lay outstretched in silent loveliness far beneath us; while in a few minutes thereafter the clear river skirting along the yellow corn-fields in the valley seemed like a border of silver on a web of cloth of gold. The oblique rays of the sun that fell powerlessly in the mean time on the top branches of the lofty trees in the numerous deep gulleys to the right and left, served only to render visible the horrible darkness of these gloomy ravines, the precipitous sides of some of which are not less than two thousand feet in height, and which had doubtless never been trodden by the foot of man.

After a smart ride of three or four hours, my fellow-travellers and myself arrived at the *Weather-boarded*

Truly the colonial literati will ere long have good reason to exclaim with Cato, "*Vera* nomina rerum longe amisimus." Sallust, De Conjur. Catilin. The Grose River and the Wollondilly! Quanto melius hic!

Hut, which in 1826 was merely a military station, with a keen appetite for breakfast; but we were not a little mortified to find that there was nothing to be had at the station but pure water, every particle of flour having been consumed on the preceding day, and two soldiers who had been despatched by the serjeant in command to the nearest settlement for a supply not having returned. Our mortification was perhaps heightened when we recollected that the corporal's wife at Springwood, the inharmonious music of whose frying-pan had been by no means disagreeable the evening before, had offered to make us a comfortable breakfast before we started in the morning; but we could not mend the matter, and we had consequently to postpone our morning's repast till the evening, when it was calculated we should reach a comfortable inn at the western extremity of the mountains, where we proposed to rest for the night.

On crossing the mountains a second time, after an interval of six years, I found a comfortable inn at the *Weather-boarded Hut*, where my fellow-traveller and myself halted for breakfast, after a ride of upwards of twenty miles from the Pilgrim Inn, where we had rested the preceding night. There is a stream of fresh water, sufficient in ordinary seasons to turn a mill, in the valley of the Weather-boarded Hut, which, at the distance of two or three miles down the valley, suddenly precipitates itself over a precipice, whose perpendicular height cannot be less, I should imagine, than double the height of the ledge of rocks across the channel of the great Canadian River, which forms the celebrated cataract of

Niagara. After breakfast I proposed to my fellow-traveller—the Scots Presbyterian minister of Bathurst—to walk down to the Falls, as our horses required two or three hours' rest before resuming our journey; but the length of the morning's ride and the heat of the day (for it was then January, or midsummer in the colony,) induced him to await my return in the inn. I accordingly got two boys who belonged to the station for guides, and walked towards the Falls, where I was happy to find that the magnificence of the scenery far more than compensated for the additional exertion.

The valley of the Weather-boarded Hut terminates abruptly at the Falls, in a much more extensive valley crossing its direction at right angles, the boundary of the latter valley being a line of perpendicular cliffs of immense height. At the point where the rivulet leaps over the precipice the cliffs recede considerably, forming two bold headlands of fearful elevation, and enclosing a basin of prodigious depth, in which the tops of lofty trees are seen several hundred feet below the edge of the precipice. On gaining the edge of the precipice, the waters of the rivulet seem to shrink instinctively from the frightful leap to which they have been conducted in their course down the valley; each individual drop appearing endowed with a separate volition, and seeming determined to shift for itself, and the whole mass of fluid resolving itself into what appears like innumerable particles of frozen snow. Were the Ottawa, or any of the other mighty tributaries of the river St. Lawrence, to descend the valley of the Weather-boarded Hut, I am confident its fall over the precipice I have

thus imperfectly described would take precedence of the Falls of Niagara: as it is, however, I have been told that when the rivulet is flooded the scene is of surpassing magnificence.

The two boys who had acted as my guides to the Falls happening to approach much nearer the edge of the precipice than I deemed consistent with their perfect safety, I took occasion to ask them on our way back to the inn, where they thought they would have landed if they had fallen over the precipice? "In heaven," said the elder of the boys, as a matter of course, having heard perhaps that heaven was the place to which men proceed after death, but having probably never been told that there is any other place of general resort. In questioning them a little more minutely, I ascertained that neither of the two could either read or write; that they had never heard of man's being a sinner in the sight of His Maker, or of God's having provided a Saviour for sinners of men. The name of that Saviour they had heard pronounced again and again; but it was used only to embellish an oath or to strengthen an affirmation, and they were evidently growing up as entirely ignorant of God and of the way of salvation as the wild kangaroo. I took occasion to give the boys the requisite instruction on these important points during the remainder of our walk; adding, that if they should never again hear a single syllable on the subject, God would remind them of what they had heard that morning from a stranger on the mountains at the judgment-day. It was just such a spot, I could not help thinking at the moment, as my friend Mr. Cunningham would have

chosen for planting a few of his peach-stones in, in traversing the Australian wilderness; and who knows but the seed may vegetate and produce fruit many days hence?

On leaving the inn to pursue our journey to the westward, my horse, being a young animal of high spirit, immediately set off at full gallop, and soon left my fellow-traveller and his graver Rosinante more than a mile behind. As he brought me up with a solitary soldier, who was walking in the direction of Bathurst, but who evidently belonged to the military party at the Weather-boarded Hut, I stopped to have a little conversation with the man till my friend should overtake us. The soldier was a Presbyterian of the class of Seceders in the north of Ireland, and was acting as schoolmaster for the party at the Weather-boarded Hut; but as the rest of the soldiers at that station were Roman Catholics, with whom he had little intimacy, he preferred taking a solitary walk on the highway, when off duty, to enjoying the company of his fellow-soldiers at the Mountain-Barrack. I told him of the boys I had just met with, and suggested the propriety of his giving them some instruction while he remained at the station. He told me in reply, that he had offered to do so, but that their father did not seem willing that he should trouble himself with them, as he frequently required the elder boy to make up a hand with him at cards. I am happy to state, however, that this is by no means the general character of the lower classes of free persons in New South Wales. Although many of their number, I mean those of the class of emancipated convicts, have never

enjoyed the advantage of education in the mother country themselves, they are not insensible to its benefits, and are generally very desirous of securing them for their children.

About twenty miles beyond the Weather-boarded Hut, the mountain-range traversed by the great western road terminates abruptly in a steep and almost precipitous mountain, called Mount York, upwards of three thousand six hundred feet above the level of the sea. And as the range presents in every other direction a line of perpendicular rocks of several hundred feet in height towards the valley on either side, it was absolutely necessary to descend this mountain to reach the lower level beyond it. To effect this object, the original projectors of the Bathurst Road seem to have imagined that the most expeditious way of getting down the mountain was to descend headlong, for the original road was as precipitous as can well be imagined. The superintendence of the roads of the colony being afterwards entrusted to Major Lockyer of His Majesty's 57th Regiment, a great improvement was effected on the descent of Mount York, a new road being formed under Major Lockyer's direction, in which the descent was diminished to one foot in every four. The acclivity, however, was still distressing for cattle proceeding towards Sydney with heavily-laden drays, and the descent was so dangerous that the drivers of bullock-carts had uniformly to cut down a tree on the summit of the mountain, and fasten it as a drag to the cart-wheels before attempting it. At length Major Mitchell, the Surveyor-General of New South Wales,

whose talents in this most important department of engineering are of the highest order, being appointed by His Majesty's Government to the general superintendence of the roads of the colony, a bold and most original expedient for gaining the lower level was happily devised and successfully executed, to the incalculable benefit of the inhabitants of the extensive and important country in the western interior.

Parallel to Mount York, Major Mitchell observed another mountain of equal elevation called Mount Vittoria, which he found connected with the former mountain for a certain distance from their base by a natural dyke or narrow ledge of rocks stretching across the intervening abyss. He therefore threw down a portion of the rocky summit of Mount York till he reached the summit-level of the connecting dyke, and then, carrying the road in a sloping direction along this natural causeway to Mount Vittoria, lengthened out the remaining descent by cutting a gently inclined plane along the precipitous side of the latter mountain to the valley below. It was one of those bold conceptions that occur only to men of original genius, and it can only be duly appreciated on the spot by a skilful observer of the striking locality. The dyke or ledge of rocks, on which the road now crosses the intervening valley, is so narrow and withal so elevated that it seems quite aerial, and the traveller can scarce divest himself of a feeling of insecurity in passing along it. The valley to the eastward is designated the Vale of Clywd, after a well-known valley in North Wales, which it is thought to resemble in its general outline. I recollect admiring

the beauties of that justly celebrated vale from the ruins of Denbigh Castle, during a solitary pedestrian tour which I happened to make in North Wales, on being let loose upon the world from a Scottish University in the year 1821. But I confess I experienced far higher emotions—emotions of an overpowering and spirit-stirring character—when sitting on horseback and contemplating the sublimer features of the Australian valley from the pass of Mount Vittoria.

Two miles and three quarters in point of distance were saved to the travelling public of the colony by this important public work, while the descent was diminished from one foot in every four to one in every fifteen. It is evident therefore that the talents of an officer of Major Mitchell's ability, in so important a department of the public service, are of vast consequence to the community at large, in a country of such anomalous geological formation as New South Wales. I am sorry to state, however, that, in consequence of some of those petty jealousies, dislikes, and antipathies, which are found so frequently to affect the motions of the state-carriage in the colonies, Major Mitchell was laid entirely on the shelf, in as far as regarded the laying down of the lines of roads or the prosecution of geographical discovery in the interior, during the late colonial administration. Any person's line of road was preferred to that officer's, and thousands and tens of thousands of the public money were consequently expended to no purpose, in clearing and forming lines of road which will now be superseded by others of far less cost and of far greater utility. I am happy to state,

however, that His Excellency the present Governor has hitherto acted in this important particular, as I am confident he will uniformly do, in entire accordance with the interests of the community. It is doubtless the highest mark of wisdom on the part of a ruler to avail himself of eminent talent for the advancement of the general welfare, in whatever department of the public service or in whatever quarter it is evinced. It is an evidence alike of intellectual weakness and of something implying a betrayal of trust, to commit the weightier concerns of the public to drivelling incapacity.

To the westward of Mount Vittoria, the country consists chiefly of hills and valleys watered by running streams, and abounding in excellent pasture for sheep and cattle. There has consequently been a considerable extent of land located in this part of the route; and the different roads to Bathurst—of which there are at present no fewer than four, three of which, however, will shortly be superseded by Major Mitchell's new line—conduct the traveller to many interesting spots where prosperous farming establishments have been formed in the wilderness, in the neighbourhood of which the bleating of sheep and the lowing of oxen are heard in the dewy morning, enlivening the inland "woods and wilds" of Australia, and recalling the cherished recollections of rural scenes far beyond the annual northern journey of the sun.

The highest land on the Blue Mountains' road occurs at the distance of ninety or a hundred miles from Sydney, the road crossing the dividing range that separates the eastern from the western waters in that part of the

route. There is a singular circumstance connected with these waters not undeserving of attention. Those flowing to the westward or the interior of the continent abound in a species of perch or cod, as they are called in the colony, of which the waters flowing to the eastward are entirely destitute; and the ultimate direction of any stream of unknown destination, found winding along the trackless ravines of the intervening mountains, can be determined with the utmost certainty from this circumstance. The cod caught in the river Lachlan are large and well-flavoured, and are preserved by drying them in the sun. I have seen them in this state at the table of a respectable settler at Bathurst, who had had them brought as a delicacy from his grazing station at a distance of seventy-five miles overland. The gentleman I allude to related an amusing anecdote connected with Australian fishing, which had fallen under his own observation a short time before. He had been out for several days on an excursion in the interior, with one or two other settlers of the Bathurst district, and two or three black natives. One of the latter had a complete suit of slop-clothing, consisting of a grey jacket and trowsers, which had been given him by my informant, to whom it seems he was much attached, and whose name he had even adopted as a mark of respect. In the course of the expedition the party caught a quantity of fish in one of the western rivers, and after roasting as many of them as they required at the time, the rest were entrusted to Jackie to carry to the next resting-place. Jackie had no fish-basket, but he had ingenuity enough to find a substitute; for cutting off both of the

sleeves of his jacket close by the shoulder, and tying up the ends of them, he packed them both full of fish and slung them round his neck, perfectly unconscious of the ludicrous appearance he exhibited.

The view of the plain of Bathurst from the elevated land to the eastward, from which it is first seen at a great distance, is singularly interesting. The eye is so much accustomed to forest-scenery in New South Wales, that the sight of clear land is naturally associated with the idea of a vast expenditure of human labour, and the view of an extensive plain naturally destitute of timber consequently affects the traveller with a mingled emotion of surprise and delight. The plain of Bathurst is about nineteen miles in length, and from six to eight in breadth, containing about one hundred and twenty square miles of naturally clear land. It is by no means a dead level, but consists rather of a series of gentle elevations with intervening plains of moderate extent, the surrounding forest-country being generally very thinly timbered, and patches of forest stretching at irregular intervals a considerable distance into the plains like points of land into a lake.

It were no easy task to account for the existence of such open plains in the interior of a country so uniformly covered with timber in all other localities as the territory of New South Wales, and especially in situations where the soil is evidently by no means unfavourable for the growth of timber. Fo my own part I am inclined to believe that the plains of Bathurst, and others of a similar character in the colony both to the northward and southward, have at some former period

been covered with timber, in common with the other parts of the territory; but that the timber having been in great measure destroyed in the course of some long drought similar to the one experienced during the government of General Darling, the frequent burning of the rich long grass on the plains by the black natives has gradually destroyed the remainder of the forest, and prevented the growth of any succeeding generation of young trees. In confirmation of this idea, I observed depressions in some parts of the plains, exactly similar to those which are formed by the burning out of a large tree, while in other places perpendicular holes of two or three feet in depth, rather more than sufficient to admit a horse's leg, and for that reason somewhat dangerous to horsemen, are not unfrequently met with, and seem to indicate the places in which smaller trees of hard timber had gradually wasted away. On the other hand there are parts of the territory, as for instance in the upper portion of the district of Hunter's River, where the country is but lightly timbered, in which all the standing trees are evidently of great age, but in which there are no young trees springing up to supply the places of those that are dying away. In short, to use the words of Humboldt, which, however, I quote merely from memory: "The distribution of organized beings over the surface of the globe is a problem too difficult for man to solve in the present state of his knowledge and of his powers."

I have elsewhere observed that the plain of Bathurst is traversed in the direction of its length by the river Macquarie, which pursues a meandering course along

the plains, having its banks occasionally ornamented with a handsome though rather melancholy-looking tree, called the swamp-oak. During my stay at Bathurst I ascended a conical hill of about three or four hundred feet in height, called Mount Pleasant, situated on the extensive estate of Major-General Stewart, on the left bank of the river, from the summit of which the scenery reminded me of the view from Stirling Castle in Scotland. The level plain lay extended to the right almost as far as the eye could reach, like a large lake with a belt of forest skirting its deeply-indented shores, while numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle were roaming in every direction over its luxuriant pasture. The river, which had traversed its whole extent through an avenue of melancholy swamp-oaks, seemed as if it were mournfully winding its silent way to the distant and unknown interior, like a young adventurer weeping unwillingly as he leaves the joyous scenes of his boyhood for some far remote and foreign land. The houses of respectable settlers, with their extensive farm-yards and out-buildings, their orchards and their patches of cultivated land, were seen at irregular distances all over the plains, while the numerous turf-built, thatched, and white-washed cottages of the smaller settlers enlivened the scene.

The great extent of naturally clear land of superior quality formed the chief attraction of the Bathurst district when the stream of free emigration had begun to flow to the shores of Australia. But the difficulties of the mountain-road, which at that period were manifold

and prodigious, could only be overpowered by men possessed both of energy and capital. The Bathurst country was therefore for the most part apportioned out in grants of two thousand acres each, to families of respectability; and I am happy to state that the district has hitherto maintained its superior character, both in the state of harmony in which the respectable settlers appear to live with each other, and in the regard they manifest for the ordinances of religion, and for the religious instruction of their families and servants. As one half of the respectable families of the district belong to the Presbyterian communion, there are both an Episcopal clergyman and a Presbyterian minister of the Church of Scotland stationed at Bathurst; each of whom performs divine service twice every Sabbath, and generally twice also at the houses of respectable families on the plains, chiefly for the religious instruction of their numerous convict-servants, in the course of the week. The Episcopal clergyman is the Rev. Mr. Keane, a graduate of the University of Dublin; the Scotch clergyman is the Rev. Thomas Thomson, author of "The Christian Martyr," and of several other minor works of a similar character, and of acknowledged merit. It gives me sincere pleasure to add, moreover, that the worshipping of God in their own families—a much neglected service, the benign and humanizing influence of which, however, cannot but be seen and felt wherever it is duly observed—is generally practised by the more respectable settlers of both communions on the plains. I wish it were only

in my power to give an equally favourable testimony of a single other dictrict similarly circumstanced in the territory.

Besides the respectable families I have just alluded to, there are many small settlers residing on different parts of the plains of Bathurst, of whom not a few have made themselves comfortable and independent, though others are distinguished only for their reckless dissipation. A settlement of veteran soldiers was formed by the colonial government several years ago, at a place called the *Black Rock;* and the indulgences that were afforded them might certainly have placed them, long before this time, in comparative independence. But a military life seems, in the great majority of instances, to have a thoroughly depraving influence on the common soldier; and, of the few individuals that escape that influence, the majority are absolutely good for nothing in any other department of life. Such, at all events, has hitherto been the uniform result of all the attempts of Government, in the way of forming settlements of veteran soldiers in the colony. A number of small settlers of a more hopeful character were located a few years ago in *Queen Charlotte's Vale,* a valley communicating with the plains on the farther side of the river, and approaching the nearest in its original state to the *beau idéal* of natural scenery of any thing I have ever beheld. It is traversed for several miles by a rivulet which empties itself into the river Macquarie: the native grass on either side of the rivulet has a verdant appearance quite refreshing to the eye, and trees of moderate height, and of highly graceful foliage, are

disposed at irregular intervals over its whole extent, so as to produce the most picturesque effect imaginable. I called at the cottage of a respectable free emigrant Scotch settler who had been long in the colony, but had only recently settled with his large and highly reputable family at the entrance of the vale. His cottage was built of turf, and covered with thatch; but being plastered with a composition of mud, and white-washed both within and without, it had an air of neatness and comfort quite attractive. On the open lawn in front of it there were two or three trees of a peculiarly ornamental character; and as I had reason to suspect that in that spirit of irreconcileable enmity to all standing timber, which is almost uniformly evinced by the Australian colonists, their extirpation had already been determined, I could not help interceding for their preservation; telling my worthy friend at the same time, that if he cut them down notwithstanding, he would almost deserve to be summoned before the Kirk Session, or Presbyterian Parochial Ecclesiastical Court, for a misdemeanour.

The locality occupied by the government buildings at Bathurst, around which a town of considerable size and importance is in rapid progress of formation, is called *the Settlement*. In the immediate neighbourhood of the Settlement a few small grants of land were given off by the late colonial government as home-stations, to various respectable proprietors who already possessed extensive tracts in the surrounding country; and it is greatly to be regretted that the practice had not been earlier introduced and more generally fol-

lowed. It would have brought all the respectable proprietors of a large extent of country within a moderate distance of each other, and within reach of the means of religious instruction, and of a superior education for their children, to what families residing far apart from each other can obtain; while their numerous flocks and herds could have ranged over the surrounding pastoral country for hundreds of miles as freely as they do now. Indeed, the peculiar adaptation of the plains of Bathurst for such a purpose is so strikingly obvious, and the serving of that purpose would have proved so evidently conducive to the general welfare of the colony, that it is almost marvellous that the idea should not have suggested itself to the last two Governors of New South Wales; by both of whom the Crown-lands of the Bathurst district were, with only a few inconsiderable exceptions, recklessly and irrecoverably alienated in large tracts, without the least regard for the real welfare of its future inhabitants. I should be sorry to insinuate that any proprietor on the plains has more land than he ought to have had: I only maintain that the general interests of the community required that individuals should not have had so much as they actually obtained in that particular locality, and that the Governors I allude to were, therefore, greatly at fault, in overlooking so important a consideration.

Several of the more respectable wool-growing settlers in the Bathurst district can afford to run carriages or curricles of their own; but the expense of maintaining an equipage in New South Wales is much less than in England. This of course gives the plains rather a bril-

liant appearance—very different I apprehend from that of most of the back-settlements of Upper Canada—and the cottages of some of the settlers, for such is the general style of building in the interior, would do credit to some of the more tasteful suburbs of the British metropolis. I was particularly struck with the admirable taste and even elegance displayed in the cottage and grounds of Captain Piper, a Scotch gentleman from Ayrshire well-known in the colony, who has resided with his large family for several years past in the Australian Highlands. Captain Piper's cottage is situated on a gentle eminence to the eastward of the plains, over which it commands an extensive and highly interesting view; the prospect in front being bounded in the distance by a range of hills of moderate elevation in the western interior. Indeed I do not know that "the banks an' braes o' bonnie Doun," the well-known classical locality in the west of Scotland, so beautifully celebrated in the Doric dialect of Ayrshire by the poet Burns, can exhibit features more interesting or more beautiful than those of the Australian locality, which Captain Piper has named after it * to keep it in remembrance. I spent an afternoon at Captain Piper's during my last visit to Bathurst, and I was much gratified to find that the *evening oblation* was offered up with all due solemnity, in the midst of a numerous family-circle, on the going down of the sun. Shortly thereafter, when we were just about taking leave to pursue our course across the plains to our head-quarters in the clear moonlight, a musical band,

* Alloway Bank.

consisting entirely of a few of the farm-servants who had each learned to play on some musical instrument, struck up a lively Scottish air under the verandah, which, I confess, was, on my own part at least, equally unexpected and animating. The Germans ascribe something like the following distich to their great countryman Luther, in vindication of their own musical predilections:

> Der Menschen-Kind wer liebt nicht Sang,
> Er lebt ein Thor sein Leben-lang.
>
> He lives a sorry fool his whole life long,
> Who loves not music nor the voice of song:

and, if any of my readers should imagine that it is expedient for a Presbyterian minister to look particularly grave and repulsive on all such occasions as the musical serenade in the clear moonlight at Alloway-Bank, I appeal of course to the German reformer.

The sorts of wood most frequently met with in the forest-ground nearest the settlement are those designated by the colonists the white gum, the honeysuckle, the dwarf-box, and the swamp-oak. I cannot pretend to assign them their botanical names. From the lower side of the leaves of the white gum a substance of a whitish colour exudes in considerable quantity, and is found lying on the grass underneath the branches, in the dewy morning, like hoar-frost. It is called manna in the colony; but whether its chemical qualities are exactly similar to those of the manna of commerce, I do not know. It is of a sweetish taste, and is by no means unpleasant; but its relish reminds one too much of the medicine-chest to be particularly agreeable.

The openness of the country around Bathurst is rather more favourable for hunting and shooting than most other parts of the territory, with the exception of Argyle and Liverpool Plains. The kangaroo and the emu, a bird resembling the ostrich, are hunted with dogs. They are both feeble animals, but they are not altogether destitute of means of defence. In addition to their swiftness of foot, which they possess in common with the hare and the ostrich of other countries, the emu has great muscular power in his long iron limbs, and can give an awkward blow to his pursuer by striking out at him behind like a young horse; while the kangaroo when brought to bay by the dogs rests himself on his strong muscular tail, seizes the dog with his little hands or forefeet, and thrusting at him with one of his hindfeet, which is armed for the purpose with a single sharp-pointed hoof, perhaps lays his side completely open. When hotly pursued the kangaroo sometimes takes to the water, where, if he happens to be followed by a dog, he has a singular advantage over all other quadrupeds of his own size, from his ability to stand erect in pretty deep water. In this position he waits for the dog, and when the latter comes close up to him he seizes him with his forefeet and presses him under the water till he is drowned. The bustard or native turkey is occasionally shot in the Bathurst country. It sometimes weighs eighteen pounds, and it differs from the common turkey in the flesh of the legs being white, while that of the breast is dark coloured. The quail, the snipe, the wood-duck, the black or water-duck, the curlew, the mutton-bird, and the spurwing

plover also abound in the neighbourhood. At the period of my first visit to Bathurst, in the year 1826, there was a club or society in great vigour in the district, called *The Bathurst Hunt.* It was formed chiefly for the extirpation of the native dog, which was then rather troublesome in the district on account of its sheep-killing propensities; and the members had each to appear at all meetings of the Hunt in a green coatee with silver buttons, a red vest and white under-clothing, the lower extremities being encased in top-boots. I have never been able to learn who the man of genius was who had invented a uniform sufficiently grotesque for a member of the French Institute; but I was not sorry to learn, on my second visit, after an interval of six years, that the Hunt had died a natural death, the members, I presume, having arrived in the mean time at the years of discretion.

The plain of Bathurst is upwards of two thousand one hundred feet above the level of the sea—an elevation which compensates for ten degrees of latitude, the vegetation at Bathurst being exactly similar in its character to that of Van Dieman's Land, ten degrees farther to the south. This elevation is remarkably conducive to the general health of the district, Bathurst being unquestionably the Montpelier of New South Wales. The cheeks of the children beyond the mountains have a rosy tint which is seldom observable in the lowlands of the colony; and diseases which affect the human frame in other parts of the territory are there in great measure unknown. For persons exhibiting a tendency to *phthisis pulmonalis*, medical men consider the

climate of Bathurst as perhaps the most favourable in the world, both from the mild temperature and the rarefaction of the air. A gentleman possessed of considerable property in the Bathurst district had long been a victim to an asthmatic affection in the mother country, and was so ill during his residence in Sydney that he could not venture to go to bed, but had uniformly to spend the night leaning his head on his arms at a table. On ascending the Blue Mountains, however, he found, to his great surprise and delight, that the distressing affection had completely left him. He resided for several years in perfect health in the Bathurst district; but in occasionally coming to Sydney on business, he found that the affection uniformly returned when he reached a certain level in descending towards the low country on the coast. As the presence or absence of the asthmatic affection did not depend in the least on the state of the weather, the case can only be accounted for from the greatly-diminished denseness of the atmosphere on the elevated table-land of the western interior. In short, I am inclined to believe that there is no country on the face of the globe so well adapted for the residence of persons either suffering under, or threatened with, affections of the lungs, or for the refitting of shattered India constitutions, as the district of Bathurst in New South Wales. The climate of Argyle, however, and of the high land generally to the south-westward, is exactly similar to that of Bathurst, and of consequence equally salubrious.

The direct distance from Sydney to Wollongong, the Government settlement in the district of *Illawarra*, or,

as it is frequently called, *the Five Islands*, from five small islands on that part of the coast, is not greater than forty-five miles; and the communication with the capital, except for travellers, is managed chiefly by water. But as the intervening country is intersected by numerous ravines, as well as by several arms of the sea, the road to Illawarra describes two sides of an equilateral triangle, of which the coast line forms the base—running for a certain distance to the south-westward, and then suddenly breaking off eight points to the south-eastward after heading the ravines. The distance by land is therefore about seventy miles, the road passing through the towns of Liverpool and Campbelltown.

The road to Liverpool, which is twenty miles distant from Sydney, turns off to the left from the road to Parramatta, about five miles from the capital. It is exceedingly uninteresting; the country on either side being a dense forest, and the soil for the most part poor and unproductive. The patches of cultivated land which are fallen in with on the Liverpool road are chiefly in the vicinity of public-houses—and these are by no means few in number—by the way-side. The town of Liverpool is situated at the head of the navigation of George's River, which empties itself into Botany Bay, and forms the grand thoroughfare for the vastly-extensive country to the southward and westward. It has been rather stationary, however, for some time past; and the chief object of attraction which it exhibits is a handsome hospital, erected during the government of Sir Thomas Brisbane, which ought certainly never to have occupied

such a locality. Indeed, the convenience of the public seems to have almost uniformly been the last thing considered in the erection of such edifices in New South Wales. A plain temporary wooden building, that could easily have been erected at an insignificant cost, would have been of incalculable benefit as a district-hospital to an extensive neighbourhood in the colony: and if a colonial surgeon had been appointed to visit two or three such hospitals—each situated in the centre of its own district—the health of the colony would have been much more effectually secured than by erecting an extensive and costly edifice in a distant and inconvenient locality. For the Liverpool Hospital, intended for an extensive tract of country to the south-westward, and the Newcastle Hospital, intended for the extensive district of Hunter's River, are each as preposterously situated for the purposes they were intended to serve, as the Custom-House in the British metropolis, which is intended chiefly for the shipping on the Thames, would have been, if it had been erected at the distance of fifteen miles out of London on the great north road. And the reader is not to suppose that the evil in the cases I have just mentioned has been merely imaginary, or is objectionable only on the score of inconvenience and expense; for it cannot be denied that unfortunate individuals, of the class of assigned servants or convict-labourers, have actually died on their way to these hospitals, merely from exposure to the hot sun, perhaps for two or three days together, on a bullock-cart.

The distance from Liverpool to Campbelltown is thirteen miles, and along the whole intervening line of road

there are neat cottages at irregular intervals belonging to respectable resident proprietors, the appearance of which greatly enlivens the scenery. In the immediate neighbourhood of Campbelltown, the country, which consists of a succession of hills and dales, has much more of an English aspect than most other parts of the territory, and the proportion of cleared land is very considerable; Campbelltown having been the centre-point to which the efforts of His Excellency Governor Macquarie were long and systematically directed, in attempting to form a race of small farmers out of the emancipated convict-population of the colony. The district of Campbelltown, however, is unfortunately situated in regard to water; the soil of the surrounding country being strongly impregnated with alum, which renders the water brackish. But the evil is not without remedy; and a substantial proprietor in the neighbourhood, Mr. Thomas Rose of Mount Gilead, has deserved well of the colonial public in demonstrating the efficacy of that remedy and the practicability of its general application. In the neighbourhood of Campbelltown, and in many other parts of the colony, the country is intersected by numerous water-courses, which in rainy seasons contain running streams of considerable size, but which are quite dry at all other times. Across one of these water-courses Mr. Rose formed a strong embankment sufficiently broad at the surface to serve the additional purpose of a cart-road from bank to bank. The result has equalled his highest anticipations. The embankment has permanently dammed up a large quantity of water of excellent quality, sufficient to

afford an abundant supply at all seasons for his farming establishment, besides forming an ornamental sheet of water in the vicinity of his residence. Water dammed up in this way, or even collected in large basins formed for the purpose, is not liable to become putrid in New South Wales as it frequently does in similar circumstances in Great Britain. There are many farms in the colony that have no other water than what is thus collected from the surface during heavy rains in natural basins or *water-holes*, as they are called by the colonists, the water in such holes or basins continuing pure and wholesome to the last drop. It would be difficult to account for the formation of these natural basins or reservoirs, some of which are of great depth, and have more the appearance of artificial than of natural productions; but their existence in all parts of the territory is a blessing of incalculable value to the colonial community.

About three miles beyond Campbelltown to the right is the dairy-farm or estate of Glenlee, to which I have elsewhere alluded. There is a large extent of cleared land on the Glenlee estate, the greater part of which has been laid down with English grasses, the paddocks being separated from each other by hedges of quince or lemon-tree—the usual but seldom-used colonial substitutes for the hawthorn. The country is of an undulating character, and the scenery from Glenlee House—a handsome two-story house, built partly of brick and partly of a drab-coloured sand-stone—is rich and most agreeably diversified. On the opposite bank of the Cowpasture River, which forms the boundary of

Mr. Howe's estate, is the much more extensive estate of Camden, the property of John Macarthur, Esq., and one of the largest and best conducted establishments in the colony. Indeed, Mr. Macarthur deserves the highest credit for the highly judicious mode of treatment he has uniformly pursued towards the numerous convict-servants on his estate, and for the interest which himself and his whole family have uniformly taken in promoting their comfortable settlement on their attainment of freedom. Mr. Macarthur's sons, who are both magistrates of the territory, are now erecting a splendid mansion on the Camden estate, and their extensive gardens are a model to the colony. The vineyard at Camden is the most extensive and the most forward in the country. There are many other estates, however, besides those I have just mentioned, belonging to respectable resident proprietors in this part of the colonial territory; and I know no part of the world in which families of moderate capital, and possessing ability to manage their affairs with the requisite discretion, could more easily assemble around them a large proportion of the comforts, I might even add the elegancies and the luxuries, of rural life.

From Campbelltown to Appin, a distance of eleven miles, the country continues to exhibit the same pleasing appearance of fertility, and the proportion of cleared and cultivated land continues very considerable. About six miles from Campbelltown to the left of the road is Brookdale cottage, the residence of Hamilton Hume, Esq., a Scoto-Australian, whom I have already had occasion to mention, and to whom the colony is under

considerable obligations. The natives of New South Wales are noted for their ability to find their way in the forest, in places where the most sagacious European would be in the utmost danger of being irrecoverably lost; and Mr. Hume possesses this quality of his countrymen in a superior degree, conjoined with a singularly enterprising spirit and indomitable perseverance. It was this gentleman who first ferreted his way through a series of miserable jungles and across rugged and unpromising ravines, to what is now called *The New Country*, or the district of Argyle; and I have already mentioned that he has since reached Bass' Straits, in company with Mr. Hovell, a respectable settler in the same vicinity, by crossing the country to the southward. Mr. Hume uses neither compass nor quadrant, but, like the Indians of America, he manages to find his way through the forest to any particular locality with a precision often inattainable by those who are most skilful in the use of both. Mr. Hume is descended from one of the collateral branches of the ancient and noble family of the same name, to which the dormant earldom of March on the Scottish border anciently belonged.

The remainder of the route to Illawarra is a mere bush-road, there being no regular Government road formed as yet to the latter district. For many a long mile from Appin the country is exceedingly sterile and uninteresting; but, on gaining the summit of the Illawarra Mountain—a lofty and precipitous range running parallel to the coast, and supporting the elevated table-land to the westward—the view is indescribably magnificent:

for all at once the vast Pacific Ocean, stretching far and wide to the eastward, bursts upon the view, while almost right underfoot it is seen lashing the black rocks that form its iron boundary to the westward, like an angry lion lashing the bars of his cage with his bushy tail, or dashing its huge breakers on the intervening sandy beaches in immense masses of white foam, and with a loud and deafening noise. In short, after the long and uninteresting ride from Appin, the scenery from the summit of the Illawarra Mountain is overpoweringly sublime.

I have already observed that the district of Illawarra consists of a belt of land inclosed between the mountain and the ocean, increasing in breadth to the southward, and, though generally thickly wooded, for the most part of exuberant fertility. The descent of the mountain, which is probably from fifteen hundred to two thousand feet high, is the most precipitous I have seen used in the colony for a road, and horses that are unaccustomed to the route betray the utmost unwillingness to proceed in certain parts of it. The rider uniformly dismounts at the top of the mountain and precedes the horse, holding the end of the bridle in his hand; but on reaching any part of the descent more than usually steep, the horse occasionally stops short from absolute fear, and the rider has actually to pull him down by the bridle at the risk of his rolling over him.

There is a resting-place for travellers ascending the mountain, about half way up, called *the big tree.* It is a dead tree of immense size, the internal parts of which

have been consumed by fire, although it is still of about a hundred feet in height. My fellow-traveller and myself entered into the hollow, into which there is an entrance on one side as wide as a church-door, with both our horses; and, although the latter were both of the largest size of riding horses in the colony, I perceived that there was room enough for a third rider and his steed. My fellow-traveller told me, indeed, that on a former journey he had actually been one of three horsemen, all of whom had, together with their horses, been *accommodated* within the *big tree* at the same time.

The vegetation of the district of Illawarra is very peculiar, and has more of a tropical character than that of other districts in the colony considerably farther to the northward. This may arise partly from its being sheltered from the cold westerly winds of the winter months, by the mountains that run parallel to the coast. I presume, however, it is owing chiefly to the nature of the soil, the district exhibiting various indications of a volcanic origin. The peculiarity I have just mentioned is observable even on the mountain, where the rich variety of the vegetation contrasts beautifully with the wildness of the scenery; the fern-tree shooting up its rough stem, of about the thickness of the oar of a ship's long-boat, to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, and then suddenly shooting out a number of leaves in every direction, each of four or five feet in length, and exactly similar in appearance to the leaf of the common fern or *braken;* while palms of various botanical species are ever and anon seen shooting up

their tall slender branchless stems to the height of seventy or a hundred feet, and then forming a large canopy of leaves, each of which bends gracefully outwards and then downwards, like a Prince of Wales' feather, the whole tree strongly resembling a Chinese mandarin's umbrella.

The species of palm most frequently met with in the low grounds of Illawarra is the fan-palm or cabbage-tree; and in some parts of the district there are grassy meadows, of fifty to a hundred acres in extent, quite destitute of timber, and surrounded with a border of lofty palms of this most beautiful species. Another species of palm, abounding in the district, and equally graceful in its outline, is called by the black natives the *Bangolo*. The cedar of Illawarra I have already mentioned; the nettle-tree, which is also met with in the *brushes*, is not only seen by the traveller, but occasionally felt and remembered, for its name is highly descriptive; and the sassafras with its odoriferous bark abounds in the jungles. The lofty *eucalyptus* and the iron bark-tree, the swamp-oaks and the weeping mimosas of the other parts of the territory, abound also at Illawarra; and the undergrowth of wild vines, parasitical plants, and shrubbery, is rich and endlessly diversified.

The first respectable settler fallen in with in the district of Illawarra, in travelling from the northward, is Mr. Cornelius O'Brien of Bullai, whose neat cottage, situated at the foot of the mountain, stands almost on the sea-beach. From thence to Wollongong, a boat-harbour where the military commandant of the district

has his head-quarters, and where the colonial government intend to form a town, the distance is nine miles. The path usually followed by travellers on horseback is along the beach, as near the water as possible, the wet sand being as hard and firm as a turnpike-road. I found it very awkward, however, to pursue this path with the young spirited horse from the interior which I rode on my last journey to Illawarra: for as the sea was breaking heavily on the beach, it left him ever and anon to his great alarm up to the ankles in white foam, and I was therefore obliged occasionally to wade through the dry sand beyond the tide-mark, or to strike into the forest.

There are a few respectable settlers in the neighbourhood of the settlement at Wollongong, but the majority are of a humbler order. It is evident, however, from the natural fertility of the soil, that the district is capable of affording both employment and subsistence to a numerous agricultural population; and as the pasture at Illawarra is generally deemed less favourable for the rearing of sheep and cattle than that of the more elevated lands of the colony, it is evident that the formation of an agricultural population was just the purpose to which the district ought to have been appropriated, and for which indeed its immediate vicinity to water-carriage might have proclaimed its peculiar adaptation to incapacity itself. It is mortifying, however, to observe, at every step in the colony of New South Wales, fresh evidences of an entire want of foresight on the part of the former rulers of the colony, or rather of a most unjustifiable disregard of the best interests of the commu-

nity. For, instead of reserving the fertile tracts of Illawarra for the settlement of industrious families of the humbler classes of society, on small farms of thirty to fifty acres each, to cultivate grain, roots, vegetables, fruit, vines, and tobacco, and to rear pigs and poultry for the Sydney market, the land in this district has in great measure been granted or sold off by the former Governors to non-resident proprietors, in tracts varying from two thousand to five thousand acres each. These proprietors will naturally suffer their land to remain in its present wild and uncultivated state as mere *cattle-runs*, till the increase of the population of the colony, and the gradual extension of steam-navigation along the east coast from Moreton Bay to Cape Howe, shall have rendered every acre ten times more valuable than it is at present.

Nature, or rather the God of Nature, evidently intended that the territory of New South Wales should become a pastoral country, and be devoted in great measure to the rearing of sheep and cattle. But there are particular localities on its extensive surface equally well adapted for the pursuits of agriculture; and it was therefore the bounden duty of the colonial government, in time past, to have reserved such localities for the settlement and use of its agricultural population. There are sheep and cattle stations already three hundred and fifty miles from Sydney, and the proprietors of the stock at these stations experience little or no inconvenience from the distance ; but it would clearly be absolutely ruinous for an agriculturist to cultivate grain or potatoes for the Sydney market at one-third of that

distance over-land. It was therefore impolitic in the highest degree to alienate so large a portion of the fertile land in the district of Illawarra, in the inconsiderate manner I have described. Nay, so much superior was the land in that district considered by agriculturists of the humbler classes in the colony, to land of fair quality in certain other parts of the territory, that during the years of drought there were instances of persons of this class actually abandoning the land which they had cleared and cultivated, and of which they possessed the freehold in other districts, to cultivate a few acres on lease in the district of Illawarra: for, independently of the inestimable advantage of water-carriage and the natural fertility of the soil, the vicinity of the ocean insures a more frequent supply of rain in that district than usually falls to the lot of other parts of the territory, while the range of mountains by which it is bounded to the westward shelters it from the blighting winds that proved so fatal to the crops of 1828, on the Hawkesbury and at Hunter's River.

It was the knowledge I had gained of these circumstances—so favourable for the formation of an agricultural settlement—that induced me to visit the district of Illawarra along with a colonial surveyor in the month of April last, (1833,) to ascertain whether the tract of land, which had unexpectedly fallen into my own hands in that district, was suited for the formation of an agricultural settlement of from fifty to a hundred families—these families to be carried out for the purpose either from the mother country or from the South of France, and to be settled in the district on ad-

vantageous terms, under the clerical superintendence of a resident Protestant minister of their own communion. The tract I refer to is situated about eight or ten miles beyond the settlement of Wollongong, and consists of considerably upwards of two thousand acres of the richest alluvial land—bounded on one side by a beautiful lake of eight miles in length, and by a navigable creek, communicating with the lake and the ocean, on another. The Surveyor pronounced the land admirably adapted for the purpose in view ; and on riding over the district and observing various other tracts that would doubtless have proved equally suitable for such a purpose, but which are now lying entirely waste in the hands of non-resident proprietors, I could not help regretting that the former colonial governors had thus improvidently deprived the colony of the means of settling a numerous and industrious free emigrant agricultural population, in a situation in which they could not have failed to arrive in due time at a state of comparative independence, and in which their virtuous example would have proved of incalculable benefit to the convict-population of the territory.

Adjoining the locality I have just mentioned, there was a settlement of veteran soldiers formed by the late colonial administration ; the issue of which, I am sorry to state, entirely confirms the remarks I have elsewhere made, in regard to the improbability of ever forming an industrious and thriving population out of such materials. At the distance of a few miles, however, in a different direction, a retired military officer has lately settled with his large family, on a farm or small estate

which he purchased within the last two years, and I am happy to add with every prospect of enjoying a high degree of comfort and rural independence. The gentleman I allude to is Captain Waldron, formerly of His Majesty's 39th regiment, who sold out with the view of settling in the colony, on the regiment's being ordered to India. The estate he purchased was of five hundred acres. A considerable part of it had been cleared, fenced, and in cultivation, and there was a good commodious cottage built of cedar, besides other farm-buildings, upon it. It was sold in consequence of the former proprietor, who had received it as a free grant from the Crown during the government of Sir Thomas Brisbane, having fallen into embarrassments; and Captain Waldron purchased it for five hundred pounds—a sum which I am sure would not have paid for the improvements, independently of the land—altogether; for as money bears a high interest in the colony, and will always bring a suitable return when judiciously invested, very few even of those who have acquired wealth in the country have ready money to invest in the purchase of estates in the interior merely on speculation; and property of that kind is therefore frequently procurable at sales by public auction for much less than its real value. I called on Captain W., with whom I had previously formed a slight acquaintance in Sydney, during my stay at Illawarra, and found him busily employed in superintending certain horticultural operations in a new garden which he had formed, cleared, and cultivated out of a dense forest during the few months he had had possession of the land, and in which he told me

he had found a copious spring of excellent water. He was fully occupied, contented and cheerful; having the prospect of spending the evening of his days in patriarchal retirement, and of at length leaving his family in comparative independence. I would not have taken such liberty with Captain W.'s name, nor detailed the particulars I have just narrated, if I had not been persuaded that the mention of a case of this kind is calculated, much more effectually than any general description, to induce respectable families and individuals of moderate capital in the mother country to follow Captain W.'s example, or, in other words, to settle in New South Wales, and thereby improve their own circumstances and those of the colony.

It was Saturday morning before I could leave Illawarra for Sydney; and my fellow-traveller and myself proposing to reach Liverpool, a distance of upwards of fifty miles, in time for the afternoon coach to Sydney, we mounted our horses long before daybreak, and rode towards the beach. It was quite dark, and it rained heavily; and our horses being frightened at the rolling of the white surf on the sea-beach, we were tempted to try the road through the forest; but, unfortunately, lost both our time and our way. The rain fell in torrents as we scrambled up the Illawarra mountain, sometimes on all-fours, and we were consequently completely drenched; but on reaching the summit it became fair, and we again rode at a brisk pace towards Appin, where we halted for rest and refreshment. The next twenty-four miles to Liverpool our high-spirited Australian horses, apparently in no way fatigued with their

long morning's stage, enabled us to complete in two hours and a half; but we were not a little disappointed to find, on arriving at Liverpool, that we had been at fault in our calculations, and that the coach had started a short time before. As I had to perform divine service, however, on the following day, we resolved to proceed to Sydney after giving our horses a few hours' rest at the inn, and accordingly resumed our journey late in the evening, when it had again become quite dark. In moving at a slow pace through the gloomy forest, the glorious constellations of the southern firmament gradually gleamed more and more brightly as the hour of midnight approached; and as the outline of the beautiful Magellan clouds appeared more distinctly marked than usual on the heavens, I could not help thinking, with a feeling of intense awe, of the inconceivable majesty of that mighty Being, who could direct the motions of each invisible star in these vast conglomerations of worlds, and attend to the minutest concerns of each of their myriads of inhabitants, without losing sight for a single instant of an insignificant mortal wandering at midnight through the dark forests of Australia. The clock at the Carters' Barracks—an establishment in which convict-boys are taught mechanical employments—struck one on the Sabbath morning, as we passed through the Sydney turnpike: we had consequently to pay double toll for travelling on Sunday. We were happy, however, to find ourselves at the termination of our journey, after a long and fatiguing ride of upwards of seventy miles.

CHAPTER IV.

STATEMENT OF THE ADVANTAGES WHICH NEW SOUTH WALES HOLDS FORTH TO VARIOUS CLASSES OF EMIGRANTS OF MODERATE CAPITAL, WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE GEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE COLONY, AND ON ITS CLIMATE AND DISEASES.

"Be not slothful to go, and to enter to possess the land. When ye go, ye shall come unto—a large land—a place where there is no want of any thing that is in the earth." Judges, xviii. 9, 10.

PROFESSOR BLUMENBACH, of the University of Göttingen, has somewhere given it as his opinion that the vast continental island of New Holland was originally a comet, which, happening to fall within the limits of the earth's attraction, lighted at length upon its surface. So tremendous a concussion as this would have infallibly produced; would doubtless have been sufficient to have occasioned *the waters of Noah;* but then the reflux of these waters, or the rolling back of the vast diluvial wave over the Blue Mountains of Australia, would have drowned the whole outlandish family of kangaroos and ornithorynchi, for whose benefit, I presume, the bold

hypothesis of the learned professor was partly, if not especially, invented.

There are certain points, however, connected with the physical conformation of the southern hemisphere, of which the hypothesis of the Hanoverian professor would doubtless afford a convenient explanation. It would account, for instance, for the disappearance of the *Terra Pacifica*, or Great South Land, of which, according to certain theorists, the South Sea Islands are merely the tops of the ancient mountains; the intervening plains and valleys having been submerged *full many a fathom deep* beneath the impetuous surges of the boundless Pacific.* Again, were a ball of soft clay thrown violently on a hard pavement, just as Professor Blumenbach supposes his comet to have been thrown violently on the hard surface of the earth, it would not only be flattened into a sort of cake, but the parts towards the centre would be depressed, while those towards the circumference would be elevated or heaved up. Now it cannot be denied that this is just the form which the Australian continent has actually assumed, in whatever manner that peculiar conformation may be supposed to have originated. The eastern coast has apparently been elevated or heaved up by some violent convulsion of nature: hence the circuitous course of the rivers in that part of the continent, and the liability of the

* "La plupart de ces isles ne sont en effet que des pointes de montagnes: et la mer, qui est au dela, est une vraie mer Méditerranée." Buffon. The great French naturalist referred in these expressions to the West India Islands and the Carribean Sea; but the same idea has been entertained by other philosophers in regard to the numberless groups of Polynesia.

country they water to inundations; while the waters that run to the westward spread themselves over extensive marshes in the low grounds of the western interior, from whence they are again conjured up to the higher regions of the atmosphere by the process of evaporation.

The eastern coast of New Holland, from Bass' Straits to the nineteenth degree of south latitude, presents a range of mountains running parallel to the coast, and consisting, with scarcely any exceptions, of vast conglomerations of sand-stone. There is no granite to be found in masses near the coast for an extent of twelve hundred geographical miles. At the nineteenth parallel of south latitude, however, the country assumes a different appearance; and a chain of lofty granitic or primitive mountains of various elevation, forms the barrier towards the ocean till the fourteenth parallel of south latitude, or for a distance of three hundred geographical miles. At the latter of these points the sand-stone again resumes its reign, and the land gradually dips till it loses itself in the sea to the northward. From the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude, coral reefs extend along the east coast to Torres' Straits, a narrow passage varying from ten to twenty-five miles in breadth intervening between them and the land. This passage, however, is so intricate, that vessels bound to the northward within the reefs have to cast anchor every night. They are steered by the eye, and a man is constantly stationed at the topmast-head to give notice of breakers on the coral reefs to the right or left.*

* The following passage illustrative of the geology of the east coast of New Holland in the neighbourhood of Port Jackson, is extracted from a

The western coasts of all the large divisions of land in the southern hemisphere are remarkably barren and

paper read before the defunct Philosophical Society of New South Wales, by Alexander Berry, Esquire, Member of the Legislative Council of the colony :—

"The line of coast presents in general an aspect of bold perpendicular cliffs of sand-stone, lying in horizontal strata. These cliffs, however, are occasionally interrupted by sandy beaches, behind which the country is low and flat, the high land appearing to retire considerably. On a near inspection these spaces now occupied by sandy beaches seem at no very remote period to have formed the entrance of bays and of arms of the sea. In many places they are even now so partially filled up that we still find extensive salt-water lagoons separated from the ocean only by a bank of sand, through which the water yet occasionally forces a passage. The strata of sand-stone consist of beds lying one upon the other in the most regular manner, so that they have evidently never undergone any deviation from their original relative situation. It is true that the beds are not invariably strictly horizontal, but this arises perhaps from a gentle yielding of the sub-strata. Some of these beds, although perfectly horizontal, and of regular thickness, consist of thin laminæ, which incline at a considerable angle to the north-east. This sand-stone may generally be called silicious. It is rarely argillaceous ; chiefly in this state over coal : it is then soft and very decomposable. Among the coal measures we occasionally meet thin beds of what may be called calcareous sand-stone.

"The country immediately to the south of Hunter's River is (as is well known) an extensive coal-field. The cliffs on the sea-shore present a most interesting section of the coal-field strata. There, in one day, more information may be obtained than in other places in many years. I traced the strata for nine miles, when they abruptly terminated by suddenly bending downwards, and sinking below the level of the sea. From this place a long sandy beach and low land extend to the entrance of Lake Macquarie (called alao Reid's mistake). The south head of Lake Macquarie rises into high cliffs, in which the coal strata again present themselves. Dr. Hutton would have given much for a single day's walk along this shore. Here we see at one glance the progress of some of the most interesting operations of nature—the work of many ages. It appears as if the crust of the earth had been broken, and a bold and regular section forced upwards, and presented to our examination. Between the coal beds we find strata of sand-stone, and beds of slate clay with vege-

unpromising in comparison with the eastern. That of New Holland is as sterile and uninviting as it is possible

table impressions;—sometimes (but more rarely) indurated clay-stone. Embedded in these strata there is found abundance of argillaceous iron ore. This is occasionally cellular and in layers, but for the most part it appears in the form of petrifactions of trees and branches irregularly dispersed. Near the southern termination of the coal-field (that is, where I have mentioned its sinking beneath the level of the sea,) two large beds gradually approach, and at length meet. They do not however incorporate, but run parallel; and at this place there is a mass of highly indurated pudding-stone, which reaches from the surface of the coal to the top of the cliff. The coal-cliff abruptly terminates at the entrance of Hunter's River, then forming what is called Coal-head. On the north side of the river a sandy beach and low land extend to the vicinity of Port Stephens.

"The coal is decidedly of vegetable origin: the fibre of the wood is often quite distinct.

"The vegetable impressions in the slate-clay under and over the coal are no less worthy of an attentive consideration. I have seen some of these subterranean plants in full flower, so that a skilful botanist might ascertain even their species. I think that I have been able distinctly to recognise the leaf of the lamia spiralis.

"I afterwards found by examining the ravines, that the sand-stone strata extended from the sea-coast to the river Nepean on the west. In many of these ravines I found indications of coal, viz. coal-field schistus, with vegetable impressions, argillaceous iron ore, the same calcareous stone formerly indicated, and even fragments of coal. Through that extent of country the sand-stone seems to spread like a level platform; and although the country rises in hills and ridges, these seem to consist of a mass of clay, the surface of which has been worn into inequalities by the action of water. Consequently the higher portions, which contain most of the original soil, are more fertile than the bottoms of the valleys, unless these have been covered by alluvial depositions. This clay is generally at the surface red, and impregnated with iron: in some places, however, it is white and saponaceous, appearing under the form of beautiful pipe-clay; and I have seen this white clay contain nodules of calcareous stones resembling stalactites, and evidently formed by aqueous deposition. At the depth of a few feet, it generally assumes

for land to be, with the exception perhaps of the vicinity of Swan River. Nothing is visible along the coast but one interminable range of low sand-hills and calcareous rocks: there are no mountains to relieve the eye, and to afford, by the decomposition of their luxuriant vegetation, a rich soil for the valleys: there are no rivers to conduct to the interior: scarcely even a spring of fresh water can be found to recompense the voyager for the trouble of landing. But the west coast of southern Africa, the west coast of South America, and the west coast of New Zealand, are, with few exceptions, equally barren.

In travelling to the westward on the parallel of Port Jackson granite is found in masses at the distance of a hundred miles from the coast, and the country consequently assumes a different and much more interesting appearance. I have already noticed the striking resemblance which the elevated plain of Bathurst exhibits in its general outline to that of a large lake or inland

the appearance of schistus, impregnated with sulphate of alumina and sulphate of iron.

"Beyond the Nepean River the sand-stone strata are forced upwards, and extend from north to south, forming the range of hills known in the colony by the name of the Blue Mountains. Towards the north, these mountains are sterile and rugged. Towards the south, however, the sand-stone is in many places covered or displaced by whin-stone, which sometimes assumes the form of common, at other times of porphyritic trap. In the latter state it shows itself throughout the verdant, well-watered, and very desirable pastoral district of Argyleshire. In this country, wherever the soil lies upon sand-stone, we find it consisting of the common Australian clay. Over the whin-stone, again, it invariably consists of light black mould. On advancing further to the south, both granite and primitive lime-stone are found."

sea. There are indications, however, still less equivocal, of its having at some former period been the place of the rolling of waters. There are various knolls or elevations along its eastern margin, consisting chiefly of innumerable pebbles of quartz, rounded apparently by the action of water in rapid currents or waves.

The high land to the south-westward of Sydney consists of ranges of lime-stone hills, perforated in all directions with extensive subterranean caverns, exactly similar, both in character and stalactitic adornment, to those that are uniformly found in regions of a similar formation both in Europe and America. The lime-stone formation occurs also to the north-westward of Sydney, at the head of William's River; and a series of the caves I have just mentioned has been recently discovered in the lime-stone cliffs that form the banks of the river Macquarie, at the settlement of Wellington Valley, about two hundred miles to the westward of Sydney. In one of these caves George Ranken, Esq. of Bathurst, discovered a quantity of fossil bones which he entrusted to my care for the Museum of the University of Edinburgh, on my embarking for England in the year 1830. I happened to be the first person in Sydney to whom Mr. R. showed the bones; and perceiving the great importance of the discovery, as it regarded the general interests of science, I endeavoured to direct the attention of the colony to the subject in an anonymous letter, which was published at the time in one of the colonial papers, and which was afterwards republished by Professor Jameson, in the New Edinburgh Philosophical Journal for 1831. The bones were forwarded by Professor Jameson to a

Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, in London, who afterwards transmitted the largest and the most remarkable in the collection, for further examination, to the late celebrated M. le Baron Cuvier of Paris, by whom it was ascertained to have been the thigh-bone of a young elephant. Professor Blumenbach's comet has thus been ascertained to be of equal antiquity, and in all likelihood of kindred origin, with the ancient continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, whose right to their present position on the earth's surface has never been disputed. The huge elephant has in some former age traversed the plains of Australia, for his bones are found occupying the same common receptacle with those of the singular didelphis family, whose lively representatives—the kangaroos and opossums of the present day—have long outlived the last of his race, and still occupy the ancient land of their joint inheritance. If the learned professor, however, would do the scientific world the favour to pay a visit in person

Ad penitus toto divisos ab orbe Britannos,

to the British colony inhabiting the stranded comet at the extremity of the globe—I doubt not but he would discover many an important fact, relative to the past history and the actual conformation of that interesting portion of the earth's surface, which the lesser lights of Australian science are insufficient to elicit.

The mineralogy of New South Wales is doubtless rich and various, though as yet in great measure unknown. Coal and iron, the most valuable of minerals, are met with in inexhaustible abundance, the latter

being not unfrequently found in the state of native iron in large detached masses on the surface of the ground. Lime-stone is still more abundant, and in some parts of the territory, as in Argyle, it passes into marble, of which beautiful specimens have already been cut and polished by a skilful artisan from London, now established in Sydney. In one part of its course Hunter's River flows for a considerable distance over rocks of jasper; and beautiful agates, opal, and chalcedony, besides innumerable petrifactions, are found on its banks. On several parts of the coast, as well as in the distant interior, there are evident traces of volcanic action; but Mount Wingen, in the upper part of the district of Hunter's River, is the only burning mountain within the present limits of the colony. There is no crater, however, on Mount Wingen; no unearthly explosions are heard in its neighbourhood; there is no perceptible ejection of lava from the overcharged stomach of the mountain. From innumerable cracks and fissures on its surface a sulphureous flame, scarcely visible in the day-time, but discernible at a considerable distance at night, issues with a steady but by no means powerful blaze, leaving it still problematical whether the phenomenon should be ascribed to volcanic action, or to the accidental ignition of some subterranean stratum of bitumen or coal.*

* The following is an account of two visits to Mount Wingen, in the years 1830 and 1831, by the Rev. C. P. N. Wilton, A.M., chaplain at Newcastle, Hunter's River:—

"Mount Wingen is situated on the south-eastern side of the dividing range which separates the lands of Hunter's River from Liverpool Plains, in latitude 31° 54′ S., longitude 150° 56′ E.; and the elevation of

There is a Colonial Museum in New South Wales; but it has hitherto been conducted without spirit, and

the portion of it under the process of combustion cannot be less than one thousand four hundred to one thousand five hundred feet from the level of the sea. At the period of my first visit, in the beginning of last year, this comprehended parts of two declivities of one and the same mountain, composed of compact sand-stone rock. The progress of the fire had previously been down the northern and highest elevation, and it was then ascending with great fury the opposite and southern eminence. From the circumstance of its being thus in a hollow between two ridges of the same mountain, a former visitor was probably induced to give the clefts in the mountain the appellation of a crater; but the fact is, the rock, as the subterraneous fire increases, is rent into several concave chasms of various widths, of which I had an opportunity of particularly examining the widest. The rock, a solid mass of sand-stone, was torn asunder about two feet in width, leaving its upper and southerly side exposed to view, the part so torn asunder having slipped down, as it were, and sunk into a hollow, thus forming the concave surface of the heated rock. On looking down this chasm, to the depth of about fifteen feet, the sides of the rock were perceived to be of a white heat, like that of a lime-kiln, while sulphureous and steamy vapours arose from the aperture, amidst sounds, which issued from a depth below, like blasts from the forge of Vulcan himself. I stood on that portion of the rock which had been cleft from the part above, and, on hurling stones down into the chasm, the noise they made in the fall seemed to die away in a vast abyss beneath my feet. The area of the mountain over which the fire was raging was about an acre and a half in extent. There were throughout it several chasms varying in width, from which are constantly emitted sulphureous columns of smoke, accompanied by brilliant flame, the margins of these being beautified with efflorescent crystals of sulphur, varying in colour from the deepest red-orange, occasioned by ferruginous mixture, to the palest straw colour, where alum predominated. A black, tarry, and lustrous substance—a sort of bitumen—abounded on the edges of these cliffs. Specimens of this were with difficulty obtained from the intense heat under foot, and the suffocating quality of the vapours emitted from the chasms. No lava or trachyte of any description was to be met with, nor was there any appearance of coal, although abounding in the vicinity. The mountain has evidently been on fire for a great length of time; several acres of the part now under combustion, on which trees are standing of a great age, having, as

managed without ability. Latterly, indeed, this has not been owing so much to the absolute want of ability

it were, been steamed, and many of the stones upon it bearing the marks of vitrification. The fire is still raging, and will probably continue to do so with increasing fury. Materials from beneath from time to time become ignited, whether by electricity or other unknown cause, and the expansive powers of the heat and steam shiver and split into huge masses the solid rock of sand-stone, and thus form continued chasms. The sulphureous and aluminous products of the mountain have been successfully applied in the cure of the scab in sheep.

"The fire, since the period of my former visit, had, I found, been by no means inactive, having extended over a surface exceeding two acres, and was now raging with increased fury up the eminence to the south and south-southwest, and also on the hitherto extinct portion of the mountain —the northern elevation. There were still most splendid crystals of sulphur on the margins of the most extended crevices, where the fire was burning with a white heat, and of ammonia on those of the less, from both of which suffocating fumes were incessantly evolving. The fire continued roaring beneath, and stones thrown down into the chasms resounded to a great depth in an interior abyss. The scene of disruption, the rocks of solid sand-stone cleft asunder, the innumerable fractures made on the surface, the falling in of the strata, the half-consumed, prostrate trunks of trees, and others only awaiting the slip of the rock beneath them to fall in their turn, the pernicious vapours rising around amidst the roaring of the internal fires, and the white and red heat of the burning crevices, present an appearance on which the beholder cannot fail to gaze with wonder, and at the same time to lament his inability to account with any degree of certainty for the first natural cause of the spectacle before him.

"At a little distance from the burning portions of Wingen, I picked up several amorphous specimens of carnelian, white, pinkish and blue; angular fragments of ribbon and fortification agates, and balls of agate, some of them filled with crystals varying from the size of a pea to that of a hen's egg, and others of a bluish white and clouded colour, having spots of white dispersed throughout them, which, if cut and polished, would present a very beautiful variety of this mineral. Mount Agate also, in the neighbourhood of Wingen, presented me with some fine specimens, as well of agate, (fortification and ribbon occurring in the same specimen,) as of fragments of white and bluish carnelian; and had not the grass on

for the management of such an institution in the colony, as to the utter incapacity of the men into

the mountain been so long and thick as it proved to be, I should doubtless have collected much finer.

"Several of the agates collected from Mount Wingen upon examination were found to have their surfaces crusted over with iron, some of those from Mount Agate with native copper, while others from the same locality presented a most beautiful auriferous appearance. On Mount Wingen we found, within but a few yards of that portion of it which is now under combustion, the cast of a bivalvular fossil shell in sand-stone, a species of *terebratula*. Other similar specimens have been met with in another part of the mountain. Only two specimens of organic remains of the nature of petrified bone have hitherto been discovered in the neighbourhood of Mount Agate; viz. the sacrum of some large animal on the Holdsworthy Downs, and the second cervical vertebra of another, about ten miles west from Merton; but in neither instance was the petrifaction embedded in the subjacent strata, but merely lying on the surface of the soil; and therefore most probably contemporary with the petrified wood, which is found scattered very abundantly over this tract of country. Near the chain of the Kingdon Ponds forming one of the sources of the Hunter, and rising in the dividing range a few miles N. by W. from Mount Wingen, are stumps of trees standing upright in the ground, apparently petrified on the spot where they formerly grew. In some places the wood is strongly impregnated with iron. About three miles along the coast south of Newcastle in an upright position, at high water mark under the cliff, and beneath a bed of coal, was also lately found the butt of a petrified tree, which, on being broken, presented a fine black appearance, as passing into the state of jet; and on the top of the cliff at Newcastle on which the telegraph stands, embedded at about a foot beneath the surface, lying in a horizontal position and nearly at right angles to the strata of the cliff, the trunk of another finely grained and white—both specimens being traversed by thin veins of chalcedony. The coal which is exposed to view on the face of the cliffs is of the independent formation, and appears to run generally in three parallel horizontal beds; but in some places with a varying dip. It alternates in one part of the cliff with slaty clay, sand-stone, and shale, with impressions of leaves: at another with mill-stone grit, and a hard chertzy rock. Nodules of clay iron-stone, and trunks and stems of arundinaceous plants in iron-stone, are seen in abundance in the alter-

whose hands the interests of education, and of course the interests of science in New South Wales, have hitherto been in great measure entrusted by act of parliament. A colonial museum properly managed would doubtless be of great importance to the colony in developing its latent resources, as well as to the interests of science generally throughout the civilized world; and it cannot be doubted that if New South Wales had been a French or German, and not a British, colony, this interesting department of the public service would not have presented so paltry and so pitiful an aspect, as it now exhibits in the forty-fifth year of our colonial existence. But the interests of science, or rather the funds that should go to support and to advance those interests, are not entrusted in Germany, or in France, to privileged and chartered inefficiency. The only animals whose natural history it is deemed of consequence to investigate in New South Wales, are the sheep and the bull, the former of which has a fleece, and the latter a hide and a carcass that are saleable in the market; and of all the branches of study which the world of nature may be supposed to present to the scientific inquirer in the Australian colonies, the only one that has hitherto engrossed the pursuit of all classes is, *how to make the most of it.*

nating strata of the cliff; and in one place a narrow bed of iron-stone bearing impressions of leaves is remarkable; while thin laminæ of the same mineral, the surface of which is traversed by square and variously shaped sections, are seen on several parts of the shore, both in the face of the cliff parallel with the beds of coal, and extending into the sea, forming the strand at low water."*

* Abridged from the Australian Almanack.

The great extent of coast-line towards the Pacific Ocean, and the various elevation of different parts of the interior, insure a considerable variety of climate in different parts of the colony. I have already noticed the superior salubrity of the climate of Bathurst and Argyle. In both of these districts, snow—which is never seen in the lowlands of the colony—is frequent in winter, though it seldom lies long on the ground, and the cold during the night is often intensely severe.

For eight months during the year, viz. from the 1st of March to the 1st of November, the climate of New South Wales—which, throughout the whole year, indeed, is at least equal, if not superior, to that of any other country on the face of the globe—is peculiarly delightful. The sky is seldom clouded; and day after day, for whole weeks together, the sun looks down in unveiled beauty from the northern heavens. In ordinary seasons refreshing showers are not unfrequent; but although there are no periodical rains in the colony, as in the torrid zone, it sometimes rains as heavily as it does within the tropics. It seldom freezes in Sydney, and never snows; but fires are requisite during the day in the winter months, and for a considerable time longer in the mornings and evenings.

The Australian summer extends from the 1st of November to the 1st of March. During this period the heat is considerable, but very rarely oppressive, the thermometer seldom rising higher than 75° of Fahrenheit. There is generally a sea-breeze during the day in the summer months, commencing about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and dying away about four in

the afternoon. This breeze, which usually blows pretty fresh, and the immediate vicinity of the ocean, have so powerful an influence on the temperature of the coast, that it is generally ten degrees hotter at Parramatta during the summer months, and ten degrees colder in winter, than it is in Sydney. But although it is occasionally hotter in summer than the average temperature I have just mentioned, the mornings and evenings are uniformly delightfully cool.

The most singular phenomenon in the meteorology of New South Wales is the occasional prevalence of hot winds from the north-westward. These winds occur on an average about four times every summer, and blow from twenty-four to thirty-six hours each time, the atmosphere all the while feeling like a current of heated air from a furnace, and the thermometer generally standing at from 90° to 100° of Fahrenheit. It has even stood as high on one occasion within my own experience as 112½°. The day I allude to was a Sunday, in the month of February, 1824. I had to perform divine service twice during the hottest part of the day, but I confess I experienced very little inconvenience from the heat—less indeed than I have felt in a crowded church in Scotland. This is to be ascribed entirely to the extreme dryness of the atmosphere in New South Wales; for in a dry atmosphere one is able to bear a much greater degree, either of heat or of cold, than when the atmosphere is charged with moisture. In the humid atmosphere of England such a degree of heat as I have just mentioned would be extremely oppressive, if not quite intolerable.

The phenomenon of the hot winds of New South Wales is utterly inexplicable in the present state of our knowledge of the interior of the continent of Australia, and to hazard hypotheses on the subject is just the way to prevent our speedy attainment of the knowledge desired. Some suppose they are occasioned by extensive conflagrations in the north-western interior; others ascribe them to the supposed existence of an extensive tract of desert country in that direction. It is evident, however, that two or three expeditions for discovery in the interior, which could be fitted out by the colonial government at a comparatively small cost, and which would doubtless lead to important results in other respects, would in all likelihood set the question completely at rest, either by affording the real explanation of so singular a phenomenon, or by ascertaining that it is altogether inexplicable. At the same time, it is worthy of remark that the hot winds are scarcely, if at all, experienced at Port Macquarie, a settlement on the coast considerably to the northward of Sydney.

When the hot wind has spent its strength, it is usually succeeded instantaneously by a violent gust from the southward, which immediately envelopes the town of Sydney in a whirlwind of dust, and sometimes proves fatal to inexperienced boating-parties in the harbour. I have observed the hot wind terminate instantaneously in a hail-storm of a few minutes' duration from the south-westward, which, of course, caused the mercury in the thermometer to descend with surprising velocity, the difference of elevation, after a short

interval, being on one occasion, when the wind had been unusually hot, not less than 40°.

The salubrity of the climate of New South Wales is indicated by the general health of the colonists, the diseases which actually occur being, in at least three cases out of every four, the result of excess and dissipation, rather than of those *natural ills that flesh is heir to* in every country under the sun. Excess in the use of animal and other stimulating food is a frequent source of disease in the colony; it is the *semita lethi*—the by-path pursued unwittingly by many an individual, who slowly and unconsciously undermines his own constitution, and at length lays himself completely open to the fatal attacks of acute disease, under which he disappears as suddenly from the face of society as a falling star in the twilight. But excess in the use of ardent spirits is the grand source of disease in New South Wales; it is the broad *Appian Way*, pursued by thousands, to the grave.

The three forms of disease that are most frequent in the colony are *ophthalmia*, *dysentery*, and *influenza* or *catarrh*. By ophthalmia, however, I do not mean the Egyptian ophthalmia, but affections of the eyes in general. These arise from hot winds, from the reflection of the glare of sun-light from whitish surfaces, from working in the sun without a covering for the head; but in most cases from the use of ardent spirits. From the last mentioned of these causes, entire blindness sometimes, though rarely ensues, among the convict-population. Dysentery is also confined chiefly, though by no means exclusively, to the lower classes of

the colonial population; and mercury, in doses that a medical practitioner in Great Britain would be afraid to administer, is the grand specific whenever it occurs. It is occasioned sometimes by drinking water containing a solution of alum; at others, by drinking cold water in hot weather, when the body is in a state of perspiration: it arises occasionally from the use of salt provisions, or from injudicious exposure to the sun in summer; but I have reason to believe that the most frequent source of this disease is dissipation. Catarrh or influenza is sometimes almost epidemic in the colony. It seldom proves fatal to persons in the prime of life, but old people and children are apt to sink under it. There have been three attacks of this epidemic experienced in New South Wales during the last ten years, the first having occurred in the year 1827; and it has been remarked that it is usually preceded by a long continuance of westerly winds. Whether these winds may bring along with them any miasmata from the marshes of the distant interior, or whether the arid state of the atmosphere, which generally attends them, may induce inflammation of the glands of the throat, and the other kindred accompaniments of violent colds in England, I shall not presume to determine. I am inclined to believe, however, that the exhalations of marshes in New South Wales are in most cases innoxious, and are incapable of being conveyed to a distance. There are localities in the territory which are found perfectly salubrious, but which, I am sure, would in North America, or indeed in most other climates, be infamous for their fevers and agues. I have recently,

indeed, heard of two instances of fever and ague in the colony among the convict-labourers, on a farm almost completely surrounded with lagoons in the lower part of Hunter's River. Such rare exceptions, however, tend rather to confirm the general rule. Cases of consumption have occasionally occurred and terminated fatally among the native youth of the colony, but they are by no means frequent; and Europeans who have brought the genuine *phthisis pulmonalis* along with them to the country, sink at last under the fatal influence of its deadly virus, although, humanly speaking, they may be said to add three or four years to their lives by going to New South Wales. I have known of a few cases of gout in the colony, but they have uniformly exhibited the same filial relation to brandy and port wine, which distinguishes that disease in the mother country; but cases of inflammation, arising doubtless in great measure from the use of stimulants either directly or indirectly, are by no means rare. I have also had frequent occasion to observe that diseases in New South Wales are more frequently attended with a speedy and entire prostration of the intellectual powers than in England, and the diseases that do attack the human frame in the colony are generally more acute and arrive more speedily at their crisis.

The horrible disease called *delirium tremens*, or the trembling madness, is of frequent occurrence, and sometimes terminates fatally. It is uniformly the effect of excessive dissipation, aggravated probably by the heat of the climate in summer, and by the deleterious substances—such I believe as sulphuric or muriatic acid—

with which the publicans of the colony are known to adulterate their ardent spirits. The patient under this disease is distracted with imaginary terrors; he fancies himself haunted by apparitions; the whole frame quakes convulsively under the influence of a diseased imagination; and the nervous system is so unnaturally excited, that the bodily functions are intermitted or deranged, and death frequently ensues. The exorcising of devils is a branch of clerical duty, which in Protestant countries has generally fallen into disuse, and is supposed to be practised only by the Roman Catholic priesthood in the wilder parts of Ireland or Spain. I have twice, however, been applied to for that purpose, by patients labouring under this frightful disease in the colony. One of the cases was that of an unfortunate countryman of my own, a free emigrant from the Highlands of Scotland. In what form the devil used to appear to him, I do not exactly recollect, but it seems he had been incessantly at his window for a whole fortnight before he informed me of his calamitous situation. It was about the middle of January at the time; and as I was previously unacquainted with the man's character and history, and therefore deemed it expedient to proceed with caution, I observed that Christmas, which had occurred very recently, was a season at which many people in the colony were apt to exceed the bounds of moderation; that it was possible he might have erred himself after so evil an example; and that if he had, I was not surprised at the visitation he had experienced, for the devil seemed to have great power in all cases of that kind in New South Wales—much more indeed than appeared to be

allowed him in the Highlands of Scotland. The Celt acknowledged in reply that he had not suffered either Christmas or New Year's day to pass without due commemoration; and even admitted—with the scrupulous caution, however, peculiar to the Celtic portion of my countrymen, in all cases in which their own characters or interests are concerned—that *he might have taken more* on both occasions than was likely to do him good: but he could not see why that should entitle the devil to mark him out as the special object of his annoyance, by presenting himself incessantly at his window, and *tempting him with more brandy and other such temptations.* He promised, however, to follow my advice for the future, and to try what effect sobriety would have in keeping the Tempter at a more respectful distance.

There was something peculiar in the Highlander's history, and I was sorry to find that he had been unfairly dealt with by certain parties in the colony, from whom he had been entitled to expect very different treatment. I accordingly wrote a memorial on his behalf to His Excellency General Darling, through which he was fortunate enough to obtain a grant of five hundred acres of land. Finding, besides, that he was a man of no decision of character, and that he was consequently liable to be led astray in Sydney, I found ways and means of getting him packed off to his land, which was situated at a considerable distance in the interior, and on which he promised to settle. But on returning to the colony after my second voyage to England, in the year 1831, I was sorry to find that he had sold one half of the land to a publican in Sydney, and that he was both frequent and

protracted in his visits to the publican's on the strength of the remaining moiety. On one of these occasions, he had been drinking in the *Tap* over-night, and had fallen asleep with his head leaning on his hands at the table, in which condition he was left by the publican's family on going to bed. On opening their house at an early hour on the following morning, he was still apparently asleep at the table; but, on trying to awake him, they found he was dead!

Either the Royal College of Physicians, or one of the other medical boards of London, transmitted a series of questions a few years ago to certain medical gentlemen in the colony, to ascertain the average duration of human life in New South Wales. It is scarcely possible, however, to arrive at accurate conclusions on such a subject for many years to come. There cannot be any native of the colony (the phrase uniformly designates a native of European descent) at this moment more than forty-five years of age; and in regard to those who have arrived as adults, whether free emigrants or convicts, there have hitherto been so many disturbing circumstances, arising chiefly from the character of the population, to counteract the natural salubrity of the climate, that the present colonial bills of mortality would undoubtedly lead the man of figures and calculations to most fallacious conclusions. For my own part, I am inclined to believe that the probabilities of life, for any number of children born in the colony, are higher than for a similar number born in England, but that fewer of that number are likely to reach extreme old age in the colony than in Great Bri-

tain. In short, the lamp of life in the salubrious climate of New South Wales is like a taper immersed in a vessel filled with oxygen gas; it burns more brightly than in common air, but is sooner extinguished.

About three or four years ago I was one day in the Scotch burying-ground in Sydney, when Hugh Smith, the old grave-digger of the general burying-ground, was exercising his vocation. He was a Presbyterian, from the north of Ireland. He had been *legged*—a cant word signifying *apprehended, convicted,* and *transported*—for a *three-pound robbery;* of which, however, he solemnly disclaimed any knowledge. I asked him his age, which he told me was ninety-six. His father, he added, had died at the age of eighty-eight; his grandfather at that of a hundred and eleven; and his great-grandfather at that of a hundred and fourteen. I was not inclined to attach much importance to his protestation of innocence, although in the mouth of so old a man, who in all likelihood had been upwards of sixty years of age when he was transported, and was now too near the grave to gain any thing by a falsehood, it seemed to carry more weight than the asseveration of the young but accomplished villain, newly vomited forth from one of the large jails of England; but I had no reason to suspect his veracity in regard to the longevity of his forefathers. Persons of temperate habits, who have passed the meridian of life before their arrival in New South Wales, are likely to live longer in the colony than they would have done in England. Individual cases are doubtless no rule to judge by; but I may be permitted to mention the singular case of an old man of

the name of Wright, who had been many years in the colony, and who died lately in the Benevolent Asylum in Sydney, at a hundred and five years of age. The only coherent words he uttered, for two or three years before his death, were such as he had doubtless been accustomed to use when a whole century younger, for he was frequently heard calling for—his mother!

Howison observes, in his "Sketches of Upper Canada," that there is no inducement for persons of capital to emigrate to that colony; the only mode in which capital can be advantageously invested in Upper Canada being in the purchase of extensive tracts of waste land, to be sold in small portions in five or six years afterwards, when the gradual influx of free emigrants shall have rendered it valuable; the capital so invested being allowed to remain dormant in the mean time. New South Wales, however, presents at this moment a highly eligible field for the employment of capital, and for its profitable investment to almost any amount. Independently of mercantile and agricultural speculation, which of course may be supposed to involve uncertainty, the mere lending of money, either on property or on bills, would afford a highly profitable return to an able and judicious capitalist, and be attended with comparatively no risk whatever; while great benefit would accrue to the colony from the distribution of capital in small amounts affording individuals the means of turning their real property and available resources to good account. There are many proprietors of allotments of ground in the town of Sydney, who would erect buildings on these allotments, which would both bring a

high rental to the proprietors, and afford a perfectly sufficient security for the sum required for their erection, provided they could obtain such a sum at a reasonable rate of interest by way of mortgage. There are also many reputable settlers throughout the colony, who could also materially improve their property and add greatly to their annual income, by the judicious outlay of small sums obtained in a similar way on the security of their land. In short, the modes in which capital can be profitably invested by reputable and industrious persons in the colony are so various, and the value of property is increasing at so steady a rate in certain parts of the territory, that a very large amount of capital could be lent out at a highly profitable rate of interest, and on the best security; while the benefits arising from the judicious distribution of that capital would be experienced chiefly by the best portion of the colonial population. I am acquainted with a reputable and highly industrious family of free emigrants, who settled some time ago on a large grant of excellent land in the interior of the colony, but who had arrived in the territory very poor. I am sufficiently acquainted with the colony, and with the circumstances of the family I allude to, to know that the loan of as much money as would amount only to two-thirds of the real value of their land, would have enabled them to increase their annual income to four times its actual amount; but from their inability to procure such a loan, except on absolutely ruinous terms, in the present circumstances of the colony, they will doubtless be obliged to struggle on for

years with difficulties which they could otherwise very speedily surmount.

There are two banking establishments in the colony —the Bank of New South Wales and the Bank of Australia. These establishments are each managed by a Court of Directors, elected annually by the shareholders, who discount bills for three months at ten per cent. The dividend on the actual capital invested is sufficiently high to render bank shares a very desirable sort of property for the capitalist, and they accordingly bear a high premium. Neither of the colonial banks allows any interest on deposits. There is a Savings' Bank, however, in Sydney, recently established by an act of the Legislative Council, passed during the administration of the present Governor, which allows interest on deposits under £100 at five per cent, together with a share of the clear profits of the establishment; the money lodged in the Bank being lent out from time to time at ten per cent interest on good bills at six months, or on mortgage on good security either in the town of Sydney or in the interior. There is also a Marine Insurance Company in Sydney, which occasionally discounts bills at six months at the same per-centage; but there is much business of this kind done by private individuals at twelve and a half, fifteen, seventeen, and even twenty per cent. In short, there is a wide opening for an additional banking establishment in the colony, or for individual capitalists to form private establishments on their own account; and if such establishments were conducted on liberal principles, and were under

the management of men of experience and ability, they could not fail to be equally beneficial to the colony and to the private speculators.

There are many respectable families in the mother country, possessing property to the amount of £2000 to £5000, but having no means of providing for the settlement of their children, and having nothing else to depend on for the future than the small income now derivable in Great Britain from property of that amount. To such families, New South Wales presents a most eligible prospect for effecting a comfortable settlement. With a comparatively small portion of their capital they could purchase a farm of moderate extent partially improved, (probably for little more than the value of the improvements effected upon it,) in one of the settled districts of the colony, where, in all likelihood, they would find respectable and agreeable society in their immediate neighbourhood, and be surrounded with the comforts of civilization. A farm or small estate of the kind I have just mentioned—similar for instance to Captain Waldron's at Illawarra—would furnish a respectable family with all the necessaries and with many of the comforts of life. If they chose to embark largely in sheep-farming or in grazing speculations, they could either purchase or rent a tract of land from the Government in the distant interior, where their sheep and cattle could range in safety under the charge of a hired overseer, at the distance of two or even three hundred miles. But if they chose rather to lend out the remainder of their capital at interest, they could obtain at least ten per

cent with the utmost facility, on security as good as any in England.

In the year 1826, Mr. Dangar, late Surveyor for the Australian Agricultural Company, published a large map of Hunter's River, accompanied with a list and description of the agricultural settlements in the district, and directions to intending emigrants. Supposing a family arriving in the colony at that period with a capital of £1000, Mr. Dangar advises that that capital should be expended in the following manner: viz.

In the purchase of

200 improved ewes in lamb, at £2 each	£400 0 0
20 good cows at £8 each . . .	160 0 0
1 bull	15 0 0
1 team of four oxen with harness .	50 0 0
1 brood-mare	50 0 0
1 riding-horse	40 0 0
a cart and other implements . . .	50 0 0
clearing ten acres of land and putting it into wheat and potatoes	50 0 0
	£815 0 0

leaving £100 for the building of a frame cottage, and £85 for incidental expenses. This estimate, in regard to the prices of agricultural stock, is still lower than that given in a work entitled, "Two Years in New South Wales," by Patrick Cunningham, Esq., Surgeon, R. N. That work, however, was evidently written when the sheep and cattle mania was at the highest—a circumstance which of course detracts considerably from its

value as an account of the colony.* In the present circumstances of the colony, however, as much agricultural stock may be purchased, and as much land brought into cultivation for the following amount, viz.

200	ewes of improved breed at 15*s.* each †	£150 0 0
20	cows at £1 10*s.* each . . .	30 0 0
1	bull	5 0 0
1	brood-mare	20 0 0
1	riding-horse	15 0 0
1	team of oxen with harness . .	25 0 0
	agricultural implements (price much reduced too, say however)	50 0 0
	clearing and cropping ten acres of land .	50 0 0
		£345 0 0

The reader will recollect, however, that whereas the colonial government was empowered to grant land to respectable settlers at a moderate quit-rent in the year 1826, Crown-land is now obtainable only by purchase at a public auction, and at not less than five shillings per acre; the land so purchased, however, being free of quit-rent. Supposing, therefore, that a family were

* Mr. Cunningham does not advise any family to emigrate to New South Wales unless possessed of capital to the amount of £1200. I have known many respectable families effect a comfortable settlement in the colony with much less. Mr. C.'s scale of prices are, for two years' old heifers £8 to £10 each; milch cows twelve to fifteen guineas each; young bullocks of two or three years' old £7 to £8; old broken-in bullocks ten to thirteen guineas; horses £40 each.

† It is not improbable that the present high price of wool in the English market may have raised the price of sheep in the colony since the 1st of July last—perhaps to £1 each.

now arriving in the colony with a capital of £1000, they could afford to purchase a sufficient extent of land from the government—say one thousand acres at 5*s.* per acre, £250,—and still be in equally favourable circumstances with the family emigrating in 1826. I would advise such a family, on their arrival in the colony, to fix themselves as economically as they can for a short period, either in Sydney or in the country; and as soon as they have ascertained the value of property, and the comparative advantage of particular localities, to purchase, at one or other of the sales of landed property which are perpetually recurring in the colony, a partially improved farm of moderate extent in one of the settled districts of the territory. This may often be done, as I have already shown, by persons who are able to avail themselves of eligible opportunities, for a comparatively small sum; for the people who fall into debts and difficulties in the colony, through indolence, mismanagement, extravagance, or excessive speculation, are generally obliged to sell their property at last, for whatever it may happen to bring, at a public auction in the Sydney market-place.

I am aware that the very cheapness of agricultural stock, as well as of all sorts of provisions in New South Wales, may deter respectable families of small capital, of the class of agriculturists, from emigrating to that colony, under the idea of its not affording a fair prospect of an adequate return for their labour and capital. It should be recollected, however, that the price of wool—the chief article of produce and the chief article of export in New South Wales—has rather risen than fallen during the last seven years, while the price of sheep is

at present little more than one-third of what it was in 1826. Consequently, if the profits expected from the rearing of sheep and the growth of wool could be held forth as an adequate inducement to emigration at that period, much more may they now.* The twenty cows

* The following estimate of the profits derivable from the investment of capital in sheep-farming in New South Wales, is founded chiefly on calculations appended to Captain Sturt's account of his "Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia." I have retained Captain Sturt's numbers as far as relates to the progressive state of the flocks and their rate of increase, but made such alterations in regard to prices as are justified by the present state of the colony.

No. 1.—Estimate of Increase.

	Ewes.
Suppose two flocks of ewes of improved breed purchased in the colony, comprising	670
Increase of lambs at the usual rate of increase, exclusive of deaths	595
Total number at the end of the first year	1265
Increase of lambs, exclusive of deaths, during the second year	610
Rams purchased	18
Total number at the end of the second year	1893
Increase of lambs during the third year	875
Rams purchased	12
Total number at the end of the third year	2780
Increase of lambs during the fourth year	1143
Rams purchased	18
Total number at the end of the fourth year	3941
Increase of lambs during the fifth year, exclusive of deaths and lambs slaughtered	1515
Rams purchased	10
Total number of all ages at the end of the fifth year	5464

which an emigrant would now purchase, agreeably to Mr. Dangar's directions, could not indeed be expected

---

No. 2.—Estimate of Expenditure.

	£.	s.	d.
Original cost of 670 ewes at £1 a head*	670	0	0
Expense of management during the first year	80	0	0
Total expenditure during the first year	750	0	0
Expense of management during the second year	115	0	0
Cost of rams purchased	90	0	0
Total expenditure during the second year	205	0	0
Expense of management during the third year	180	0	0
Cost of rams purchased	60	0	0
Total expenditure during the third year	240	0	0
Expense of management during the fourth year	240	0	0
Cost of rams purchased	90	0	0
Total expenditure during the fourth year	330	0	0
Expense of management during the fifth year	290	0	0
Cost of rams purchased	50	0	0
Total expenditure during the fifth year	340	0	0

No. 3.—Estimate of Income.

1st year. 1265 fleeces of 2¼lbs. each, sold at 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.†	213	9	0
Deduct cost of management, &c.	80	0	0
Income at the end of the first year	133	9	0

* A respectable sheep-farmer in the south-western interior told me, on the 2nd or 3rd of July last, that he had just sold a flock of sheep at sixteen shillings a head. They will probably be somewhat dearer now.

† The average price of the wool imported into Great Britain from New South Wales during the year 1833, was from 1*s.* 11*d.* to 2*s.* 9*d.* per lb. Mr. Macarthur's wool, I have already remarked, averaged 3*s.* 6*d.* per lb.

to yield him the same return as the same number would have yielded seven years ago; for dairy produce has fallen as well as almost every thing else in the colony; but then it should be borne in mind that there has only been one-fourth or one-fifth of the capital invested in their purchase. It is more profitable to sell a pound of butter for a shilling, if the cow that produces it has cost only thirty shillings, than to sell it for half-a-crown,

	£.	s.	d.
2nd year. 1893 fleeces, do. do.	319	8	6
Deduct cost of management and amount of purchases	205	0	0
Income at the end of the second year	114	8	6
3rd year. 2780 fleeces, do. do.	469	2	6
Deduct cost of management and purchases	240	0	6
Income at the end of the third year	229	2	0
4th year. 3941 fleeces, do. do.	665	0	0
Deduct cost of management and purchases	330	0	0
Income at the end of the fourth year	335	0	0
5th year. 5464 fleeces, do. do.	922	0	0
Deduct cost of management and purchases	340	0	0
Income at the end of the fifth year	582	0	0

No. 4.—Estimate of Value of Flock at the end of the Fifth Year.

1614	Ewes from one to four years old at £1 each	1614	0	0
622	Do. from four to seven years old at 12*s.* 6*d.* each	388	15	0
780	Female lambs at 15*s.* each	585	0	0
2405	Wethers and Male Lambs at 10*s.* each	1202	10	0
45	Rams at £3 each	135	0	0
	Total value	3925	5	0

if the cow has cost £10.—the price for which cattle were frequently purchased in 1826; for in the former instance the price of the article of produce amounts to a thirtieth part of the whole price of the producing animal, whereas in the latter it is only an eightieth. There must, doubtless, be a greater quantity of labour expended in obtaining a certain money-return for capital invested in the former case, than for the same amount of capital invested in the latter; for a greater number of cows must be kept, and a greater number of persons employed to manage them. But, in the case of New South Wales, the additional expense incurred in that way is more than compensated in another, by the present cheapness of provisions and of agricultural implements, &c. compared with their price in 1826.

Besides, it is evidently the interest of every new country that provisions should be both cheap and abundant, inasmuch as such a state of things not only operates as a premium on emigration from without, but affords a strong stimulus to the principle of population, in the encouragement it holds out to marriage, within the country. I cannot, indeed, suppose that the prosperity of any country, or of the majority of the inhabitants of any country, should ever have been made by Divine Providence to depend on the dearth of the articles of subsistence. The price of these articles, I have already noticed, has fallen sufficiently low in New South Wales to induce the merchants of the colony to devise ways and means for their regular exportation to other parts of the world; and although the older colonists are frequently heard expressing their dissatisfaction at being no longer able to obtain ten shillings a

bushel for their wheat, as they usually did in Governor Macquarie's time—forgetting that they can now obtain every thing they used to purchase with the price of their wheat at one half, and in many cases at one-third, of its former cost—I cannot help regarding the circumstance as a much more favourable indication of the state of the colony, than the importation of wheat and rice from Batavia and Calcutta, which took place, not unfrequently, in the good old times of Governor Macquarie. In short, New South Wales affords at this moment the fairest prospect for prudent and industrious families of small capital, whom the present circumstances of the mother country may induce to emigrate. And let it be remembered, by all who may have it in their power to encourage and to promote the emigration of such families to the colonies, that every such family that settles in New South Wales contributes eventually to the prosperity of Great Britain, through the more extensive market which it opens up for British manufactures, and the direct support it affords to British commerce, not less certainly, and in all likelihood to a much greater extent, than if it had never left the British shore.

Suppose the case of a respectable family living in England on £200 a year, the interest of their whole capital of £5000. They will doubtless consider themselves fortunate in having been able to invest that capital on good security at four per cent interest: but they would much rather have invested it in a good business of any kind; for the head of the family is perhaps a man of some energy of mind, who is still in the prime

of life, and has a numerous offspring to provide for. Deterred, however, from engaging in any kind of business by the fear of losing their whole property in the present competition for the profitable investment of capital, they retire to the west of England, or to some other part of the country, where they can rear and educate their children as economically as possible. In such a situation, it is evident that the *custom* even of a very respectable family is no great matter either to the Birmingham or the Leeds manufacturer; for they necessarily contrive to do with as little as they can, and to make every thing last as long as it will. For the same reason, the shipowner is very little in their debt for all he gets by *carrying* home from beyond seas all the tea and sugar, or other foreign commodities they make use of. In short, the capital of the family is comparatively dead to the nation, and so are the energies of the capitalist; for, instead of occupying the important and influential place in society, which his own abilities and education, combined with his pecuniary means, would *in other circumstances* have enabled him to hold, his time is drivelled away either in shooting on my Lord Somebody's grounds, or in poring over the newspapers at the nearest reading-room, or in speculating on the propriety of making his son John a lawyer, and his son James a medical man, and his son Thomas a clergyman. When the boys are educated,—which, in the present circumstances of the mother country, is not easily accomplished out of an income of two hundred a year,—the capitalist, the Englishman, forsooth, the man who, if he felt his own weight, or

knew his own place in the world, would scorn the employment, spends his pocket-money in coach-hire, and his time in the antechambers of the great, actually *begging* for situations for his sons! Let the reader *look* attentively *at this picture*, and then *say if it is not like*, as a representation of the actual condition of a thousand respectable families in England!

Let him now look at the very same family emigrating to such a colony as New South Wales. Twelve hundred pounds will land the whole family in the colony, and purchase a partially improved estate with a good house on it, in a settled part of the country, and within a moderate distance of Sydney; on which, without any further outlay of capital, they may obtain all the necessaries and many even of the luxuries of life, and which will afford, moreover, suitable and sufficient employment for the most active mind! Two thousand pounds of their capital invested, at 10 per cent interest, will afford them a yearly return equal to their whole income in England, while the remainder, if invested judiciously in cattle or in sheep-farming, will in all likelihood yield them from 20 to 30 per cent interest. The circumstances of the emigrants will, therefore, be materially changed for the better, and they will accordingly live in a style somewhat conformable to their larger income. But others will be benefitted by this change, as well as the emigrants themselves; for they will no longer be content with the limited supply of Birmingham and Leeds manufactures that they found sufficient in the west of England, and they will consequently be much better customers than they were

before to the Birmingham and the Leeds manufacturers; whose workmen will of course be better employed, better clothed, better lodged, and better fed, than they were previously to their emigration. They could scarce afford to keep a riding-horse in England; they can now keep a carriage, and of course give employment to the various classes of persons that are engaged in the manufacture of saddlery and of coach-furniture in the mother country. They now buy tea by the chest, and sugar by the ton, for their large farm-establishment; and the classes of merchants, shipowners, and mariners are on that account, as well as in consequence of their greatly increased consumption of British goods, benefitted by their emigration to a much greater amount than they would have been by their remaining at home. Nor is that benefit merely indirect: for a family of moderate capital, commencing sheep-farming in the colony, will not have been long resident in New South Wales, before they will be in the way of receiving visits of business from the shipmasters that frequent the port of Sydney, offering to carry home their wool or other colonial produce to London.

As a member of society, the capitalist of two hundred pounds per annum, living in retirement in England, is of comparatively little weight in the scale. In New South Wales he becomes an important, and, if he chooses, a highly influential, personage. He is able, in some measure, to give the tone to society in his own neighbourhood. To those who are returning, though irresolutely, from the paths of vice, his encouragement gives firmness and resolution, while his virtuous ex-

ample drives immorality into the shade. If he has the inclination, he has ample means of pursuing plans of benevolence and philanthropy. If he has the spirit, he can even erect an altar in his own vicinity, and cause many to follow him to the sanctuary of God. His advice is asked and taken in matters of government and legislation, and his name is, perhaps, honourably enrolled in the annals of an empire.

As a father, the means of education for his children are within his reach in the colony, and the walks of mercantile and professional exertion are still open to his sons. But he is relieved from all anxiety as to their obtaining a comfortable subsistence in the world; and if his son Thomas should actually turn out to be unfit for any thing but "reading out of a book," (to use the sarcastic language of the late Jeremy Bentham, when estimating the qualifications required for the clerical office in England,) he is under no temptation to incur the guilt of thrusting an unfit person into the holy office of the ministry, for he can give him a few hundred head of cattle and a few flocks of sheep, and the lad will have an independence for life.

Now can any person deny that the man of moderate capital, who thus lives in the colonies, does not live much more usefully to the British nation, as well as to himself, to his family, and to society, than the man who merely vegetates in England on two hundred a year?

Were a family of moderate capital emigrating to New South Wales, to purchase a partially improved farm, like the one to which I have already repeatedly

referred, either at Hunter's River, at Bathurst, or at Argyle, they would scarce experience any of the inconveniences to which emigrants of all classes are uniformly exposed on settling in the wilderness. Besides finding in their immediate neighbourhood respectable and well-educated society, they would be much nearer a market for their produce, and would find the expense of carriage to and from the colonial capital comparatively inconsiderable. If they had children requiring instruction, they would find it much less difficult to get them well-educated than in the distant interior, while they would be much nearer the House of God and the humanizing influences of the ordinances of religion.

Steam-navigation will in all likelihood be extended very shortly to the settlement of Port Macquarie to the northward, and to the whole line of coast to the southward, from Port Jackson to Bass' Straits. There will thus be a vast extent of eligible water-communication available for reputable and industrious families, of still more moderate means, proposing to devote their attention principally to the pursuits of agriculture. The value of that species of communication, even in a moral point of view, is by no means inconsiderable in a colony like New South Wales. For if there were an agricultural settlement formed at Twofold Bay, near Bass' Straits, as I have no doubt there will be very shortly, the grain and other produce of that settlement would be conveyed to Sydney—a distance of nearly three hundred miles—at a comparatively small expense, and without putting it in the power of a single convict-servant to get himself intoxicated by the way.

It is quite unnecessary for a family of free emigrants to carry out any thing from the mother country in the shape of furniture or agricultural implements. Such articles can be procured at as cheap a rate in the colony as in England; and to carry out any thing in the shape of merchandise would be folly in the extreme. Even clothing of all descriptions can now be purchased at a moderate price in New South Wales. Neither is it necessary for intending emigrants to purchase books of agriculture to teach them the processes of farming, if previously unacquainted with them; for such books would in all likelihood do them more harm than good, as they would most probably be unsuitable to the climate, and would only fill their heads with crotchets, which might perhaps prove very expensive in the end. The best way in which an intending emigrant of small capital can employ the intervening time, between the adoption of his resolution and his actual embarkation, and the best preparation which he can make for settling in New South Wales, is to learn to handle the axe, the saw, the chisel, and the plane, by taking lessons for a few months from a country carpenter. For although he may not find it absolutely necessary to employ himself in that way in the colony, he will find such accomplishments of the greatest utility, even in the way of enabling him to give directions to his workmen or convict-servants. A man who can assist in erecting a house for his family on his own farm, or can make a gate, a door, a table, or a stool, on an occasion of emergency, with his own hands, is much more likely to prosper in New South Wales, than a mere *theoretical* farmer.

I am sorry the colony does not at present hold out any adequate prospect to induce respectable young men to emigrate from the mother country, in the hope of obtaining situations either under government or in mercantile houses, as clerks or warehousemen. Candidates for situations of this kind are numerous already; the class of emigrants I have just mentioned being unfortunately the most numerous, while vacancies seldom occur and are immediately filled up. I have heard of two young gentlemen of the class I have just alluded to —both of good education and of respectable families, and who had both been furnished with letters of introduction to mercantile houses in the colony—who arrived in New South Wales within the last eighteen months; but, finding no prospect of employment in the way they had anticipated, entered before the mast, or as common sailors, in one of the colonial sperm-whalers. I admire their noble spirit of independence, and I sincerely hope they will both speedily be promoted to the command of vessels out of the port of Sydney. Indeed, the want of such a spirit has been the ruin of many a young man of fair promise in the colony, who, if he had only *stooped to rise*, in some such honest way as the one adopted by the young gentlemen I refer to, might have risen at length to comparative independence. The sentiment of the Roman poet—

> Tentanda via est qua me quoquo possim
> Tollere humo;*

is a virtuous, a praiseworthy, and an honourable sentiment: and in so far as it leads a man to endeavour to

* "I must try some way of raising myself from the ground."

find an honest livelihood by his own exertions, even in the humblest sphere of life, it is abundantly sanctioned by Christian precept and apostolic example. Indeed, I do not know a more splendid subject for a painter than that of the apostle Paul—the man whose moral heroism was sufficiently exalted to enable him to plant the standard of the cross on the battlements of Ephesus, the strongest hold of Asiatic idolatry, and to make a worthless Roman Governor tremble on his judgment-seat—working perhaps by lamp-light with his sail-needle to earn himself a livelihood as a journeyman tentmaker.

At the same time, it is much to be regretted that no effort has hitherto been made in the colony to devise ways and means of affording employment to young men of this description, though in a somewhat different sphere from the one best suited to their abilities. A few thorough-going men of real benevolence in the influential classes of the colony might have done much in this way with very slender means. A tract of land, for instance, might have been procured from the Government, on which suitable farm-buildings could have been erected at a very moderate expense, while a herd of cattle and a flock of sheep could have been collected in the way of donations from the respectable settlers of the colony. An establishment of this kind might have answered the double purpose of a temporary asylum for respectable young men who had failed in their honest endeavours to find employment of a different kind, and of an agricultural school, in which such young men might have attained a knowledge of the various pro-

cesses of Australian farming, and from which they might in due time have gone forth with certain previously-understood facilities to establish themselves as farmers on their own account in the colonial wilderness. But, unfortunately, we have either had no such men among the influential classes of our colonial community, or the energies of well-disposed individuals have been completely paralysed, under the influence of a most impolitic and illiberal system which has hitherto prevailed in the colony, and confined the privilege and the means of doing extensive good to the community, to men who have studied only their own personal aggrandizement. It is so much the interest of the colony, however, to prevent respectable young men who may be unsuccessful in their endeavours to obtain employment in a mercantile capacity on their arrival in the colony, from sinking into despondency, dissipation, and ruin, and to transform them into landholders and cultivators of the soil throughout the territory, that I still entertain a hope that some sort of machinery may shortly be devised and put in motion for the accomplishment of so desirable an object. When the spirits are buoyant and the mind pliant, as is generally the case in early life, it is by no means difficult to transform the individual, who has been trained only to write at a desk or to measure out haberdashery, into a man of ploughs and farm-produce, of sheep and cattle: and in a country where a young man of good character and industrious habits merely requires a fair starting in the latter capacity to insure him a speedy, comfortable, and yearly-increasing independence, it is surely an object of the first import-

ance to the community, that a process for effecting so important a transformation should be put into early and efficient operation.

In the year 1832, upwards of two thousand free emigrants arrived in the colony. Of these the greater number consisted of persons of the humbler classes of society, including a number of pensioners with their wives and families. The colonial government had received no orders relative to the pensioners, and had no authority to grant them any indulgence. Its efforts on behalf of a few of their number were therefore feeble, desultory, and inefficient; the great majority of the pensioners, and many of the other free emigrants of the humbler classes, being left to find their way in the colony as they best could, with nobody to ask advice of, and nobody to direct them, and liable to be beset by worthless individuals, or driven through despondency to absolute desperation.

It was natural for most of the Scotch and North of Ireland Presbyterian emigrants, who found themselves in such circumstances, to apply for advice and information to the resident minister of their own communion, especially as I was known to have had something to do with emigration. In fact, I was for some time literally beset with applications for information and advice, insomuch that I recollect of there being on one occasion no fewer than three different parties of emigrants newly-arrived, all waiting in different apartments of my house at the same time. Knowing that there were many places in the interior of the colony, where families and individuals of the humbler classes of society could

easily obtain an eligible settlement, were their circumstances and abilities known, but possessing only limited information on such a subject myself, it appeared to me that if a society were instituted to collect information of the kind required in such cases, and to form a sort of connecting link between the emigrants and the respectable settlers in the interior, many families might be advantageously settled, or at least rescued from a state of miserable suspense. I accordingly drew up a series of papers on the subject, which were published anonymously in one of the colonial newspapers; and the idea was so well received, that on a public meeting being held shortly thereafter to form a society for the object proposed, the attendance was both numerous and respectable.

The Emigrant's Friend Society, as far as its operations and success depended on the general and continued support of the colonial public, was like most other colonial abortions—a vapour, which appeared for a little season and then vanished away. But it fortunately did not require that support in the degree in which it is necessary to the existence and prosperity of other societies. A publicly-accredited agent of active benevolence was what it chiefly required; and a Scotch gentleman of this character—W. Macpherson, Esq., Collector of Internal Revenue—was appointed for that purpose Honorary Secretary, in which capacity he had almost the exclusive management of its affairs devolved upon him. I do not know how Mr. M.'s list stood at the time of my leaving the colony, but I recollect of his telling me only a few months after the formation of the society,

that he had then procured situations in the interior for upwards of seventy families and individuals.

As an instance of the utter helplessness of most of the pensioner-emigrants who had been induced to commute their pensions for a passage to the Australian colonies, I may mention the case of an individual of that class of whom I absolutely despaired in the first instance, but who is nevertheless likely to do well in the country after all. The individual I allude to was a Scotchman—an old soldier of course—from Glasgow, who had surrendered his pension for a free passage to the colony for himself, his wife—a native of Switzerland, who was suffering under a paralytic affection before he left Scotland—and his two children. He landed in the colony without a sixpence, and the only occupation he could follow was that of a cleaner and renovator of gentlemen's clothes. He had probably heard in Scotland that we were rather a shabby generation in New South Wales; and he had generously surrendered his pension, and come out to the colony with his whole household, to rub us up into something like second-rate gentility of exterior. It was no easy task, however, for the poor man to procure the apparatus necessary for the purpose—the buckets, the tubs, the soap, the dye-stuffs, the scrubbing-brushes, and the cords, &c. He informed me of his difficulties repeatedly, bringing along with him his two little Scotch boys to give interest and weight to his testimony. On one of these occasions he informed me that three pounds would enable him *to begin business*, but that five pounds—a sum which he assured me he would gladly repay as soon as he could—

would set him completely up. I was unable to lend him money to that amount at the time, of which the reader will probably discover a sufficient cause in the sequel; but I offered to become security for him for five pounds to the Benevolent Society, and to advance him two pounds in the mean time. He had got the whole of the five pounds before I left the colony, and I am happy to add that he was likely to do well. I am sorry to say that this was not the case with others of the pensioners; of whom I believe there is a considerable number at this moment actually living as in-door paupers in the Benevolent Asylum in Sydney!

Retired or half-pay officers of the army or navy are a class of men who have generally fewer ties to bind them to any particular spot in the mother country than most other persons of the same rank in life, while their limited means, and the daily increasing difficulty of providing for a large family in England, naturally predispose them to emigration. Besides, there is a positive inducement very properly held forth by His Majesty's Government to gentlemen of this class proposing to settle with their families in the colonies, in the shape of a remission of the purchase-money of whatever Crown-land they may purchase on their arrival, to an amount proportioned to their rank and length of service; a field-officer being entitled to a remission of £200 to £300; a captain, to a remission of £150 to £200; and a subaltern, to a remission of £100 to £150; or, in other words, the field-officer settling in the colonies will receive from eight to twelve hundred acres of land, purchased at the minimum price for nothing; the captain, from

six to eight hundred; and the subaltern, from four to six hundred. Gentlemen of this class will be able to estimate the advantages which New South Wales presents for the settlement of a family from the preceding pages, and it is therefore unnecessary to say any thing further on the subject. I will only mention one circumstance, which will doubtless suggest itself to the reader, from the whole tenour of the preceding sketches, as an argument in favour of emigration to retired officers in general, and to many respectable families of limited income in the mother country; viz. that what would barely be sufficient to enable a respectable family to live in England, would with common prudence enable them to live in comparative affluence in New South Wales.

For respectable families of moderate capital proposing to emigrate, New South Wales is in many respects greatly preferable to Upper Canada. The Australian climate is incomparably superior to that of any of the British provinces of North America. The productions of New South Wales are far more various and far more valuable; for, to instance only one of them, what are a few thousand logs of inferior timber, and a few thousand barrels of potash, to the fleeces of the sheep on a thousand hills in Australia? The society which a respectable family is likely to meet with in the neighbourhood of their place of settlement in the interior of New South Wales is of a more congenial character than what is usually to be met with in the back-settlements of Upper Canada; while the transportation-system, which constitutes the grand objection to New South Wales as a place to reside in, in the estimation

of most people at home, insures a constant supply of cheap and valuable labour. In short, New South Wales is, beyond all comparison, the preferable country for a gentleman-farmer.

As it is generally supposed, however, (merely because it has been so frequently asserted,) that the colony of Van Dieman's Land is greatly preferable for a free emigrant to that of New South Wales—it may not be out of place to make a few remarks before concluding this chapter, on the comparative advantages held forth to intending emigrants by the two Australian colonies respectively.

Unfortunately for New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land was just in the track of vessels bound to the elder colony at the time when the stream of emigration began to flow from the mother country about the year 1821; and every passenger-ship consequently touched at Hobart Town, the capital of Van Dieman's Land, on her way to Sydney—remaining perhaps three or four weeks at that island before prosecuting her voyage. Now it often happened that respectable emigrants, who had embarked with the intention of proceeding to New South Wales, felt themselves so uncomfortably situated on ship-board during the voyage from England, that they were glad to settle on the first land they reached, without waiting to institute comparisons with other settlements; while shipmasters were naturally equally glad to get quit of their passengers at the distance of seven hundred miles from the port to which they had paid their passage. In short, the greater number of the emigrants got ashore as soon as they could, and conse-

quently took their grants in Van Dieman's Land. It is preposterous, however, to talk of such persons *preferring* Van Dieman's Land. They *have never seen* the other colony, and perhaps know as little of it still as most people in England.

At the time I allude to, Van Dieman's Land was a dependency of New South Wales, and was governed by Colonel Sorrell, an officer who was undoubtedly desirous of advancing the general prosperity of the island, and who, by his polite attentions to the numerous emigrants who were then daily arriving at Hobart Town, and by affording them every degree of information respecting the country, and holding out to them every facility for their settlement, induced the greater number to give up all thoughts of proceeding to New South Wales, and to settle forthwith in Van Dieman's Land. The same highly politic and judicious system has also, I believe, been uniformly pursued by His Excellency Colonel Arthur, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Van Dieman's Land. The progress of that settlement has accordingly been unprecedentedly rapid, and its present condition is correspondingly prosperous.

Besides, it was the evident and direct interest of all the merchants and shopkeepers in Van Dieman's Land to prevent as many as possible of the respectable emigrants who were daily arriving at Hobart Town, when the tide of emigration had begun to flow towards the Australian colonies, from proceeding to Sydney; as they thereby increased the number of their own customers, as well as the sum total of the available capital of the island. In addition, therefore, to the fair and honour-

able means which were employed by the Lieutenant-Governors and the more respectable inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, to induce newly-arrived emigrants to settle in that island, there were other persons in Van Dieman's Land who, to my own certain knowledge, pursued a system of misrepresentation and detraction relative to the elder colony which was altogether unjustifiable. If a respectable emigrant, for instance, after his arrival at Hobart Town, felt himself undecided as to whether he should settle in Van Dieman's Land or proceed to Sydney, and asked advice on the subject of some Tasmanian merchant or shopkeeper, the latter would profess his unwillingness to influence him in a matter of so much importance to his future welfare, but would perhaps tell him at the same time, that *he might as well have gone to the East or West Indies as go to New South Wales, for the climate was so insufferably hot, there was no living in it;* and would then adroitly ask him, *what he meant to do if he went to New South Wales, for the country was a complete desert, and produced nothing either for man or beast.* In short, patriotism and self-interest equally suggested to the whole class of traffickers in Van Dieman's Land the propriety of *bearing false witness against their neighbours,* and the majority of that class of persons consequently did *what is forbidden in the ninth commandment* unscrupulously and systematically. In fact, the practice was a sort of colonial virtue in the sister colony, and this maxim was accordingly received and acted on to a considerable extent—"Dulce et decorum est *pro patria* MENTIRI."

The climate of Van Dieman's Land is undoubtedly

more congenial to an English constitution than that of the lowlands of New South Wales; but it is not a whit more congenial than that of the elevated table-land of the western and south-western interior of the elder colony. The wheat of Argyle to the south-westward—the direction in which the stream of emigration is likely to flow—is equal to that of Van Dieman's Land both in weight and quality, while the English gooseberry arrives at an equal degree of perfection as in that island, and the cheeks of children exhibit the same ruddy glow of entire health. On the other hand, although the climate of the northern parts of Van Dieman's Land is most delightfully salubrious, that of Hobart Town, from its immediate vicinity to Mount Wellington—on which every cold blast from the South Pole seems to stop for fresh orders on its journey to the northward—is much more subject to those frequent and violent transitions from summer heat to extreme cold, which are so productive of rheumatisms and toothaches, than any part of New South Wales. I have been twice in Van Dieman's Land, and have resided at Hobart Town about a month at two different seasons of the year; I do not speak, therefore, from mere hearsay.

There is no article of agricultural produce raised in Van Dieman's Land that is not cultivated successfully in New South Wales; but there are many articles of produce cultivated, or that may be cultivated, in New South Wales, that can never be raised profitably, if at all, in Van Dieman's Land. Maize—an invaluable grain to the agriculturist—is not grown in Van Die-

man's Land, and there are no orange-groves in that island. The very timber that is used for joinery and cabinet-work in Van Dieman's Land is imported from New South Wales.

But the special advantage which New South Wales enjoys over Van Dieman's Land is the illimitable extent of pasture-land which it presents to the sheep-farmer, or the proprietor of cattle, in almost every direction. Van Dieman's Land is but a small island, not quite so large as Ireland, and a great portion of its surface is absolutely uninhabitable. The continent of New Holland is as large as all Europe, and, in all probability, contains an extent of available land equal to the whole extent of the united territories of several European kingdoms. This is a circumstance of no small moment in countries which are chiefly valuable for their pasture, and the riches of which must consist principally in their flocks and herds; for Van Dieman's Land will, at no distant period, be *over*-stocked with sheep, and *over*-run with cattle. Again, the climate of New South Wales is universally allowed to be superior to that of Van Dieman's Land for the growth of fine wool; but the reader is, perhaps, not aware that the pastures of New South Wales are much better adapted for the rearing and fattening of cattle than those of the more southern colony. Such, however, is the fact, the native grass of Van Dieman's Land being less nutritious than the native pasture of New South Wales, while it is much more liable to be destroyed during the longer and severer winters of that island. The Van Dieman's Land farmer has to provide arti-

ficial food for his cattle—hay, straw, turnips, &c.—during the winter; there is nothing of the kind known in New South Wales. The beef of the latter colony is of superior quality to that of Van Dieman's Land; and butcher-meat generally sells for half the price in Sydney that it costs at Hobart Town.

It is preposterous to represent Van Dieman's Land as the granary of New South Wales, as is frequently done in those catch-penny booksellers' books that are ever and anon issuing from the London press, relative to the Australian colonies. Van Dieman's Land, doubtless, exported wheat to New South Wales to the amount of £30,000 per annum, at a time when the elder colony was suffering under an unprecedented visitation of God, which had been aggravated by the almost unprecedented folly of man. But what is the actual state of matters in regard to the commercial relations of the two colonies now, when things may be supposed to have reached their proper level? Why, the balance of trade is now in favour of New South Wales to the amount of upwards of £30,000 per annum; and the articles exported from New South Wales to Van Dieman's Land consist chiefly of beef and pork, dairy produce—chiefly butter and cheese—horses, oranges, &c.; articles, for the most part, which Van Dieman's Land might have been supposed to have raised in sufficient quantity for its own consumption, long before this time. In fine, although Van Dieman's Land is undoubtedly greatly superior, in regard to its climate and productions, to any of the North American colonies, for a respectable family of small capital to settle in, and

though I shall always be most happy to hear of its prosperity and advancement,—I am confident I speak the truth, when I state that New South Wales holds out a better prospect to the proprietor of sheep and cattle, if not also to the practical agriculturist, or the cultivator of the soil. The prosperity of Van Dieman's Land, since the year 1820, has doubtless been unprecedented: but that prosperity has been in great measure accidental. If the island had been seven hundred miles farther off than Sydney, instead of seven hundred miles nearer—I mean nearer in the course vessels take—it would scarcely have been heard of in England up to the present hour.

I should be sorry to say a single word that would have the effect of impeding the prosperity of the colony of Swan River; but I cannot help pointing out to the reader the vast difference that there is between the circumstances of that colony, as a place for the settlement of respectable free emigrants, and those of New South Wales. Supposing both the climate and the land at Swan River to be equal to those of New South Wales, there are no roads in Western Australia; labour is not to be procured but at an exorbitant price; the necessaries of life are three or four times the amount they cost in New South Wales; and wool, the chief produce of the soil, which is raised under all these disadvantages, is sold at the very same price in England as the produce of the eastern colony. Had the numerous respectable families, who emigrated to Swan River on the first settlement of that colony, gone to New South Wales, they could easily have settled

themselves there in comparative comfort, with the prospect of speedily arriving at independence; for property of every kind was never at so low a price in New South Wales, as it was during the Swan River mania. But entirely ignorant of the difficulties they had to contend with in a new settlement, and prepossessed, without reason, against a convict-colony, they went to Western Australia to be disappointed and ruined.

The vast distance of the Australian colonies, and the consequent expense of the voyage out, have hitherto operated very unfavourably for these colonies. The cost of a cabin-passage from London to New South Wales has usually been as high as £70 to £90, and that of a steerage-passage £35 or £40. Latterly, however, I believe the rates of fare have been considerably reduced. From Scotland a passage to New South Wales is generally much cheaper than from London; and from Liverpool it is now as low as £50 for the cabin, and £20 for the steerage. Shipowners, surely, do not require to be informed that a reduction of the fare is a premium on emigration, or that the lower the rate of passage-money is reduced, the more passengers are likely to offer.

CHAPTER V.

ESTIMATE OF THE STATE OF MORALS AND RELIGION IN THE COLONY, WITH A VIEW OF THE EXISTING RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS AND DENOMINATIONS IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

"Also Amaziah said unto Amos, O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and *there* eat bread, and prophesy *there:* but prophesy not again any more at Bethel; for *it is the King's chapel*, and *it is the King's court*."—Amos vii. 12, 13.

THE state of morals in New South Wales was sufficiently low, previous to the era of free emigration in the year 1821. It is almost unnecessary to speak of the state of religion in such a condition of society as was then prevalent in the colony. There were "a few names," however, "even in Sardis," who had uniformly maintained a higher character; but they were

—rari nantes in gurgite vasto;

"a few individuals struggling above water in the midst of a vast whirlpool of iniquity and pollution."

From the period above mentioned, however, the colony began to assume a more favourable aspect. Con-

cubinage was gradually discountenanced in the higher circles of the colony, and of course gradually disappeared from the face of society; for although still practised by a few *old offenders*, the daily increasing array of well-ordered families, both among the free emigrant and the more reputable portion of the emancipist population, has in great measure driven that particular form of colonial profligacy into the shade.

It is scarcely, however, from the higher classes of colonial society—whether Government-officers, lawyers, landholders of the higher class, or merchants—that a healing influence can be expected to emanate, to cleanse and to purify the land. The men who are "*clothed in purple and fine linen, and who fare sumptuously every day*" may be powerful to do good from their wealth and their station in society; but that good is but rarely done, and the influence they exert on society is of consequence far more frequently evil. Even their profession of Christianity—a sort of fashionable accompaniment of gentility wherever there is a dominant state-church—is unquestionably far more hurtful than beneficial to the cause of pure and undefiled religion; for the vessels of the House of God are for the most part polluted by their desecrating touch, and the day of God profaned by their unholy example. Despicable avarice, pitiful meanness, and the practice of downright injustice are by no means completely banished even yet from the genteelest circles in New South Wales; and I have sometimes been surprised to find how small a portion of honourable principle had gone to furnish out a stock in trade in the colony for honourable men. In short, the

influence of the higher classes in New South Wales has been for the most part decidedly unfavourable to the morals and religion of the country.

The moralist will ask, therefore, how it fares with inferior classes in the colonial community; and in reference to such a question it must be acknowledged that in directing the eye towards those who occupy the lower steps of the colonial ladder, especially in the towns of the colony, the prospect is sufficiently discouraging. The first ambition of a newly emancipated convict is to be employed as a constable—a situation which insures him sufficient pay for his maintenance, and enables him to lead a life of comparative inaction. The next object of his ambition is to obtain a license to keep a public-house, which, however, is easily obtainable for £25 per annum, provided his house and character are sufficient to satisfy the visiting magistrates, who, in Sydney at least, are chiefly "dealers in foreign and British spirits" themselves, in the wholesale and importation line. The number of these nuisances has increased prodigiously in the colony during the last few years, and the consumption of ardent spirits has increased proportionably. In the year 1823 the free population of Sydney amounted to from eight to nine thousand persons, and the number of licensed public-houses was eighty-three, that is, one for each hundred persons. There were various other houses, however, that sold *on the sly*, as it is called, or without a licence; and most of the respectable families of the town were supplied by the wholesale dealers or merchants, who are empowered by an Act of Council

to sell spirits or wine in quantities of not less than two gallons without a licence. During the ten years that have since elapsed, the population of Sydney has doubtless been more than doubled; but the number of public-houses has increased in a much higher proportion. There is reason to believe, however, that the number of unlicensed grog-shops is now comparatively smaller than in 1823, from the greater efficiency of the Sydney police. The number of licensed public-houses in Sydney was one hundred and ninety-five during last year (1832 and 1833); it is now, (1833 and 1834,) two hundred and seventeen. The licences alone produce an annual revenue to the Government of £5425, exclusive of the direct duties on spirits, which amount for the whole colony to £80,000 per annum.

The supposed profitableness of the business is doubtless the chief source of attraction on the part of the noble army of colonial publicans. Indeed, I have been repeatedly vexed and mortified exceedingly at finding free emigrants, or the sons of free emigrants, of reputable standing in the colony, who I knew were influenced by this consideration alone, degrading themselves and ruining their families by becoming retailers of ardent spirits to the vilest of the vile. In one case of this kind, in which I was apprised beforehand of the intention of the family, I employed every argument I could think of to induce them to forego that intention, but unfortunately without effect. I foresaw and foretold them the result; and a few months accordingly before I left the colony, I was called to visit the family in a clerical capacity, and, on ferreting my way through

clouds of tobacco-smoke and the sickening fumes of rum, I found the wretched husband struck with *delirium tremens*, and lying apparently in the jaws of death, while his distracted wife was wringing her hands at his bedside, and his children bathed in tears. A depraved taste, however, and the love of a lazy indolent life are additional sources of attraction in many instances; and I am sorry to add that certain even of the native youth of the colony have lately exhibited these grovelling dispositions, and enrolled themselves in the despicable list of publicans of the lower class, instead of endeavouring to earn an honest livelihood like reputable men.

Whether the number of public-houses in Sydney ought to be limited by authority, is a question I have been asked in the colony, but which I professed myself unable to answer. I am inclined to believe, however, that the influence to be employed successfully in counteracting so enormous an evil must be of a totally different kind—and that the cruse of purifying salt, which alone can be expected to heal the bitter waters, must be cast in at the fountain-head, or at least much higher up the stream.*

* There was a Temperance Society formed on board the Stirling Castle —a vessel of which the reader will hear further in the sequel—in the harbour of Port Jackson, previous to the landing of her passengers in Sydney, in October, 1831; and I was in hopes of seeing one established shortly thereafter in the town of Sydney; but being unexpectedly brought into violent collision with certain parties in the colony on the subject of education, it appeared to me that it would be preferable that the matter should be brought prominently before the public by a stranger, especially as a member of the Society of Friends was then expected to

I had found on inquiry several years before, that a great proportion of the money expended in the public-houses of Sydney was expended by mechanics—chiefly of the class of emancipated convicts—whose wages, I ascertained also, were sufficiently high to enable them to spend several days every week in low dissipation, to the great annoyance and the serious loss of their employers. It appeared to me, therefore, that the only effectual remedy for so great an evil would be to introduce into the colony a number of reputable and industrious free emigrant mechanics from the mother country, who by working at their several handicrafts six days every week, and expending their earnings in a proper manner, would in due time render the means of dissipation less easily attainable by the emancipated convict-mechanics, and withdraw the means of support, to a certain degree at least, from the colonial publicans. Attempts had doubtless been repeatedly made by individual colonists to carry out mechanics to New South Wales, under engagements to serve for a sufficient length of time in the colony to repay the expense of their passage out; but these attempts had always been unsuccessful, the mechanics uniformly breaking through their engagements as soon as possible.* It appeared to me, however, that

visit the colony on a tour of philanthropy. Mr. Backhouse, the gentleman I allude to, had been in Van Dieman's Land for several months before I embarked for England, and had been instrumental in forming a Temperance Society in that island. He was expected daily in New South Wales when I left the colony, and I presume that a similar society has by this time been formed in Sydney through his instrumentality.

* The testimony of John Macarthur, Esquire, on this subject is very explicit: "There is no instance on record," says that gentleman, "where

if mechanics only of proper character were selected, they would faithfully fulfil their engagement, provided that engagement were an equitable one; for it often happened, in the instances I refer to, that a breach of engagement on the part of the servant or mechanic had been occasioned by a previous attempt to overreach him on the part of the master or employer—the mechanic being generally hired in the mother country to labour for a term of years in the colony at English, instead of colonial, wages.

On my arrival, therefore, in England for the second time, in December, 1830, Lord Viscount Goderich, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, having been pleased to grant a loan of £3500 from the Colonial Treasury, to assist in establishing a college for the education of youth in the town of Sydney, it appeared to me that if part of that amount were to be advanced, in the first instance, in providing a passage to New South Wales for a number of free emigrant mechanics with their wives and children—these mechanics to be under engagement to erect the college-buildings, receiving the current wages of the colony, and leaving a certain proportion of these wages to assist in repaying the expense of their passage out—the proposed experiment, so highly important in its possible bearings on the moral welfare of the colony, would receive a fair trial, while the interests of the Institution would not be prejudiced. Lord Goderich was pleased to approve of

settlers have been able to prevent their indented servants, hired in England, from becoming dissatisfied, and then leaving them after their arrival."

the measure, and I accordingly chartered the Stirling Castle—a vessel of three hundred and fifty tons—and carried out to the colony in the year 1831 a number of free emigrant mechanics with their wives and children on the conditions above mentioned, the whole party amounting to one hundred and forty persons.

These mechanics consisted chiefly of house-carpenters and stone-masons, with a few plasterers, blacksmiths, cabinet-makers, rope-spinners, and coopers. I had selected them all myself chiefly in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, and Ayrshire. They were from all parts of Scotland; for as I had reason to believe they would all do well in the colony, it seemed likely that a much more extensive emigration of their friends and connexions would afterwards ensue, if the intelligence of their success could be spread over a wide extent of country, than if the original emigration had taken place from any particular locality. The mechanics were under engagement to pay at the rate of £25 for the passage of each adult person in their respective families by weekly instalments from their wages after their arrival, those of them whose services were available in house-building to be employed in the erection of the college-buildings.

We arrived in the colony in October, 1831, and in seven days thereafter the college-buildings were commenced; the average rate of wages for good mechanics being then £2 sterling a week. In six or eight months thereafter, all the unmarried men had paid the whole of their passage-money by weekly instalments from their wages; and when the buildings were at length necessarily discontinued for a time, the greater number of the married

mechanics had paid about two-thirds of theirs. In short the experiment proved completely successful.

The Scotch mechanics, as they were called in the colony, were men of superior ability in their respective handicrafts; for I had required them, previous to their being engaged, to produce certificates of their mechanical skill as well as of their moral character and their connexion with some Christian congregation. In addition, therefore, to the other consequences of their importation, they greatly improved the style of architecture throughout the colony; and, by becoming contractors for public buildings, they have already enabled the Government to erect superior buildings at a much cheaper rate than had previously been current in the colony.

But it was the moral influence of their example, as sober and industrious men, that was of greatest importance to the community. A few months after their arrival, no fewer than sixteen of them joined together in the purchase of an allotment of ground in the town of Sydney, which was afterwards surrendered to eight of the number. Seven of them subsequently entered into partnership, as contractors for the erection of the stone-work of various public and private buildings both in Sydney and in the interior. Several others had purchased allotments on their own private account, after paying for their passage out, before I left the colony; and individuals of their number had even sent home money to their poorer relatives in Scotland. Nay, before fifteen months had elapsed from the period of their arrival, several other families and individuals of

a similar class in society had arrived in the colony from various parts of Scotland; having emigrated to New South Wales solely in consequence of the favourable intelligence they had sent home to their relatives of the state of the country, and of the prospect which it held forth to persons of a similar station in life.

There was some difference of opinion in regard to the average rate of wages in the colony immediately after our arrival; and some of the mechanics, who had been deputed by the rest to make inquiries on the subject, being naturally desirous that it should be fixed at as high a rate as possible—viz. at £2. 2*s*. a week—I observed to them, with a view to have the rate fixed somewhat lower on behalf of the Institution, that as soon as it should be known in Scotland that they were actually receiving such wages as they required, a whole host of additional mechanics would forthwith be poured into the colony; leaving them to infer that the wages of mechanical labour would eventually be reduced to a much lower rate. "So much the better, Sir," said one of their number who had been studying Adam Smith, "the demand will increase with the supply." I confess I was of a different opinion at the time, but the result has fully justified the Scotch mechanic's anticipation; for although a very great number of reputable mechanics arrived in the colony subsequently to the period I refer to, and established themselves in various departments of business in the town of Sydney, the demand for mechanical labour has kept pace so regularly with the supply, that the average rate of wages actually paid to the few mechanics who were still em-

ployed at the carpentry-work of the Australian College Buildings up to the day I left the colony, was still £2 a week, and one of them told me he had obtained a twelvemonth's work elsewhere at that rate.*

* In the month of January, 1831, His Majesty's Government determined to discontinue the system of granting land in the Australian colonies, and to dispose of all Crown-land in future only by public auction, at a price of not less than five shillings an acre; the proceeds of all such sales to be devoted exclusively to the encouragement and promotion of emigration. The persons hitherto enabled to emigrate to New South Wales, in virtue of this arrangement, have been married mechanics either with or without children, and unmarried females: and I perceive by a Parliamentary Report moved for in the House of Commons, during the last session of Parliament, by Stewart Mackenzie, Esq., M. P., that up to the 19th of August, 1833, no fewer than three hundred and ninety-seven families of mechanics, comprising in all one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight persons, had been assisted in emigrating to New South Wales, the sum of £20 of the passage-money being advanced, as a loan to be repaid in the colony, on account of each family so emigrating.

The following is a list of the occupations of the mechanics who have thus been enabled to emigrate with their families to New South Wales:

Carpenters and Joiners	44	Nailers	2
Stonemasons	27	Farriers	3
Shoemakers	22	Farmers	2
Blacksmiths	24	Upholsterers	1
Weavers	27	Bricklayers	9
Painters	13	Whitesmiths	1
Plasterers	9	Tanners	3
Cabinetmakers	21	Gardeners	2
Brickmakers and Tilemakers	8	Quarrymen	1
Tailors	21	Butchers	9
Bakers	12	Cutlers	2
Coopers	22	Coachpainters	2
Slaters	6	Sailors	1
Harnessmakers and Saddlers	9	Tinplateworkers	2
Shipwrights	9	Watchmakers	1
Engineers	11	Schoolmasters	2
Sawyers	13	Collarmakers	1
Cart and Wheelwrights	5	Caulkers	2

But the emigration of reputable and industrious persons of various other classes of society has kept pace with the recent emigration of mechanics from Great Britain to New South Wales; in proof of which I may mention the fact, that during the last twelve months before I embarked for London, no fewer than five Scotch

Glaziers and Plumbers	5	Combmakers	1
Candlemakers	1	Gunmakers	2
Chairmakers	1	Ironfounders	1
Coppersmiths	2	Gilders	1
Printers	2	Coachmakers	2
Pianoforte-makers	1	Watermen	1
Locksmiths	1	Wireworkers	1
Woolsorters	1	Spinners	2
Brassworkers	1	Varnishmakers	1
Silk-dyers	1	Brushmakers	1
Dyers	6	Curriers	1
Brassfounders	1	Turners	1
Ropemakers	2	Chemists	1
Bookbinders	2	Miners	1
Hatters	5	Tilers	1
Millwrights	1	Pipemakers	1
Herdsmen	1		

Of these mechanics those whose occupations are in requisition in the building of houses or ships, are the likeliest to obtain profitable employment in the colony. Weavers are not likely to find employment in a country in which there are no manufactures; and I know at least two of the twenty-seven of that occupation in the preceding list, who experienced considerable difficulty on their arrival in New South Wales. Houses are covered in New South Wales with wooden shingles, which very soon acquire the appearance of old slates; there can be no employment therefore for slaters and tilers, or for tile-makers either. In some of the occupations above mentioned, the importation will be found superabundant; in others the mechanic will have to vary his beat considerably to suit himself to the wants of the colony: but the value of such an importation as has thus been effected to the colonial community in general, in a moral and religious, as well as in every other respect, is evident and incalculable.

London, January, 1834.

bakers, who arrived in the colony with their families as free emigrants, established themselves successfully in the town of Sydney, while several unmarried men of the same occupation, who also arrived during the same period, were employed as journeymen. In short, from the period of the arrival of the Scotch mechanics, a visible and striking change for the better has gradually been effected in that important and highly influential portion of the population of the colonial capital to which they belong; and men of intelligence and reputation all over the territory have consequently seen with their eyes and are now convinced, that the most effectual and the best means of elevating the moral tone of the colony, and of promoting its general advancement, would be to extend the system that has lately been acted on for some time in regard to mechanics,* to other classes of free emigrants, or in other words to import at the public expense and to settle all over the territory a numerous, industrious, and virtuous free-emigrant agricultural population.†

* I refer to the encouragement afforded by His Majesty's Government to certain classes of emigrants particularized in the note immediately preceding.

† The Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies has just determined that the funds available for the encouragement and promotion of emigration to the Australian colonies during the present year (1834) shall be appropriated for the emigration of persons of the class of agriculturists, i. e. farmers, shepherds, and gardeners, exclusively; the sum of £20 being paid by the Government towards the passage-money of each approved family of emigrants of that class up to a certain number. The writer has been authorized to select the first sixty families for whom this bounty is to be allowed during the present year. These families will go out under the pastoral superintendence of a minister of the church of

In forming an estimate of the state of morals in the Australian colonies, it must not be forgotten that although many of the free emigrants, who have settled in these colonies during the last forty-five years, have uniformly been men of reputable character and respectable standing in the world, others have been driven to emigrate as a sort of *dernier ressource*, after every expedient for gaining a livelihood in the mother country had completely failed. And it sometimes unfortunately happens that such persons are just as bankrupt in character as in purse. In the heavy sea of adversity they have had to encounter, in their unsuccessful attempt to reach the Port of Fortune, they have not only had to cast their lading overboard, but have also had the bulwarks of their virtue swept away.

The very length of the voyage from England has exerted a demoralizing influence on the free-emigrant population of the Australian colonies; inasmuch as it sometimes induces habits of indolence, which are afterwards not easily overpowered, while the more frequent, and sometimes unlimited, use of wine and ardent spirits on shipboard insensibly brings on a taste for that species of dissipation. I have known young men of the fairest promise at their outset in the world, who had acquired habits of this kind on their passage to the colony, and whose subsequent lives were a mere alternation of listless inaction and low dissipation. To per-

Scotland, and will have it in their option to settle in a body on the tract of land already mentioned at Illawarra—the land to be divided into small farms to be sold to the emigrants at a valuation, and the price to be payable by instalments. London, April, 1834.

sons who are indisposed to literary avocations, life is often a complete blank at sea; and it is sometimes so much worse, that I have often thought it would subserve the interests of morality in New South Wales, if the Faculty could administer to many hopeful adventurers, on their embarking for that colony, some opiate which would lay them sound asleep till they got within the Heads of Port Jackson. For, in opposition to the poet's maxim,

Non mutant animos qui trans mare currunt;

"Men do not change their dispositions by merely crossing the sea,"—I can testify from my own observation that many persons, and especially young men, really become worse members of society than they were before, in the course of a long voyage.

Nay, I am confident that the ruin of many a young man in the colonies, of the class of clerks and adventurers in general, may be dated from the hour when he first planted his foot on a ship's deck. A young man of this class, arriving in the colony from Scotland, naturally attends the Scots Church in Sydney for a few Sabbaths after his arrival; and when he hears the Psalms of David sung to the ancient melodies of his father-land, by a congregation of his countrymen at the extremity of the globe, the hallowed scenes of his boyhood recur to his recollection with overpowering influence, and he almost exclaims, with the patriot king of Israel, "*If I forget thee, Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue*

cleave to the roof of my mouth." By and bye, however, he is invited to spend a Sunday with Mr. Whalebone the merchant, who prefers a drive to Parramatta or a water-excursion in the harbour to all the prayers and sermons in the colony, and who, perhaps, generously furnishes the young Scotchman with a list of cogent reasons why he—Mr. Whalebone to wit—does not attend divine service at the Scots Church, and why his young friend from Scotland should discontinue his attendance also. Indeed, brandy-and-water and Manilla cigars overnight are a bad preparation for the hallowed exercises of the sanctuary of God; and the visits of the hopeful youth, who has had a seasoning perhaps on shipboard, and who is now almost completely climatized, are consequently few and far between. The progress to downright infidelity on the one hand, and to downright dissipation on the other, is short and rapid; but in all probability it is neither so short nor so rapid, but that the young man's relatives in the mother country may have heard betimes of the state of matters in regard to the hope of their family beyond seas, and may write him by every opportunity, in the bitterness of their heart, to endeavour if possible to save him from utter ruin. The letters are read as a matter of course, and perhaps their contents awaken a sudden pang of remorse in the first instance; but the emotion is merely momentary, and it probably gives way to a feeling of anger at the *ungenerous and unjust suspicions*, forsooth, that are entertained respecting him; and this feeling in all likelihood issues in a fixed determination to write no reply. The letters that are thenceforward

received from the same quarter by every opportunity, are perhaps coolly deposited by the tender-hearted youth with their seals unbroken in the bottom of his trunk, because, forsooth, *they are all about the old story;* and the circumstance is perhaps brought to light by an utter stranger to his family after his death; which in some cases of the kind is alarmingly sudden and unexpected, in others slow and sure. I have followed the remains of such individuals to the grave; and as I read their age, or, to speak more properly, their youth, on the black tin-plate on their coffin-lid, while the corpse was lowered slowly into its narrow house, I have fancied I saw the aged mother sitting at the door of her cottage in some solitary Scottish glen, and weeping bitterly as she reminded her still more sorrowful but all-silent husband, how many months had elapsed since they had last heard from their son; and I have thought how the tidings of the scene I had just witnessed, when they reached the distant Scottish glen, would break the heart of that mother, and bring down the grey hairs of the father with sorrow to the grave!

There are other three sources of colonial demoralization, besides those I have already enumerated, to which I shall shortly allude. The first of these is the colonial press; which in time past, as I have already hinted, has with only few exceptions been an instrument of evil instead of good, while in many instances it has been a mere receptacle and propagator of downright blackguardism. The filth and abomination of the British metropolis are very properly allowed to find their way to the river in large common sewers underground; but

the most respectable conductors of the colonial press have hitherto made it a regular practice to spread the filth and abomination of Sydney on the public tables of the colony, in the form of lengthy police-reports; of technical descriptions of those interesting scenes in which one brute breaks the jaws of another with his clenched fists used as a hammer; or of glowing accounts of those more fashionable arenas where that wealthy colonist, Mr. Woolpack, degrades himself beneath the level of a gentleman, by betting lustily on the abilities of his thorough-bred Australian racers with persons who were only yesterday transported felons.

The spirit of litigation, which prevails in New South Wales to a prodigious extent, and which is naturally fostered by the legal profession, whose name in the colony is *Legion*, is also a copious source of colonial demoralization. It is not surprising, indeed, that such a spirit should prevail among the class of emancipists; for those who have themselves been *brought up to the bar*, may be supposed likely to patronize the legal profession. It is by no means confined, however, to persons of that class; and the scenes of downright malice and downright villany that are too frequently exhibited in the Supreme Court of the colony, in the case of vexatious law-suits instituted by one free emigrant against another, can only be accounted for on the supposition that such individuals belong to that class of emigrants, who have arrived in the country as destitute of right principle as of ready money.

The general prevalence of a spirit of grasping avarice among the buying and selling portion of the community

has also had a most unfavourable influence on the morals of the colony. The idea of asking a fair price for an article was seldom thought of in the colony, till within the last few years; the grand question was how much could be got for it by any means: and I am sorry to add, it was not always considered even in quarters where one should have expected better things, whether the means were fair or otherwise. I am happy to state, however, that the mercantile transactions of the colony, both in the wholesale and retail departments, are now conducted on a much better system. The profits on particular speculations have gradually become more and more reasonable, in proportion as the field of mercantile enterprise has widened and competition increased; while the numerous reputable free emigrants who have recently arrived in the colony, and established themselves as dealers in general, or as manufacturers of articles for sale in various branches of business, have already made sad inroads on the province of the old colonial extortioner, by asking only a reasonable profit on their articles of merchandise, or a reasonable price for their labour. In short, the mercantile pulse of the colony does not beat quite so high at present as it did formerly; but it indicates a much higher state of health in the body politic of the country.

Colonial religion is a subject which an honest man can scarcely approach, without giving prodigious offence. God forbid, however, that I should be deterred for one moment by any such consideration, or even by the personal inconvenience or hardship it may occasion myself, from opening the eyes of the reader to the true

state of the colony in that most important particular! I trust the following remarks on colonial religion will exhibit the same impartiality which, I am confident, I have already evinced in treating of the less weighty concerns of colonial policy and colonial agriculture.

For many years after the settlement of the colony, the only ministers of religion who were permanently stationed in the territory were colonial chaplains of the Church of England. One should have thought that in a penal colony, ruled by the lash and awed by the bayonet, it would have been the policy of the Government and the dictate of common sense to have kept this spiritual machinery, scanty and inefficient as it was in its best estate, unsuspected in its character and unencumbered in its wheels. But it seems as if some spirit of darkness had obtained the patent of Colonial Adviser-General on the first settlement of the colony, and had, in order to prevent if possible the reformation of its depraved inhabitants, cast poison into every spring; for, in order completely to neutralize the moral and religious influence of the colonial chaplain, he was generally made a magistrate of the territory or a justice of peace. It was natural for the colonial chaplain, whose ordination was perhaps conferred exclusively *for foreign parts*, to regard such an appointment as a desirable accession to his colonial respectability, and to be altogether insensible to the clerical degradation to which it really consigned him. But in what light will the man of proper feeling, the man of Christian education, regard such an appointment, in a state of society in which the most frequent duty of a magistrate

has hitherto been to sentence the *prisoner at the bar* to twenty-five or fifty lashes? Was this befitting employment for a minister of the Gospel of peace? Was it likely to recommend either his message or his master, or to conciliate kindly affection towards himself? In other countries the clergy have often been accused of taking the *fleece;* but New South Wales is the only country I have ever heard of, in which they were openly authorized, under His Majesty's commission, to take the *hide* also, or to flay the flock alive. Under so preposterous and so enormous a system, well might the miserable wretch, whose back was still smarting under the Saturday's infliction, join in the oft-repeated prayer of the Litany on the Sunday morning, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" and well might he add from the bottom of his heart, "for his Reverence has none!" I should be sorry to insinuate that clerical magistrates were in any instance more severe in their penal inflictions than laymen: on the contrary, I should imagine they were generally the reverse. All I mean to assert is, that, in such a state of society as has hitherto prevailed in the Australian colonies, the union of the clerical and the magisterial authority was a monstrous conjunction, and was directly calculated to neutralize the moral and spiritual influence of the clergyman, and in so far to prevent the Christian religion from taking root in the land. I am happy to state, however, that the system of appointing clerical magistrates was at length discontinued by order of the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, during the government of His Excellency General Darling, in consequence, I believe, of certain

representations on the subject which had found their way into the House of Commons.

In the earlier times of the colony, the emoluments of a clergyman were comparatively small; and in those seasons of scarcity, which at that period so frequently occurred, they were insufficient for the maintenance of his family. Grants of land were accordingly given off to clergymen, as well as to military and civil officers in the service of the Government, and to private individuals; and the colonial chaplain was consequently tempted to engage extensively in the pursuits of grazing and agriculture. But the practice once admitted continued to subsist long after its necessity had ceased; and the genuine representatives of the sons of Aaron in the colony stood forth at length before the Australian community, as illustrious in the list of colonial graziers as their brethren of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and of the half tribe of Manasseh. Nay, as there was a period in the history of the colony when free emigrants were entitled to an extent of land proportioned to the actual amount of their real property, lists of clerical heifers and clerical sheep were exhibited to the Government to so patriarchal an amount, that the question, as to what quantity of land the reverend applicant should in such cases be held entitled to, had actually to be referred by the Colonial Executive to Earl Bathurst, who accordingly gave orders that no clergyman's grant should in future exceed twelve hundred and eighty acres.

So precious an example in the *high places* of the colony was likely to exert a most pernicious influence on the whole clerical and missionary order throughout

the territory. Even the followers of Wesley were not exempt from the foul contagion; and missionaries, forsooth, who had been sent forth with the prayers of the British public and the benedictions of the London Missionary Society, to convert the heathen in the numerous isles of the Pacific, were at length found *converted* themselves into stars of the fourth or fifth magnitude in the constellations Aries and Taurus, or, in other words, in the sheep and cattle market of New South Wales.

The influence exerted meanwhile on the laity of the colony was prejudicial in the extreme to the interests of genuine religion. The example daily before their eyes necessarily produced a universal lowering of the high standard of Christianity throughout the colony. It encouraged individuals to conjoin the desperate pursuit of gain with the profession of godliness, and enabled them notwithstanding to *purchase to themselves a high degree* in Christian congregations. It identified the worship of God, in the estimation of the infidel and the scoffer, with the most servile idolatry of Mammon—the show of piety with the practice of extortion.

It is doubtless in consequence of the sort of influence I have just mentioned, that so much anxiety is uniformly evinced in the Word of God, that the ministers of religion should approve themselves disinterested men, and should *covet no man's silver, or gold, or apparel.* And the lower the standard of morals and religion has sunk in any country, I conceive there is just the more imperious necessity for disinterestedness on the part of the clergy. "*Is it a time,*" said the prophet Elisha to his servant Gehazi, when the greedy hireling had followed the chariot of the Syrian lord and obtained a

portion of his pelf, under pretence of receiving it for his master—"*Is it a time to receive money, and to receive garments, and olive-yards, and vineyards, and sheep, and oxen, and men-servants, and maid-servants? The leprosy, therefore, of Naaman shall cleave unto thee, and unto thy seed for ever.*"* The Church of God may be deserted for a season, and disesteemed, and trodden under foot of men; but, if her hands are undefiled with *the accursed thing*, and if her heart is still right with her Almighty Preserver, she will at length *look forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.* On the other hand, if *the wedge of gold and the Babylonish garment* are found *hidden in the tents* of the clergy, as is too frequently the case in all communions both at home and abroad, the armies of Israel will assuredly experience defeat and disaster from the Canaanites of the land.

But the greatest calamity that has hitherto befallen the Australian colonies, in regard to their moral and religious welfare, is the prevalence of a jealous, exclusive, and intolerant system of Episcopal domination. In what way the idea has arisen I cannot tell, but it has hitherto been taken for granted, as a thing which admitted of no question, by the Episcopal clergy and the military Governors of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, that the Episcopal Church, or Church of England, is the Established Church of these colonies, or the only Church (for that is the meaning of the phrase) which has a right to expect any thing from the Government, or which the Government ought in any way to patronize or encourage. So long as the Australian colonies

* 2 Kings v. 26.

were a mere jail for the reception of felons, it was doubtless just and right that the chaplains of that jail should be Episcopal chaplains exclusively; for upwards of nine-tenths of the convict-inhabitants of the jail were natives either of England or of Ireland, where Episcopacy reigns in all the pomp of her power and in much of the loneliness of moral desolation. But when these colonies were at length thrown open to free emigrants, and when numerous respectable families and individuals settled in their fertile and extensive territories, it was speedily found that at least one half of the free emigrant Australian colonists were Scotsmen and Presbyterians.

So entire a change in the character and composition of the Australian population argued a necessity for some corresponding change in the colonial ecclesiastical system. The Scottish nation, it is well known, rejected the yoke of Episcopacy, even after it had been violently forced upon it by the military executions and the *autos-da-fe* of Charles the Second;* and if the moral and spiritual health of the Scottish people continued to improve in succeeding generations, they are still persuaded it was owing chiefly to that happy event. Was it just or right, therefore, that Scotsmen and Presbyterians, emigrating to recently established British colonies, in which the natives of any one of the three united kingdoms had an equal right with the natives of either of the other two to the same civil and religious immunities as they respectively enjoyed at home, should be sub-

* One of my own forefathers was forced to banish himself to Holland, along with his two brothers, during the tyranny of that worthless profligate.

jected to a yoke which their forefathers had cast off and broken? Was it just or right, after the Government had held forth the same advantages to the Scottish emigrant in these colonies as were enjoyed by the English or the Irish, that the Scotsman alone should find himself deceived, in a matter which most intimately concerned his real welfare, after having traversed half the circumference of the globe?—that he alone (unfortunate, unconsecrated heretic!) should be held to belong to a proscribed church and a proscribed religion? Was it just or right that the Scotsman alone should receive no benefit from the liberal provision which the Government professed to make for the religious instruction of the colonists and for the education of their youth, unless he renounced the faith of his forefathers, and suffered his child to be taught this downright absurdity in the shape of Episcopalian proselytizing theology,—"What is your name?"—"Andrew Galloway." "Who gave you that name?"—"My godfathers and godmothers!"—I say downright absurdity; for the said Andrew Galloway has no such relations.

Such, however, has been the hard measure which has hitherto been dealt out to Scotsmen and Presbyterians by the military governors, acting agreeably to the instigation and advice of the Episcopal authorities,* of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land. For if

* I beg to except from this remark His Excellency Major-General Bourke, the present Governor of New South Wales, who, I am happy to acknowledge, has every wish to allow the Presbyterian Church in that colony all the countenance and support to which it is fairly entitled from the colonial government.

some provision has been obtained from the colonial revenue for a few Presbyterian ministers of the Scottish Church in these colonies, it has been obtained solely in consequence of express orders from home—after many hardships and humiliations, much suffering and sorrow. In almost every instance it has been *won*, as it were, like *the portion of Jacob from the Amorite, with the sword and with the bow.*

There had been no minister of the Church of Scotland in New South Wales previous to my arrival in the colony in the month of May, 1823. My own determination to proceed thither in that capacity—a determination which had arisen from a train of circumstances and events which it is unnecessary to enumerate—had been regarded by the Church to which I belong, and to which I trust I still cherish the fond affection of a dutiful son, with all that cold-blooded and unnatural indifference which, I am truly sorry to acknowledge, the Church of Scotland has long evinced in regard to the moral and religious welfare of the children of her people in the colonies. Even my own personal friends among the Scottish clergy regarded the step I was about to take as a hair-brained and desperate adventure; and as none of the many religious societies of Scotland were likely to patronize any such undertaking, I was left to bear my own charges, and to find my way as I best could—a solitary friendless wanderer—over the dark blue sea.

On my arrival in the colony, a congregation of Scots Presbyterians was speedily formed; and shortly thereafter it was proposed to erect a Scots Church in Sydney,

upwards of £700, as a commencement, being subscribed for the purpose in a few days. Contrary to my advice, the laymen, who had been appointed a committee of management to conduct the affair, determined to memorialize the Government for assistance from the Colonial Treasury previous to their commencing operations; as such assistance had been previously extended to the Roman Catholics of the colony. A respectful memorial was accordingly presented to the Governor, stating the progress which the Presbyterians had made, and soliciting assistance from the Colonial Treasury; His Excellency being at the same time privately informed that the Presbyterians wished to erect a plain, unassuming building, to cost about £2000. Sir Thomas Brisbane, who was then Governor of New South Wales, being himself a Scotsman and a Presbyterian and a subscriber for the erection of the Scots Church, was of course well disposed to the measure; but he unfortunately suffered himself in that, as in many other instances, to be governed by the gentleman who was then Colonial Secretary, and who persuaded His Excellency, contrary to the uniform tenour of his own experience and observation, that Scots Presbyterians were a factious and dangerous people whom it was impolitic to encourage. His Excellency was therefore induced to read publicly, subscribe, and publish in the colonial newspapers, a Reply to the Presbyterian memorial which the Colonial Secretary had concocted; and in which the Presbyterians were told, that it would be time for them to ask assistance from the Government when they showed they could conduct themselves as well as the Roman Catho-

lics of the colony, who at that time were almost without exception either convicts or emancipated convicts. Nothing can more strongly indicate the state of vassalage to which His Excellency had allowed himself to be reduced at the period I refer to, than his signing a document conveying so offensive and so unmerited a censure on a number of his own countrymen. But the reasoning employed to induce His Excellency to put forth such a document was not less singular than the document itself. Certain of the civil and military officers of the colony, of whom a considerable number were Scotsmen, had been in the habit of attending divine service in the temporary Scots Church; and the circumstance was deemed unseemly in itself, and unfavourable to the maintenance of Episcopal supremacy in His Majesty's colony of New South Wales.

I expected that the gentlemen who had presented the memorial, and who were all civil-officers or merchants of the highest respectability in the colony, would address a firm but respectful remonstrance to His Excellency on the subject of the imputations he had thrown on the Scottish Church and nation in his Reply; but no such document being forthcoming, I felt myself called on to write the Governor myself, as a minister of the Scottish Church, and an individual of the Scottish nation. In the course of His Excellency's Reply to the Presbyterian Memorial, it had been stated that "Toleration was the glory of the Church of England; and, therefore, if Presbyterians did not approve of her ritual, she did not forbid them to worship in any other way which they might think more

likely to glorify religion." In my letter to His Excellency, I observed, in reference to this statement, that "Toleration was not the glory of the Church of England, but of the British Constitution. Scotsmen were not, therefore, reduced to the necessity of receiving toleration as a boon from the Church of England. Their civil and religious liberties were won for them by the swords of their forefathers; and they were a degenerate race, if in every situation they did not vindicate their right to both." The other parts of my letter were deemed sufficiently dutiful and respectful; but the passage I have just quoted was considered so offensive at Government-House, that His Excellency immediately despatched his Aide-de-camp to the Bank of New South Wales, where the list of subscribers for the erection of the Scots Church was deposited, to erase His Excellency's name, and those of all his family and suite from the list.

The Memorial and Reply, having been both published by authority in the colonial newspaper, were carried to England by a Scotch gentleman, who felt interested in the affair, and handed to the Scotch editor of the Morning Chronicle; in consequence of whose remarks on the whole transaction Earl Bathurst spontaneously directed Sir Thomas Brisbane immediately to advance one-third of the whole estimated cost of the Scots Church from the Colonial Treasury, and afterwards directed that a salary of £300 per annum should be paid to the minister, "regretting," at the same time, "that His Excellency had put to their probation members of the Church of Scotland in the

colony—the Established Church of one of the most enlightened and virtuous portions of the empire."

In the mean time, however, Sir Thomas Brisbane had perceived his error in the steps he had taken towards the Presbyterians, and I am most happy to acknowledge, that he did every thing in his power to repair the injury it had occasioned. But it often happens that the man who is all-powerful to do evil, is utterly powerless to do good, when that evil is once done. His Excellency's procedure, in regard to the Presbyterian Memorial, entailed a debt on the Scots Church, the very interest of which has regularly cost myself individually £100 a year.

The circumstances attending the settlement of the Scots Church in Sydney, and the state of another body of Presbyterians in the colony, in regard to the ordinances of religion, rendered it expedient for me to proceed to England in the month of August, 1824. I returned again to the colony in January, 1826. During my absence, the Rev. Thomas Hobbes Scott, having been appointed by His Majesty's Government, Archdeacon of New South Wales—an office which was then instituted for the first time—with a salary of £2000 a year, had arrived in the territory. Mr. Scott was by no means a young man, and he had passed through all the previous scenes of his life as a layman. It was commonly reported in the colony that he had originally been in business in the city of London, and that he had afterwards been attached to the British Consulate in one of the Italian ports of the Mediterranean. He had made his debut, however, in the colony several years

before, in the subordinate and lay capacity of clerk or secretary to Mr. Commissioner Bigge—a gentleman who had been deputed by the Home Government to inquire into the circumstances of the colony during the government of Major General Macquarie; of which a Report was subsequently presented to the House of Commons. I presume it was in consequence of that Report that the Government were induced to appoint an archdeacon for the Australian colonies; and, as Mr. Scott happened very opportunely to enter into holy orders while the matter was under consideration, he received the appointment.

Mr. Scott's private character and general education were unexceptionable; but his theological attainments were necessarily extremely meagre, and his previous manner of life, and especially the circumstance of his having already appeared in the colony in so different a capacity, rendered his appointment injudicious in the highest degree, and betrayed a lamentable want of consideration for the real welfare of the country. Of the doctrines and practice which constitute what is styled by the Christian world *evangelical religion*, Mr. Scott had evidently no clear idea. Viewing religion as a matter of state-policy, and the colonial Episcopal clergy as a chartered body possessing the exclusive monopoly of intermeddling with its concerns, his maxim evidently was, "Let Episcopacy reign alone in the Australian colonies; and let no Presbyterian dog be permitted to bark within her ample domain."

During my absence in England an Act had been passed by the Legislative Council of the colony, of

which the Archdeacon was an active and influential member, for the due registration of all births, marriages, and burials, within the territory. By this Act it was enacted, that any minister of religion solemnizing a baptism, marriage, or burial, in the colony, should transmit a certificate thereof to the *minister of the parish* in which the said service was performed, within four days thereafter, under pain of a fine of four Spanish dollars; the said fine to be appropriated agreeably to the provisions of an Act for the suppression *of rogues and vagabonds!* It was impossible to mistake the meaning of this precious morsel of colonial, or rather of archidiaconal, legislation, or its particular reference to my own case, and to that of all other ministers of the Presbyterian Church, who might afterwards be settled in either colony. But lest I should by any means be able to plead ignorance on the subject, the Episcopal minister of the parish, in which the Scots Church in Sydney is situated, called at my house, I presume by the Archdeacon's order, the instant he heard I had returned to the colony, with a blank register containing forms of certificates, and having the *four-dollar* or *rogues-and-vagabonds'* Act printed in large characters on its first page. I confess it would have somewhat aggravated the humiliation to which it was thus proposed to subject the ministers of the Church of Scotland in both colonies, to have been obliged to send our certificates, as would have been the case in certain instances in both settlements, which it is unnecessary to particularize, to men who had never been within the walls of a college:- for with all her

pretensions to exclusive learning and exclusive education, Episcopacy, like an ancient king of Israel, not unfrequently makes her *priests of the high places* in the colonies, of those *who are not sons of Levi* in the Academical sense of the phrase. I examined the Act carefully, however, and finding, to use a maritime expression, that it was by no means *water-tight*, although it had been evidently *tarred and pitched* for the purpose by a high colonial functionary, I resolved to send no certificates, and to leave those whom it concerned to sue for the four dollars, to be appropriated for the suppression of rogues and vagabonds, whenever they pleased. Nine months were suffered to elapse before I was informed against to the colonial government; but, on representing to the latter that the Act had neglected to specify the particular standing of a minister of the Church of Scotland in the colony, and had not explicitly declared that he was not to be considered *one of the ministers of the parish* in which he officiated, it was arranged that the Scotch certificates should be forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, and not to the colonial Episcopacy.

During my first residence in the colony, I had solemnized a marriage agreeably to the forms of the Church of Scotland, in the case of a Scotch officer of the East India Company's Service who wished to be married according to the customs of his nation. Some obstacles had been thrown in the way in the first instance, but, on representing what I conceived to be the state of the law on the subject to the Attorney-General, and obtaining the written opinion of that officer, that

there was no law to prevent the solemnization of a marriage in the manner proposed, the Governor's licence was given forthwith. After the Archdeacon's arrival, however, the Attorney-General, who was by no means a man of strong mind, retracted his opinion; and the Governor's licence, in the case of another Scotch officer, who also wished to be married agreeably to the Presbyterian form, was accordingly refused. I did not consider the right to solemnize marriage of any importance in a religious point of view; at the same time I felt myself called on, both as a Scotsman and as a minister of the Scottish Church, not to sit silent under its invasion, as the issue of my own case would doubtless establish a precedent for both colonies. I accordingly inserted an advertisement in the Sydney Gazette, intimating that I would solemnize marriage *by banns* in any case in which either of the parties was a native of Scotland, or a Presbyterian, or a member of my own congregation, and calling upon all persons whom it concerned, to produce any law or statute prohibiting such marriages or declaring them illegal. I accordingly solemnized various marriages by banns for a year or two thereafter, and the privilege of marrying by the Governor's licence —a practice peculiar to the colonies—was in due time voluntarily conceded. The circumstance, however, of my having recourse to an advertisement in the newspapers, to assert a right which had thus been unjustly invaded, was regarded in certain quarters as a manifestation of a bad spirit. Of course I was to regard the spirit of intolerant usurpation, which had forced me to adopt such an expedient, as the spirit of brotherly kind-

ness and Christian charity. Truly it was that charity which *seeketh not her own* merely, but her neighbour's also.

In the years 1823 and 1824, I performed divine service repeatedly, and on one occasion dispensed the sacrament of the eucharist, at the Presbyterian settlement of Portland Head on the banks of the Hawkesbury. On leaving the colony for England, the people of that settlement authorized me to procure them a minister, pledging themselves to contribute to a certain amount for his maintenance, and soliciting at the same time, as they were neither numerous nor wealthy, assistance from the Christian public in the mother country. I obtained about £250 for the purpose in the West of Scotland, and the Rev. J. M'Garvie, A. M. a Licenciate of the Church of Scotland, having been ordained as the minister of Portland Head, there remained about £200 after defraying the expense of his passage out to the colony. This amount was appropriated in part payment of a small farm and cottage on the Hawkesbury, which were purchased as a glebe and residence for the minister. On Mr. M'Garvie's arrival in the district, the Presbyterians of Portland Head addressed a memorial to the Governor, requesting a salary of not more than £100 per annum for his maintenance, from the Colonial Treasury, and pledging themselves to pay an equal amount by private subscription. In a letter which I wrote along with the memorial to His Excellency General Darling, I gave a short account of the origin and history of the settlement, stating that it had been formed by free emigrant Presbyterians from the south of Scotland in the

year 1802; that these settlers had built a church—the first that had ever been built in the colony by private subscription—at an expense of upwards of £400 in the year 1809; and that the ordinances of religion had been regularly dispensed among them, by one of their number acting as a voluntary catechist, from the time of their arrival in the colony. I was greatly mortified, however, to receive a letter from the Colonial Secretary in reply, stating that His Excellency could not comply with the prayer of the memorial; expressing his satisfaction, however, that the Presbyterians of Portland Head were able to do so much for their minister, *and hoping they would soon be able to do whatever more was requisite for his maintenance.* In short, it was insult added to injury.

I had reason to believe at the time that if Mr. M'Garvie were made acquainted with the tenour of the Governor's reply, he would leave the colony and return to Scotland; in which case all attempts to procure other Presbyterian ministers for other Presbyterian congregations in the territory would probably have been vain. In fact I have reason to believe that this consummation was both desired and anticipated. Without apprising Mr. M'G., therefore, of the tenour of the Governor's answer, I wrote His Excellency requesting that he would transmit the memorial, along with my letter, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The memorial was accordingly forwarded to England as a matter of course, and Lord Viscount Goderich, who was then Secretary of State for the colonies, was pleased to order that a salary of £100 per

annum should be paid to the minister of Portland Head from the colonial revenue.

Mr. M'Garvie being a man of great benevolence of disposition, as well as of superior literary acquirements, and the district of the Hawkesbury, which is one of the oldest settlements in the territory, abounding in reputable natives of the colony, many of whom possessed small herds of cattle, and were naturally desirous of obtaining small grants of land from the Government; he was frequently applied to by such young men to write memorials to the Governor on their behalf, stating their circumstances, and soliciting grants of land to enable them to settle on their own account in the interior. Indeed, although there were two Episcopal chaplains stationed in the immediate neighbourhood, by far the greater part of this species of work for the whole district of the Hawkesbury devolved upon Mr. M'Garvie. This was observed by the Government, and it could not fail to be observed also, that the *right action* was done by the *wrong man*. Mr. M'Garvie accordingly received a letter from the Colonial Secretary, desiring to be informed by direction of His Excellency General Darling, whether he received any thing for the numerous memorials he wrote. Mr. M'Garvie was naturally somewhat indignant at the injurious insinuation, but he merely replied that "he had never received as much as the value of the paper on which the memorials were written." His Excellency, it seems, was mistaken, in supposing that my friend and brother was like the mercenary hirelings that abound in all professions in the colonies,

who will neither open their mouths nor touch their pens till their pockets are crammed.

After my return to the colony in the year 1826, I ascertained, on repeatedly visiting the settlements of Hunter's River and Bathurst in the discharge of clerical duty, that the Presbyterian settlers in these districts were desirous of obtaining ministers of their own communion, and were willing to contribute for their maintenance to the amount of £100 per annum. I accordingly addressed a memorial on the subject to His Excellency General Darling, soliciting that His Excellency would recommend to the Secretary of State to allow salaries of £100 per annum for ministers of the church of Scotland for the districts of Bathurst and Hunter's River respectively, provided the Presbyterian inhabitants of these districts should themselves contribute a similar amount; and representing that as upwards of one half of the land in both districts had been granted to Scotsmen and Presbyterians, there was reason to believe that the settlement of Presbyterian ministers, to itinerate from farm to farm in these parts of the territory, would bring religious instruction into much more general contact with their convict-population, as each of the Presbyterian families, who were desirous of having ministers of their own communion settled among them, had numerous convict-servants. His Excellency replied that he would order the resident officers to furnish him with information on the subject; and orders were accordingly transmitted to the military commandants of Bathurst and Hunter's River, to ascer-

tain the number of Presbyterians in these districts, (without reference to the circumstance of their being masters or servants,) in comparison with that of the whole population. This delicate task was entrusted by the military commandants to convict-constables, who were accordingly sent round to make the requisite inquiries at each farm in the district. But as every person who answered the constable that he was a Protestant was set down as an Episcopalian, (the words Protestant and Episcopalian being held synonymous by the lower English;) and as there were Presbyterians who actually disavowed their connexion with the Scottish Church, from the fear of giving offence, or from an indistinct persuasion that favours were more easily obtainable from the colonial government by proselytes to Episcopacy than by Presbyterians; and as the circumstance to which I had especially requested His Excellency's attention, viz. that more than one half of the land was in the hands of Scotsmen and Presbyterians,—who of course were the influential and the permanent portion of the population,—was kept entirely out of view, it was found as a matter of course that the number of Presbyterians at Bathurst and Hunter's River was insufficient to warrant His Excellency's compliance with the prayer of my memorial.* But the Arch-

* It was stated some time ago in a semi-official paper published in London, for the purpose of accounting for the large expenditure of public money by the Episcopal Church in New South Wales during the incumbency of Archdeacon Scott, that there were thirty thousand Episcopalians in that colony, out of a population which the writer supposed under forty thousand. The reader must be informed, however, that this respectable but imaginary muster-roll included all persons who

deacon, who, I understood indirectly from the Governor himself, had been consulted in the matter, was too tender-hearted a nursing-father of the Church to allow the Scots Presbyterian settlers of so extensive a district as Hunter's River to remain destitute of the ordinances of religion; and he accordingly sent them a half-pay lieutenant in the navy—a very good sort of man doubtless on the quarter-deck of a gun-brig or sloop-of-war—to read prayers as an Episcopalian catechist

went to no church, and were avowedly of no religion whatever. "Of what religion are you?" said the zealous Episcopalian officer, who was sent to muster a convict-ship on her arrival in New South Wales during the government of General Darling. "I am of no religion," replied the convict he addressed—an impudent fellow, doubtless, who was doubtless telling the truth. "Of what church are you?" rejoined the officer, supposing perhaps that his question had been misunderstood, or perhaps giving the convict to understand that it was not absolutely necessary that he should be of any religion in order to his belonging to a particular church. "I am of no church," responded the convict. "He goes to church," said the officer, addressing himself to the clerk; and the convict was accordingly written down an Episcopalian. In short it was evident he was neither a Presbyterian nor a Roman Catholic, and the inference deduced was therefore fair enough. If the Colonial Episcopal Church really took a more special interest in such reprobates than other communions in the colony, it would, doubtless, be greatly to her credit to take them so benevolently under her wing. But, unfortunately, this is not the secret of the large addition they make to her muster-roll; for in the sequel of the paper I allude to, it was shown that £20,000 a year — the sum which the Episcopal Church and schools cost the colony during the incumbency of Archdeacon Scott—amounted only to 15*s.* a head for the thirty thousand Episcopalians of the colony. On such a principle of calculation, it was no wonder that the Presbyterians of the colony should have been represented, as they actually were, as an insignificant handful; for every person of that communion who could by any means be ticketed as an Episcopalian, not only served to strengthen the Archdeacon's argument against the necessity for Presbyterian ministers, but entitled him to ask other 15*s.* for the Episcopal Church.

in the district, and to receive for so doing more than double the emolument that was asked for a regularly-ordained minister of the Church of Scotland. In the year 1830, I felt myself called on, with a view to advance the interests of religion and education throughout the colonial territory, to proceed a second time to England; and on laying the case of Bathurst and Hunter's River before the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Goderich, with a simple recommendation from certain magistrates of the territory, his Lordship was pleased to order a salary of £100 per annum to a minister of the Church of Scotland for each of these districts. Two ministers were accordingly appointed, and arrived in the colony on board the vessel I had chartered to carry out the Scotch mechanics in the year 1831. I have already mentioned the minister at Bathurst. The minister at Hunter's River is the Rev. W. Pinkerton, who itinerates in the district and performs divine service regularly, and I am happy to add with much acceptance, in the town of Maitland, where a Scots church has recently been erected and a considerable congregation assembled.

There is a still greater proportion of reputable free-emigrant Scots Presbyterian settlers in Van Dieman's Land than there is in New South Wales; and the number in and around the rising town of Launceston, at the northern extremity of the island, was sufficiently great a year or two ago to render a minister and a place of worship of the communion of the Church of Scotland a great desideratum in that neighbourhood. A committee of management, consisting of twelve or fifteen respectable Scotch inhabitants of Launceston and

its vicinity, was accordingly appointed, and a subscription was raised to a considerable amount for the erection of a Scots church. Previous, however, to their commencing operations, a memorial was presented to His Excellency Colonel Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor of the island, soliciting assistance towards the accomplishment of the object; the colonial government being in the habit of granting assistance in other cases. Colonel Arthur met the memorial with a direct and ungracious refusal, informing the Presbyterians that there was already an Episcopal church at Launceston, which he thought quite sufficient for the spiritual wants of the district. Of course, a military officer who has either fought or bought himself up to the rank of a colonel in the army must be supposed a much better judge in such matters—especially if, like Colonel Arthur, he has had an opportunity of completing his theological education at a military station in the West Indies—than a numerous and respectable body of free emigrant Scotsmen; and the Presbyterians of Launceston were consequently silenced.

They were not inclined, however, to sell their birthright at the Lieutenant-Governor's bidding. The subscription proceeded, and the committee of management continued their operations; and I had the honour of receiving an official letter from the Secretary in the year 1832, informing me of what they had done and experienced, and asking advice in regard to their future procedure. There was at that time a licentiate of the church of Scotland in Sydney, the Rev. John Anderson, conducting the mercantile department of the Australian College. Mr. Anderson was an acceptable

preacher, and naturally preferred having the pastoral charge of a congregation of his countrymen to the situation which he then held, and which, it was also found, could be conducted equally well by a layman. His certificates were accordingly forwarded to Launceston, where, a meeting of the Scots Presbyterians of the town and neighbourhood being held, he was unanimously elected their minister; a salary of £100 per annum, with a free house, being voted for his maintenance, in the hope of obtaining the sum of £100 additional from the Government. The following Presbyterial letter, which will doubtless not be uninteresting to the Scottish reader, contains an account of the subsequent proceedings relative to Mr. Anderson's appointment to the pastoral charge of the congregation at Launceston, and details the formation of a Presbytery * and the ordination of a minister—the first instances of the kind that have occurred in the Australian colonies.

Sydney, New South Wales, 11th January, 1833.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

It is with much pleasure I inform you that I have been commissioned by the Presbytery of New South Wales to acquaint you, that

* A Presbytery in the Church of Scotland consists of the ministers and certain lay-elders of all the churches in a certain district of country. It exercises all the purely spiritual powers that are exercised in the Church of England by a Bishop, all questions being decided by the voice of the majority; there being a liberty of appeal, however, to a higher court, consisting of deputies from a number of Presbyteries, called a Synod, and from the latter court to the General Assembly, which meets once a year, and consists of deputies, both clerical and laical, from all the Presbyteries of the kingdom. The lay-elders take a part, and have a voice in all proceedings, with the exception of the ordination of ministers, which is held purely clerical.

on the fourteenth day of the month of December last, the ministers of the Church of Scotland settled in this colony, viz. the Rev. Dr. Lang and the Rev. John M'Garvie, A.M., both of Sydney, the Rev. John Cleland, A.M., of Portland Head, and the Rev. Thomas Thomson, of Bathurst,* having met together in the Scots Church, Sydney, pursuant to advertisement, did, after divine service and mature deliberation, unanimously resolve to constitute themselves a Presbytery, under the designation of "The Presbytery of New South Wales," agreeably to the institutions and practice of the Presbyterian Church. And the said Presbytery having been constituted by prayer by the Rev. Mr. Cleland, and Dr. Lang being chosen Moderator, and Mr. Cleland Presbytery Clerk, it was moved by Dr. Lang that the Rev. John Anderson, Preacher of the Gospel, a Licentiate of the Presbytery of Skye in Scotland, and one of the Professors in the Australian College, Sydney, be forthwith taken on trials with a view to his ordination to the work of the holy ministry at Launceston, Van Dieman's Land, whither he had been invited in due form by a congregation of Scots Presbyterians in communion with the Scottish National Church: And Dr. Lang having submitted to the Presbytery a series of resolutions, passed at a general meeting of the congregation at Launceston, embodying the invitation referred to, together with a notification of Mr. Anderson's acceptance, as well as of the consent and concurrence of the council of the Australian College, and having read and submitted to the Presbytery various certificates from eminent ministers of the Church of Scotland in favour of Mr. Anderson's ministerial abilities and deportment; it was resolved unanimously, that Mr. Anderson be forthwith taken on trials for ordination: And the Presbytery having accordingly met for this purpose in the Scots Church, Sydney, on the day following, that is to say, on the fifteenth day of December last, and having heard Mr. Anderson deliver the discourses prescribed by the Church of Scotland to candidates for ordination, viz. a Lecture, an Exegesis, an Exercise and Additions, and a Popular Sermon,—all of which they highly approved of and unanimously sustained—and having also ascertained by actual examination that Mr. Anderson possessed a competent knowledge of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, of Theology and Chronology, as well as of the history of the Christian Church in general and of the Church of Scotland in particular; resolved, that the Rev. Mr. Anderson be ordained to the work of the ministry at Launceston, in the

* The Rev. W. Pinkerton, of Maitland, Hunter's River, is not yet an ordained minister, though a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, or what is understood by being in Deacon's Orders in the Church of England.

Scots Church, Sydney, on Tuesday the eighteenth day of December, 1833, at eleven o'clock, directing Mr. Anderson in the mean time to qualify to Government by taking the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, and to produce a certificate of the same at the next meeting of Presbytery: And the Presbytery having accordingly met at the time and place appointed, and being constituted by prayer by the Moderator, and Mr. Anderson having produced a certificate of his having taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, and having answered the questions prescribed by the Church of Scotland on such occasions to the satisfaction of the Presbytery, and no just grounds having been alleged why he should not be ordained forthwith, he was accordingly ordained to the office of the holy ministry at Launceston, by prayer and the imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, being at the same time earnestly commended to the grace of God, and receiving the right hand of fellowship from the Presbytery, into which he was afterwards admitted as a corresponding member from Van Dieman's Land, agreeably to the practice of the Church of Scotland.

I beg, therefore, Christian friends and brethren, in the name and on behalf of the Presbytery of New South Wales, earnestly to recommend the Rev. Mr. Anderson to your Christian regards; trusting that you will find him a zealous, able, and efficient minister of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that by a diligent attendance on his public and private ministrations, conjoined with a Christian and consistent walk and conversation, as well as by securing a suitable maintenance for him in his honourable and important calling, you will do all that in you lies to strengthen his hands, and to encourage his heart; that in the great day of reckoning when the Lord Jesus Christ, the only King and Head of the Church whether in heaven or in earth, shall judge righteous judgment between pastors and people, he may be approved as a good and faithful servant, and you accepted as a willing and obedient people, and both everlastingly blessed.

I have the honour to be, Christian Friends and Brethren,
in the name and by appointment of the Presbytery of New South Wales,
Your sincere friend and servant,
JOHN DUNMORE LANG, *Moderator.*

To the Committee of Management
of the Scots Church, Launceston, Van Dieman's Land.

Mr. Anderson was warmly received by the Presbyterians of Launceston, and the Scots Church in that im-

portant settlement, the erection of which had been commenced previous to his arrival, was nearly completed when I last heard from the island. In the mean time the Venerable W. G. Broughton, A. M., the present Archdeacon of New South Wales, had made a tour of clerical visitation to Van Dieman's Land; and His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, having accompanied him across the island, when engaged in the laudable employment of marking out suitable places for the erection of Episcopal Churches—which in several instances are intended for the purpose of proselytizing to Episcopacy a Scots Presbyterian population, who would much rather have ministers of their own communion, if the government would allow them to have them on any thing like equal terms—arrived at Launceston. Mr. Anderson, who had then been some time at that settlement, did himself the honour to wait upon His Excellency, who, to his no small surprise, desired him to present his credentials to the Archdeacon, which Mr. Anderson of course politely but firmly declined. I entertain a high respect for Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, for the good example he has uniformly set to the people of his government, and for his general encouragement of whatever is useful or praiseworthy. But in his thus proposing to subject the Presbyterian ministers of his government to Episcopal authority, it is not difficult to detect the workings of that unmanly spirit which Episcopal domination uniformly engenders among the higher classes in the colonies; for I am utterly ignorant of human nature, and the experience I have gained in the study of mankind is not worth a straw, if His Ex-

cellency's incivility to my friend and brother—a minister of the Church of Scotland, who had merely gone to seek the welfare of the people of his government—was dictated by any other motive than his apprehension lest he should otherwise offend the Venerable the Archdeacon of New South Wales.

But this was not all. There was a school supported by the government at Launceston—of course under Episcopal management—and some of the children who attended it, being of Presbyterian parentage, naturally attended Mr. Anderson's ministry on the Sabbath. But during the Archdeacon's residence in the island, an order was issued requiring all the children to attend divine service at the Episcopal church under pain of exclusion from the school.

Such, however, has been the thoroughly exclusive, intolerant, and tyrannical spirit of Episcopal domination in the British colonies all along. Witness the case of the Scots Presbyterians of New York, when that province was a British colony, a century ago:—

"The Presbyterians increasing after Lord Cornbury's return to England," (I quote from Smith's History of New York, page 191,) "called Mr. Anderson, a Scotch minister, to the pastoral charge of their congregation; and Dr. John Nicol, Patrick M'Knight, Gilbert Livingston, and Thomas Smith, purchased a piece of ground and founded a church in 1719. Two years afterwards they petitioned Colonel Schuyler, who had then the chief command, for a charter of incorporation, to secure their estate for religious worship, upon the plan of the Church in North Britain, but were disappointed in their expectations *through the opposition of the Episcopal party*. They shortly after renewed their request to Governor Burnet, who referred the petition to his Council. *The Episcopalians again violently opposed the grant*, and the Governor in 1724 wrote upon the subject to the Lords of Trade for their direction. Counsellor

West, who was then consulted, gave his opinion in these words: 'Upon consideration of the several acts of Uniformity that have passed in Great Britain, I am of opinion that they do not extend to New York, and consequently an act of toleration is of no use in that province; and therefore, as there is no provincial act for uniformity, according to the Church of England, I am of opinion, that by law such patent of incorporation may be granted as by the petition is desired.—RICHARD WEST, 20th August, 1724.' After several years' solicitation for a charter in vain, and fearful that those who obstructed such a reasonable request would watch an opportunity to give them a more effectual wound; those among the Presbyterians who were invested with the fee-simple of the church and ground conveyed it, on the 16th March, 1730, to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and the commission thereof, the Moderator of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the Principal of the College of Edinburgh, the Professor of Divinity therein, and the Procurator and Agent of the Church of Scotland, for the time being, and their successors in office, as a committee of the General Assembly. On the 15th of August, 1732, the Church of Scotland, by an instrument under the seal of the General Assembly, and signed by Mr. Niel Campbell, Principal of the University of Glasgow, and Moderator of the General Assembly and commission thereof; Mr. James Nisbet, one of the ministers of the Gospel at Edinburgh, Moderator of the Presbytery of Edinburgh; Mr. William Hamilton, Principal of the University of Edinburgh; Mr. James Smith, Professor of Divinity therein, and Mr. William Grant, Advocate, Procurator for the Church of Scotland, for the time being; pursuant to an act of the General Assembly dated the 8th May, 1731, did declare, 'that notwithstanding the aforesaid right made to them and their successors in office, they were desirous that the aforesaid building and edifice, and appurtenances thereof, be preserved for the pious and religious purposes for which the same were designed; and that it should be free and lawful to the Presbyterians then residing, or that should at any time thereafter be resident in or near the aforesaid city of New York, in America, or others joining with them, to convene in the aforesaid Church, for the worship of God in all the parts thereof, and for the dispensation of all Gospel ordinances; and generally to use and occupy the said Church and its appurtenances, fully and freely in all times coming, they supporting and maintaining the edifice and appurtenances at their own charge.' Mr. Anderson was succeeded in April, 1727, by the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, a man of polite breeding, pure morals, and warm devotion; under whose incessant labours the congregation greatly increased, and was enabled to erect the present edifice in 1748. Mr.

Alexander Cumming, a young gentleman of learning and singular penetration, was chosen colleague to Mr. Pemberton in 1750. The congregation consists at present of 1200 or 1400 souls, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Mr. David Bostwick, who was lately translated from Jamaica to New York by a Synodical decree."

It was, doubtless, the repetition of such acts of intolerance and oppression as the one that gave rise to the singular proceeding detailed in the preceding extract, on the part of a domineering faction supported and abetted by the Government at home, that served gradually to wean the affections of the American people from their allegiance to their rightful sovereign, and that subsequently gave the American Revolution that moral and resistless force, that enabled it to wrest the fairest provinces from the British Empire, and to pluck the brightest jewel from the British Crown. The Presbyterians of America are now happily delivered from Episcopal domination; and their two thousand flourishing congregations, whose ministers are all supported by the voluntary contributions of a Christian people, present an argument that cannot easily be got over by those who are perpetually telling us that Christianity, in this the age of her decrepitude, forsooth, can no longer stand erect in the world, and must, therefore, be permitted to lean the whole weight of her rickety and consumptive frame on the crutch of the civil power!*

* From recent accounts of the state of the Presbyterian Church in America, which I had the pleasure of receiving direct from the United States a few months ago in New South Wales, it appears, that in addition to the expense of maintaining the ordinances of religion in their own body, each Presbyterian congregation throughout the Union taxes itself with the expense of educating, or of assisting in educating, a can-

The prevalence of Episcopal domination in the British colonies has had this unfortunate and evil effect; it has, in great measure, weaned the higher classes of Scotsmen in the colonies, and especially Scotsmen holding appointments under the Government, from the hallowed institutions of their mother-church and their father-land. If the question, which this state of things suggests, were merely a question as to whether men ought to use forms of prayer or to pray extempore, or whether there ought to be any other species of precedence among the ministers of religion, than what is uniformly and willingly conceded, even by Presbyterians, to eminent services and eminent talents, I should esteem it a matter of comparatively little moment which side of the question individuals of my own countrymen were pleased to take; for though a Presbyterian, I trust, in the highest sense of the word, I am not so in that sense of it which holds either moderate Episcopacy or Independency sinful or unlawful. But the question is one of a far different description. It is, whether it is the part of a Christian man at all to renounce the faith of his forefathers (I use the phrase in its wider acceptation), without being able to assign a better reason for such renunciation, than that the thing called religion, which is taken up instead of it, is the religion of the dominant and influential party, the religion of all whose incomes are upwards of five hundred a year? Is this, I ask, to be esteemed a valid or suffi-

didate, of the requisite qualifications, for the holy ministry. I should like to know if there is any thing to compare with so truly Christian a practice in the established Christianity of Great Britain.

cient reason for renouncing a faith which a thousand martyrs died to defend and to perpetuate, and the devoted attachment of whose children to which has raised their nation to a higher pitch of intellectual and moral and religious eminence, than, perhaps, any other European nation has ever attained? Are the men, who thus sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, to be esteemed the worthy descendants of those patriotic men who purchased the civil and religious liberties of Scotland with the best blood in their veins? The Presbyterian who becomes an Episcopalian from conscientious motives, and who lives and dies a worthy and pious Episcopalian, I honour, because I see he possesses a conscience, though, it may be, an ill-informed one; but can Charity herself suppose that such men as I allude to have a conscience at all? What indeed can be expected, either worthy or honourable, of the men who, when their mother Church—with whose milk they were nursed as babes, and with whose strong meat they were fed till they reached the vigour of manhood—follows them in the warmth of her maternal affection to the distant land of their sojourning, cast upon her a cold and withering look, saying, "Begone, you old, poverty-struck beldame; don't you see we have taken to live with this *strange woman* from Babylon?" What, I say, can be expected of such men, but that they will approve themselves unworthy sons of their mother—degenerate scions of a noble vine? It has accordingly been observed, again and again, that of all the possible personifications of absolute servility, the Episcopalianized Scots Presbyterian

gentleman is, in general, the most complete in all his members. Indeed, I have reason to believe that if His Majesty were to haul down the cross, and to hoist the crescent, provided the absolute disgrace of the thing could only be got over in the eyes of the public, the majority of Episcopalianized Scots Presbyterians, holding appointments under the Government in the colonies, would be the first to shout with the Grand Mufti of St. James', "*There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is his Prophet!*"

But although Scots churches may not be required in the colonies for the majority of Scotch gentlemen of the class I have just mentioned, or for Scotch merchants and merchants' clerks of the firm of Whalebone and Co., I have no hesitation in stating it as my fixed opinion—and I beg to add that that opinion is the result of ten years' experience and observation—that the preservation of a comparatively high state of morals and religion among the remainder, that is the great majority, of the Presbyterian population of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land—the landholders, the small farmers, the mechanics, and the other persons and families of the industrious classes, belonging to that communion—will depend in great measure, under the blessing of Almighty God, on their being retained within the pale of the Presbyterian Church, and on the preservation of their rational attachment to its simple institutions entire and unbroken; and that consequently if the system of proselytizing to Episcopacy, which has hitherto prevailed in the Australian colonies, and which is now pursued with greater offensiveness than ever in the colony

of Van Dieman's Land, is allowed to be persevered in, and the Presbyterian people to be virtually, though perhaps not ostensibly, prevented from obtaining ministers of their own communion, His Majesty's Government will just be doing every thing in their power to render the present Presbyterians of both colonies an irreligious, and of consequence an immoral and worthless, portion of the colonial population.

If it is painful for a person of ingenuous disposition to be called on to allude publicly to the sins of his parent, it cannot but be painful in the highest degree for a minister of the Scottish Church to be obliged to give evidence that it has been owing in great measure to a want of Christian feeling scarcely conceivable, to a manifest dereliction of duty, and to a gross breach of trust, on the part of the clergy of the Church of Scotland, that the system of Episcopal domination I have been describing has been extended and confirmed in the colonies—growing with their growth, and strengthening with their strength—and that so many attempts have been successfully made to bind round the necks of myriads of the Scottish people beyond seas, that yoke from which, it seems, their patriotic forefathers vainly delivered them.

It has often appeared to me that the moral and religious standing of the Scottish nation in reference to the colonial territories of the British empire, very much resembles that of the Jewish people in reference to the heathen nations of the ancient world. Subjected in their native land to a species of intellectual, and moral, and religious training, which perhaps scarcely

any other European nation has so long enjoyed, the people of Scotland have long been extensively imbued with a spirit of emigration, which has scattered them in thousands over the whole face of the habitable globe, and filled the British colonies in particular with a Scottish population. This wide dispersion of the Scottish people, we may rest assured, is no accident in the grand scheme of Providence, any more than the wide dispersion of the ancient Jews, after having been subjected to a similar training in their own country, was either unforeseen or accidental. It was doubtless part and portion of a high and benevolent design for advancing the intellectual, the moral, and the religious welfare of the British colonies, of the British empire, of the world at large; and there was thus placed in the hands of the Scottish clergy a lever which the sage of Syracuse could only wish for—a lever of mightier power to elevate a large portion of the world than any equal number of ministers were ever called to wield since the apostolic age. Will it be believed, however, that the Scottish clergy have hitherto remained insensible to the moral and religious advantages of this high position, which the Governor among the nations had assigned them on the grand arena of the world? Will it be believed that although Scotsmen without number have annually gone forth to the British colonies for a century past, there has never been a single effort made on behalf of these colonies by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, during that long period, worth recording in a stray paragraph of a country-newspaper?

Had the Scottish clergy plied that moral machinery,

which the Presbyterian Church is so admirably adapted for bringing into play, on the great field of the world—had they followed the numerous children of their people who have gone forth to the colonies with some regular and systematic provision for their spiritual welfare—how many a Scotsman, whose whole life has been spent in diffusing around him an atmosphere of death in the land of his sojourning, might not have proved a *spirit of health* to society, instead of being a very incarnation of some *goblin damned!* How many a Scottish family in the colonies might not have been preserved from irreligion, from infidelity, from immorality, from ruin!

But where were the means, it may be asked? I ask in reply, how have thousands and tens of thousands been raised in Scotland, for the last forty years, to fit out and to maintain beyond seas whomsoever the Dissenting Ministers of London chose to ordain as missionaries to the heathen? God forbid that I should ever whisper a syllable against missions to the heathen! But I have seen too many missionaries not to have seen more than I choose to mention, whom men possessed of the least discernment would never have presumed to send forth on such an errand! The colonies, however, were the first field to be occupied; and if that field had been properly occupied, it would have afforded much assistance to missions to the heathen, instead of proving a fruitful source of disappointment and counteraction to Christian missionaries.

Had there been a standing-committee of the Church of Scotland (as there ought uniformly to have been) to watch over the spiritual welfare of Scotsmen in the

colonies, and had that committee sent out two ministers of the requisite qualifications to each of the Australian colonies about ten years ago*—insuring them, from funds collected in the way I have suggested, a moderate provision till they could establish themselves in the colonies, endeavouring in the mean time to interest the Government on their behalf, and following up every important suggestion they might see it fit to make for the advancement of the spiritual welfare of their countrymen in these colonies—colonial Episcopacy would all along have been kept in proper and salutary check; an efficient system of religious instruction would have been provided for all the Scotch inhabitants of both colonies with the utmost facility, and an incalculable amount of good would have been effected for that highly influential portion of the colonial population, at a comparatively insignificant expense.

From the entire want of any such machinery in the Church of Scotland, and from the burden of providing for the spiritual welfare of Scotsmen in the Australian colonies being consequently made to rest on the chance efforts of individuals—of individuals struggling on the one hand with an overwhelming Episcopacy, and unsupported on the other by those whose bounden duty it was to have upheld them—I have been reduced to the

* The divine author of Christianity always sent out his disciples by twos, and the apostles seem to have generally followed his example. We always hear of two of the apostolic Presbytery travelling together; as for instance, Peter and John, Paul and Barnabas, Paul and Silas, Barnabas and Mark. The propriety and the wisdom of such an arrangement are sufficiently obvious.

necessity of making no fewer than three voyages round the world during the last ten years—living in all for two years and a half of that period out of sight of land, at one time in intense cold among the icebergs to the southward and westward of Cape Horn, at another in intense heat beneath a vertical sun; traversing on an average about a thousand miles of ocean every month for ten successive years, and paying about £500 of passage-money for sea-voyages from my own private resources, besides heavy and almost ruinous expenses on land.

But the long-continued indifference of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the spiritual welfare of Scotsmen in the colonies has been productive of a still worse effect than the one I have just mentioned. It has induced such a state of feeling, in regard to the colonies, on the part of the Scottish clergy in general, that it is almost held tantamount to a complete renunciation of caste for a licentiate of the Scottish Church to go to the colonies at all; insomuch that his doing the very thing which his Lord and Master especially commands—his going forth on the forlorn hope of the Christian army with the everlasting Gospel on his lips and the sword of the Spirit in his hands—is tacitly interpreted as a public confession of his being *a weak brother who has no prospects at home.* For my own part, I confess I had much more difficulty in getting over this feeling—so humiliating to the native intellectual pride of the Scottish character—than I had in resolving to bid adieu, in all likelihood for ever, to my native land.

It is necessary, however, to apprise the reader that this lamentable indifference of the Scottish Church towards Scotsmen in the colonies, is altogether foreign to the native genius and character of the Church of Scotland. In the reign of William and Mary, when a number of Scottish emigrants left their native country to settle at the Isthmus of Darien, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland—which at that period consisted entirely of ministers who had been chosen by the people—took so warm an interest in the spiritual welfare of these emigrants, that they actually removed two ordained ministers from their parishes in Scotland and sent them along with them. But the General Assembly of the present century—which consists in great measure of ministers who have been thrust upon the people by the system of patronage—have seen hundreds of thousands of Scotsmen leave their native country for the colonies, without ever inquiring whither they went, or what was likely to become of them in the distant lands of their adoption.

This remarkable change in the character and conduct of the Scottish Church has arisen entirely out of the law of patronage—that flagitious enactment of the Tory Government of Queen Anne—by which the Scottish people were robbed of their right to elect their own pastors, and the appointment of the Scottish clergy transferred in great measure to the Scottish Aristocracy. Under the operation of so iniquitous a system, the Presbyterians of the Covenant—those patriots indeed who held not their lives dear that they might promote the best interests of their country—gradually disappeared ; and a race of gentlemen's gentlemen—the mere sycophants

and dependents of the great—occupied a great majority of the pulpits of Scotland, and *reigned in their stead.* And was it wonderful that velvet-tongued theologians like these should forget the art of speaking for their countrymen in the colonies? Was it wonderful that the herd of *lean cattle,* that were thus driven in by the Scottish nobility to fatten on the green pastures of the church, should have no sympathy for those who were dwelling in the dry and parched lands where there was no water? Educated in the Tory College of Subserviency, many of their number had taken the degree of Destitute of Natural Affection; and their reckless indifference to the best interests of their countrymen abroad was in keeping with the recklessness with which they sometimes trampled on the best feelings of their countrymen at home. In a parish lately vacant in the west of Scotland, the last incumbent was actually forced upon the people at the point of the bayonet, and it was not the only case of the kind that had occurred. But even in many cases in which the operation of the system was much less atrocious, one or other of two evil effects uniformly followed; either the people left the national church in a body and became Presbyterian Dissenters, or, remaining within the pale of the church, they were gradually unchristianized by the miserable Socinian or semi-deistical theology that was generally taught by its patron-created priesthood.

The period of reaction, however, has at length arrived; and that reaction we may rest assured will be powerful and resistless, just in proportion to the length, and breadth, and depth of the injury that has hitherto

been so patiently sustained by a long-abused nation both at home and abroad. For it is not the mere repeal of the law of patronage in Scotland, or the reform of a few flagrant abuses in the Church of England, that will now stem the flood-tide of popular opinion that is evidently setting so strongly and so resistlessly against the religious establishments of both divisions of the island. In that prominent sign of the times men of understanding cannot fail to discern a judicial infliction—the prelude of some *overflowing scourge* that will ere long pass through the land, and leave not one stone of these goodly fabrics upon another. There are men, it is true, who think they can still arrest the progress of public opinion on this and on other kindred subjects. As well might the Swiss peasant think of chaining the enormous avalanche, that has just broken adrift from its moorings on the summit of some lofty Alp, and is rolling down from precipice to precipice, and from rock to rock, to spread dreariness and desolation over his happy valley. The revolutionary clock has struck one, to indicate that the day of *overturning* has already commenced; and well may the mitred Episcopalian priest and the Presbyterian Levite feel alarmed together at its fearfully ominous and volcanic sound!

As there was nothing to counteract the efforts of Episcopacy to establish for itself an exclusive predominance in the Australian colonies, ways and means were at length devised by certain zealots for that system, to exhibit it to the colonists in an attitude of power and glory not unworthy of the era of Pope Hildebrand. For this purpose, a Church and School Corporation was esta-

blished by Royal Charter in the year 1825, by which the whole care of religion and education in the colony of New South Wales was assigned to the Episcopal clergy, to whom a seventh of the whole continent, or a piece of land as large as the island of Great Britain, was liberally allotted as a suitable reward for their trouble; and as it was wisely considered that the land was of little value so long as it remained in a waste state, the privileged clergy were very properly allowed in the mean time to extract whatever they might think necessary from the public purse, till the increase of population should render their estate valuable in proportion to their deserts. The charter provided for the future erection of a bishopric in the colony, and declared expressly that the bishop was to be paid first, no archdeacon to receive any thing till his lordship was satisfied. The archdeacons were to follow next, and whatever they left was to be divided among the rectors; the working clergy or curates to receive nothing till the latter had got enough.

The Episcopal Church Establishment of the colony consists at present of an archdeacon, fifteen chaplains, and three catechists; the Episcopal School Establishment embracing a male and a female orphan school—each under the superintendence of a half-pay lieutenant in the navy—and about thirty primary schools of a character exceedingly inferior to that of the parish schools of Scotland. Will it be believed, however, that so long ago as the year 1828, when there were neither so many chaplains nor so many schools as at present by a considerable number, the cost of these petty establishments

should have amounted in a single year to upwards of £22,000? The salaries of the chaplains varied, at the period I allude to, from £400 to £250 per annum; but the amount of these salaries was no cue to the real emoluments of the incumbent, or to the total charge for his maintenance on the revenue of the colony. Every expedient was adopted to raise the wind, or, in other words, to increase the income; and, as the Corporation consisted chiefly of clergymen, one voted for another, and the demands on the treasury were consequently exorbitant enough. For instance, the two Episcopal chaplains of Sydney, both of whom had only received that species of ordination which is given *for foreign parts*, had each a fixed salary of the amount specified, (viz. about £300 or £350 per ann.) together with a free house, which in Sydney is worth about £100 a year; but as the one performed divine service at the jail, and the other in the hulk, and as there are no *free-will offerings at the door of the* Colonial Episcopal *Tabernacle*, it was doubtless quite reasonable to allow £50 additional to each of them for these *extra* duties.* They had each grants of land, or farms of their own, which were not suffered to lie waste, in the interior. It was not likely, therefore, that the few acres of sterile land, which they held as glebes near the town of Sydney, could be of much use to them as cattle-runs. They were accordingly induced to surrender their glebes to the Corporation, and

* There used also to be something got for performing divine service to the military in Sydney; but as that item is charged to the account of the mother country, it is not included in the annual returns of the appropriation of the colonial revenue.

received a compensation of £100 a year each in lieu of them. In the mean time, every baptism, every marriage, every burial had to be paid for, with *a regular and accustomed fee.* But Episcopal covetousness (I must use the right word, however offensive,) was not yet satisfied; and the one chaplain accordingly presented to the Corporation, during one of the years of drought, an account of nearly £700 for additional perquisites, to which it appears he was fairly entitled, but which it seems the good man had never got, and the other a similar account of about £500; and the Corporation, of course, voting both accounts correct, they were duly paid. Yes, these accounts were both presented and paid, at a time when many respectable families in the colony were reduced to absolute poverty through the visitation of God and their own unfortunate speculations in sheep and cattle, and when whole districts of inhabited country within the territory were left without the shadow of provision for the dispensation of the ordinances of religion!

But, even at the very time when this lavish and unseemly expenditure of the public money was going on, so jealous was colonial Episcopacy of her power, or rather so unwilling that men who were not entirely of her own making should come within her borders *to spy out the nakedness of the land,* that before I could obtain *a single* hundred a year for a regularly educated and ordained Scotch clergyman, to dispense the ordinances of religion among his own countrymen in an extensive district of country in the territory, I had to leave my own congregation for a twelvemonth, to double Cape Horn, to circumnavigate the globe! Is there any man

of common candour who will not acknowledge that, *in such circumstances*, a colonial church establishment is a positive, an enormous, an intolerable evil?

In the last accounts which the Corporation published, there was an item of £30 for travelling expenses for the venerable Archdeacon Broughton. So small an item, it may perhaps be imagined, might well be suffered to pass unnoticed; but there are cases, as for instance the famous case of the forbidden fruit, in which the very insignificance of the gratification prodigiously aggravates the offence. Had the Archdeacon's travelling expenses amounted to £400 or £500, I would have said, "This is doubtless an apostolic man, who occupies himself in traversing the territory and in confirming the churches, from January to December. It is right that the public should help him to pay his expenses." But when I find that the travelling expenses of the superintendent of so many churches and schools and catechist-stations amounted only to £30 for a whole twelvemonth; and when I find, moreover, that the venerable gentleman had not the heart to expend that paltry amount from his ample salary of £2000 a year, so long as he could fish up £30 more from the colonial treasury chest, I am surely left to form a very different conclusion. Presbyterians have been told again and again, as a reason for being denied the ordinances of religion agreeably to the customs of their own communion in the colonies, that the Church of England is a Protestant and apostolic church. I ask, are these apostolic practices?—for I presume it was a competent authority that left us this test for judging both of churches and

of men,—*By their fruits ye shall know them.* No! men have not yet learned to gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles. It is still unfortunately not less true than it was in the days of the ancient prophet, "*The priests teach for hire, and the prophets divine for money.*" Let those whom it concerns "hear, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" what follows: "*Therefore* FOR YOUR SAKES *shall Zion be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem become heaps.*"*

The mere management of the Church and School Corporation, independently altogether of the salaries of clergymen and schoolmasters, cost, for some time after the institution of that body, upwards of £2000 a year. I confess I am utterly unable to account for the disappearance of so much public money, by any process of compound addition exemplified in the common systems of Scotch ecclesiastical arithmetic; but I admit that there is an essential vulgarity in Presbyterianism on the important subject of expense, which perhaps unfits a man for seeing how easily the public money can be spent unprofitably by those who have the exclusive right and privilege of doing so. Compared with this

* So long as a spirit of this kind is allowed to predominate in any professing church, I consider it a waste of time, and nothing less than downright mockery, to inquire which of the *isms* it is, from the highest Calvinism down to absolute Deism, that is taught in its pulpits. The grand maxim of Christianity is, "Love not the world, neither the things of the world, for whoso loveth the world, the love of the Father is not in him;" and when I find this maxim set aside, either in the constitution or in the practice of any church, I consider my commission of inquiry into its doctrines at an end: for of what consequence is it, though the voice be the voice of Jacob, if the hands are the hands of Esau, or rather of Ishmael?

expenditure the corresponding expenditure of the whole Church of Scotland appears paltry and insignificant. The clerkship of the General Assembly of the Scottish Church, for example—a body having the superintendence of a thousand ministers, with all their churches and chapels, four universities, and upwards of a thousand parochial schoolmasters and schools—costs only £200 per annum; and the duty is at present discharged gratuitously by two clergymen, who devote the whole of the salary allowed them to the Widows' Fund. But the clerkship of the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales—a body having the superintendence of only twelve or fifteen ministers, and about double the number of schoolmasters—required an establishment of no fewer than four lay-clerks; of whom the first—who of course was the son of a member of the Corporation, who had, previously to the institution of that body, had merely half-a-crown a day as a supernumerary clerk in the Commissariat Office—had a salary allowed him of £400 a year, which (if I have not been greatly misinformed) was to have been raised gradually to £700.

If the reader should consider the preceding observations not altogether in character, it will be proper to relect the method of procedure which even the Divine Author of Christianity deemed it expedient to pursue, in dealing with persons who had transformed *His Father's House into a house of merchandize,* and who, to use the strong language of Scripture on another occasion, had *caused the offering of the Lord to be abhorred.* But the reader will recollect, moreover, that as efforts have long

been systematically made to prevent Scots Presbyterians in the colonies from obtaining ministers of their own communion, on the plea that the colonial Episcopacy affords a sufficient provision for the supply of their spiritual wants, Presbyterians are called on to show that they have good reason for considering colonial Episcopacy but a sorry substitute for that system of ecclesiastical polity, for which Knox pleaded so powerfully, for which Melville was so long immured in a prison, and for which Renwick died. Nay, as far as the writer is personally concerned, the reader will find in the sequel that the statements I have been induced to make in the course of this chapter, relative to the character and bearing of colonial Episcopacy, have been made in great measure for my own vindication and in self-defence.

The necessary and direct tendency of the system and practice, of which I have thus given the reader a slight sketch, was to lower the standard of religion throughout the colony, by identifying the ministers of religion in the estimation of the colonial public with a regularly-organized system of grasping covetousness. The last time I attended divine service, according to the ritual of the Church of England in New South Wales, was at the first visitation of the present Archdeacon of the colony, in the year 1829. The sermon preceding the charge was delivered by the junior chaplain, the Rev. Joseph Docker, then recently arrived from one of the English Universities. The purport of the sermon was, "that the general prejudice against the Church of England, on the ground of its being an overpaid establishment, was quite unfounded; there being few men

in business who did not realize more than £500 a year—a sum which was considerably higher than the average value of ecclesiastical livings, notwithstanding the much greater expensiveness of a clerical than of a mercantile education. There were a few prizes (*sic*) indeed in the church-lottery, but then there were many blanks; and, as it was tacitly implied that the blanks preponderated in the Australian colonies, it was very properly argued, that a clergyman settled in these colonies had an undoubted right to eke out his income by some other means; as for instance (I presume, however, to give the instance myself,) by doing something considerable in the grazing line." Mr. Docker's sermon was censured at the time by some of his brethren; but I confess I could not help thinking him a very honest man, who had given a remarkably candid representation of the state of feeling in the body he belonged to.

Mr. Docker concluded his sermon with a long extract from the published sermons of an eminent divine of the Church of England, which, from having accidentally read the particular sermon quoted from very shortly before, I recognised as part of a singularly exceptionable sermon *on the use and abuse of Scripture language*, by the late Archdeacon Paley. The object of the extract was to show "that the *circumstances of Christianity* were very peculiar in the Apostolic age, and that the transition from Judaism or Paganism to Christianity was so great, that it justified much stronger language than could now be used with any degree of propriety. Besides, the Apostles were men of ardent minds and strong passions, who were apt to speak hyperbolically

when they felt warmly;" and it must be allowed in common candour, that the tent-making habits of one of their number, who has written the most copiously of them all, were by no means likely to render him so thoroughly adept in the *use and abuse of Scripture language*, as the late Archdeacon of Carlisle. "The epistles of Paul accordingly abound in such expressions as *being converted, being born of God, being born again, being regenerated, being made new creatures*, &c. Now, these expressions, however applicable to the case of a Jew or a Pagan becoming a Christian, are not to be applied to the case of a person who has been born and bred a Christian, and they consequently *mean absolutely nothing in the present circumstances of Christianity.*" If it had merely been asserted that such expressions meant very little in the present circumstances of colonial Episcopacy, I should have acknowleged that the allegation was not very far from the truth; and I should have accounted for the lamentable fact by referring the reader to the preceding details.

It will not occasion surprise, on the part of Christian and candid men, that the prevalence of the system I have been describing should have given currency and credit in the Australian colonies to the scandalous and delusive idea, that religion is mere priestcraft, and that the ministers of religion are mere mercenary hirelings, whose whole and sole object is gain. I have heard this idea broached too frequently myself, and in too great a variety of forms, by men of some consequence in the colony, not to know that it is perfectly consistent with a decent conformity to the established observances of a

Government-church. In short, a great proportion of the upper and influential classes of society in both colonies have undoubtedly reached that point in theology, which admits that religion is a very good thing after all for the lower classes of society. To assert any thing further, however, would be belying the *present circumstances* of Australian Christianity.

Monopolies in religion, as well as in any thing else, are uniformly productive of intolerance and oppression on the one hand, and of heartburnings and jealousies on the other. The intolerant spirit of colonial Episcopacy was exhibited, however, long before the appointment of an Archdeacon, or the arrival of ministers of the Church of Scotland in the territory. During the government of Major-General Macquarie, the Rev. Mr. Crook, formerly missionary from the London Missionary Society to the Marquesas Islands, resided several years in the colony; and frequently performed divine service according to the forms of the Independents both in Sydney and throughout the territory. He even proceeded on one occasion to dispense the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Sydney. This, however, was regarded as an intolerable usurpation by the colonial Episcopal clergy of the period, who accordingly preferred a complaint against Mr. Crook to His Excellency the Governor, by whom they were forthwith authorized, agreeably I presume to the provisions of the "Act for the suppression of rogues and vagabonds," to sit in convocation on the reverend offender, for bringing the ordinances of religion into contempt by dispensing the Sacrament of the Eucharist in an unconsecrated place

and with unconsecrated vessels. Mr. Crook defended himself on the occasion with some firmness, but I believe he did not venture to repeat the grievance.

In regard, however, to the alleged profanation of a religious observance on the part of the Rev. Mr. Crook, I cannot imagine how the clergy of the Church of England in the Australian colonies could have managed to come into Court to prefer such a charge with clean hands; for appearances are certainly against themselves in that very particular. When, for instance, Mr. James Frost of Sydney, bachelor, and his concubine, Mrs. Rebecca Tinman—whose *loving husband*, John Tinman, is still alive in London, and writes her by every ship, "hopping she is in good elth, as this leives him in the saim, Thank god for it"—bring their children to church to be christened, along with Mr. Joseph Green and his concubine, Mrs. Mary Black, who have consented to stand godfather and godmother to the children, the requisite act of profanation * is performed forthwith, and the said children are baptized, or "made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven," at a *dump* † or quarter-dollar a head, exclusive of the fee for *the churching of the woman;* Mr. Joseph Green and Mrs. Mary Black promising at the same time, or rather swearing in a very solemn manner, to renounce on behalf of the said children the

* This profanation is generally the result of the want of a civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths in the colony; for, if there were such a register, the ordinances of religion would be much seldomer prostituted than they are under the present system.

† The name of a colonial piece of money struck out from the centre of a dollar.

devil, the world, and the flesh, and to bring them up in a Christian manner. And, when the said Mr. James Frost, after being dead-drunk for a fortnight during the hot weather in December, blows his own brains out in a fit of *delirium tremens*, and has been duly certified to have died *by the visitation of God*, i. e. not by any fault or mismanagement of his own, his worthless carcase is committed to the dust, "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," for a certain *regular and accustomed fee;* the by-standers being left to conclude, when the customary service is performed and the customary fee paid, that the said Mr. Joseph Green is *happy now.* Such instances of *real* profanation are of daily occurrence in the Australian colonies; and their influence is withering and blasting as the hot pestilential wind that sweeps over the deserts of Arabia. The despicable practice, moreover, of demanding a fee for every act of clerical duty over and above what the state considers a sufficient salary for the clergyman—a practice which the Apostolic Church of England has borrowed from the Apostolic Church of Rome, but which I am happy to state the Church of Scotland, whose title to the epithet Apostolic is somewhat differently formed, has uniformly disallowed—always reminds me of that Apostolic personage who *kept the bag and that which was put therein,* but betrayed his master.

But the greatest evil that has hitherto resulted from the prevalence of Episcopal domination in New South Wales is that, in conformity to that principle of action and reaction which is so frequently exemplified in the present age, it has roused a spirit in the colony which it

will never be able to lay, and has been the means of saddling the country, for all time coming, with a powerful Roman Catholic establishment. Till very lately, there were only two priests of the Romish communion in New South Wales, each of whom had a salary from the Government of £150 per annum, the great majority of the members of that communion in the colony being either convicts or emancipated-convicts. Within the last two or three years, however, two or three civil officers of the Roman Catholic persuasion have arrived in the colony, and one of their number—Roger Therry, Esq., barrister-at-law, the learned editor of the speeches of Canning, and Commissioner of the Courts of Requests in New South Wales—has distinguished himself by zealously and successfully endeavouring to procure for the Roman Catholics of the territory a more extended provision for the support of ministers of that communion. A Roman Catholic vicar has accordingly arrived in the colony within the last few months, having a salary of £200 per annum from the Government; and so lately as the month of June last (1833) salaries of £150 each were voted by the Legislative Council to six Roman Catholic chaplains, besides £800 per annum for Roman Catholic schools,—making in all £1900 a year,—in addition to various sums allowed for the erection of chapels.

I should be sorry to blame the Roman Catholics of the colony, whether clergymen or laymen, for endeavouring to obtain every thing from the Government they can; but as a consistent Protestant, I cannot help regarding as a great evil the formation and consolida-

tion of a strong Roman Catholic establishment in the Australian territory. At the same time, I have no hesitation in expressing it as my fixed opinion, that the existence of that establishment, in its present prominence and strength, has been owing in great measure to the jealousy and the envy which were naturally, and I will add justly, excited among the Roman Catholics of the colony, at the overgrown dimensions and the lordly demeanour of colonial Episcopacy, during the government of General Darling. I should like to be informed, however, why the principle of supporting the religious establishments of the mother country alone has been abandoned in that colony, in favour of the Roman Catholics exclusively? Are not the Methodists and the Independents equally good subjects, and equally deserving of Government support? The Presbyterians of the colony originally preferred their claim for support from the Government on the ground of their being members of one of the established churches of the mother country; but if a different principle is to be acted on in one instance, I ask why not in all? Let us either have the system of the Netherlands and of France, where the clergy of all denominations are supported, either in whole or in part, by the Government; or the system of America, where all are indiscriminately left to the free-will offerings of the people. For my own part, though a member of an established church, and therefore holding that establishments are not unlawful in the Christian sense of the phrase, and though receiving a liberal salary from the Crown as a minister of that church in a British colony, I confess I should greatly

prefer the latter of these systems—I mean the system of America—for the colony of New South Wales; and were the Government salaries of the clergy of all denominations in that colony to be forthwith and for ever withdrawn, so far from despairing of the cause of God in the colony, or from being less loyal as a British subject than I have hitherto been, I should rather be inclined to say, *Advance Australia! God save the King!*

In fact, I have long been convinced that the interests of the Christian religion would by this time have been in a much more advanced and prosperous state than they actually are, even in the convict-colony of New South Wales, if not one sixpence had ever been paid from the colonial treasury to a single minister of religion in the territory, and if the planting of churches in the colony had been left entirely to Christian philanthropy and British benevolence. Religion is a sensitive plant, which, when delicately handled, refuses not to grow under the shadow of the royal oak; but it is so apt in that situation to be trodden down by the sycophant, the formalist, and the worldling, that it is far likelier to flourish in the open field of the world, where those who are unacquainted with the habits of the plant are apt to imagine it can find no depth of soil to strike its roots downward, and no shelter from the pitiless storm. So long as the Ark remains the symbol of the God of Israel, the Strength of Israel is pledged for its defence. When it ceases to maintain that high character, it is worth defending no longer. A short-sighted priesthood—a priesthood of little faith—may be ready to exclaim in the bitterness of their heart, at the first murmurings of

the storm that seems ready to burst over the religious establishments of the mother country, *The glory is departed, for the Ark of God is taken!* But the mighty and mysterious symbol will still be safe even in the cities of its enemies; and the gods of the Philistines and the might of their people will at length fall prostrate before it.*

* The following extract of a letter from the Rev. Elihu W. Baldwin, one of the clergy of New York, dated 26th December, 1832, and published in one of the English periodicals for 1833, will illustrate the working of what is called the Voluntary System in the United States:—

"The wisdom of the voluntary support of Christian ordinances has been subjected to an experiment of many years, and upon a very extensive scale. It has been tried among every class of the free population that occupy this country, from the sober, calculating Puritans of New England, to the mixed multitude of the Southern and Western States. In many instances it has taken the place of former arrangements, which called in the aid of the civil government; in others again it has been incorporated with the earliest existence of extensive states and territories. Now it must not be forgotten, that the Christians of the United States are charged with more—much more than the provision of religious instruction for the *successive* generations of a people already supplied with the means of grace. Our task is not merely to keep our chapels full of faithful ministers, and to increase the number in proportion to the growth of a dense and homogeneous population. We have to provide for new communities, which are vast in extent, and which receive their first citizens from many countries. With us the most serious question has been, Will this voluntary plan meet the exigences of the west and the south? Will it give Christian ministers and ordinances to the great valley of the Mississippi? I can state the following as results which encourage us to expect and attempt great things.

"1. The older States are, at this time, better supplied with Evangelical ministers than at any former period since the Revolution. I know of no State or district of country, where Christianity has lost ground from the adoption of the voluntary support of ministers. In most instances the gain is unquestionable.

"2. The whole nation has been supplied with the sacred Scriptures. And the amount of Scriptural instruction given to the rising generation

It would seem, however, that the system of the Netherlands is the one which is likely to be acted on

in sabbath-schools and Bible-classes has probably increased fivefold in ten years.

"3. A great number of grammar-schools, colleges, and theological seminaries, have been endowed and put in operation, to supply learned as well as pious advocates of the Gospel.

"4. The Presbyterian and Congregational denominations alone have more than twelve hundred pious young men in a course of training for the ministry, who are sustained by the liberality of the churches; besides a great many who have the means of meeting the expense of their own education. The literary and theological course of a candidate for the ministry with us commonly embraces from seven to nine years.

"5. The domestic Missionary Societies; of these some denominations have under their patronage not less than eight hundred ministers, who are employed either in the feeble congregations of the old States, or in the infant congregations of new. Our general plan is to encourage the settlement of pastors in all directions, by aiding the people in their support, until the influence of their ministrations, or the natural growth of their charges, shall render such assistance unnecessary.

"6. There is a disposition manifested by all the Evangelical denominations to elevate the substantial qualifications of candidates for the ministry. Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, &c., are getting up their theological seminaries in all directions, and filling them with able professors. *More has been done for Christianity in these respects within the last ten years, than had been accomplished in the preceding fifty years.*"

On the 11th of July last, seven days after I had sailed for England, a meeting of certain of the free inhabitants of the colony was held in Sydney, to memorialize the Governor and the Legislative Council on the amount of the grant which had just been voted by the Council for the support of the Episcopal church and schools for the year 1834, and on the principle of granting salaries and pensions from the colonial revenue for services not performed in the colony. The memorial adopted on the occasion expressed the opinion of the memorialists, that the support of the ordinances of religion in the colony ought to be left entirely to the voluntary efforts of the people; and if such an arrangement should eventually take place, I am confident the colony would be no loser. At the same time, knowing as I well do the quarter in which that memorial originated, I cannot disguise from myself, that the opinion it embodied was by no means the dictate of enlightened Christianity, as far as the co-

eventually in New South Wales. In a debate in the House of Commons on the 5th of March, 1829, relative to the provision established for the dispensation of the ordinances ef religion in the North American colonies, the Right Honourable Sir George Murray, who was then Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, made the following remarks in the course of an able and eloquent speech :—

"I have always been disinclined to follow up the principle of carrying into these colonies the system of an exclusive church establishment. I have ever regretted that, in the original construction of the constitution of Canada, a system was introduced, the effect of which was the allotment of a large portion of that country to the exclusive maintenance of the Protestant church. The interpretation given by many to that clause in the act, is, that it meant to apply exclusively to the Church of England. I can conceive nothing more likely to prove injurious to the Church of England itself, or better calculated to create feelings of religious dissension in these colonies; *and I have therefore always looked forward to the gradual extinction of that system, and to a just and suitable provision being made for the clergy of all religious persuasions—not for one more than*

---

lonial memorialists were concerned. I believe it was rather the offspring and the emanation of that spirit of liberalism and infidelity that has planted itself, like Samson, between what it considers the two main pillars of Christianity—I mean the two Protestant Established Churches of Great Britain—in the hope that by wrenching these pillars from their sockets, the whole fabric of Christianity will fall to the ground, and the restraints of religion be altogether removed.

But, in cherishing such an idea, Infidelity is still as blind as was the son of Manoah. It is only the house of Dagon she can bring down with all her desperate efforts. It is only the lords of the Philistines she can overwhelm under its ruins. The Church of the living God is founded on a rock: Infidelity can neither shake nor subvert it. The earth may be removed snd the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; but the ensign for the people will still wave as conspicuously as ever on the hill of Zion, and the pure river of the water of life will still gladden the inhabitants of that city of God.

another. I am not friendly to the principle pursued in the States of America, of casting off the church altogether, and maintaining no connexion between the religious and civil establishments of the country; at the same time, *I should be still more disposed to deprecate the exclusive establishment and endowment of one church over all others.*"—MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT, NEW SERIES, page 3315.

I am utterly at a loss, however, to know how the right honourable baronet managed to reconcile this parliamentary show of liberality with his own official and right opposite practice. During the period that that high office was held by Sir George Murray, the Presbyterians of Sydney forwarded a memorial to the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, through His Excellency General Darling, soliciting a small salary for a Scotch schoolmaster to educate the numerous children of the middle and lower classes of Presbyterians residing in Sydney, agreeably to the modes in use in the parish schools of Scotland. The memorial was numerously signed, and, if I recollect aright, it stated that there was a school in existence at the time in connexion with the Scots Church in Sydney, in which a considerable number of the pupils were taught gratuitously. A salary even of £50 a year would have been received with much thankfulness by the memorialists, and would have placed the school in an independent and flourishing condition. It was peculiarly mortifying, however, to be told in reply by Sir George Murray—*our own countryman*, as General Darling very pointedly observed on the occasion—that no salary of the kind would be allowed, as the Presbyterians, forsooth, had got enough from the Government already!

According to the right honourable professor of liberality in the House of Commons, the free emigrant Scots Presbyterians of New South Wales were not fit to be entrusted with the education of their own offspring. Their church might be tolerated and supported during the present generation—but no longer if the Government could help it. Every drop of the Presbyterian blood was, if possible, to be squeezed out of the veins of the colony; and for this purpose all the Presbyterian children, whose parents could not afford to pay for their education independently of the Government, were to be laid hold of by the underlings of Episcopacy, and taught to repeat stories about their godfathers and their godmothers, and to answer to the question, *What is your name?*—like a tame cockatoo!

I appeal against the continuance of so illiberal a system to the honourable feelings even of the Episcopalian members of the reformed House of Commons. They have only to express their generous disapproval of it, and it ceases for ever. For what, I ask, is the unpardonable political sin that Scotsmen have committed either at home or abroad, that they are thus placed as it were under the ban of the empire in the colonies—that their very children must be laid hold of and made to pass through the fire to the Moloch of Episcopacy? A little—a very little comparatively—will satisfy the Presbyterian inhabitants of both colonies, both for churches and schools; but they cannot help feeling that they have hitherto been treated with injustice, when—notwithstanding the acknowledged fact, that more than one half of all the free emigrants

who have arrived in the colony of Van Dieman's Land for the last twelve years have been Scotsmen and Presbyterians — all the four regularly educated ministers of the Presbyterian church, who are at this moment stationed in that island, do not receive half as much from the Government altogether as is obtained in one shape or other by a single Episcopal chaplain in the island, who had never even been within the walls of a college previous to his being ordained *for the colonies* by the bishop of London.

All that the Presbyterians of New South Wales had got for their ministers from the Government, at the time when they had the honour of receiving the direct refusal of Sir George Murray, in reply to their memorial for a paltry salary for a Scotch schoolmaster in Sydney, was £400 per annum. The colonial Episcopacy was receiving, at that very time, £18,000 per annum. The amount now allotted to the Presbyterian clergy is £600 per annum. The present amount of the grant to the Episcopal clergy is £18,129. 10*s*. viz. £11,542. 10*s*. for the clergy exclusively, and £6,587 for Episcopal schools. The very musicians, door-keepers, and other menials of the Episcopal churches of the colony have at this moment £190 more of the public money divided among them every year, than the whole sum allotted to all the Presbyterian clergy of the territory. The whole cost of the Episcopal establishment of the colony during the first five years of General Darling's Government amounted, independently of the revenue accruing to the Corporation from the sale and rent of church lands, as well as of certain items paid from the Parliamentary

grant for the support of the colonial Episcopacy during the year 1826, to the sum of £91,569. 17*s.* 4*d.* The Presbyterian clergy of the colony cost the Government during the same period £1966. 6*s.* 8*d.*, or, including the items above mentioned, *less than one-fiftieth part of the cost of the Colonial Episcopal Church and School Establishment.*

At the same time, I am happy to state that there are zealous and active ministers of the Church of England in the Australian colonies—men whose faith and practice are not only unexceptionable but exemplary—men whom the people would doubtless support willingly, if they were left to depend entirely on their Christian liberality. The Venerable the Archdeacon is by no means a man of eminent talent; but his attainments, both as a scholar and as a divine of the school of Arminius, are highly respectable. Indeed, if his place in society had been more favourable for the developement of the milder graces of the clerical character, and if he had not been invested with the dangerous attribute of political power—that perilous possession of which churchmen from the days of Diotrephes have been so passionately fond, but which often neutralizes their best qualities and turns their gold into bronze—I am confident he would have proved a zealous, a useful, and an acceptable minister of religion. In short, it is the system that is at fault, rather than the men.

The Wesleyan Methodists have by no means made so strong an impression on the colony as I should have wished and anticipated. In Sydney, the number of their body is not large, considering the time they have

been settled in the country, and the strength they have at different periods been able to bring into the colonial field. Out of Sydney, their numbers are very inconsiderable. This is certainly to be regretted in a convict-colony; for although I am no admirer of the theological system of that body, I cannot but acknowledge that many of their number exhibit a warmth of piety and a fervency of zeal, which, although occasionally mingled with extravagance, are relics of the best ages of the Christian Church, and are not always to be met with in other communions. There are evidences, however, of recent improvement in this denomination in the colony. Indeed, the state of torpor into which it had previously sunk was owing, in great measure, to the prevalence of blighting winds from a quarter I have already indicated; but a fresh infusion of warm blood from the mother country has again begun to warm and to invigorate the system.

A baneful influence has undoubtedly been exerted on the colony from a circumstance to which I have already alluded,—I mean the recklessness with which individuals who had been sent out to the Australian colonies or to the South Sea Islands as missionaries, and had acted for a time in that capacity with various success, have subsequently quitted the missionary field and divested themselves of the missionary character altogether; becoming thenceforth mere laymen, and devoting themselves exclusively to what my eloquent countryman Dr. Chalmers would designate *the pursuits and concerns of earthliness.* I am no advocate for the Popish doctrine relative to "Holy Orders," which—it

is preposterously conceived by the members of the Romish Church—communicate a new, a sacred, and an indelible character to the individual, independently of his own moral and religious standing in the sight of God and man; but I can easily conceive how that doctrine has been distilled, in the Babylonish alembic, from the right feelings of primitive Christianity in relation to the ministerial character and office. The doctrine of primitive Christianity was doubtless, that the man, who had once borne a commission in the grand army of the Faith, was never afterwards at liberty to quit the service, or to throw down his arms in disappointment or despair. The tenour of the "Sacramentum,"* or *oath* he was supposed to take to his Commander-in-Chief, the Captain of his Salvation, was "that he should yield true and faithful allegiance as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, even unto death; that he should be ready to march wherever he was ordered, and to bear arms amid hardships, dangers, and deaths, wherever the Christian banner was uplifted; that he should receive without murmuring whatever allowances, either of food or raiment, should be assigned him; that his period of engagement should be for life, and his full pay be receivable only after he had fallen in the field." While such an oath was faithfully kept, as it doubtless generally was in the first ages of the church, the ministerial character and office were necessarily regarded

* The use of this military phrase, which was quite intelligible to an old Roman, but which was afterwards mystified for obvious purposes, doubtless gave occasion to the grand absurdity of the Romish "*Sacrament* of Orders."

with a feeling of reverence which no church dignitary created by a royal *congé d'elire* can ever inspire. In comparison with such a feeling, however, how contemptible is the estimate which the world must naturally form of the individual who, after having once taken the "*sacramentum*," or oath of a Christian minister or missionary, nevertheless feels himself at liberty to throw up his commission whenever it suits his convenience, or to abandon his proper field of labour whenever he finds difficulties in the way! New South Wales teems with cases of this kind, furnished indiscriminately by all the three societies that have hitherto sent missionaries to the South Seas or the Australian colonies, viz. the Church of England Missionary Society, the Wesleyans, and the Independents or London Missionary Society; insomuch, that one can scarcely step abroad in the colony without treading on the toes of an ex-minister or missionary. I have already alluded to our ex-missionary graziers, cattle-dealers, and constables; we have also had ex-missionary grocers and bakers, haberdashers, booksellers, and timber-merchants;* and the

* When a missionary becomes an instructor of youth, especially after long service in the missionary field, I conceive he is still in his proper sphere, and in no way amenable to censure. But the man who trifles with the *sacramentum* or oath which a Christian minister or missionary is still conceived to take, to whatever division of the church militant he belongs, and throws up his commission and becomes a layman again from mere motives of convenience, or from the apprehension of difficulties and danger, is a deserter, and deserves to be branded as such by all Christian communities. Much of the evil, doubtless, arises from the facility with which people get themselves transformed into ministers or missionaries in certain quarters.

transformation that has thus been effected in so many instances has not only had a powerful tendency to bring the ministerial character and office into contempt, but has given currency to the scandalous idea, that the profession of a minister of religion, or of a missionary to the heathen, is merely one of the numerous means of gaining a livelihood, which a man may abandon for some other more profitable mode whenever he finds it has not completely answered his views, with as little impropriety as when an unsuccessful medical practitioner becomes a merchant or settler.

There is a congregation of Independents in Sydney, who have lately got a minister from London. They are likely to become a numerous and respectable body in the colonial capital. There is also a small congregation of Baptists in the town of Sydney, but they have not yet been able to erect a permanent place of worship. There are also Bible and Missionary and Tract Societies in the colony. I cannot say they have prospered greatly, although votes of thanks are quite as frequent at their annual meetings, and quite as full of unchristian and unmanly adulation, as in any part of the mother country. Indeed, religious societies are now so much the order of the day, that they have become rather an equivocal test of the real standing of the church in general in any Protestant country.

The lax state of feeling, or rather the state of entire indifference, on the subject of religion, among the higher and more influential classes of Protestants in New South Wales, may be inferred from the circum-

stance of the Roman Catholics of the colony having obtained much countenance and assistance, in the erection and completion of their chapel in Sydney, from a number of Protestant magistrates and gentlemen throughout the territory. It was the policy of that body to induce a sort of liberalism on the subject of religion among the Protestants of the colony, and to dignify this feeling with the epithet of Christian charity; and the talents of Roger Therry, Esq., commissioner of the Court of Requests, were employed in this way with a happy effect, as a Roman Catholic layman is listened to on such subjects much more willingly than a Roman Catholic priest. A memorial had been prepared by the Roman Catholic committee, soliciting assistance from the government for the erection and completion of Roman Catholic chapels in various parts of the territory, and for other kindred purposes connected with the consolidation and advancement of the Roman Catholic Communion. This memorial had been entrusted to Mr. Therry, to be sent for subscription and for support all over the territory. The letters which Mr. Therry received in reply to his circular accompanying the memorial, from many Protestant magistrates and gentlemen in the colony, were flattering in the extreme; and several of these letters were read by Mr. T. at a public meeting of the members of the Romish communion, which was held in Sydney in the month of July, 1832. One of the letters, however, which Mr. Therry received, was of a somewhat different character; and the celebrity of the writer in a field of enterprise and exer-

tion that attracted the interest and attention of the whole civilized world, and Mr. Therry's allusions to it in his speech at the meeting, occasioned what has been styled in the colony, "The Roman Catholic Controversy," with a short account of which I shall conclude this long chapter on colonial religion.

After reading various complimentary letters from Protestant magistrates and gentlemen at the meeting above mentioned, Mr. Therry proceeded as follows:—

Extract from the Report of Mr. Commissioner Therry's Speech in the Sydney Gazette of August 4th, 1832.

He might read many more letters to the same effect, but the task would be one of supererogation. Suffice it to say, that there was one uniform and generous disposition throughout the colony in favour of the long and much wanted assistance, which it was the object of the memorial to solicit. A few thought it dignified perhaps to be neutral; a few who seemed to have made up their minds to be useless to every body except themselves, and to do nothing from which they saw no positive pecuniary gain to accrue, resolved in a spirit of indifference not to sign the memorial; but in a corresponding spirit they resolved not to resist it. A spirit of opposition was only manifested in one quarter; and he would say, that it came from a quarter which was the last from which he should have expected such opposition to have proceeded. The writer was Sir Edward Parry, than whom he believed there was not a more excellent person in all the domestic relations of life. He (Sir Edward) had made himself eminent by his talents in his own country, and was eminent by his station in this. The influence of his name gave weight to his opinions, which, unfavourable as they were to the object they had in view, he would nevertheless read to the meeting for two reasons:—*First*, because from the terms of the letter it would indeed appear to be rather addressed to the meeting than to himself, and to conceal it would be to counteract the avowed wishes of the writer.—*Secondly*, he would read it, because were he to abstain from doing so, it might be supposed that he deemed it to be a more formidable document than it really was; whereas, in truth, he regarded it as a very harmless and innocent production.

My dear Sir, Port Stephens, 5th May, 1832.

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo, it is a matter of sincere regret to me that I am unable to comply with your request, of adding my name to the memorial to which you allude.

As I presume that the circumstance of my having subscribed towards the completion of the Sydney Roman Catholic Chapel is a principal reason for your present application to me—and a very just and natural reason too—I feel it to be due to myself, no less than to you, and to the respectable body whose cause you so ably advocate, to offer a candid explanation of my present sentiments on this subject.

It may be proper for me, first, to assure you that I am a Protestant—not merely because I was born of Protestant parents, and in a country chiefly Protestant,—but because I do from my heart most solemnly protest against the Church of Rome, as being, in my opinion, a system of idolatry and superstition of human invention, and directly opposed to the one only standard of right and wrong which I can conscientiously recognise—namely, the inspired word of God.

Notwithstanding this my solemn and deliberate conviction, I subscribed my mite towards the completion of the Chapel at Hyde Park, on the principle that as there are a great many Roman Catholics at Sydney, it was desirable that they should have a place for public worship according to the forms of their own church rather than none at all. You will not, I trust, be offended when I declare to you, that I did it in the sincere belief that to build a Roman Catholic Chapel where there was none, and where thousands of Roman Catholics were already residing, was rather the least of two very serious evils.

Further reflection, subsequently to that occasion—the first on which I ever was called upon to assist in an object connected with the Roman Catholic religion—has convinced me that, in this case, I acted, to say the least, inconsistently with my Protestant profession and faith; and I have suffered much self-reproach in consequence. I need scarcely add, therefore, that I prefer acknowledging my first error to a repetition of it, especially in these days of what is called liberality in religion, which, judging from the infallible standard to which I have already alluded, I conceive to mean an increasing disregard of all scriptural and vital religion whatever.

Having thus candidly explained to you on this subject, I ought perhaps to observe that, although I by no means *wish* to obtrude my opinions upon any individual entertaining the faith of the Church of Rome, so as to create unnecessary pain, or to give unnecessary offence, yet, when thus called upon, I have no objection whatever on my own account to your

making any use of this communication which in your official capacity as Secretary to the Meeting you may deem requisite.

Believe me, my dear sir,

Yours very faithfully and sincerely,

(Signed) W. E. PARRY.

To Roger Therry, Esq.,
Commissioner of the Court of Requests.

These were, no doubt, the sincere sentiments of the writer; but at the same time that he admitted his sincerity, he could neither approve of the fittingness of the occasion on which he chose to make an avowal of them, nor commend the spirit of the language in which they were couched; and, least of all, could he admit their truth and justness. In requesting Sir E. Parry to attach his name to the memorial in behalf of the Roman Catholics of this colony, he certainly had no intention to call upon that gentleman for a confession of faith; that was a question on which he never interfered with any person, but which he allowed every man to settle in the best way he may with that Almighty Power to whom he alone was accountable for it. However, Sir Edward thought fit to put forward his sentiments in the following manner, (vide Sir Edward's letter, second paragraph.) To belong to a particular religion because one's parents belonged to it is the best reason (I recollect Sir F. Burdett to have once said) that any man could give why he belonged to one Christian sect in preference to another. Unquestionably it was a very just and pious feeling, and grew out of the best disposition of our nature, and he should be sorry to disturb or weaken the cogency which it appeared to have upon the mind of Sir E.; but Sir E. would surely admit that it was as good a reason at least why we should all be Catholics as that he should be a Protestant. Sir E.'s next reason for being a Protestant is, that he was born in a country chiefly Protestant: this was not a very irresistible argument for his faith, as, upon the same principle, if he had been born in India he would have been a Mahomedan, or a worshipper of the sun if born in Peru: but, touching this point of country, Sir E. will perhaps pardon me for reminding him, that if it be chiefly Protestant now, it was not always so; that even now in the mass of population there is a great sprinkling of Catholics and Dissenters, but that formerly England was a nation of Catholics. Moreover, in cherishing the pride of his country, he could not fail to take some pride in its constitution—a constitution which, be it borne in mind, is the work of Catholic hands. Can Sir E. Parry find no more courteous terms than that of "superstitious idolaters" to designate

those men to whom England is indebted for the frame, form, and vital substance of her constitution—the institution of an hereditary monarchy—of a legislative and hereditary peerage—of the House of Commons—emphatically the people's House of Parliament—not indeed as it now stands (or as it stood lately, for no doubt the Bill has passed) disfigured by rotten boroughs and individual nomination? Then comes our claim to the great charter of England's liberties, to a definite high-treason law—to the institution of the trial by jury—so that if Sir E. were to take from the country all that bears the stamp and impress of Catholic times and Catholic hands, he would find himself bereft of the very best and proudest part of an Englishman's birthright and inheritance. If, then, Sir E. has a high regard for his immediate parents, let him not be wanting altogether in reverence to his forefathers. But next comes the "unkindest cut of all,"—this denunciation of two-thirds of the Christian world as adopting "a regular system of idolatry and superstition of human invention." Really, this is what the late Lord Liverpool called "*too bad.*" It was, at least, a most gratuitous and unauthorized denunciation of all who did not adopt the sole standard of religious creed which Sir E. Parry thought proper to establish. Whence, he should be glad to know, did the worthy knight derive his mission to be a denouncing and destroying angel to all men who, instead of abiding by the doctrine that he preached, preferred the precept of the Apostle, who enjoined them to "continue in the things which they had learned, and which had been committed to them, *knowing of whom they had learned them?*" He would not stop to discuss with Sir Edward the propriety of his excluding from his confession of faith the thirty-nine articles—the declaration and the homilies—all of which, if he were the good English Protestant that he asserted himself to be, he must believe, together with the Scriptures. He abstained from this discussion, not only because controversy was an ungracious thing in itself, but because that liberty of conscience which he claimed for himself was a freedom which he wished others to enjoy; and he therefore withdrew from a presumptuous scrutiny into which "fools rush in," but which, from its depth, its difficulty, and its sacredness, "angels may well fear to tread." All he would contend for is this, that as he interposed no rash and uncalled-for opinion between man's conscience and the dispensation of his Creator's mercy towards him, so no man had a right to denounce him in the terms contained in the letter he had read, because he thought proper to couple his belief in the Scriptures with a faith on the authority on which they rested,—knowing that, without authority, schisms and heresies cannot be prevented—knowing that, without authority, the Christian world cannot be preserved from

the errors and impieties from which Christ redeemed it—and knowing, too, that without authority the unity of any church or state of the universe cannot be preserved. Sir Edward was welcome to his sole standard; but wherefore should he denounce us because we happen to abide in preference by the doctrine of St. Augustine, who in our estimate was as good a divine as the gallant captain; and who assures us "that he would not believe the authority of the Gospel if the authority of the Church did not compel him thereto?" The remainder of Sir E.'s letter was rather amusing than serious. His donation to the Roman Catholic Chapel, and his subsequent regret of it, reminded him of the man of antiquity who believed his body to be possessed of two spirits—a wicked one and a good one. So Sir Edward seemed to think his mind was influenced by the evil spirit when he subscribed £5 to the Catholic Chapel; but the good spirit in turn repossessed his mind and prompted him to repent of it. It was a little too much, however, to say, that this subscription was opposed to the only standard of faith that he could recognise, namely, the inspired Word of God: for he would defy any man to produce that passage, "Thou shalt not subscribe £5 towards the Roman Catholic Chapel in Hyde Park." There was no such nonsense in the Scriptures; there was no such sentiment in the Sacred Scriptures so opposed to Christian charity; and that it was at variance with the true spirit, too, of the Protestant religion itself, he would undertake to satisfy even Sir E. Parry by a reference to one or two of the eminent divines of that church. On that subject the Protestant Bishop of Elphin writes thus: "By far the greatest part of the population of my district are Catholics. I know I cannot make them good Protestants, I therefore wish to make good Catholics of them; and with this intention I put into their hands the works of Gother, an eminent Catholic divine." His lordship adds: "That speculative differences in some points of faith were of no account; his Roman Catholic brethren and himself had but one religion—the religion of Christians; and that without justice to the Catholics there could be no security for the Protestants." The venerable Bishop of Norwich thus beautifully expressed the sentiment of Christian charity which all men would do well to imbibe. Speaking of ecclesiastical establishments, he says: "The mere fabric of the building would be hardly worth preserving, if that charity, which is the guardian angel of the inner temple, had taken its flight, and the 'glory was departed.'" Lastly, the present Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield), whose orthodoxy no man would doubt, gives the following sharp reproof to those who may be tempted to indulge in effusions similar to the letter he had read. In calculating the means whereby service can be best rendered to reli-

gion, he asks: "How is this done? Not surely in retaliating mis-statements, invectives, and calumnies, or crudely asserting an unqualified right of private judgment, but by referring to primitive antiquity." He would now conclude the correspondence which he had read upon the subject of this memorial, by a letter which he had received from a brave and distinguished officer who resided in this colony for several years, during four of which he acted as commandant at Bathurst. It was cheering to turn to such a document, from the contrast it presented to the last letter he had read, &c. &c.

The sentiments which were thus promulgated by the Roman Catholic orator being conceived highly exceptionable, as well as dangerous to the interests of pure and undefiled religion in the territory, one of the ministers of the Church of Scotland in the colony addressed the following letter on the subject to the Editor of the Sydney Gazette, which was accordingly published in that paper on the 18th of August, 1832:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SYDNEY GAZETTE.

SIR,

I cannot help admiring the zeal which Mr. Commissioner Therry uniformly exhibits in behalf of that religious community to which he belongs—I mean the Roman Catholics of the colony. It may well put to the blush many an Episcopalian, many a Presbyterian layman throughout the territory.

At the same time I cannot help thinking that Mr. Therry's *lay-sermon* on Sir Edward Parry's letter, *delivered* at a late meeting of the Roman Catholics of Sydney, and reported in your last two numbers, was as *lame* on the one hand, as it was *uncalled for* on the other.

It was wholly *uncalled for*, Mr. Editor; for I will take up that point first. Sir E. Parry had, on some occasion, been solicited to subscribe for the erection of the Roman Catholic Chapel, and naturally enough had forthwith complied, without ever thinking, perhaps, that he was doing wrong. In reflecting, however, on what he had done, Sir Edward speedily found, that his subscribing towards the erection of a Roman Catholic Chapel was utterly inconsistent with a conscientious adherence to the Protestant faith; for it is a fundamental principle of *Protestantism*,

"that the Roman Catholic religion is a system of idolatry and superstition, unwarranted by the Word of God, and subversive of Christian morality." *Why* Protestants hold this principle is a different question,—a question which there are doubtless many Protestants in this colony both able and willing to answer; but the fact itself is indisputable; and such being the fact, Sir E. Parry had good reason to regret the error into which he had unconsciously fallen, in lending his influence and his money to support and perpetuate a system of religion which he held unscriptural on the one hand, and pernicious on the other. When Sir Edward, therefore, was called upon a second time on behalf of the Roman Catholic chapel and its concerns, he deemed it his duty not only to acknowledge his former error, but to lift up his testimony in behalf of that truth, from which, in the instance in question, he had evidently swerved. And will any man in this community presume to say that in so doing he did not act the part of an honest and right-hearted man?

But to bring the matter home to Mr. Therry. Would that gentleman subscribe to the building of an English or Scots Church, a Wesleyan or Baptist chapel? I trow not. But even though he should subscribe for such a purpose, as I believe certain professed Roman Catholics in the colony have done, I would merely say that he was just as latitudinarian in his principles as certain of his Protestant correspondents; for Mr. Therry cannot be ignorant that the Council of Trent, which fixed the articles of the Roman Catholic faith beyond the possibility of change, virtually pronounces Protestants of all communions *heretics, who are equally under the wrath of God, and the ban of the Roman Catholic Church,* "beyond whose pale," it assures us, "there is no possibility of salvation for any." A conscientious Roman Catholic, therefore, as I conceive Mr. Therry to be, can just as little subscribe for a Protestant place of worship, as a conscientious Protestant can for a Roman Catholic. Protestant as I am, I believe that many a conscientious Roman Catholic is a true Christian at heart; but I can never believe that Protestants of so wide a calibre as certain of Mr. Therry's correspondents can possibly be Christians at all.

Instead, therefore, of making it the subject of a proselytizing lay-sermon on the tenets of the Roman Catholic faith, Mr. Therry should merely have acknowledged the receipt of Sir Edward's letter in a private note, "expressing his regret that Sir E. had done any thing in reference to the Roman Catholic Chapel which his conscience had afterwards disapproved; hoping that Sir E. might be favoured with the requisite light to enable him to discover the truth wherever it might be hid; and concluding by expressing his thankfulness to Almighty God, that the

constitution under which we have the happiness to live no longer suffered any man to sit as a ruler and a judge over his neighbour in matters of religion." I should be sorry indeed to set myself forward as a letter-writer for the able biographer of Canning; but such, I conceive, was the course which in this particular instance he ought to have pursued.

But Mr. Therry's lay-sermon was as *lame* as it was *uncalled for;* and I shall now take the liberty, Mr. Editor, to show where it halted.

Referring to a part of Sir Edward's letter, in which he disclaimed the idea of being a Protestant merely because his parents had been so, Mr. Therry treats us with a verse of the "*old song*," that, because our forefathers were Roman Catholics, we should all be so! For the same reason, we should all be Pagans and Idolaters, as our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, of a somewhat higher antiquity, were all so, without exception. But why should we stop on this ascending scale at any one point rather than another? Why should we not all be of the same religion as our first parents, Adam and Eve? But of what religion were they' it may be asked. "Why, they were insignificant dissenters," says the zealous Episcopalian, "for they never used the book of Common Prayer either *in* the Garden or *out* of it." "No! they were downright heretics," says Mr. Commissioner Therry, "for they never crossed themselves, nor said an *Ave-Maria* all their lives." We have thus, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics, very little reason to *follow our forefathers* in matters of such high moment, and very much reason to *think* and *examine* for ourselves. Protestantism requires nothing more of us.

"But we have the voice of antiquity—primitive antiquity, in our favour," says Mr. Therry, thereby hinting that Protestantism is a thing of yesterday. On the contrary, it is as old as this declaration of the Divine Author of Christianity—"Search the Scriptures;"—for there were Proto-Protestants even in the apostolic days—the Christians of Berea, for instance—who searched the Scriptures, and thereby *protested* against the Jews who took every thing for granted.

"But of what value is the authority of the Scriptures without the authority of the Church?" again exclaims Mr. Therry. The word Church, Mr. Editor, is an ambiguous word. It either signifies all *true Christians* of every age and whatever communion, or any particular society of *professing Christians*, as the Church of England, the Church of Rome. Now in the latter sense—the one in which alone Mr. Therry uses it—the Church is not a tribunal constituted to try the Scriptures, as he considers it is, but the Scriptures are a tribunal divinely constituted to try every particular Church. "*To the Law and to the Testimony*," is the divinely authorized maxim of Protestantism; "*if they speak not according to this word, it*

is because there is no light in them." The Scriptures are God's letters to men; and are these letters to be held destitute of authority till they have received the Roman Catholic post-mark? The words of these letters are *spirit* and *life*; and whoever reads them with attention and docility will assuredly recognise the handwriting of the Divinity in every page. The fact, that the Scriptures of the New Testament, in which those of the Old are assumed to be of divine authority, were written by the Apostles of Jesus Christ, is a mere historical fact, as easily proved as that Cæsar reigned in Rome.

But if Mr. Commissioner Therry is an *exceptionable divine* in his lay-sermon, he is any thing but accurate as a *political historian*, when he gives us to understand that the people of England are indebted for their liberties to the Roman Catholic barons who compelled King John to sign the Magna Charta. It is worth while to examine this precious piece of history, which Mr. Cobbett has been proclaiming to all England, and Mr. O'Connell to all Ireland a thousand times, and which it seems Mr. Therry is now proclaiming to the colony of New South Wales. Does Mr. Therry not know, then, that the Magna Charta was for ages a dead letter as far as it concerned the *people* of England? The whole affair in which it originated was a mere combination of the wolves to bind the lion; for after compelling the miserable monarch to sign the document which curtailed his own authority and augmented theirs, under colour of giving freedom to the nation, the barons went, each to his own territory, to tyrannize over and oppress his miserable vassals, without fear of interference. In short, the people of England never knew what liberty was, till it was won for them by Hampden and the other conscientious Protestants (Puritans they were called at the time) of the Long Parliament; and when the liberties of England were again lost through the unhallowed ambition of Oliver Cromwell, it was the Protestants (Whigs they were then called) of 1688 who won them back again from the absolute Roman Catholic King, James II; thereby establishing the monarchy, for all time coming, on the firm and popular basis of the Bill of Rights. Trial by Jury, and a representative Government, which are alike the source and characteristics of English liberty, had their origin, as Mr. Therry well knows, in a period long anterior to the Magna Charta barons—long anterior to the Roman Catholic religion, as it began to acquire a bodily shape in the reign of Justinian—long anterior to Christianity itself. They had their origin in the forests of Germany, among the forefathers of the Teutonic race, amid the rudeness of barbarism and amid the darkness of heathenism. But, though thus nursed of old in the gloomiest thickets of the forests of the North, it was not till the light of the Reformation had arisen

on the British Isles, that these principles—unknown to the sages of Greece and of Rome—slowly arrived at the vigour of manhood, and placed the House of Hanover on the throne.

I have made these remarks in the best feelings towards Mr. Commissioner Therry, and in the belief also that his reverend namesake was harshly and oppressively dealt with, through the influence of the late archdeacon of *pew-decking* memory.* I admire Mr. Therry's zeal and honesty in the

---

* His Honour Judge Dowling, one of the three judges of New South Wales, having arrived in the colony during the incumbency of Archdeacon Scott, the latter ordered a pew in St. James' Church, Sydney, which had previously been occupied by Mr. Hall, the Editor of the Sydney Monitor, to be appropriated for the Judge and his family. Mr. Hall, however, seeing no reason why he in particular should be compelled to make way for the Judge, refused to quit the pew, especially as he had rented it in the regular way: but Mr. Hall was an obnoxious man, who had taken unpardonable liberties in his paper both with the Governor and the Archdeacon; and the latter therefore naturally thought, that of all persons in the Church, he was the fittest to be turned out of his pew in such a conjuncture. Judge Dowling, finding there was an altercation about the pew, declined having any thing to do with it; but the Archdeacon, determined to carry his point and to exclude Mr. Hall at all events, caused the door of the pew to be locked or nailed up. This, however, was no obstacle to Mr. Hall, who, taking care to arrive at the Church rather earlier than the bulk of the congregation, lifted his large family of daughters successively over the door into the pew, and then made the best of his way into it himself. When this had been continued for some time, to the great amusement of the scoffer and the edification of the pious, the Archdeacon caused a *deck* or covering of boards to be nailed over the pew, so that neither Mr. Hall nor any person else should get into it; and Mr. Hall, whose decision of character was at least equal to the Archdeacon's, was reduced to the necessity of marching up to a conspicuous place in the church, (which in Episcopal churches, it is necessary to inform Presbyterians, is called the altar,) and sitting with his daughters on the steps. I believe Mr. Hall obtained damages in an action which he instituted against the Archdeacon on account of the grievance; but I really paid so little attention to the contemptible affair, that I am unable to state any thing further concerning it. I verily believe, however,

cause of what he conceives to be truth, and I wish many of our colonial Protestants, of all communions, were like him in those respects; *for a man who is lukewarm and indifferent, in what he professes to regard as the cause of truth and the cause of God, is an object of pity, if not of absolute contempt.* At the same time I would add with the poet, in reference to Mr. Therry's lay-sermon:

> "But when he next does *preach* again,
> May I be there to hear!"

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
PHILADELPHUS.

A considerable time after the publication of this letter, a regular pamphlet appeared from the pen of the present Archdeacon, in the form of a letter on the same subject to Mr. Commissioner Therry. It was little else than a mere expansion of the ideas contained in the theological part of the Scotch clergyman's letter, and was too feeble to be of much service to the cause it was intended to advocate. The Archdeacon's letter, however, called forth a second pamphlet, entitled, "An Appeal on behalf of the Roman Catholics of New South Wales," in a letter to an English Member of Parliament, by Mr. Commissioner Therry—a production which

that if Mr. Scott had held office in the reign of Charles the Second, he would have obtained a bishopric on the special recommendation of Judge Jefferies. The Rev. Mr. Therry, who is alluded to in the Presbyterian Minister's letter, is one of the Roman Catholic priests of the colony. He was the only one at the time Archdeacon Scott arrived in the colony, and, having been imprudent enough to publish certain severe remarks in one of the newspapers of the colony on the Archdeacon's procedure in regard to the Roman Catholics, he was recommended to Government for the discontinuance of his salary; and, the recommendation being attended to, he has ever since depended on the free-will offerings of his people.

was by no means remarkable, either for the strength of its argument or for the uniform elegance of its diction. There was also a third pamphlet published by the Rev. Mr. Fulton of Castlereagh, one of the colonial Episcopal chaplains, entitled, "Reasons why Protestants think the Worship of the Church of Rome Idolatrous;" and a fourth was subsequently published on the same subject, also by Mr. Fulton, to which a reply by the Roman Catholic Vicar was in the press when I left the colony.

I am of opinion, however, that the interests of Protestantism are not likely to be advanced, either in New South Wales or elsewhere, by nine-penny pamphlets on the Roman Catholic Controversy. Let us only exhibit Protestantism to the Roman Catholics of the empire, as it was exhibited by the Church of the Reformation. Let us only hold to the doctrines of the Protestant Reformers, but especially to their practice. Let us only show them that *we love not the world, neither the things of the world,* and that we are far less anxious about sharing the worldly wealth than about securing the everlasting welfare of our people. So may we expect that multitudes of the Roman Catholics will hear us gladly again, and *a great company of their priests become obedient to the faith.* Why was it that the remnant of the seven nations of Canaan was allowed to harass and to oppress the ancient people of God? It was because they had fallen from their first love, and forsaken the God of their fathers. Why have the Roman Catholics of Ireland been permitted by Divine Providence to increase to so vast a multitude, that they threaten to make her

Protestant Church *like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor which the wind carrieth away?* It is doubtless for a similar reason, for a similar offence.

POSTSCRIPT.

A Memorial, of which the following is a copy, in behalf of the Presbyterians of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, was recently submitted to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, together with the subjoined recommendation from the Right Honourable the Lord Advocate and other thirty-one Members of Parliament for Scotland.

"To The Right Honourable His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c., &c., &c.

"The Memorial of John Dunmore Lang, D.D., Senior Minister of the Church of Scotland in New South Wales, humbly showeth:—

"That a large proportion—amounting to one half—of the free-emigrant population of His Majesty's Australian colonies consists of natives of Scotland, and of Presbyterians from other parts of the empire; and that this portion of the colonial population is rapidly increasing, not fewer than from one thousand to fifteen hundred natives of Scotland, and other Presbyterians, having arrived as free emigrants in New South Wales during the eighteen months previous to 1st July last.

"That although only a small proportion of the convict-population of these colonies consists of natives of Scotland, more than a third of all the convicts in the capacity of assigned servants, both in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, are maintained and employed by Scotsmen and Presbyterians.

"That the provision allowed by His Majesty's Government for the support of ministers of the Church of Scotland in these colonies is neither adequate to the actual wants, nor commensurate with the daily increasing amount of the Presbyterian population.

"That no assistance has hitherto been granted in either colony for the education of the children of the humbler classes of Presbyterians, although liberal grants have been made to the Episcopalian and the Roman Catholic clergy, respectively, for the education of the youth of these communions.

"That two additional Scots Churches have been erected in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land within the last eighteen months, and that two others are now in progress in the former of these colonies;

but that nothing has been allowed by the Government towards the erection of these churches, while liberal grants, amounting to one half of the whole estimated cost, are made for the erection of Episcopal churches and Roman Catholic chapels.

"That the following are the sums allotted by the Legislative Council of New South Wales for the support of the ecclesiastical establishment of that colony, and for the education of youth, during the present year, viz.:—

"For Episcopal clergy, including £500 for a mission to the Aborigines	£12,042	10	0
"For Episcopal schools	6,587	0	0
"Total	£18,629	10	0
"For Roman Catholic clergy	£1100	0	0
"For Roman Catholic schools	800	0	0
"For the erection of Roman Catholic chapels . .	400	0	0
"Total	£2300	0	0
"For Presbyterian clergy . . . . . Total	£600	0	0

"That the provision for the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales was limited to its present amount, viz. to salaries for four ministers of the Church of Scotland, by the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Goderich, in a letter addressed to your Memorialist, of date 19th January, 1831; but as the circumstances of the colony, in regard to the amount of its Presbyterian population, are greatly changed since that period, your Memorialist humbly prays that the said limitation may now be removed, and that, in order to enable the Presbyterian population of both colonies to secure the regular dispensation of the ordinances of religion for themselves and their offspring in all time coming agreeably to the hallowed institutions of their forefathers, the Governors and the Legislative Councils of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, who, especially in the former of these colonies, have now a large and yearly increasing amount of unappropriated and surplus revenue in the Treasury chest, may be instructed to grant a salary from that revenue of not less than £60, and of not more than £150, per annum, for the maintenance of a minister of the Church of Scotland, in any town or district

in these colonies, in which the Presbyterian population shall themselves contribute a sum equal to two-thirds of the said amount for the maintenance of such minister; the payment of the said contribution on the part of the people to be guaranteed by at least four respectable inhabitants of the town or district, as in the north of Ireland.

"And your Memorialist prays, that the same assistance may be extended in future for the erection of Presbyterian churches in these colonies, as for Episcopal churches and for Roman Catholic chapels.

"And your Memorialist also prays, that wherever a Scots church is established in the Australian colonies, a small salary may be allowed in future for the support of a Presbyterian schoolmaster from the colonial revenue.

"And your Memorialist, as in duty bound, will ever pray,

"&c., &c., &c.,

(Signed) "JOHN DUNMORE LANG."

"London, 1st March, 1834."

"We the undersigned Members of Parliament for Scotland respectfully and cordially recommend the above Memorial to the early and favourable consideration of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

J. C. Colquhoun	F. Jeffrey
M. Sharpe	Ja. Ewing
J. J. H. Johnstone	John A. Murray
R. Mac Leod	J. Abercromby
L. Oliphant	Chas. Adam
George Ferguson	Andrew Agnew
Ormelie	George Sinclair
James Wemyss	Geo. Elliott
A. Leith Hay	James Oswald
Wm. Rae	R. A. Oswald
W. Gordon	R. Stewart
H. Arbuthnot	R. Cutlar Ferguson
C. L. Cumming Bruce	Robt. Pringle
James Loch	Andw. Johnston
Robert Wallace	Dalmeny
Al. Bannerman	J. A. Stewart Mackenzie."

I have since received an answer to the letter I addressed to the Under-Secretary of State along with the preceding Memorial, intimating that the Archdeacon of New South Wales is expected in England shortly,

and that the question of religious instruction for the Australian colonies generally will come before His Majesty's Government on his arrival. I trust the Right Honourable Secretary for the Colonies will not deem it necessary to consult the Archdeacon as to what provision should be allowed for the religious instruction of the Presbyterian inhabitants of these colonies. At the same time I cannot dispossess myself of the apprehension that he will; and in such a case it is not difficult to anticipate the result. At all events I have made arrangements for the settlement of other three Presbyterian ministers in the colony—one for the district of Argyle, one for Upper Hunter's River, and one for the settlement which it is proposed to form at Illawarra—in the hope that the Legislative Council will grant them salaries from the colonial revenue on the conditions and to the amount specified in the preceding memorial.

CHAPTER VI.

VIEW OF THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN THE COLONY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE.

Magnum opus et arduum, sed Deus adjutor noster est.
AUGUST. DE CIVIT. DEI, lib. I. c. 1.

THE consideration that induced me the more willingly to follow the leadings of the good providence of God, in embarking for New South Wales for the first time, was the high idea I had formed of the geographical position of that colony, as affording a fit station for exerting a salutary influence on a numerous, and by no means uninteresting, portion of the family of man. From the Heads of Port Jackson, the British philanthropist can look to the northward, and westward, and southward, over a vast and untraversed continent, which he knows the all-wise and all-powerful Creator has *made to be inhabited*, and whose hills and valleys, he knows, therefore, will at length teem with a numerous population. To the eastward, the vast Pacific with its myriads of isles lies outstretched before him; and though the multitudes of these isles are far remote

and unseen in the distance, he feels that that distance is almost annihilated, when his own singular position on the habitable globe reminds him that he is a native of *the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia—the land that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in swift vessels upon the waters.** To the north, the Indian Archipelago extends far and wide, from the shores of New Holland to the sea of Japan; and on fixing his eye for a moment on its numerous and populous isles, he almost fancies he already beholds the half-naked and furious Malay *sitting clothed, and in his right mind,* at the feet of Europeans. Adown the vista of these islands, his eye reaches even to the shores of China—that fruitful *womb of the morning,* in which, perhaps, may yet be hidden the future *kings of the East;*† and as his mind fills with the glowing and sublime ideas which the thought engenders, he almost exclaims, "O for the lever of Archimedes to elevate the world!"

Soon after my first arrival in New South Wales, it appeared to me that there were three ways in which a person in my own comparatively uninfluential situation might nevertheless be useful in promoting the general welfare and advancement of the colony, and in preparing the way for the future accomplishment of the higher objects to which I have alluded; viz. 1st, By securing for the Scotch and other Presbyterian inhabitants of the colony, the regular dispensation of the

* Isaiah xviii. 1, 2.

† "Behold, these shall come from far: and lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim."—Isaiah xlix. 12.

ordinances of religion, agreeably to the customs and institutions of the Scottish National Church. 2nd, By devising ways and means of introducing into the colony a numerous, industrious, and virtuous free-emigrant population of the working classes of society: and 3rd, By promoting the establishment of an academical institution for the education of youth in the colony, on the liberal and economical principles of the schools and colleges of Scotland.

I have already detailed the measures adopted for the attainment of the first two of these objects, and the degree in which they have hitherto been attained. On embarking for Europe in the year 1824, I proposed making some effort during my stay in England, in reference to the third of the objects I have mentioned —the establishment of some provision for the general education of youth in the colony; but from circumstances, of which it is unnecessary to inform the reader, the attempt proved abortive. On returning to New South Wales in January, 1826, I found that an institution, designated *The Free Grammar School*, had just been formed in Sydney, on the plan of various institutions of a similar kind in the mother country; and a few months thereafter, I was utterly astounded, in common with most of the colonists, at the promulgation of a Royal Charter appointing a Church and School Corporation for the religious instruction, and for the general education of the youth, of the colony, *on the principles of the Church of England, exclusively*, and allotting a seventh of the whole territory, for that purpose, to the Episcopal clergy, with free access, in the mean

time, to the Colonial Treasury Chest. It will scarcely be believed that so wanton an insult, as this precious document implied, could have been offered to the common sense of a whole community, even by the late Tory administration; or that men could have been found in the nineteenth century to perpetrate so gross an outrage on the best feelings of a numerous body of reputable men. But so it was; and the education of the colony thus appeared to have passed completely into other hands, and seemed likely to be little indebted to Presbyterian instrumentality.

The course of the Free Grammar School was short and inglorious. The masters were speedily dismissed; and the patrons of the institution, who had been at best but a rope of sand, speedily quarrelled with each other, and broke up. By this means, the field of competition was left entirely unoccupied for no fewer than four or five years together; and during the whole of that period—the period of the high and palmy state of the Church and School Corporation—it was completely in the power of the Archdeacon and the Episcopal clergy of the colony to have formed a noble institution for the general education of the youth of Australia, with the very crumbs that fell from their Corporation table. Nay, if they had only been possessed of the smallest modicum of common sense, that can rationally be supposed to be allotted to any body of privileged and chartered individuals; or if they had even been actuated by those instinctive feelings of self-preservation, that are commonly supposed to be strongly operative in all such bodies of men; the members of the Corporation

might have secured the exclusive predominance of Episcopacy in the management of the education of the whole colony, for all time coming. But the Venerable the Archdeacon, and the other members of the Church and School Corporation, seem to have been possessed with a spirit of absolute infatuation; which, however, has at length, I trust, happily accomplished the deliverance of the colony from a yoke which would otherwise have proved intolerable in the end, and would sooner or later have been violently broken asunder during some general burst of public indignation. To think of twelve or fifteen colonial ministers of religion managing for years together to spend public money to the amount of upwards of £20,000 a year, under pretence of providing for the religious instruction and the general education of so small a colony as New South Wales, without providing the colony all the while with a single school in which a boy could be taught the simplest elements of mathematics or the merest rudiments of the Latin tongue—why, the thing appears so monstrous in the present age of light and of learning, that it would have been absolutely incredible, if it had not actually occurred! By one of those strange anomalies, the frequent occurrence of which in all the colonies of the empire evinced the wisdom and beneficence of the late Tory administration, a considerable proportion of the gentlemen who were appointed by Royal Charter to preside over the *department of public instruction* in New South Wales, consisted of persons who had only received the commonest education themselves, and who could not have *axed* their way through a page of Virgil

or Homer to save them from the knout. It was accordingly whispered in the colony, that it was the object and design of the gentlemen I allude to, to prevent the youth of Australia from ever rising superior to their own humble level, and that they had wisely concluded this maxim of a distant age to be in every respect suitable for a distant settlement,—"Ignorance is the mother of devotion" to colonial Episcopacy.

I have already stated, that for some time after the institution of the Church and School Corporation, the mere management of that institution cost upwards of £2000 a year. The present Archdeacon has reduced that monstrous item of expenditure to £840 per annum. It should never have exceeded this comparatively smaller amount: it should never have equalled one half of it. Was it expedient, I would ask, to expend hundreds a year for the rent of one of the largest houses in the colony for a Corporation Office, at a time when hundreds of miles of inhabited country in the territory were utterly unprovided with the ordinances of religion in any form? If the use of a room could not have been obtained gratuitously from the Government, why was there not some *upper chamber* hired in Sydney for one-fourth of the actual rent of the Corporation Office, till some decent provision had been made for supplying the spiritual wants of the colony? Again, was it expedient for the Corporation to maintain an expensive establishment of four clerks to keep their petty accounts of a dozen churches and two dozen schools, and to give the first of these clerks a salary of £400 a year, and the rest in proportion, so long as they were

utterly unable to point to a single school in their whole establishment, in which a boy could be taught the Eton Grammar? A single clerk with a salary of £150 per annum, and a single convict-assistant to write duplicates, ought to have been quite sufficient to transact the whole business of the Corporation, till the wants of the colony in these most important respects had been properly supplied. In short, with the annual amount which the Corporation ought to have saved on the mere item of management, grammar-schools of a most efficient character might have been established and endowed all over the territory.

But the British public have been told, in a letter published in the Times newspaper on the 22nd of October, 1832, that it was not the fault of Archdeacon Scott —the writer of that letter—that schools of a higher character were not established in New South Wales by the Church and School Corporation of that colony. The Archdeacon, it seems, had written repeatedly on the subject to the Secretary of State, soliciting a fresh grant for the purpose. In other words, after expending £20,000 a year, or thereby, in the way and for the purposes I have mentioned, the Archdeacon modestly asks a fresh grant for Episcopal Grammar-Schools! The Right Honourable Secretary, it seems, had more of the article of conscience than the Archdeacon suspected; for he paid no attention to the modest request.*

* The passage alluded to above, in Archdeacon Scott's letter to the *Times newspaper*, is as follows: "If no higher school for education was established previously, the fault does not rest with the Episcopal clergy, the necessity of it having been annually stated to the Government since

Whether the state of things I have thus described arose from incompetency, from covetousness, or from

the year 1825." I beg to observe, in reference to this passage, that in the province of Upper Canada, eleven district-grammar-schools have for some time past been supported by the Government at an expense of not more than £1100 per annum; and I beg to inform Archdeacon Scott, that if it had even been necessary to have expended a similar sum for a similar purpose in New South Wales, the whole of that sum might and ought to have been saved on the single item of "management" in the Corporation expenditure.

In the paragraph immediately preceding the passage I have just quoted, I find the following statement in the Archdeacon's letter: "As to Dr. Lang, I have not abused him, although he has calumniated me very grossly." I call upon Mr. Archdeacon Scott, who, it seems, is now a Rector in the north of England, to show where and when I ever calumniated him; for I am conscious I never did. In a letter to Lord Goderich, which the reader will find in the sequel, I took the liberty to recommend the abolition of the Church and School Corporation, for reasons stated at length in that letter: but neither directly nor indirectly did I say a single syllable of Mr. Archdeacon Scott. Mr. Scott, however, was one of the authors of the corporation scheme; and he was the principal agent in carrying it into operation and in incurring the enormous expense it cost the colony. It was natural, therefore, that he should feel sore at any thing being said in dispraise of it in the letter alluded to, and still more so at finding that the education of the colony had irrecoverably fallen into other hands. But Mr. Scott surely had no right on either of these accounts to stigmatize me in the "leading Journal of Europe" as a "slanderer-general," especially when he knew that I was at the distance of half the circumference of the globe. In self-defence, therefore, I am compelled to adopt Mr. Scott's own elegant English: "As to Archdeacon Scott, I have never abused him, although he has calumniated me very grossly."

In the London "Evening Mail" of the 12th October, 1832, either Archdeacon Scott or some other person of similar sentiments, and possessed of some knowledge of the affairs of the colony, after stating that my letter to the Secretary of State "contained the most slanderous untruths, unbecoming any man, more especially one of my profession," concludes a paper on New South Wales remarkable for its mis-statements, its concealment of important facts, and its general sophistry, with the following suggestion: "If the House of Commons in the next ses-

extravagance, on the part of those to whom the department of public instruction was so long exclusively entrusted in New South Wales, it is quite unnecessary to inquire. The colonists have at all events learned this important lesson from the past—and it is a lesson which most assuredly will never be forgotten—that the interests of general education in that colony can no longer be entrusted with safety to the colonial Episcopacy.

Towards the close of the year 1829, I happened to re-

sion will insist on a committee being appointed to examine into the affairs of that colony, and that members of the committee know how to enter on the subject, and will probe every thing to the bottom, there will come forth such scenes of fraud, injustice, and cruelty, and such violation of all decency of conduct, both in private and public men, as will astonish and make people wonder, that such a sink of iniquity should have been suffered to exist." Whenever such a committee is appointed, I would advise them by all means to *overhaul* the Church and School Corporation; it will afford them as rich a field of inquiry as the whole colony presents.

But of what use is a parliamentary committee, or a parliamentary commissioner of inquiry either, likely to prove to New South Wales? The colony had a visitation of a personage under the latter designation in Mr. Commissioner Bigge, whose clerk or secretary was Mr. (afterwards Archdeacon) Scott. But what was the result of that costly affair? Any enlarged and philosophic views on the subject of the Transportation-system, its gross mismanagement in time past, and the means of rendering it powerfully efficient for the future? Any enlightened measures in regard to the future advancement of the colony in its commerce, in its agriculture, or in the general character of its population? Nothing of the kind. A mass of colonial filth was emptied out on the table of the House of Commons in the shape of reports of private transactions, in which nobody in Great Britain could possibly take any interest, and which had no bearing whatever on the general state of the colony; and the only result of the commission that the colony had to boast of, was the Corporation-incubus and Mr. Scott's second *avatar* in the shape of a most intolerant Archdeacon with a salary of £2000 a year. The only committee of inquiry that can sit on the affairs of the colony, with any prospect of efficiency, or of permanent benefit to all parties concerned, is a House of Assembly.

ceive a letter from the Rev. Dr. Adamson, minister of the Scots Church, Cape Town, South Africa, enclosing a copy of the prospectus of an academical institution then recently formed in that colony, and designated *The South African College*, in the formation of which, it seems, my friend and brother had been somewhat instrumental. With a view, therefore, to recall the attention of the colony to the subject of education, on which there had then for a long period been a deep and general silence, I procured the republication of the South African prospectus in one of the colonial newspapers, in which there were also inserted, at the same time, two anonymous papers I had prepared for the purpose, comparing the circumstances of the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and New South Wales in a variety of respects, and demonstrating the practicability of establishing an academical institution, (comprising a series of elementary and classical, as well as higher, schools,) for the general education of youth in the Australian colony, on a plan somewhat similar to that of the South African College. These papers produced their desired effect, and a strong and general excitement on the subject of education was the immediate result.

It was natural that in such circumstances I should watch the progress of public feeling, and the procedure of those who professed to consult the best interests of the public, with extreme anxiety. Observing an advertisement, therefore, in the colonial newspapers, calling an early meeting of the remaining friends of the Free Grammar School, which it was now proposed to resuscitate, I waited on the Venerable the present Arch-

deacon, who had then but recently arrived from England, to ascertain whether he intended doing any thing in the way of forming an institution for the general education of youth in the colony, and to inform him that, as a minister of the Church of Scotland, I should much more willingly join with the clergy of the Church of England in the formation of such an institution, if established on fair and liberal principles, than with the remaining friends of the Free Grammar School, as I neither approved of their principles, from all I knew of them, nor augured much from their past procedure. The Archdeacon told me in reply, that he did propose something of the kind, but that his plans were not sufficiently matured. He gave me to understand, however, that the public would not be called on to support the institution which he meant to establish, as the requisite funds would be supplied by the Government; and that he himself would, in virtue of his office, be the authorized visitor, although clergymen and laymen of other communions would be admitted to a share in its general management.

I was induced to augur very favourably of the Archdeacon's proposed institution in the first instance; but, on conferring subsequently on the subject with certain Presbyterian friends in the colony, who also felt a deep interest in the cause of education, it appeared to us, that however plausible the scheme might appear at first sight, there was no reason whatever to believe that the institution which the Archdeacon proposed to establish would be one in which Presbyterians would be allowed to unite with Episcopalians on equal terms; and that on

the other hand, although a Presbyterian minister might be allowed an ostensible share in the management, there was every reason to fear that that privilege would be of no practical utility as a counterpoise to the weight of the colonial Episcopacy; while it was evident, moreover, that any concession which the present Archdeacon might be disposed to make on behalf of other communions, could be revoked with the utmost facility by a less liberal successor.

With these impressions I waited, but without stating my particular object, on the Colonial Secretary, to ascertain, if possible, the sentiments and intentions of the colonial government on the subject of education. I was accordingly informed by that officer, that it was proposed by the Home Government to break up the Church and School Corporation, in so far as that the management of the trust would in future be transferred to the colonial government; but that all the lands and other revenues of which the corporation had obtained a grant by royal charter would still be appropriated for the exclusive maintenance of Episcopal churches and schools.

With this additional explanatory information, there was no room for hesitation in regard to the course which it was proper for Presbyterians to pursue with reference to the Archdeacon's scheme. In fact, colonial Episcopacy had already done enough to curtail the privileges and to excite the jealousy of Presbyterians, to prevent the latter from falling in with any scheme whose obvious tendency was to increase and to perpetuate her exorbitant power, and to reduce themselves

to the character of mere puppets in her train. The reader will judge whether the suspicions, which were thus awakened on the part of the Presbyterians, were not well founded, when I inform him that, on the publication of the Archdeacon's prospectus some time thereafter, it actually appeared that the system of education in the schools he proposed to establish was to be thoroughly and exclusively Episcopalian.

In the mean time the Archdeacon had left Sydney to visit a distant part of the interior. It was consequently out of my power to have any further communication with that gentleman on the subject of education at that particular crisis, or to apprise him of the feelings and intentions of my friends and myself; but as the meeting of the friends of the Free Grammar School was drawing on, it was necessary to do something in the matter immediately, to prevent the whole management of the education of the colony from falling into inefficient or exceptionable hands. I accordingly addressed a memorial to His Excellency General Darling, stating the circumstances in which my friends and myself felt ourselves placed in regard to the subject of education; informing him, moreover, that it was our desire to form an Academical Institution of our own on a limited scale, to be conducted on the principles of the High Schools and Colleges of Scotland; soliciting an allotment of ground for the erection of the requisite buildings, and pledging myself that, in the event of His Excellency's granting such an allotment, my own family would advance a thousand pounds towards the erection of the buildings. To this communication I received for answer,

that no such allotment as I solicited would be granted, and that the Presbyterians had got enough from the Government already. In short, His Excellency's reply was cold as an iceberg; but such was his uniform style when Scots Presbyterians had any thing to ask from the priest-ridden Government of their adopted country.

Finding it thus impracticable to form a separate institution, I determined to make common cause with the friends of the Free Grammar School, provided the latter would extend and remodel their institution, agreeably to certain suggestions I took the liberty to propose. The plan of the institution was accordingly remodelled and extended, and I became a shareholder to the amount of £50, the designation being in the mean time changed into that of *The Sydney College*. The time of excitement, the reader is doubtless aware, is always the time for action. As soon, therefore, as I had become connected with the new scheme, into which I entered on the same principles on which various non-conformist ministers of religion agreed to take a part in the University of London, I proposed and strongly recommended to the Committee of Management, that the plan adopted should be carried forthwith into effect—a measure which was quite practicable at the time. It is no part of the colonial system, however, to act, after merely resolving to do so. To pass a resolution at a public meeting, and to embody it in action, are two things so entirely different, that they can rarely be accomplished in any business in which direct personal advantage is not to be expected, during the same year. The iron must be allowed to cool before it is struck;

and the time for striking, in by far the greater number of instances, is consequently spent before the hammer falls. The foundation-stone of the new institution—whose very existence, as well as its continued prosperity, depended on the keeping up of the strong excitement which had been created in the public mind on the subject of education—was laid with all due solemnity immediately after the meeting at which it was organized; but it was allowed to lie alone, like a solitary egg in a deserted nest, for eighteen months thereafter; and I have every reason to believe, that if a decisive step, which I was consequently induced to take in the mean time, had not roused the dormant energies of its friends into something like exertion, it would have continued in the same lonely and inglorious state to the present day. In short, notwithstanding the formation of the new institution, there seemed just as little prospect as ever of effecting any thing for the education of the colony; and Episcopacy seemed likely to realize her fond prediction, uttered in the dark days of Archdeacon Scott and the Corporation, "I shall sit as a Queen, and see no sorrow."

Despairing, therefore, of the accomplishment of any thing of importance in the cause of general education through the new scheme, I could not help thinking it high time that the education of the colony should be rescued in some measure from the hands of exclusives and incapables. With this view, and in the hope also of obtaining a more extended provision for the dispensation of the ordinances of religion among the Scots Presbyterians of the territory, which it was in vain to

hope for through the government of General Darling, I solicited and obtained leave of absence from His Excellency to proceed to England, and accordingly embarked at Sydney in August, 1830.

During my voyage to England, my attention was strongly directed to the subject of emigration to New South Wales, both as a means of alleviating the general distress which was then most extensively prevalent among the working classes in the mother country, and as a means of effecting a great moral reformation in the Australian colonies. On arriving in London, therefore, in the month of December following—the time when rick-burning and machine-breaking were at their height in the agricultural districts of England—I did myself the honour to submit the views I had formed on that subject of national interest, as well as on the means of establishing an academical institution for the education of youth in the town of Sydney, to a Scotch Earl to whom I had previously been well known, and to three influential members of the House of Commons, with whose acquaintance I had also been honoured. By these noblemen and gentlemen, I was strongly advised to submit the proposals I had to make on both subjects to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies—a step which I had not even contemplated beforehand.

I accordingly prepared the requisite documents, and called for certain letters of introduction to my Lord Goderich, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, which I had been very kindly promised by the gentlemen I allude to. By some mischance, how-

ever, one of these gentlemen was seriously indisposed on the day I called at his house; another was engaged in parliamentary business of importance; and some accident of a similar kind prevented me from availing myself of the proffered kindness of the third. My business in England, however, required haste; for General Darling had allowed me only twelve months' leave of absence, and had intimated that unless I returned to the colony within that period, my salary would be discontinued. As I could not, therefore, afford to lose a day, even to procure a letter of introduction to Lord Goderich, I instantly walked direct to Downing Street to introduce myself. On my way thither, the streets of London being at the time deeply covered with snow, I met my countryman and friend, Mr. Irving, whose heart, I am happy to say, I have always found in the right place, whatever the world may say of his understanding. I briefly told him my destination and my errand, and "The Lord be with you!" was his brief and cordial reply. I could not help thinking it a good substitute for a letter of introduction, and I was not disappointed.

The tenour of my communication to Lord Goderich was, "that the settlement of reputable persons of the class of mechanics in the colony of New South Wales was (for various reasons, which it is unnecessary to mention again,) highly desirable; and that it appeared to me, that if reputable married mechanics from Scotland were conveyed to the colony on the condition of paying their passage-money by weekly instalments from their wages after their arrival, (which I felt confident

many reputable persons of that class would both be able and willing to do,) the object might be accomplished without ultimate expense to any person, and with equal benefit to the mother country and the colony; for, although the frequent attempts of individuals to carry out persons of that class in the capacity of indented servants had almost uniformly failed, that result had arisen in great measure from the masters having given themselves no concern to ascertain the previous moral and religious character of their intended servants, and from their hiring them at a much lower rate of wages than they could otherwise have obtained in the colony—thereby creating a spirit of discontentment on the part of the servants, and holding out to them a strong temptation to break through their engagements."

To establish this point, which I conceived to be of paramount importance to the colony, I proposed to his Lordship to charter a vessel of four hundred tons, with the assistance of my friends in England, to carry out to the colony a certain number of families and individuals of the class and on the conditions above mentioned; provided his Lordship would authorize His Excellency the Governor of New South Wales to advance, on the arrival of the said vessel in the colony, the sum of £6000 as a loan for five years, for the establishment of an academical institution or college in the town of Sydney; the mechanics so conveyed to the colony to be employed in the erection of the buildings required for the said institution, and to repay the cost of their passage in the manner aforesaid. I did myself the

honour at the same time to submit to his Lordship a plan of the proposed institution—the same as has since been realized in the Australian College.

In reply to this communication, his Lordship agreed to authorize the advance of £3500 for the establishment of an academical institution in Sydney on the plan proposed, provided *the promoters of the undertaking* should expend a similar amount for the same purpose; the buildings to be erected on a piece of ground belonging to the Scots Church, and to be calculated for carrying on the institution on a limited scale, but to be capable of extension if it should be necessary.

In proposing this arrangement to His Majesty's Government, I considered myself pledged, on the part of the promoters of the undertaking, to meet the sum agreed to be advanced by Government with a similar amount on the part of the public. I conceived, indeed, that the colonial public would gladly come forward for the establishment of the proposed institution in the manner required. But I had already had too much experience in the colony to trust for the accomplishment of so important an object to such a contingency. I well knew that there were men of much influence in our colonial community who would never give me credit for a disinterested concern for the public welfare, and who, probably conceiving that my humble exertions might reflect discredit on their own comparative supineness, would in all likelihood endeavour, by every means in their power—by imputing unworthy motives on the one hand, and by misrepresenting my procedure on the other—to divert the stream of popular favour from the

infant institution, and thus crush it in the bud. Foreseeing the possibility of such a result, although I did not by any means conceive it probable, I determined, in the event of its occurrence, to dispose of my own property in the colony, which I knew would sell for at least £3000, and to render every farthing of that amount available for the establishment of the institution, rather than allow the liberality of His Majesty's enlightened Government to be lost to the colony, through the apathy of some and the malevolence of others in our little community.

After the arrangement above mentioned had been made with His Majesty's Government, Lord Goderich was also pleased, in consequence of a subsequent communication I had addressed to his Lordship, to authorize the sum of £1500 of the proposed loan to the institution to be advanced on my arrival in New South Wales; provided I should convey to the colony a certain number of free-emigrant Scotch mechanics with their wives and families to erect the college-buildings, and to pay up the stipulated amount of their passage by weekly instalments from their wages; and provided, moreover, that no further advance should be made by Government till an expenditure of £1500 should be incurred by *the promoters of the undertaking* in the erection of the requisite buildings; the remainder of the loan to be advanced thereafter in proportion to the sums expended from time to time on the part of the public.

The proposed academical institution was to be established on the plan of the Belfast College—comprising a series of elementary schools with a gradually extend-

ing provision for the higher branches of education. At the outset, it was proposed that there should be a principal and four masters or professors—one for English, one for mercantile education, one for Latin and Greek, and one for mathematics and natural philosophy—assistant or under-masters to be appointed for the elementary classes, as soon as the funds of the institution and the wants of the colony should warrant that appointment. The Rev. Henry Carmichael, A.M. was accordingly engaged for the classical, the Rev. William Pinkerton for the English, and the Rev. John Anderson —all licentiates of the Church of Scotland *—for the mercantile department; it having been previously arranged that the mathematical and physical department should be conducted by the Rev. John M'Garvie, A.M., formerly minister of the Scots Church, Portland Head. During my stay in England, I also procured books, with a view to the formation of a college-library, to the number of seventeen hundred volumes, together with a valuable and extensive philosophical apparatus, and numerous specimens of minerals, &c. to illustrate lectures on mineralogy and zoology. The gentlemen I have mentioned, together with the two additional ministers of the Church of Scotland, for whom Lord Goderich had allowed salaries from the colonial revenue, for the districts of Bathurst and Hunter's River, embarked on board

* It is no part of the constitution of the Australian College that the masters or professors should belong exclusively to the Church of Scotland; but Presbyterians are generally found to do literary and other clerical work at a cheaper rate than other people; and this is a consideration of importance in a young colony.

the Stirling Castle, at Greenock, along with the Scotch mechanics, who had been engaged to erect the college-buildings, and their wives and children, on the first of June, 1831, and arrived at Sydney on the 13th of October following.

The college-buildings were commenced on the 21st of October, and classes were opened, in a building hired for the purpose, on the 15th of November, 1831. In the mean time, the various arrangements already detailed, together with a plan of the institution, were submitted to the public, and the countenance and support of the friends of education throughout the colony respectfully solicited. In consequence of these publications, and of the private exertions of several friends of the undertaking, about a hundred shares of £25 each were speedily taken in the institution by gentlemen in Sydney and in other parts of the colony. It was not, however, till the 23rd of December following, and till an expenditure of upwards of £700 had been incurred for the erection of buildings, in addition to the amount for books, apparatus, &c. previously incurred in England, that a general meeting of the friends of the undertaking was held, and a college-council appointed by the shareholders to undertake the management of the institution, agreeably to the arrangements I had made with His Majesty's Government, which were embodied in the following series of resolutions passed at the meeting:—

AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE.

A Meeting of the Shareholders of this Institution, and of other Friends of Education in Sydney, and its

Vicinity, having been held this day, in Mr. Underwood's Buildings, Church Hill, pursuant to Advertisement, Campbell Drummond Riddell, Esq., M.C., Colonial Treasurer, in the Chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted as the basis of the future Constitution,—

I.—That an Academical Institution be formed in Sydney for the Education of Youth, in the higher as well as the Elementary Branches of Useful Knowledge.

II.—That the said Institution be designated "The Australian College," and be available for Pupils or Students of all religious denominations, on the most moderate terms.

III.—That a capital of at least £3500 be raised in shares of £25 each, payable by instalments, for the establishment of the said College; and that as the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Goderich, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, has been graciously pleased to grant a loan of £3500 from the Colonial Treasury to assist in accomplishing so desirable an object, on condition that a similar amount shall previously be expended on the part of the public, the sum of £3500 shall accordingly be raised, and applied in erecting the requisite buildings, and in meeting the other expenditure already incurred, provided such expenditure shall be found conducive to the general object of the Institution.

IV.—That each shareholder be a proprietor of the College, and be entitled to vote at all General Meetings of Proprietors, in the proportion of one vote for every share he may hold; but that no proprietor shall have more than five such votes, whatever number of shares he may hold.

V.—That the government of the College shall be vested in a council of thirteen, twelve of whom to be annually chosen by the whole body of proprietors, and the thirteenth to be a member of such council in right of office, as hereinafter to be stated: any proprietor being eligible as a member of council, and five members to constitute a quorum.

VI.—That the said council shall have the exclusive management and disposal of the funds of the College, and the entire controul of all matters relative to the erection of buildings, the appointment of masters, the amount of salaries, the regulation of fees, and the purchase of property, books, or apparatus, for the College; and that the said College Council shall submit a statement of their accounts, and a report of their proceedings, previous to their laying down their office, at the annual meeting of the proprietors.

VII.—That the College shall, in the first instance, comprise the four following departments, viz.

1. An English Department, for English, and English Literature.

2. A Mercantile Department, for Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, &c.

3. A Classical Department, for the Latin and Greek Languages,—and

4. A Mathematical and Physical Department for Mathematics and Natural Philosophy: the establishment of the College to be gradually extended, according to the state of the funds and the wants of the colony; but to include, from the outset, under one or other of these departments, provision for the instruction of pupils in the French, Italian, and German Languages.

VIII.—That each of these departments shall be entrusted to a separate master, with the designation of Professor; to each of whom a free house, capable of accommodating a few boarders, and a salary of £100 per annum, shall be given on the part of the College.

IX.—That moderate fees shall be paid by each pupil or student in the said College, varying in amount according to the classes he attends; a certain portion of which shall be appropriated to the respective masters, independently of the salaries above mentioned; the remainder to form a College fund, for the payment of salaries, the extinction of debt, &c., and for securing a dividend to the proprietors, under certain limitations to be fixed hereafter by the council.

X.—That there shall be a principal of the said College, who shall also be a professor, having the management of one or other of the departments of education comprised in the Institution, and being elected by the College council; and that the said principal shall have the general superintendence of the internal affairs of the Institution, especially in regard to morals and discipline, making provision for the due observance of the rules of the College, and forming the medium of communication between the professors and the council, of which he shall be a member in right of office.

XI.—That the principal and professors shall constitute a senate for the regulation and management of all matters relative to the business of education, the enforcement of discipline, the division of labour, and the superintendence of the library and museum; and that the principal shall have a casting vote at all meetings of the senate.

XII.—That the senate shall meet once a month, the council once a quarter, and the general body of proprietors once a year; but that extraordinary meetings may be held on any occasion of emergency; viz. of the

senate, on the requisition of the principal—of the council, on that of the chairman, or of any three members—and of the general body of proprietors, on that of ten proprietors.

XIII.—That the business of each day be commenced and closed with an appropriate prayer—that the Holy Scriptures be read regularly in the English classes—and that instruction in the general principles and duties of the Christian religion be afforded at stated times, as, for instance, every Saturday, at the close of the ordinary business of the week: but that no attempt be made, either directly or indirectly, to proselytize to the tenets of any particular denomination of Christians; and that those pupils or students, whose parents or guardians may object to their receiving religious instruction at all, be allowed at all such stated times to withdraw.

XIV.—That the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D. D., be the principal of the said College, but without emolument, and without any active share in the business of education, until the completion of the arrangements into which he has entered with His Majesty's Government for the establishment of the said College; as also with certain Scotch mechanics, for the erection of the requisite buildings, and with certain parties in England, for the payment of books, apparatus, &c.; on the completion of which arrangements he shall surrender the said office into the hands of the council.

XV.—That the following Gentlemen be the Council of the Australian College till the next General Meeting:

Campbell Drummond Riddell, Esq., M. C., Colonial Treasurer.
Richard Jones, Esq., M. C.
Alexander Berry, Esq., M. C.
Major Mitchell, Surveyor General.
Captain Perry, Deputy Surveyor General.
Thomas Walker, Esq.
Thomas Barker, Esq.
Robert Campbell, Jun., Esq. (Bligh Street.)
James Chisholm, Esq.
David Ramsay, Esq.
T. Burdekin, Esq.
Rev. Dr. Lang, *ex officio*.

XVI.—That John Wallace, Esq., be the Treasurer of the Australian College.

XVII.—That the thanks of the Meeting be given to C. D. Riddell, Esq. for his able, zealous, and judicious conduct in the Chair.

Sydney, December 23, 1831.

In the mean time, that which neither common sense nor a sense of public duty had been able to accomplish, was at length effected through the operation of other feelings which it is not difficult to divine; for as soon as it was reported in the colony that I was about to return from England with an extensive literary, mechanical, and physical apparatus for the establishment of a new institution, the foundations of the Sydney College were laid. The successful issue, however, of my voyage to England, and the successful establishment of the Australian College, were deemed by certain parties connected with that institution, whose public spirit had at length begun to revive after a second torpor of two years' continuance, offences of so peculiar an enormity as to leave felony itself without benefit of clergy far in the shade. An emancipist who had just been liberated from the Sydney jail, where he had been confined for some time on a charge of fraudulent bankruptcy, harangued a meeting of the friends of the revived institution, shortly after my return to the colony, and expressed himself in the highest terms relative to the plan and prospects of the Australian College; but informed the meeting that I had completely forfeited the esteem of the *virtuous and respectable* portion of society, in having obtained assistance from the Home Government, as he presumed I had done, by calumniating himself and his friends to my Lord Goderich. On this and a variety of other charges equally frivolous and equally unfounded, changes were rung at my particular expense, by various orators of still higher respectability, from meeting to meeting and from month to month; and every foul and

slanderous invective that was uttered on these occasions was carefully reported in the colonial newspapers. Nay, private letters which I had written to a countryman of my own in the colony, relative to the settlement of the Scots Church seven years before, were zealously placed in the hands of a gentleman connected with the resuscitated institution, that he might pick out of them and publish in the newspapers any paragraph or expression which, he hoped, might create an unfavourable impression relative to myself on the public mind; and the contemptible suggestion was as contemptibly followed.

After having been subjected to this species of assault and battery, which was kept up for the purpose of injuring the institution I had been instrumental in establishing, for more than twelve months, it struck me that it would not be improper to attend one of the meetings of the parties connected with the revived institution; to confront the persons who had so frequently accused me; to offer an explanation of those parts of my procedure in the matter of education which had repeatedly been held up to the public as extremely disreputable, and to answer any question they might think proper to ask; as it did not appear to me that the cause of general education in the colony was likely to be advanced by the continuance of such procedure as I had so long and so undeservedly experienced. I attended accordingly, and I could not help perceiving that my appearance was regarded much in the same light as that of an apparition—so much easier is it to slander and to tell lies of a man behind his back than when he is present to answer for himself;—but a young colonial lawyer who

was present, having very judiciously observed that "the explanations I proposed to offer were not likely to benefit the institution whose concerns they had met to consider," it was resolved that I should *not* have an opportunity of answering for myself. I was not troubled, however, with any further vituperation, either in the newspapers or at public meetings; but while I could not help feeling thankful at the time to Almighty God for having delivered my friends and myself from the equitable men with whom we had for a short period been connected in the matter of education, I could not help feeling more strongly disposed, as I felt the necessity more urgent than ever, to make every sacrifice and every exertion that the education of the colony might be placed in other hands.

The procedure I have detailed could not fail to operate most unfavourably for the popularity of the institution with which I had the honour to be connected, and to increase the serious difficulties of the situation in which I was individually placed. It is so much easier to create an evil than a good impression respecting any person or cause; and there are so many people in the world ready to believe without examination whatever they hear, especially if it is of an unfavourable character, that whoever in such circumstances has nothing to lean upon but popular favour, will find that he leans upon a broken reed which will pierce his hand. There was another fiery ordeal, however, of a much more formidable character to pass through before the Australian College could be successfully established.

The cry of distress from the agricultural districts of

the mother country was so loud and piercing on my arrival in England in December, 1830—and the impression on my own mind relative to the prosperity and abundance enjoyed by all classes in New South Wales was still so fresh and vivid—that, in consequence of some remarks on the subject of emigration to the Australian colonies which were made by my Lord Howick in the course of a conversation which I had the honour to hold with his Lordship in Downing Street, I took the liberty to write the following letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Goderich, to point out the means of conveying hundreds and thousands of the pauper agricultural population of Great Britain, without expense to the mother country, to the colony of New South Wales, where, I was confident, their arrival would be hailed by all classes, and where there was employment in abundance and bread for all.

London, December 30, 1830.

My Lord,

My Lord Howick having mentioned, in the course of a conversation with which he honoured me at the Colonial Office on Tuesday last, that your Lordship's attention had lately been directed to the subject of the emigration of agricultural labourers, I do myself the honour most respectfully to point out to your Lordship two sources of revenue which at this moment are directly available for the accomplishment of that object in the colony of New South Wales, and the employment of which, for so benevolent a purpose, would not only prove a seasonable relief to the mother country, but an incalculable advantage to that colony.

In the first place, therefore, I am confident, my Lord, that a very large annual revenue might be immediately derived from the sale of certain valuable allotments of land belonging to the Crown in the town of Sydney; some of which have hitherto been lying entirely waste, while others have been occupied by Government Establishments, the removal of which, to other equally eligible but less valuable situations, would

prove equally conducive to the ends of Government, while it would yield a strong and immediate stimulus to enterprise and improvement on the part of the community, and afford profitable and permanent employment to a great many additional mechanics in the colonial capital.

[Here follows a list of the allotments with an estimate of their probable value: it would neither be interesting nor intelligible to the English reader.]

In the second place, your Lordship is doubtless aware that, in the year 1825, a Corporation was established by Royal Charter in the colony of New South Wales, to which a seventh of the whole territory was granted for the support of the Episcopal Church and Schools of the colony, on the avowed understanding that the said grant would immediately and for ever relieve the colonial government of the burden of supporting these establishments. Your Lordship is doubtless aware also, that that Institution has utterly failed of its intended object; the Corporation having actually borrowed from the colonial government at the rate of from £19,000 to £22,000 * per annum for the support of the Episcopal Church

* There is an apparent, though no real, mistake in this statement. Immediately after the institution of the Corporation, certain property which had been created partly by former colonial governments, and partly by the voluntary contributions of the colonists, for the support of the Colonial Orphan School, was transferred to the Corporation, who it seems, being in desperate want of money, immediately sold it. The money received for this property was deposited, it would appear, in the Corporation chest, and not in the Treasury chest, and was consequently not borrowed from the latter. The sum I have mentioned, therefore, was the whole expenditure of the Corporation at the period I refer to, including both what they had borrowed from the Treasury chest—upwards of £18,000 per annum—and what they had expended of their own, obtained in the questionable way I have stated. I say questionable way; for although the Corporation may have been empowered to do so by their charter, they had clearly no right whatever, in point of equity, to sell a property which had been created partly by voluntary subscription, so early as Governor King's time, for the support of the orphans of the colony, and to vote away the proceeds in salaries to their own underlings, such as clerks, surveyors, *et hoc genus omne*. The Orphan School Estate in Sydney was sold by the Corporation in 1826 for about £6000. If it had escaped their hands, and been preserved for its original destination, it might at this moment have been producing nearly one-third of that amount of yearly rental.

and Schools of the territory, while the mere cost of its management, exclusive of the salaries of clergymen and schoolmasters, has hitherto been from £1500 to £2000 per annum—a sum considerably greater than is annually expended for the management of all the Church and School affairs of His Majesty'a ancient kingdom of Scotland.

But the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales has been productive, my Lord, of still greater evils to the community at large than any arising from the mere expense of its management. It has tended to identify the Episcopal clergy, in the estimation of the whole colony, with secular pursuits. It has given extreme dissatisfaction to many respectable emigrants, who have had to go far into the colonial wilderness with their families, in search of land to settle on, while numerous tracts of land, of the first quality, were lying utterly waste in the most accessible and eligible situations, in the hands of the Corporation. It has excited a spirit of disaffection towards His Majesty's Government among the native youth of the colony; and I will even add, my Lord, has sown the seeds of future rebellion.* In short, the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales, instead of proving a benefit either to the Government or to the Episcopal Church, as its projectors unfortunately persuaded His Majesty's Government it certainly would, has lain as a dead weight on the colony for the last five years—repressing emigration, discouraging improvement, secularizing the Episcopal clergy, and thereby lowering the standard of morals and religion throughout the territory.

If I were soliciting your Lordship for a portion of the Corporation land in New South Wales for the permanent support of the Presbyterian Church in that colony, your Lordship would have good reason to receive these representations with extreme suspicion. But I have no such desire, my Lord. Sincerely desirous that the Presbyterian Church in New

---

* The propriety of this expression has been questioned. I appeal in attestation of its correctness to the Rev. Mr. M'Garvie, who resided, at the period referred to, in that district of the colony in which the native youth are most numerous, and who has told me himself that he has repeatedly heard these young men, when allusion had been made in company to the immense grant of the Corporation, and to the difficulty they often experienced in getting a small portion of the waste land of their native country to cultivate, express themselves with some degree of indignation in such terms as the following,—"Never mind; it will be all our own;" or, "We shall have it all our own way by-and-bye." Have I misinterpreted such language?

South Wales should have its chief patrimony, and its chief dependence, and its sheet-anchor in the affections of the people, my only object in making such statements is, to recommend to your Lordship the propriety and the expediency of gradually disposing of the whole of the Corporation land (with the exception of those reserves which it might be expedient to retain, for the formation of communes or villages of free pauper agriculturists,) by public auction, on the conditions I have already suggested, in regard to Crown property in Sydney, with this difference, that the interest payable on the purchase-money should be only five per cent; to employ the whole fund arising from such sales in the promotion of emigration; and to transfer the support of the Episcopal clergy to the colonial revenue. The declaration of such an intention on the part of Government would doubtless promote the emigration of small capitalists to the territory, from the certain prospect it would afford them of obtaining good land at a reasonable rate in eligible situations, while the fund arising from the sales would prove equally beneficial to the mother country and the colony, in promoting the emigration of agricultural labourers. These agricultural emigrants, I conceive, my Lord, it would be expedient to place under the control of a Board of Emigration, to be established in the colony, as no general mode of disposing of them could be fixed on in the mother country, without entailing much hardship on individuals. Some of them would doubtless find eligible employment as farm servants, or overseers, throughout the territory; others would, perhaps, take small farms, on lease from Government, or from private landholders, at a rental payable in produce; while others could, in all likelihood, be advantageously settled on small conditional grants of land in communes or villages. To expect, however, that the emigration of agricultural labourers to New South Wales could be effected in such a way as to remunerate either Government or private individuals for the expense of their passage, while convict-labour can be procured with so much facility, is, I conceive, my Lord, unreasonable. Under judicious management they might eventually contribute something towards that object, and towards the consequent extension and continuance of the system of emigration; but to place much dependence on such a source of remuneration would not be advisable.

I have been induced to trouble your Lordship with this communication, in consequence of the strong impression produced upon my own mind during the last fortnight, in contrasting the present distressing state of the labouring agricultural population of England, with the highly comfortable situation of all persons in a similar class in society in New South Wales; and I have been the more strongly induced to address your

Lordship on the subject, from the difficulty which I know your Lordship must necessarily labour under in obtaining accurate information in regard to the present state and capabilities of so distant a colony.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,
JOHN DUNMORE LANG.

The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Goderich,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

This letter was published on my return to the colony in a pamphlet containing an "account of the 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;" for, as I abhorred the idea of giving clandestine information on any subject to His Majesty's Government, it never occurred to me that any remarks I had made relative to the character and tendency of the Church and School Corporation scheme, were likely to be construed into a personal attack on the individuals who were accidentally, and, as I conceived, unfortunately connected with that system of legalized folly, extravagance, and injustice.

My letter, however, gave prodigious offence to the Venerable the Archdeacon, who accordingly wrote a long letter on the subject of its alleged misstatements—containing a feeble defence of the Corporation, and a series of intemperate charges against myself—to His Excellency Colonel Lindsay, who was then Acting-Governor of New South Wales, with a view to its immediate transmission to Lord Goderich. This letter was signed by the Archdeacon himself, and by my country-

men, Mr. M'Leay, the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Lithgow, the Auditor-General, as Commissioners of the Corporation; the management of that institution having in the mean time been transferred to the Archdeacon and certain Lay-Commissioners. It is the customary and established etiquette of the colonies to send a copy of any charges of this kind to the person against whom they are exhibited, in sufficient time to enable him to forward his explanation or reply to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the same opportunity by which the letter of crimination is transmitted against him; and the violation of that etiquette by a military officer in the colony, during the government of General Darling, occasioned his being cashiered by the commander-in-chief, pursuant to the sentence of a court-martial. I was not favoured, however, with a copy of the Archdeacon's letter *till four days after the vessel in which it was transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies had sailed for England;* and it so happened that no other opportunity of writing home presented itself for about two months thereafter. But my venerable brother was doubtless very angry, and perhaps thought he might well disregard the ordinary and established forms of justice, in his eagerness to procure the condemnation of an obnoxious Presbyterian minister.

In consequence of this proceeding, and agreeably to my own anticipations, the first vessel from England brought me a letter of censure from my Lord Goderich for the publication of my letter to His Lordship; but whether I ought to consider the censure of the Right Honourable Secretary, passed in such circumstances

and obtained by such means, at all discreditable to myself as a minister of religion, or whether there was any thing in my letter to His Lordship to call forth such censure at all, the reader will doubtless determine for himself. At all events, I was not previously aware that it was a violation of established etiquette to publish, under any circumstances, a letter addressed to the Secretary of State on any subject of general interest and importance, without obtaining his previous permission.

I wrote a reply to the Archdeacon's letter, which was forwarded to the Secretary of State by His Excellency Major-General Bourke, to whom it was addressed, and who had arrived in the colony before the next vessel sailed for England. The etiquette to which I have just alluded forbids my publishing either the one letter or the other; but I shall take the liberty to quote the concluding paragraphs of my own letter relative to the concluding paragraph of the Archdeacon's, from which the reader will perhaps be able to estimate the spirit in which they were severally written.

In the conclusion of their letter the Commissioners express themselves in the following manner relative to myself. "Embarked in an undertaking in which he felt it impossible to succeed, without degrading the Established Church in his Lordship's estimation, he has preferred charges against the Corporation in that loose style which bespeaks a man resolved at any rate to injure the object of his envy and dislike; with the blind animosity of a political partisan,* rather than with the scrupulous atten-

* It was peculiarly unfortunate for the Venerable the Archdeacon to have applied such an epithet as a *political partisan* to a Presbyterian minister, considering the relation in which he himself stands to the colony as *a politician of all work*—I might almost say, *a mere politician*. For if a member of the Legislative Council of the colony is wanted at

tion to truth and candour, becoming one who claims to bear a reverend and sacred character." In reference to this statement, I beg to inform Your Excellency that the undertaking in which I had embarked in leaving the colony in August, 1830, and in which I had hazarded a voyage to England, and risked all the little property I possessed, was embarked in to supply the want of an academical institution in Sydney, to afford the

---

any time to make up a committee on any such unclerical affair as *The Scab-in-Sheep Bill, The Newcastle Breakwater, The Argyle Street Tunnel,* or *The annoying increase of dogs in Sydney and Parramatta Prevention Bill,* the Archdeacon is always at hand—his time and talents are always at the command of the Legislative Council. In giving his unprejudiced vote on the last of these Bills, the Archdeacon perhaps imagined he was merely acting in obedience to an apostolical injunction: for the apostle Paul says somewhere, *Beware of dogs.* I apprehend, however, it was not the variety of dogs that run about on all fours that the Apostle had in his eye, but the variety that stand erect, and that *bite with the teeth and cry, Peace.* But however that may be, so essentially is clerical humiliation the result of the mixing up of a minister of religion with the secularities of a colonial council, and so certainly do his own political associates lose respect for his clerical character, that, to use a phrase appropriate to a very different class of persons in the Australian colonies, the members of the Legislative Council have actually *sent* the Archdeacon *to the roads:* for I perceive, from the minutes of council, that the Archdeacon was a member of the committee on the Woolloomoolloo-road Bill. Two gentlemen residing in Sydney were walking one evening along the Woolloomoolloo road, from which the scenery is peculiarly picturesque. One of them, who had not been in the neighbourhood before, observed that *it was an excellent road.* "*No wonder,*" replied the other, "*when the Archdeacon has been at work on it.*" I am quite willing to allow that an archdeacon is a non-commissioned officer in the Scripture sense of the phrase; there being no warrant in the New Testament for any such office, which is evidently and entirely of Romish manufacture. Still, however, decency forbids that the clergyman who holds that office should be transformed by any species of political alchymy into a mere inspector of roads and breakwaters—a mere Botany Bay Macadam. Such employments, the Archdeacon may rest assured, will do infinitely more harm to the interests of pure and undefiled religion in New South Wales, than what he has been pleased to designate the political partisanship of a Presbyterian minister.

youth of this colony a liberal, efficient, and economical education—a want which had long been universally acknowledged throughout the colony, but which the Church and School Corporation, notwithstanding its vast resources and its highly superior facilities for the accomplishment of the object, had neglected to supply. Arriving in England with this object, I had scarce touched British ground when my ears were stunned with the loud and heart-rending cry of distress from an unemployed and starving population, maddened by their necessities to acts of violence and crime; and on arriving in London, and ascertaining that His Majesty's Ministers were employed in devising ways and means for conveying a portion of that population to the waste lands of the colonies, it immediately occurred to me that in the colony of New South Wales there were sources of revenue directly available for that purpose to a very large amount in the Crown-allotments of Sydney and the lands granted to the Church and School Corporation, and that the raising of a revenue from these sources for such a purpose 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. With these views was my letter to my Lord Goderich written; and, in attestation of the fact as well as of my own sincerity in the matter in question, I have only to refer Your Excellency to the circumstance of my having since conducted, at very great personal inconvenience and expense, an expedition of one hundred and forty free-emigrants to this colony, solely with a view to demonstrate the practicability of effecting an extensive emigration of the industrious classes from the mother country to New South Wales without expense to either. And from the successful issue of that expedition, and the calculations into which it necessarily led me, I am confident that if the plan I had the honour to submit to my Lord Goderich were carried into effect, not fewer than twenty thousand and upwards of the poor and unemployed but virtuous agricultural labourers of England might, in the course of a very few years, be conveyed with their wives and families to New South Wales, without expense either to the mother country or to this colony. And when Your Excellency considers of what materials the population of this colony has in great measure been formed for the last forty years, I can submit it to Your Excellency with entire confidence whether the introduction of such a population to amalgamate with the present inhabitants of the colony, and to people and improve the extensive tracts of highly eligible land which the Church and School Corporation has hitherto suffered to lie waste in all parts of the territory, is not a consummation incomparably more desirable than the existence and continuance of that institution.

In the passage above quoted, as well as in the whole course of their letter to His Excellency the Acting Governor, the Commissioners have evidently fallen into the palpable error of identifying the character and efficiency of the Episcopal Church in this colony with the character and efficiency of the Corporation, and have therefore gratuitously accused me of cherishing a spirit of hostility towards the former, merely because I had recommended to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies the entire and immediate abolition of the latter. But while I broadly disclaim every feeling of hostility towards the Episcopal Church in this territory, and towards any of its ministers, and maintain that there is no evidence of such a feeling in my letter to my Lord Goderich, I have no hesitation in repeating what I asserted in that letter, that the Corporation has evinced itself inefficient in its character, expensive in its management, and prejudicial in its tendency both to the Episcopal Church and to the colony at large.

In regard to the insinuation that I "felt it impossible to succeed in the accomplishment of my object without degrading the Established Church of the colony in His Lordship's estimation," I beg most explicitly to disavow every such feeling, every such intention. As I do not feel it requisite, however, to express my own sentiments in regard to the spirit which that insinuation itself evidently breathes, I beg leave to subscribe myself, &c. &c.

In an ordinary affair of honour, I believe it is not allowable for the man, who has been beaten by his adversary with the weapon of his own choice, to demand a different sort of weapon that he may have a second chance; much less is it allowable to shoot his adversary, when off his guard and unprovided with the means of defence, from behind a hedge or stone wall. But clerical affairs are not to be judged of by the laws of honour. *The end sanctifies the means*, is a maxim as old as the venerable Ignatius of Loyola. The benefit to be derived by the church justifies the grossest injustice. Whether the Archdeacon deemed his written vindication of the Church and School Corporation unsuc-

cessful in point of argument, I do not know; at all events he deemed it requisite to have me publicly subjected to a different species of infliction, under which I should be utterly unable to avail myself of the noble art of defence. Accordingly, as a member of the Legislative Council of the colony, to whose deliberations no strangers are admitted, he proposed, in the absence of His Excellency the Governor and of certain other members, who, I have reason to believe, would not have sanctioned so anomalous a procedure, that a vote of censure should be passed upon me for the statements in my letter to Lord Goderich relative to the Church and School Corporation, and the Episcopal clergy of the colony; and the vote was accordingly passed on the 15th of March, 1832, and published to the following effect in all the newspapers of the colony:

"Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be requested to communicate to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State the opinion of this Council, that the charges against the Protestant Episcopal clergy of the colony, contained in the letter addressed by Dr. Lang to Viscount Goderich, were unfounded and unwarrantable; and that the publication of the same was a highly improper and censurable act."

It was doubtless unseemly in itself, as well as directly repugnant to the principles of English law, for the Archdeacon and the Colonial Secretary (for I believe the Auditor-General did not vote) to sit in judgment on my letter, or to express any opinion respecting it, as members of the Legislative Council, after having made themselves parties in the case to which it referred, by

transmitting a formal complaint on the subject of its alleged misstatements to the Secretary of State. Besides, instead of specifying the particular statements in my letter which they held "unfounded and unwarrantable," as it was incumbent upon them to have done, especially when the public expression of their opinion was calculated to affect my reputation as a minister of religion, the Legislative Council merely passed a general and sweeping sentence of condemnation, the injustice of which was exactly proportioned to its vagueness and generality. But if the Legislative Council had really been desirous of ascertaining the truth in regard to the statements of my letter, they would have called for an explanation in the first instance, or for the production of evidence on the subject of these statements; but in condemning me unheard and without even the shadow of investigation, they left it to be inferred that their object was not the assertion of truth but individual oppression. In short, the proceeding was in every respect anomalous and unjustifiable; and I cannot help expressing my opinion, that even supposing that the members of the Legislative Council had all been disinterested in the case, that the charge they had preferred against me had been direct and specific, and that they had been able to substantiate that charge by unexceptionable evidence, it would still have been a gross violation of the liberties of the subject, for a mere Legislative body to erect themselves into a Court of Inquisition, and to sit in judgment on the moral character and veracity of a private individual. If I had either been *a robber of churches or a blasphemer of their goddess*—the Church

and School Corporation, whose *image*, I presume, *fell down from Jupiter*, along with that of *Diana of the Ephesians*—was the *law not open? were there not deputies* or judges, *before whom the matter might have been inquired into and determined in a lawful assembly?*

For the members of the Legislative Council of New South Wales I entertain all that dutiful respect, which a Christian man is bound to cherish for the rulers of his country, independently of their personal desert. But I should be giving these gentlemen a great deal too much credit, to suppose them at all capable of fixing a proper standard of clerical propriety, and of clerical disinterestedness, in a convict colony. When the ideas of the Archdeacon himself on that most important subject were so exceedingly confused, that he could not even perceive the impropriety of charging the public £30 for travelling expenses, after receiving a salary of £2000 a year, what could be expected of a few sheep-farmers, a few Sydney merchants, and a few civil officers of the colonial government, transformed into legislators, but that they would argue in this style, "What is generally practised cannot be wrong?" The details I have already given in a previous chapter, will perhaps convince the reader that the statements in my letter to my Lord Goderich were neither *unfounded nor unwarrantable.* I could easily say more in attestation of their truth; but I forbear.

As to whether a passage incidentally introduced in a letter, obviously written to promote the best interests of my adopted country, and to point out the means of relieving the mother country of a portion of her dis-

tressed population, was the only particular either in my conduct or writings that deserved the notice of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, I am not competent to decide. I feel confident, however, that my own humble efforts to promote the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual welfare of that colony, will be estimated in a very different manner, when the members of its Legislative Council shall have ceased to vote, and the individual who now appeals from their censure, to be affected by their opinion.

The opinion of the Legislative Council, and the vote of censure to which it led, were no dead letter to me. At the time when the vote was passed, and published in all the newspapers of the colony, there were from fifty to a hundred reputable individuals, whom I had carried out from Scotland to the extremity of the earth, looking to me every Saturday evening for the wages of their labour, earned in the erection of buildings for the education of the long-neglected youth of the Australian colonies; while the weekly supply of funds for the carrying on of so extensive an undertaking depended entirely on my own personal credit and the favour of the public, both of which the vote of the Legislative Council tended almost completely to destroy. A friend of my own in the colony had endorsed bills of my acceptance to the amount of £1000, for the carrying on of the undertaking, till the funds of the institution could be rendered available for the purpose. Immediately after the passing of the vote of censure, I received a pressing requisition from my friend for tangible security, as my name alone was no longer deemed sufficient. I accordingly gave him a

security on my dwelling-house, but caused the house to be advertized for sale forthwith. It was sold accordingly in a few weeks thereafter, and realized, together with some building-ground adjoining it, £2250. I had thus the satisfaction of very soon seeing my friend entirely out of danger. The house was situated on the summit of the ridge that separates the two beautiful coves or inlets of the harbour of Port Jackson, around which the town of Sydney is built. It commanded a view of the harbour as far as its noble entrance in front, and of the interesting lake-scenery in the upper part of it in the rear. I had laid my account to live and die in it; but he who is called in the good providence of God to struggle with principalities and powers on behalf of his fellow-men in the colonies, must learn to do violence to his own feelings on occasions of emergency, and even *to take joyfully the spoiling of his goods.*

There was other property in the town of Sydney, belonging partly to myself and partly to other members of my own family, to the amount of upwards of £2000, which was also brought to the hammer for a similar purpose in the course of the same protracted struggle. For as the number of mechanics necessarily employed at the College Buildings rendered a large expenditure absolutely necessary on the one hand, it was found on the other that no part of the public funds allotted by Lord Goderich for the carrying on of the undertaking could be procured for a whole twelvemonth after its commencement. The funds I allude to were to be advanced by instalments, provided that an equal amount should

have been previously expended by the promoters of the undertaking; security to be given to the Government on the College Buildings for the ultimate repayment of the advance at the expiration of five years. The buildings, however, were erected on ground belonging to the trustees of the Scots Church, and it was determined by the Crown lawyers of the colony that the latter could not give a security till they were empowered to do so by an Act of Council. But an Act of Council was not easily procurable; and, as it was necessary in the mean time to obtain funds from some quarter or other to carry on the work, the trustees of the Scots Church offered personal security for the due execution of the mortgage, as soon as its execution should be practicable. The Legislative Council, however, being constituted judges in regard to the sufficiency of the security, would not be satisfied with any thing *but the bond*. The bond was at length prepared by a private solicitor, and cost twelve guineas; but as His Majesty's Attorney-General, John Kinshela, Esq. refused to examine it on behalf of the Legislative Council, of which he is a member, unless I sent him a fee, I accordingly sent him five pounds. I regret exceedingly that the sum was so small, (although it was more than I could well afford at the time;) for the honourable gentleman's salary, as a Crown lawyer, is only £1200 a year.

It will not excite any surprise on the part of the reader, that even the gentlemen chosen to manage the Australian College and the shareholders in general should have been somewhat influenced by the strange and anomalous proceeding of the Legislative Council,

or rather by the state of feeling in certain influential quarters in which that proceeding had originated. To be placed under the ban of the colony—to be publicly stigmatized by the highest authority in the country as a setter-forth of *unfounded and unwarrantable statements*, or in plain English as *a downright liar*, was but a sorry recommendation for any person so completely identified with the establishment and progress of an Academical Institution as I had then the honour to be. Accordingly, certain of the gentlemen connected with the management of the College became very cool on the subject, and certain of the shareholders invented a variety of excuses to obviate the payment of their subscriptions. The College Council finding, therefore, that they could not easily meet the full amount of the sum to be advanced by the Government, resolved to discontinue the buildings when only half the extent originally agreed on had been erected, to get rid of the mechanics before they had fulfilled their engagement, to reduce the institution to one half the extent originally proposed, and to accept only of such part of the amount to be contributed by the Government as might equal the exact amount of the subscriptions realized. This, however, was a state of things of which I had foreseen the possible occurrence from the very first, and for which I had accordingly provided a *dernière ressource* in the sale of my own property. I therefore felt myself called on to give the gentlemen I refer to distinctly to understand, that unless the plan originally sanctioned by Lord Goderich were strictly adhered to, and the buildings carried on to the extent originally agreed on, and the

mechanics retained for the erection of these buildings in pursuance of their original agreement, the trustees of the Scots Church, on whose behalf I was authorized to act in the case, would by no means give up their right to the ground on which the buildings were erecting, and which they had previously agreed to surrender on the understanding and condition that the plan above mentioned should be carried into full effect. In short, as every attempt to subvert the institution from without had completely failed, it was not difficult to perceive that there was influence employed somewhere to reduce it to a state of comparative inefficiency and insignificance; and in such circumstances, it was evidently my duty to counteract that influence by every available means. Nay, at a meeting which was held during my own absence in the discharge of clerical duty in the interior, certain of the other gentlemen connected with the management of the College were actually told on good authority, that the Archdeacon would have no objection to unite with all of them, but would have nothing to do with Dr. Lang: or in other words, provided I could have been got rid of, the Archdeacon would not have been unwilling to place himself at the head of an institution which I had sacrificed all my property and risked my life to establish. If this should be considered rather an equivocal mark of brotherly-kindness, I am happy at least to be able to refer to it as a satisfactory evidence of the respectable character of our infant institution.

To carry on the undertaking in the midst of so much discouragement and so much opposition both open and

concealed was no easy task. It almost drove me to my wits' end; and the effort to conceal the violent and distressing emotions with which I was inwardly agitated for months together, was almost too great for a naturally strong constitution to undergo.* But to use the language of the Christian Father whose words I have prefixed as a motto to this chapter, "The work was great and arduous, but God vouchsafed assistance." That assistance was sometimes supplied from quarters from which I could never have expected it; and on several occasions, after experiencing a degree of coldness amounting almost to insult from individuals of the wealthier classes of society in the colony, I have received unsolicited assistance, accompanied with the warmest expressions of friendly encouragement, from persons in the humbler walks of life, both free emigrants and emancipists. One instance, or rather series of instances, of the kind I cannot help mentioning. The wages and other charges falling due at the close of a particular week amounted to about £80. I had made an effort in the early part of the week to procure funds to meet that demand, but it had proved fruitless, and I

* During the progress of the undertaking, I happened one day to light upon a passage in *The Scots Worthies*, which appeared to indicate a state of things somewhat similar to the one I had myself experienced. It occurs in the life of the eminently pious and learned Samuel Rutherford, and relates to his connexion with the establishment of a Divinity College at St. Andrew's, in the seventeenth century; in which, it seems, he hsd not only taken an active part but experienced much difficulty and opposition. "This New College," says Mr. Rutherford repeatedly in the passage I refer to, "will break my heart." The coincidence of circumstances, in situations so very different and so very remote from each other, struck me very forcibly at the moment.

was consequently quite at a loss to what quarter to look. On the Wednesday morning, however, a reputable Scotchwoman, for whose husband I had once written a memorial to General Darling which had fortunately proved successful, called at my house requesting me to keep ten pounds for her, and authorizing me to take the use of it in the mean time, if I required it. On the evening of the day following, a Scotch mechanic—one of those who had arrived in the colony under my own superintendence, and who had paid the whole of his passage-money some time before,—also called at my house to inform me that he had £26 in the Bank of New South Wales, for which he was receiving no interest, and that as it had occurred to him I might be in want of money to pay the other men, he had come to offer me the use of it, which I accordingly accepted. There was still, however, a considerable deficiency; but about seven o'clock on Saturday morning, a very interesting young man—a Presbyterian from the North of Ireland—called at my house to inform me that himself and his brother had both arrived a few days before as free emigrants by a vessel from Liverpool, and that they had both obtained situations as overseers on an extensive sheep-estate in the interior; depositing in my hands at the same time the sum of £39 (which it seems was all they had remaining after paying their passage), till one or other of them should return to Sydney. Five months thereafter, when my young friend returned to Sydney, and told me that his brother intended to leave his situation, to purchase a few sheep and cattle, and to commence on a small farm for their joint benefit, I was

enabled to repay him the money with ten per cent interest during the period it had remained in my hands.

The founding of an academical institution for the education of youth, in a colony so singularly constituted as that of New South Wales, was an object of too much importance to the community at large, to suppose that it could possibly have been accomplished by the parties connected with the establishment of the Australian College without giving offence in some quarter or other. But the success which has already attended the institution, notwithstanding every discouragement, amply compensates for this temporary evil, while it affords to myself at least no small consolation under all the difficulties that have hitherto been experienced in effecting its establishment. Although these difficulties were unexpected, in as far as regarded the particular form they assumed, I was neither unprepared for the occurrence of great difficulties in the undertaking, nor disposed to regard them with despondency. Having been engaged in a somewhat similar struggle for the settlement of the Scots Church in Sydney, shortly after my first arrival in the colony, I was led, from the experience I obtained of the general procedure of the Providence of God in the course and from the issue of that struggle, to record the following sentiment in a pamphlet published in the colony, and I have since had no reason to alter my opinion: "In any undertaking in which I may be engaged in future for the glory of God or the benefit of man, I shall esteem opposition and discouragement in the outset as the best earnest of prosperity in the end; *for he that goeth forth*

and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

The portion of the Australian College Buildings now erected contains a commodious residence for each of the four head-masters or professors of the institution, with highly suitable accommodation for not fewer than from sixty to eighty boarders; one principal object of the establishment of the college being to afford education at a cheap rate to youth from the interior of the colony or from India. By this arrangement, timely and effectual provision was made for placing the institution on the basis contemplated in its original plan, while the temporary inconvenience arising from each master or professor being required to teach his class in a large apartment in his own house till the erection of separate class-rooms, lecture-rooms, &c. was deemed of little moment when compared with the saving of £500 or £600 a year, which would otherwise have been entailed on the institution for the mere item of house-rent. There were upwards of sixty pupils in the classical and elementary classes when I left the colony, and the Rev. J. M'Garvie, A.M. had delivered a popular and well received course of lectures on Natural Philosophy, chiefly for more advanced youth, during the winter of 1832. The cost of education in the colony has been greatly reduced by the establishment of the Australian College. The education of a youth attending the classical and elementary classes costs £12 a year. Boarding in the family of one of the masters or professors costs £30 additional. On my arrival in the colony the

education of a boy reading Latin, in a school taught by a single master, cost, exclusive of board, £20 a year.

The only other public institution for the education of youth in New South Wales, when I embarked for England, was the King's School at Parramatta, founded by the Venerable the Archdeacon, and taught by the Rev. Mr. Forrest, a clergyman of the Church of England. I am happy to say it was working exceedingly well. The Sydney College, which I presume will shortly be in operation, will in all likelihood be a mere grammar-school in the first instance; but, as the building is situated at a considerable distance from the Australian College Buildings, and as the town and population of Sydney, as well as the general population of the colony, are increasing with a rapidity scarcely conceivable in the mother country, the field is even at this moment wide enough to require all the intellectual machinery either in progress or in actual operation in the territory.

In addition, however, to a series of elementary and classical schools, it was proposed that the Australian College should afford to youth of a more advanced standing, similar advantages to those afforded in the mathematical, philosophical, and natural history classes of the Universities of Scotland. The founders of the institution conceived that the idea of subjecting the youth of the colony to a classical training of seven years' duration, as was proposed by the Venerable the Archdeacon in his original prospectus, was equally unsuitable to the circumstances of the colony and the spirit of the age. The circumstances and condition of the

colony in general render it desirable that young men should be fitted for the active business of life, at an earlier age than in the mother country; and the object of importance, therefore, in the education of youth in the colony, is to impart the largest quantity of useful knowledge in the shortest possible time, and to awaken in the process those mental energies that will afterwards enable the individual to traverse the wide field of the world with credit and with success. This object, I conceive, would be but ill accomplished by devoting the precious years of youth to the exclusive acquisition of Greek and Latin; for if it is the business of education, agreeably to the admirable sentiment of the Spartan monarch Agesilaus, *to teach youth what they are to practise when they are men*, a critical acquaintance with the ancient languages would form but an insufficient preparative for the scenes and circumstances of colonial life. In short, to use a maritime phrase, Latin and Greek may serve very well for *dead weight*, but never for a *whole cargo*.

There is another object of importance to which, it was conceived, the establishment of the Australian College might be rendered subservient—I mean the Christianization and civilization of the numerous isles of the Pacific. The intercourse of the colony with these islands is becoming more frequent, and of consequence more influential, either for good or for evil, every day. At the same time there is an interesting European population arising in these islands, in the children of missionaries; who, according to the early training they shall receive, will be powerfully influential

either in extending the language, the laws, the civilization and the Protestant religion of Britain over the multitude of the isles, or in augmenting the darkness and the immorality of their heathen inhabitants. Having been informed by several of these missionaries, who occasionally visit the colony, that the children of Europeans were exposed to manifold temptations in the South Sea Islands, and were in danger, moreover, of contracting those lethargic habits that are universally prevalent among semi-barbarians, it occurred to me that if the most promising of the sons of European missionaries at the islands could be educated in New South Wales under the superintendence of able and Christian men, their knowledge of the language and their constitutional adaptation to the climate of Polynesia would render them peculiarly fit to be afterwards sent forth as missionaries to those numerous and populous islands that have never yet been visited by Europeans, and whose groves of palm-trees have never been lighted up by the torch of knowledge, nor gladdened by the sound of the Gospel. With this idea I wrote to the missionaries at Tahiti, (Otaheite,) shortly after my return to the colony in the year 1826, offering to educate any promising youth they might send up to New South Wales by way of experiment. The son of a Scotch missionary from the London Missionary Society, who spoke the Polynesian language as fluently as the English, was accordingly sent up to the colony towards the close of the year, and, in a period of time unusually short, acquired, by lessons which I could only afford to give him at irregular

intervals, a sufficient knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages to enable him to translate the Greek Gospels into good Latin at the opening of the book. The young man lived four or five years in my family, but preferring at length to return to the islands, he did so in the year 1832, with the intention, however, of proceeding to London to complete his theological education and to return as a missionary to the South Seas. In short, the experiment proved successful, and it showed how much might easily be accomplished for *the multitude of the isles* of Polynesia, as well as for the main land of Australia, if there were only a sufficient and well-directed force in the Australian College.

It was the hope of rendering that institution as efficient as possible in the various respects I have thus enumerated, as well as of procuring additional assistance for the Presbyterian Church in the Australian colonies, that induced me to double Cape Horn for the third time: and, if I have occupied too much of the reader's time in detailing the origin and progress of an institution with which I have hitherto been in great measure identified, I trust I shall stand excused, when it is borne in mind that the Australian College promises at no distant period to be the first and the most influential institution for the education of youth in the Southern Hemisphere.

It would be equally difficult and injudicious to attempt to characterize a race who have hitherto enjoyed so few advantages as the youth of Australia. In bodily appearance they are tall and slender; less adapted to make strenuous exertions than to sustain fatigue and

privation. As to their mental qualities, it would perhaps be unfair to judge of the many by a few; but the specimens of native intellect, with which I have come in contact, have evinced for the most part more surface than depth, more sound than metal. The Australian intellect comes to maturity earlier than the British; but the first ripe fruit is not always the best. I have known instances of boys in the colony making much greater progress, in the acquisition of the languages for instance, in a given time than I have witnessed in Scotland; but the Scotch boy compared with the Australian is like a steady-going draught-horse compared with a hopping kangaroo. Application, indeed, is not the *forte* of the Australian youth, and he is apt rather to be cast down at the sight of difficulties than roused to exertion. On the other hand, he is giddy and frivolous, impatient of restraint, and apt to fancy himself of much more importance in society than he really is. These faults, however, are traceable in great measure to the very defective training which the great majority of the youth of the colony have hitherto received under the parental roof; for it cannot be denied, and I am most happy to bear testimony to the fact, that they are a highly interesting and a highly improvable race.

There is one trait in their character, however, which is almost uniformly regarded as a virtue, and as the result of a certain innate nobleness of mind, but which I would set down decidedly as a vice, and as merely the result of the by-past condition of their native country as a convict or white-slave colony. The trait

I allude to is a blustering and rather offensive affectation of liberty and independence, somewhat similar to the usual demonstrations of the same feeling among the lower classes of Americans. It arises in no respect from a due sense of the rights, or from a consciousness of the character of freemen; but solely from a preposterous comparison of their own unmanacled condition with the chains and fetters of the convict or enslaved portion of the population. A female convict, who has served out her time and obtained her certificate of freedom and got drunk on the head of it, is perhaps apprehended by a constable, who perhaps is not aware of the important fact, in order to be conveyed to the watch-house; but Madame nobly sets the myrmidons of the police at defiance by producing her certificate signed and countersigned as the law directs, and shouting as well as she can, "I am—a free—woman—huzzah!"* It is quite in the order of things for this hopeful free subject, on afterwards rearing a family of little Australians, to imbue their minds with somewhat of her own *pride of place*, and to lead them, unconsciously perhaps, to assume no small credit in their own estimation, merely for not being liable, forsooth, to the vassalage, and restraint, and degradation of convicts. It is easy to perceive how such a feeling will operate in rendering the colonial youth impatient, even at an early period, of parental restraint, and subsequently lead them to an

* ——————— Cui potenter erit *res*,
Nec facundia deseret hanc, nec lucidus ordo.—Hor.
"She who has taken a copious libation of colonial gin, will neither want eloquence nor distinct arrangement."

assumption of superiority when there is nothing to support it, or to a boisterous assertion of rights which nobody ever thinks of calling in question. Nay, it is not difficult to conceive how such a feeling—originating in the lowest classes of society—may operate far beyond the circle from which it emanated, and display itself in quarters where it would not be suspected. It has even given birth to a school of oratory in the colony—*the bouncing* * *school*, it may be styled—which has both wit and talent to support its blustering and brow-beating pretensions. For my own part, with certain limitations, I would not object to the sentiment of the poet,

> Thy spirit, Independence, let me share
> Lord of the lion-heart and eagle-eye!

but I confess I have never found that spirit conjoined with forwardness or effrontery. It is most frequently the mild aspect and the unassuming demeanour, that conceal the heart that is formed for deeds of noble daring in the service of the public, or of unflinching endurance in the suffering of irremediable wrong.

But slavery, in whatever form it exists, uniformly produces the same evil effect on the native population of the country in which it prevails. It is of no consequence whether the slave be for seven years or for life, or whether his crime has been a black skin or a highway robbery. I was rowed ashore one morning, when at Rio de Janeiro in the year 1823, by two negro watermen. The landing-place was near the *Ilha das Cobras*, or Isle of Serpents; but there happened to be so many

* *To bounce* is a colonial phrase equivalent to the English phrase, *to bluster*.

boats at the place when we reached it that it was with some difficulty we could get close to the shore. While the negroes were endeavouring to get as near as possible, I observed a young Brazilian of respectable appearance—a tiny creature, however, not more I should think than four feet and a half in height—approach the landing-place, apparently looking out for a boat to cross the harbour or to go off to some vessel. A tall, athletic negro made him an offer of his boat in the same forward officious way as a Thames waterman would have done; but the Brazilian intending perhaps to take some other boat which he had pre-engaged, or not wishing to be troubled at the moment, clenched his fist and dashed it violently at the face of the negro, who of course had to receive the grievous wrong with unmurmuring patience, *for he was a slave!* I felt so indignant at the brutal transaction, that if I had been close alongside the parties, I should almost have been inclined to have lifted up the minute fragment of Brazilian humanity by the collar and dipped it overhead in the water.

It would be improper to bring this chapter to a close without mentioning another institution which has lately been established in the colony with every prospect of success. The institution I allude to is a mechanics' institution, designated "The Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts." The idea of its establishment was first suggested by His Excellency Major-General Bourke to the Rev. H. Carmichael, A. M., classical professor in the Australian College. Mr. Carmichael had formed an institution of a similar kind on a small scale during his voyage from England on board the Stirling Castle; having employed himself during the whole voyage in

giving lessons and lectures in various branches of useful knowledge to our fellow-voyagers, the Scotch mechanics, under the idea that by raising them to a higher level in the scale of intelligence, and by giving them a taste for scientific investigations, they would be the more likely to withstand the temptations to which they would necessarily be exposed in the colony. Various preliminary meetings were accordingly held for the purpose of feeling the pulse of the public, and of making the requisite preparations, in Mr. Carmichael's class-room; and a general meeting was at last held in the Court-house, Sydney, on the 22nd of March, 1833, at which the institution was formally organized under the patronage of His Excellency the Governor, Major Mitchell, Surveyor-General of the colony, being elected president, and Mr. Carmichael, vice-president. In the committee of management for the present year, I perceive the names of no fewer than five mechanics of the Stirling Castle importation.

The number and the influence of Scotsmen in this and in other institutions for the intellectual and the moral advancement of New South Wales have given rise, however, to a series of attempts on the part of certain of the lower English in the colony to excite an illiberal prejudice against Scotsmen in general through the medium of the press. But intelligent and reputable Scotsmen, who now begin to feel their own weight in the colony, and of whom there are not wanting individuals who can wield other instruments than the chisel and the saw, are not likely to sit silent and see so powerful an engine as the press in the hands of those who traduce them. To ascertain the degree in which the co-

lony has been indebted to the efforts of Scotsmen, it is not necessary to go farther than the single instance of a mechanics' institution. Something of the kind was attempted by Archdeacon Scott; but with all the pecuniary means and political power at that gentleman's command, the effort proved abortive—the thing could not be effected, till a host of reputable and intelligent Scotsmen arrived in the territory. And yet, of all classes of the community in the Australian colonies, we are the class that must make the most desperate efforts, and submit to the most mortifying humiliation, ere we can obtain for ourselves the ordinances of religion according to the customs of our forefathers. And if we are poor and cannot pay for the education of our children, Sir George Murray tells us, we must either keep them at home or send them to the Archdeacon's school to be made Episcopalians at the expense of Government.

As a specimen of the Scottish talent at present employed for the intellectual and moral advancement of the colony of New South Wales, as well as of the principles and objects of "*The Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts*," I shall take the liberty to subjoin the following passages from the introductory lecture delivered at the opening of that institution on the 23rd of April last, by the Rev. Mr. Carmichael, the vice-president. After having stated that the general object of the institution was "the diffusion of scientific and other useful knowledge as extensively as possible throughout the colony," Mr. C. proceeds as follows:—

"The more specific object of this institution, however, is to afford to

those practising the mechanical arts in this colony, facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the principles upon which their practical operations are founded, and by which they ought always to be regulated. It is to provide adequate means, and to present sufficient inducements for leading them to an acquaintance with science as well as with art. It is to furnish them with opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the theory, at the time when they are busy with the every-day practice, of their various occupations.

"Another most important object, contemplated in the formation of the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, is to provide adequate facilities for the supply of those deficiencies in early education which have resulted either unavoidably from the want of means in the mother country, or from the want of both stimulus and opportunity in the colony. From the growing increase of population in Great Britain, compared with the demand for labour, the state of society *there* has long been such, that a struggle for a competent share of the good things of this life, on the part of ordinary mechanics, has become oppressively severe. The consequence of this has been, that among those who have felt it their duty as honest, and their interest as prudent, men, to brave the pungency of those nameless feelings which cannot but crowd the bosom of every intelligent Briton on the contemplation of leaving for ever the land of his fathers, and who have thus been led to seek a home on these far-distant shores, there must be many whom the pressure of previous circumstances had debarred from embracing all those facilities of early education befitting their condition in life, which are so ample within the circuit of their native land. To men thus circumstanced, in whose minds it is natural to suppose that extended acquaintance with the world has not lessened the estimation which they had formed at home of the value of education, it cannot fail to be gratifying to find, that some provision is made here for the effective dissemination of those kinds of information which their past experience may have led them, now more than ever, to desiderate. After a sacrifice of feeling and a waste of time which few would willingly incur a second time, they may at length find themselves in circumstances which will allow of their devoting more time than before to the acquisition of knowledge. It is one of the objects of this institution to provide the means of thus gratifying one of the highest propensities of human nature, and hence to fit a valuable class of men for performing their social duties with more satisfaction to themselves, and greater advantage to others than before.

"And with regard to native mechanics, who have hitherto had comparatively few opportunities of improving themselves, whether mentally

or mechanically, it would be difficult to conceive an object tending more directly to promote their most important interests. Education in the colony has hitherto been little else than a name.* * * We may hence indulge in the hope that in the progress of this society's operations, the children of Australia will shortly be seen fervently worshipping at the shrine of Science, vying not merely with those stray pilgrims who may still cherish some faint feelings of devotion in the land of their adoption, but joining in zeal with those who in the old and honoured abodes of science and learning are opening, every now and then, new avenues in the pathways of discovery, and gradually unravelling for the admiration and benefit of the human race, those mysteries and laws of nature which may have been hid from the knowledge of man since the foundation of the world.

"And it is not to be forgotten that the influence which the successful conduct of this institution will send abroad is well calculated to tell on the welfare of other classes of this country's population. More especially it is calculated to supply a rallying point to those who have been long familiarized with the exhibition of moral degradation. The territory which we inhabit may be regarded as exhibiting a splendid experiment on the possibility of moral reformation. And it is contemplated that our institution, if properly conducted, may be destined to act most powerfully in giving the desired effect to this important experiment—in reclaiming from the ranks of worthlessness and dissipation, and rendering industrious and respectable men, many who but for its establishment might be enticed to drag out their existence between the pot-house and the workshop, amidst the feverishness of intoxication and the nervelessness of damaged constitutions—the slaves of gross and grovelling appetites, a discredit to themselves and friends, the disgrace of human nature, and absolute pests to the peace and welfare of society."

After observing that an interchange of the products of mind is as necessary to the health of the intellectual world, and to the general advancement of the species, as cross-breeding is to the health and improvement of the inferior animals, Mr. C. proceeds:

"In the case of individuals, if a man refuses to mingle with the living world, however much he may endeavour to gain a knowledge of its history and its ways by the perusal of books, he will infallibly fall behind in his aptitude to discharge his social duties aright. He will lose caste in intelligence as well as in virtue. He is sure to degenerate in mental character. Nor is this effect limited to individuals merely: it is perceptible in the

case of nations also. Not only is it found that an individual who separates himself from society loses mental tension, it is observable that tribes also which have departed in a state of comparative civilization beyond association or intercourse with other tribes, grow gradually into barbarism. So much has this been the case, that many men of talent and observation have been inclined to consider every instance of savage life in the world as traceable to this cause. And most assuredly the traditions of all barbarous tribes, and many of their customs and observances, point to a period when their ancestors must have ranked far higher in the scale of civilization. Be this however as it may, it is at all events obvious, that the circumstances under which any class of emigrants leave their native land are such as to involve the abandonment of many advantages, upon the enjoyment of which the advancement of their country in civilization mainly depends. At the present moment, for instance, we are thus circumstanced. And in being separated, besides, from that mighty scene of competition which keeps every intellect on the stretch, and renders incessant activity, whether muscular or mental, altogether necessary through all the departments of industry, we are thereby thrown beyond the influence of some of the most powerful stimulants to individual exertion and social improvement. We are so placed that but for perpetual intercourse with the mother country, we run the risk of receding rapidly on the field of civilization. The living world of mind we have quitted; although we still may glance at the panorama of its movements as reflected to us in the literary and scientific publications of our beloved father-land. Yet, if we mean to rise in the scale of nations, we must possess a literature and science of our own. And what more likely means of accomplishing this end than by the establishment of an institution, where the ambition of ingenuous men may be roused through mutual communication of thought and reciprocity of knowledge? There has hitherto been among us no intellectual *bourse* for the benefit of the general population, where, in the varied interchange of thought, men of all classes may meet together, and gather from the mental stores of each other supplies apportionate to their individual wants, and where there may thus be that mutual intergendering of ideas which is as efficacious in improving the growth of intellectual, as the corresponding processes alluded to in improving the physiology of animal and vegetable life."

In allusion to the prejudice still existing in certain quarters against such institutions as the Colonial School of Arts, Mr. C. observes in conclusion:

"The desire of improvement, and the wish to disseminate know-

ledge, are feelings characteristic of true philosophy; and no better test can be given of a man's superiority in the scale of moral and intellectual worth than the degree of constancy with which these feelings are habitually cherished. No matter what the rank, or what the external education of the man may be, who harbours even the shadow of a prejudice against the unfettered dissemination of knowledge; the mind of that man, in the estimation of true philosophy, must be regarded as ignorant and uneducated. Wherever there exists the hankering of an aversion against the enlightenment of all orders of the people, *there* assuredly will real ignorance be found to lurk. It may not be the ignorance of longs and shorts; it may not be ignorance of the technicalities and tortuosities of law; it may not be ignorance of the higher points of controversial theology; it may not be ignorance of the rules of barter, or of the manipulations of the counting-house; it may not even be ignorance of what is properly and peculiarly denominated science; but most assuredly it is ignorance of human nature—it is gross ignorance of the duties and destinies of man."

POSTSCRIPT.

When the arrangement already mentioned was made with His Majesty's Government for the establishment of the Australian College in the year 1831, it was stipulated that the College Buildings should be erected on an allotment of ground belonging to the Scots Church. The reasons of this stipulation, which was made on my own recommendation, were,—first, that the situation was central and highly favourable for the purpose; and secondly, that as the promoters of the undertaking proposed to carry out a number of Scotch mechanics to erect the College Buildings, it was absolutely necessary that they should have the immediate command of a site for these buildings to enable the mechanics to commence operations immediately after their arrival in the

colony. The promoters of the undertaking, however, indulged the hope that if they should be fortunate enough to establish the proposed College, which was then altogether problematical, the Government would grant the Scots Church an allotment of equal value in some other part of the town of Sydney, especially as that institution had been burdened, through Sir Thomas Brisbane's reply to the Presbyterian Memorial of 1823, with a load of debt which the allotment in question afforded the only prospect of eventually paying off. And if the founders of the Australian College did not expressly stipulate for an equivalent allotment in the first instance, but trusted to the liberality of His Majesty's Government and to their sense of justice, they did so partly from a feeling of delicacy; because the Government had already given a large and valuable allotment for a similar purpose to certain other parties in the colony, who had allowed it to lie waste and unimproved for upwards of five years. In such circumstances the founders of the Australian College were unwilling to ask an allotment from the Government, till they had evinced both their willingness and ability to turn it to proper account.

When the establishment of the Australian College, however, had been successfully effected, the trustees of the Scots Church memorialized His Excellency Major-General Bourke for a Government allotment in lieu of the one they had thus surrendered for so important a public purpose; their memorial being unanimously and cordially recommended by the Council of the Australian College. But His Excellency declined acceding

to the prayer of the memorial, on the ground that there had been no stipulation relative to the allotment in the original agreement with His Majesty's Government.

I could not help regarding this refusal on the part of His Excellency, the present Governor, as a very ungracious act; and on leaving the colony for England, I requested His Excellency to transmit the documents to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whom I addressed a letter explanatory of the circumstances out of which the memorial had arisen, on my arrival in London. James Ewing, Esq., M. P. for Glasgow, subsequently did me the honour to call at the Colonial Office along with me to explain these circumstances more fully in a personal interview with Mr. Hay and Mr. Lefevre, the Under-Secretaries of State. In answer, however, to these communications I have just received a letter from Mr. Lefevre, intimating that Mr. Secretary Stanley also refuses to grant the trustees of the Scots Church a Government allotment, in lieu of the one they had appropriated for the establishment of the Australian College; "towards the construction of which," Mr. Lefevre observes, "His Majesty's Government so liberally contributed."

I should be extremely sorry to undervalue the liberality of His Majesty's Government to the Australian College; but I cannot help thinking that the Right Honourable Secretary appreciates it somewhat too highly. For taking into consideration the important public benefits which have already been conferred, through the grant of £3500 to the Australian College, on the colony of New South Wales—the importation of

the Scotch mechanics, and the consequent elevation of the standard of morals among that class of the colonial community; the marked improvement in colonial architecture, which is also directly traceable to the same source, and the greatly diminished cost of public buildings in the colony; the establishment of an institution for the education of youth on the comparatively extensive plan of the Australian College, and the stimulus that has thereby been communicated to the colony in a great variety of respects—taking all these particulars into consideration, I am confident that if the Secretary of State for the Colonies will cause the records of the colonial department to be searched, from the period when Great Britain acquired her first acre of land beyond seas to the present hour, he will not find a single other instance in which a similar amount of public money granted for public purposes in the colonies, has been productive of a similar amount of real and palpable good to any colonial community. His Majesty's Government have therefore been no losers by their bargain with the founders of the Australian College, however costly that institution may have proved to the writer. They have at all events got a *quid pro quo*, as representatives of the community at large. Nay, when I see grant after grant, both of public money and of allotments of land, voted by the Legislative Council of the colony for the Archdeacon's school at Parramatta, I cannot help thinking that, in being denied this moderate request after all their exertions, the trustees of the Scots Church, the founders of the Australian College, have been breathed upon with the cold breath of a

stepmother by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

It has occurred to me that there may perhaps be gentlemen in London, or elsewhere in the mother country, who might possibly be induced from the preceding details to patronize and to encourage an institution which promises to be so permanently and so beneficially influential to the southern hemisphere as the Australian College, by pecuniary donations or by donations of books on literature, philosophy, science, or theology. Should this be the case, I beg to add that donations of either kind will be received by Alexander Birnie, Esq. 12, Great St. Helen's, London—a gentleman to whom, on behalf of the Australian College, I am already under the highest obligations. The Rev. Robert Wylde, A. M. of the University of Glasgow, and Mr. David M'Kenzie, A. M. of the University of Edinburgh, have been engaged to conduct the classical and the English departments of the institution, and will in all likelihood have embarked for the colony before these pages shall have come under the eye of the reader. But the grand desideratum still is to have an efficient provision secured in the institution for the training up of missionaries to the South Sea Islands, and of ministers of religion for the Australian colonies ; and this can only be effected by generous hearts and open hands. Of these, however, there is happily no scarcity in Great Britain—the land of genuine and enlightened philanthropy.

London, April, 1834.

CHAPTER VII.

EMIGRATION; CONSIDERED CHIEFLY IN REFERENCE TO THE PRACTICABILITY AND EXPEDIENCY OF IMPORTING AND OF SETTLING THROUGHOUT THE TERRITORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, A NUMEROUS, INDUSTRIOUS, AND VIRTUOUS AGRICULTURAL POPULATION; BEING A LECTURE, DELIVERED IN THE TEMPORARY HALL OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE, SYDNEY, 9TH MAY, 1833.*

"The wealth and strength of a country are its population, and the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil."

PRESIDENT JACKSON'S MESSAGE FOR DEC. 1832.

IF any apology be deemed necessary from the minister of religion who steps forward to address a promiscuous

* The following lecture was delivered under the idea that during the short period of my stay in England I might possibly be instrumental in directing the attention of influential persons in the mother country to the plan of which I had merely given a general outline in my letter to Lord Goderich, of date 30th Dec. 1830. The audience on the occasion was both numerous and respectable, and the lecture was subsequently published to ascertain the sentiments of gentlemen of influence and intelligence throughout the territory in regard to the principles it developed and the plans it proposed. It will probably not be uninteresting to the reader to ascertain the opinion of some respectable member of the Australian community on a subject of such vital importance to the welfare of the colony; I shall therefore take the liberty to subjoin a very interesting letter I received, in acknowledgment of a copy of the Lecture, from Major Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales.

assembly, on any subject unconnected with Christian doctrine or Christian practice, I am sure no apology will be deemed necessary for introducing the subject of this evening's lecture to the consideration of so intelligent a portion of the Australian community as I have now the honour to address. It is unquestionably the interest of every inhabitant of New South Wales to do all that in him lies to promote the settlement of a virtuous and industrious agricultural population throughout this territory.

If there are any, however, who deem it incongruous for a minister of religion to occupy my present position—and I doubt not but such may be the opinion of men whose hearts are as diminutive as their understandings—I would remind them, that the Divine Author of the Christian religion, he who went about doing good, administered not unfrequently to the bodily as well as to the spiritual wants of his fellow-countrymen. He healed their diseases when they applied to him for that purpose, and he oftener than once took upon him the task of supplying thousands with the necessaries of life when faint with hunger in the wilderness. It cannot therefore be unbefitting the office of a minister of religion to point out what he has reason to believe the means of enabling thousands of his fellow-countrymen, who should otherwise be left to pine in indigence and hunger in the over-populous cities and villages of Great Britain and Ireland, to eat bread in abundance in the great wilderness of Australia.

But a minister of religion occupying the position I have now the honour to hold, may stand on higher

ground. Divine Providence and the Parliament of Great Britain have, doubtless for the most benevolent purposes, subjected this fair portion of the earth's surface to a species of degradation such as no other portion of the earth's surface has ever experienced. Our father-land, we all know, contains much that the friend of humanity cannot fail to "*love*," and more that he cannot fail to "*admire*," in conjunction, however, with all that he "*abhors*." Now, it is chiefly—and I add most unhappily for the colony, whatever it may have been for the individuals themselves—it is chiefly that portion of her population which excites the last of these feelings that Great Britain has hitherto consigned to our shores. Whatever she contained within the ample receptacles of her sin and of her shame—her jails and bridewells and houses of correction—she has ever and anon been vomiting forth on this territory for the last forty years; insomuch, that she has rendered a land which yields to none other on the whole face of the globe for the salubrity of its climate and the serenity of its sky, a land of justly requited vicé and of self-inflicted misery. Now, to devise ways and means for transforming this moral wilderness into a well-cultivated field, in which all the virtues that adorn our beloved father-land may come to early and healthful maturity, were in my opinion employment worthy of an angel from heaven, much more of a minister of religion. And whatever other specifics may be devised for promoting this high and holy object, I confess that, exclusive of the regular and efficient dispensation of the ordinances of religion,

I have always considered it the most direct and the most effectual, the cheapest and the best, to import into our colony and to settle within its ample territory a numerous, industrious, and virtuous agricultural population.

The question of emigration and colonization may be considered,—first, in reference to the mother country; and secondly, in reference to the colonies.

I. In the mother country the question of emigration and colonization is a question of real and serious difficulty, uniformly giving rise to various and conflicting opinions. For while the great excess of population, in comparison with the means of subsistence, in Great Britain and Ireland is a fact universally acknowledged, and while the misery arising from that excess is fearfully extensive and absolutely distressing to humanity to contemplate, a great variety of causes have been assigned as the origin of so unfortunate a state of things, and a great variety of remedies have accordingly been proposed, of which emigration is only one of fifty, and that by no means the most popular. This however is just what might have been expected; for, while there is not one in ten thousand of the inhabitants of our father-land who is able to appreciate the excellence of emigration as a remedy for the serious evils of a superabundant population—just from never having enjoyed an opportunity of contrasting the condition of persons of the working classes in the mother country with their state when subsequently settled in the colonies —the injudicious mode in which emigration has often been conducted, when adopted as a Government mea-

sure, and the ruinous expense and the utter failure with which it has been so frequently attended, have induced a great many well-meaning and philanthropic men in the mother country to regard it with unmerited suspicion.

Now, although we are comparatively but little interested in the consideration of this question as it regards the mother country, it may not be altogether out of place to state very briefly what appears to be its proper bearing even in that respect. Without pretending therefore to any thing like superior discernment in the science of political economy, I hold that the most important and fundamental axioms of that science are to be found in the outset of the book of Genesis—in that passage where this injunction is divinely given to our first parents, "*Multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.*" This injunction, when translated into the language of political economy, reads as follows:—"Let there be no artificial check to the increase of population. Let marriage be encouraged by all means; and when the population in any country becomes excessive, let a portion of the inhabitants of that country emigrate to the waste and uninhabited lands in other parts of the world."

These divinely-derived axioms of political economy regulate the practice and procedure of a comparatively insignificant but divinely-constituted community, from which I conceive the more important communities of men might learn a salutary lesson. The community I allude to is that of bees. There are no checks to population thought of in the bee-hive; but whenever the hive

becomes overpopulous, as it regularly does at least once every year, what do its little inhabitants do? Do they divide the cells, as an Irish farm is divided among all the families of several successive generations of the lineal descendants of the first tenant, till it affords to each at last nothing more than a miserable potato-garden? No; the matter is managed much more wisely and much more comfortably to all concerned—the redundant population of the hive swarms off at the proper season in one great body, and forms a flourishing colony somewhere else, which perhaps in a very short period rivals the parent hive. The bees, it is true, have a sort of transportation-law like ourselves, in virtue of which a kind of forced emigration, of a very limited extent however, takes place from their little community; they banish the drones from the hive, and they even sometimes, as is gravely told us by their historians, put these pests of society to death. But these desultory and solitary instances of forced emigration or banishment are never found to supersede the grand, annual, national, voluntary emigration. The drones or convicts are banished in dozens; but the great swarm of free emigrants leaves the hive in tens of thousands. As Solomon therefore says to the indolent—"*Go to the ant, thou sluggard*"—I would say to all those persons in Great Britain who ignorantly declaim against emigration—that divinely-appointed remedy for the evils of a super abundant population—"Go to the bee, ye would-be political economists."

It may be useful to ascertain what would have been the result of a similar procedure, supposing it to have

been adopted on a comparatively small scale, in the case of Great Britain and this colony. Supposing, therefore, that instead of allowing the poor's-rate of England to increase annually till it reached its present enormous amount of eight millions sterling per annum, a legislative enactment had been made at the close of the last century, absolutely prohibiting all adult, able-bodied and healthy paupers from receiving any assistance from their respective parishes from and after the year 1800, but affording them, provided they chose to accept it, a free passage to one or other of the colonies, and the means of settling in its territory; two hundred thousand a year expended in this manner for the diminution of pauperism in England by emigration to New South Wales, would have been sufficient to have conveyed to the colony, at the rate of £20 each *—a rate which on a great scale would have been quite sufficient for the purpose—ten thousand free persons every year. There would thus have been landed in the colony at the end of thirty years, or three years ago, three hundred thousand free persons, who, at the most moderate rate of increase, would at this moment have formed a colonial population of 450,000 souls.†

* There is reason to believe that in the present depressed state of the shipping interest in Great Britain, taken in connexion with the opening-up of the China Trade, emigrants could be carried out to New South Wales, at as low a rate as £15 each, if not even for less.

† I have been told that the colony could not have received so large an accession to its population as 10,000 persons per annum at the commencement of the present century. I am willing to allow that it could not, as things had been managed previously. But it surely might have done so under a different system of management; for, as 5000 acres of good land sown with wheat would have produced grain enough for 10,000 persons,

The effect of this arrangement in regard to the individuals principally concerned would have been their speedily exchanging a state of indigence and degradation for a state of comfort and comparative independence. And whereas, by remaining in England, they only served to increase the number of British paupers and convicts, and to add greatly to the national burdens, the national debasement, and the national misery, their settlement in this country would have given employment to ten times the number of British sailors that are now employed in the commerce of the colony, and increased ten-fold the amount of British manufactures consumed in the colony, and thus enabled the mother country to support a much larger population at home than if they had never left the British shores.

Besides, the annual draft we have supposed from the pauper population of Great Britain would have kept down the poor's-rate over a large extent of country (say ten counties) to the standard of 1800. This would doubtless have been effected at an expense of £200,000 per annum; but as that expense was not incurred, and as the paupers that would thus have been got rid of entirely were allowed to become an additional public burden at home, the amount of poor's-rate in the ten counties supposed increased gradually every year till it very soon exceeded the standard of 1800 by a still higher annual amount than £200,000; and instead of remaining stationary at that amount, it has since gone

at the rate of 12½ bushels for each annually, the available labour of the colony might surely have effected cultivation to that extent, in addition to what was actually cultivated in the year 1800.

on increasing progressively till the present day. The expense therefore of retaining and maintaining the paupers in question in the mother country, though apparently much smaller in the first instance, has eventually far exceeded the expense that would have been incurred by conveying them gratuitously to this colony at the rate of 10,000 individuals per annum, and thereby transforming them into reputable and substantial landholders in New South Wales.*

* Lest I should have failed in making myself sufficiently intelligible to the reader, or in placing the subject of emigration, as it regards the mother country, in its proper light, I shall point out the effect that would have resulted in a particular instance from the application and enforcement of the principles I have been endeavouring to illustrate. In pages 218 and 219 of "Extracts from the information received by His Majesty's Commissioners as to the administration and operation of the Poor Laws," published by authority, 1833, there is detailed the case of a family, or rather succession of families of paupers, in the parish of St. Lawrence, Reading, Berkshire. The patriarchs of the family are John Brenn and his wife, who are described "as remarkably hale old people, who had lived on the parish upwards of forty years, at an expense of not less than ten shillings per week." This allowance for forty years amounts to £1040—the whole expense which the said John Brenn and his wife have cost the parish of St. Lawrence for their own maintenance during that long period. But the sum of £30, or the amount of the said allowance for only fourteen months, paid in advance, would at this moment provide a passage for a stout labourer and his wife to New South Wales; consequently, if it had been made imperative for the said paupers either to accept a passage to one of the colonies, or to maintain themselves at home as they best could without assistance from their parish at all, their conveyance at the expense of the parish, supposing they had accepted the offer, to the most distant colony in the empire, would have saved the parish £1010.

But the paupers were maintained in their parish, and the consequence has been their entailing upon it a load of pauperism amounting in all to twenty-two persons, whose maintenance costs the parish £100 per annum. The workhouse patriarchs had a family of three sons and a

But if the supposed arrangement would have proved so beneficial to the mother country and to the paupers themselves, what, I would ask, would have been the state of this colony at the present moment, had some such measure as the one we have now been supposing been pursued? Why, there would doubtless have been a line of flourishing settlements all along the coast from

daughter. The eldest son, John Brenn, is a weaver in London, who receives 3*s.* a week from the parish of St. Lawrence, as a bribe to prevent him from throwing himself upon it altogether. Francis and Charles Brenn are both married, and have five children, the parish paying the one family 6*s.* 6*d.*, and the other 7*s.* 6*d.* per week, *besides shoes and stockings.* Mary Brenn, the daughter, gave her hand, it seems, to a weaver of the name of Packer, and has since given the parish eight children to maintain; for the family of the Packers receive 13*s.* a week from the parish, besides "various other advantages."

Now had John Brenn and his wife been sent out to New South Wales at the expense of their parish forty years ago, the latter would have been spared the whole amount of moral debasement which so large an amount of pauperism necessarily implies, independently of the cost of its maintenance. The paupers themselves, and their children also, would in all likelihood have been settled long ago in the same state of comfort and independence as is now enjoyed by some of the emancipated convict-settlers of whose history and condition in the colony I have already apprised the reader; and instead of loathsome leeches sucking the blood of the mother country, they would have been ministering to the health of her body politic as the reputable consumers of large quantities of British goods.

What then will posterity think of the rulers of a country, possessing "ships, colonies, and commerce," to the extent that these elements of national prosperity are possessed by Great Britain, allowing so enormous a system of national debasement to be progressively advancing for the last thirty years, when the means of effecting its gradual and entire discontinuance were so fully at their command? Why, they will almost be tempted to suppose that the Government had fallen for the long period referred to into the hands of conspirators against the human race, who had bound themselves by an oath to reduce the bulk of the nation to a state of absolute pauperism and hopeless degradation!

Moreton Bay to Bass' Straits, and from Cape Howe to King George's Sound; the interior would have been traversed and occupied in every direction by flocks and herds and reputable families; and steam-boats would have been plying daily with produce and passengers on the Morumbidgee, and on its still unexplored tributary streams.

Besides, if such a system as I have just hinted at had been pursued for the last thirty years, how vastly different would the state of the colony have been from what it now is in regard to morals and religion! From their great number and comparative concentration, the prison population have uniformly given the tone to society throughout this community—and a low tone it is, it must be acknowledged, as might well be supposed! They have stamped a vicious impress on its whole form and character, which, I fear, it will take generations to efface, while at the same time their own reformation has only been rendered the more problematical from their being unhappily placed in circumstances which have rendered them almost necessarily instrumental in achieving the moral debasement of the free. But if the scheme I have mentioned had been in operation for the last thirty years, the prison population of the colony would have been dispersed over a much wider extent of territory—they would have been lost as a separate and unhappily influential class in society amid the mass of free men—their evil influence would thereby have been in great measure, if not completely, neutralized—and their general reformation would have been certain and rapid.

It is lamentable to think, however, how very imperfectly the science of good government has hitherto been understood in any country on the face of the globe! It is lamentable to think how very little comparatively has been done even in Great Britain, and how small a portion of that little has been done wisely, for the real welfare of men! If God made the earth to be inhabited—a proposition of divine revelation which no man in his sound senses can dispute—surely so vast a grant of its highly fertile but still waste and uninhabited surface as is comprised even within the limits of this one colony, was not given to Great Britain to be suffered to remain for an indefinite period in that wild and unprofitable state. This vast grant of land was doubtless given to the British nation—a nation beyond all others abounding in intelligence, in enterprise, in population, in ships,—that some grand, national, systematic plan of emigration might be adopted for the mutual advantage of the mother country and the colony—that the wilderness might be filled with cities, and the solitary place with the habitations of men; in short, that this vast island might in due time—a time far shorter than is likely to elapse under the present system—teem with an industrious, and virtuous, and happy population—a population speaking the English language, governed by English laws, cherishing the high-toned spirit of British freedom, and rejoicing in the hopes and exhibiting the practice that distinguish the comparatively purer religion of our father-land!

II. Having thus briefly ascertained the general bearing of the question of emigration on the mother country, let us now proceed to consider it in regard to the

colonies, and especially to the colony of New South Wales.

The question of emigration is a much simpler one in the colonies, and especially in this colony, than in the mother country. It is a matter of great difficulty for the British statesman to determine, amid the mass of conflicting evidence and contradictory statements he must encounter in investigating the subject, whether an extensive emigration would be really and permanently beneficial to the nation at large, or rather, whether the benefit likely to be derived from it in the existing circumstances of the nation would compensate for the great expense it would inevitably cost. There is no such difficulty, however, in considering the question here. Every inhabitant of this colony will at once acknowledge that an extensive immigration of an industrious and virtuous agricultural population would prove incalculably beneficial to the colony at large.

The question being thus greatly narrowed at the very outset, the main point of inquiry that remains for us is—how is such a population to be attracted to our shores? We cannot expect it should find its way to us spontaneously, or that Great Britain should send it out to us by taxing the nation for that purpose; for Canada is so much nearer home than this colony, and the passage thither is so much cheaper than to New South Wales, that whether the emigrant pays his own passage or has it paid for him by the Government, Canada will undoubtedly be resorted to by the great majority of free emigrants. If it is, therefore, an object of vast importance to this colony to obtain a large agricultural population in the way of immigration, we must pay for

it in one shape or other. We must hold out a bounty to emigration in the case of the more respectable free emigrant; and in that of the operative or agricultural labourer we must either advance his passage-money by way of loan, or afford him a gratuitous passage altogether. The expedition of the *Stirling Castle* has afforded actual demonstration of the practicability of the former of these modes of procedure in regard at least to one class of highly useful immigrants, I mean mechanics; for the greater number of the reputable men who arrived in the colony by that vessel have already repaid the whole of their passage-money by weekly instalments from the wages of their labour in the colony; and if the Australian College Buildings had only gone on with the vigour with which they were commenced, I am confident that by this time there would only have been a mere trifle of their whole amount of debt unpaid. As it cannot be supposed, however, that this principle can apply to the case of agricultural labourers, it follows that the colony must in one shape or other pay for their importation, by affording them in the first instance at least a gratuitous passage.

Taking it for granted in the mean time, that virtuous and industrious families of agricultural labourers could be advantageously settled throughout this territory in any number, I proceed to observe that the importation of such a family, consisting of a husband and wife and one child, into this territory, could be easily effected for the sum of £40, perhaps even for £30. I am aware that there are writers of considerable influence in the colony, who contend that it would be highly injudicious for the colony to incur that expenditure in the

way of a gratuitous advance in consideration of the benefit to be derived from the importation, and that it would be much more profitable to expend the amount in question in the construction of roads and bridges. I should admit the propriety of this conclusion, if the money so expended were to be absolutely lost to the colony, and were never to be heard of more, either in the shape of principal or interest. But I cannot admit that the money so expended would be lost to the colony. I maintain that it would reappear in a far more eligible shape than ever. In short, it would only be an investment of capital on the part of the colony, on which a high interest is to be expected, and on which a high interest would infallibly be realized.

The proof of this position is comparatively easy. By the last census (that of 1828), the population of New South Wales amounted to somewhat about forty thousand souls, while the revenue, for the first or second year thereafter, amounted to £120,000. It thus appears that every inhabitant of the territory, every man, every woman, every child, every bond man, as well as every free man, contributed to the revenue not less than £3 per annum. I am aware, indeed, that the greater part of this revenue is derived from the consumption of ardent spirits, and I have reason to believe that a free emigrant agricultural population, such as might with the utmost facility be attracted to our shores, would not greatly increase the revenue in that particular way. But surely there are many other ways in which a virtuous and industrious family in this colony would much more effectually increase the revenue, than by ever and anon getting themselves

drunk with adulterated rum. *The settlement of such a family in this territory would, at all events, afford a permanent increase to the revenue, at least equivalent to the colonial rate of interest, or ten per cent, on the whole amount expended in affording them a gratuitous passage to the colony.*

But the Home Government have greatly simplified the question of emigration as it regards this colony. Satisfied of the benefits which the colony would derive from an extensive immigration of industrious persons of the working classes, they have determined to send us emigrants, and they have also determined, with perfect propriety, I conceive, that the colony shall pay, in part at least, for their importation. Nay, they have even pointed out the source from which the fund for this payment is exclusively to be derived, viz. the sale of Crown land throughout the territory. All these preliminary matters, therefore, we are to regard as definitively settled.

I am confident every well-wisher of the colony will heartily approve of the principle on which the Home Government have thus determined to act. At the same time, it is a duty we owe to ourselves, as members of this community, as well as to the Home Government, to see that the fund to be devoted to so useful a purpose should be rendered as productive as possible, and that the immigrants for whose importation the colony is thus to be charged, shall be a class of persons the most useful to the colony that can possibly be procured; for if the funds of the colony are to be appropriated in effecting another such immigration as the one we are now witnessing in the worn-out dissipated

pensioners * (for such I am sorry to say is the character of the great majority of them) who have come to the colony during the last twelve months, apparently for no other purpose than to increase the sum total of wretchedness throughout this colony, and to extend and perpetuate its moral debasement, I think it would be far better just to cast the money at once into the depths of the sea.

The Government regulations in regard to the sale of land in this colony are, that all waste land shall be sold by auction, on being applied for by intending purchasers, but that none shall be disposed of for less than five shillings an acre. There are differences of opinion among intelligent persons throughout the colony; 1st, As to the propriety of selling land at all; 2nd, As to the propriety of fixing a minimum price, in the event of its being disposed of by sale; and 3rd, As to the propriety of fixing that minimum at five shillings an acre. For my own part, I feel perfectly satisfied with the Government regulation as it stands. I am decidedly of opinion that land ought to be disposed of by sale only, and not by grant, that there ought to be a minimum price in all cases, and that that price ought in no instance to be less than five shillings an acre. For long before all the good land within four or five hundred miles of Sydney shall have been disposed of at that rate, much of the indifferent land, which at present would not find purchasers at eighteen-pence an acre, will be worth

* A small number of these persons have become useful and reputable members of society in New South Wales. The remainder have either been a pest to the colony as drunkards, a burden as paupers and idlers, or an object of horror as suicides.

that amount, and it will pay the Government well to keep it till then. My object, however, in mentioning the differences of opinion to which I have just alluded, is to state, that notwithstanding these differences, it seems to be the general opinion of persons of intelligence throughout the territory, that there ought to be a slight modification of the regulation, so as not to interfere with the general principle it involves, in favour of free emigrant settlers. The general principle I refer to, is that the proceeds of all sales of Crown land shall be devoted exclusively to the encouragement of emigration. Now, if it is of importance to the colony to encourage the immigration of agricultural labourers, it is surely of equal importance to encourage the immigration of persons of a higher class in society, to afford employment to these labourers, and to form a class of respectable landholders throughout the territory. It seems then to be the general opinion in the colony, that in the case of every individual family emigrating to New South Wales at their own charges, with a view to settle in the interior, a bounty should be held forth in some shape or other. With a view then to preserve inviolate the principle of selling land in all cases, and to afford the bounty required in this particular instance, I would propose that a deduction should be made from the price of whatever land any such individual or family might purchase at the Government sales, equivalent at least to the cost of his or their passage to the colony. And as it is of the utmost consequence to an emigrant to be enabled to proceed at once to his land, without wasting his time and his means in Sydney, I

think it would also be beneficial if the period of notification of the proposed sale should in all such instances be shortened to one month instead of three, or that the emigrant should be entitled to purchase immediately, at the minimum price, an extent of land equal in value to the amount of deduction to which he could lay claim.

There is one portion, however, of the Crown land in this territory which I conceive it would be highly advisable to dispose of in a somewhat different way from the one at present pursued, and which, if so disposed of, would greatly increase the disposable revenue for the encouragement of emigration on the one hand, and afford a strong stimulus to colonial enterprise on the other—I mean the Government allotments in the town of Sydney. Every person at all acquainted with this colony knows that building allotments in the town of Sydney will always bring at least one-third more, if sold at a long credit with bank interest, than if sold for ready money. It is equally well known that Government are possessed of building-ground in various parts of the town of Sydney, which, if gradually alienated on this principle, as it certainly might be without interfering with the public service, and so as not to overstock the market at any particular time, would realize a capital of from £100,000 to £200,000. I would therefore suggest that instead of the present system of ready-money payments, Government should gradually sell their disposable building-ground in the town of Sydney at a credit of five, ten, or fifteen years with ten per cent interest till the payment of the principal, security being in the mean time taken on the

ground, and the purchaser being allowed to pay up the whole price whenever he chose. The vastly superior eligibility of such an arrangement to the one now in operation will appear from the following considerations.

1. It would yield the Government a much higher price for the Crown land, and enable it to import a correspondingly larger quantity of valuable labour into the colony.

2. The payment of ten per cent interest on such part of the principal so realized as might remain unpaid would be more advantageous to the Government than the payment of the principal itself; for Government can always borrow money in England at a much lower rate of interest than ten per cent.

3. It would enable many persons of moderate capital, who are unable both to pay for land and to build houses, to erect buildings which would afford them a highly profitable return for their capital, and enable them to pay the price of their allotments with greater facility on its becoming due.

4. It would thus afford immediate and profitable employment to a great number of additional mechanics.

5. It would enable many of those reputable mechanics who have already arrived in the colony, and who have paid up, or are still paying up, their passage-money by weekly instalments from their wages, to purchase allotments in Sydney and to build houses for themselves; thereby elevating them in the scale of society, and affording a highly influential example to many around them.

The classes of persons of whom the colony is gene-

rally supposed to stand most in need, and whom it would therefore be expedient for the Government to assist in emigrating to New South Wales, are mechanics and agricultural labourers.

Mechanics are generally rather jealous of any thing like interference, whether real or imaginary, with the profits of their labour, and they seldom like to hear of other persons of their respective crafts setting themselves down in their vicinity. I should be sorry to give the least uneasiness to any person of this class; but if the Government were to send us out from ten to twenty thousand agricultural labourers to be settled throughout the territory, as I would propose should be done, there would be room for a great many more mechanics than can now find profitable employment in the colony; and if the Government were to give such encouragement to mechanics as they certainly ought, now that they are pouring them in upon the colony by every fresh arrival, as for instance by building a suitable Government House, a new jail, a quay, &c. &c. &c. there would be room for a great many more still.

In regard then to the importation of additional mechanics, I conceive it would both be inexpedient in itself and unjust to many reputable mechanics already in the colony, to afford any persons of this class a free passage to New South Wales. The rate of wages for mechanical labour is still sufficiently high in the colony to enable any industrious and frugal mechanic to pay his passage within a comparatively short period after his arrival by weekly instalments from his wages. In such circumstances, all that the Government ought to do is to

reduce the rate of passage-money to the lowest possible amount—say £15 for each adult person—to advance that amount to the mechanic in the first instance, but to insist on its re-payment within a certain period after his arrival in the territory. If proper persons were selected as emigrants, and a proper degree of superintendence exercised over them in the colony, there is no doubt whatever that such re-payment would be made. And it is of incalculable importance to the colony that such persons only as would thus make faithful re-payment of the sum thus advanced to them should be enabled to emigrate from the mother country to this territory; not so much indeed that the Government may be enabled to continue the plan of emigration, although this is certainly a very important consideration, but that the colony may be stocked with reputable and virtuous mechanics, and not with dishonest persons and fraudulent debtors. For the man who receives an advance either from Government or from a private individual to enable him to emigrate to this colony, and who *neglects or refuses to repay that advance* after his arrival, *when he is fully able to do so*, is a dishonest person and a fraudulent debtor; and we have too many of his class here already to wish for more. But the man who receives an advance either from Government or from a private individual at home to enable him to emigrate to this colony, and who faithfully repays that advance from the first of his earnings, as I know not a few reputable individuals who have done, although the very idea of their doing so was ridiculed on my arrival in the colony about eighteen months ago, is a person of

whom the colony may well be proud. His name should be inscribed on a pillar of marble in the market-place, and this inscription engraven upon his tombstone, "This was an honest man." For my own part, were I a native of the colony, I would rather have it said that I was the son of such a man, than have it said that I was born to ten thousand head of cattle or to a thousand a year!

The system at present pursued by the Board of Emigration in London, in regard to the emigration of mechanics to this colony, is to advance £20 by way of loan to each married mechanic who chooses to emigrate to the colony to assist in paying his passage-out. The general opinion, however, and I believe it is accordant with the fact in so far as it can be ascertained as yet, is, that in the great majority of instances this loan will never be repaid. What then is the real result of the arrangement? Why, it is that in all these instances the colony is paying a premium of £20 for the importation of a family of dishonest persons, when by a proper selection in the mother country it might have imported a family of honest persons without any premium at all.

In regard to agricultural labourers—the other class of persons of whom as a colony we are so greatly in want—I am of opinion that if properly selected and judiciously located in this territory, they would be able to repay a portion at least of the sum expended in bringing them out to the colony, though I confess I should not advise any financier to count much on such a source of revenue. A free passage should be afforded them

in the first instance, and their gradual repayment of the sum thus advanced should be looked for rather from the certain increase of the colonial revenue which would immediately ensue, and from the general improvement of the colony in a great variety of respects, than from a direct money-payment.

In speaking of agricultural labourers, I beg to be understood to mean persons of both sexes regularly bred to farming operations in the mother country, either as farm-servants or as the sons and daughters of the virtuous and industrious peasantry of Great Britain and Ireland. I have been told indeed that the Glasgow and Paisley muslin-weaver and the linen-weaver of the north of Ireland make very good Canadian farmers, and I doubt not but a few such persons might do equally well in this country, if settled in the immediate vicinity of persons regularly bred to agriculture. But, generally speaking, I think it would be injudicious to bring out many persons of that class gratuitously to learn an apprenticeship to the art of husbandry in New South Wales. The able-bodied farm-servant who can handle the plough or the spade, and manage the team or the dairy, can be imported at the very same expense as the lank and sallow weaver who can only handle the shuttle, and who has every thing about a farm to learn. I have been told indeed that persons entirely ignorant of the processes of farming on their arrival in this territory have not unfrequently succeeded much better than the regularly-bred English farmer. This I doubt not may be true in particular instances, but as a general position it is downright absurdity.

For it is not skill in this or that particular process of agriculture that we require to import on the great scale, but the bodily and mental habits of the farmer, who has breathed all his life the fresh air of the country, in contradistinction to the bodily and mental habits of the weaver, who has breathed all his life the less bracing atmosphere of the town. And these habits are not to be acquired in a week, or a month, or a year, but in a long succession of weeks and months and years.

In speaking of agricultural labourers, I beg also to be understood to mean persons in the prime of life, either recently married or with one or two children at most in each family. It would be much better I conceive for the colony to import an agricultural population of this kind, than to bring out young unmarried men and women, for the following reasons; viz.

1st. Because the peculiar constitution of our colonial community would preclude persons of the latter description from obtaining profitable employment as farm-servants, in the way that a great many unmarried free emigrants of both sexes are employed in Canada; for so long as the landholder can obtain the services of a convict-labourer for nothing, he will not willingly employ the free labourer for hire, although the latter might perhaps be the cheapest in the end. Besides, reputable unmarried free emigrants of this description would not willingly hire themselves to labour as farm-servants along with the convicts, and it would be impracticable for the landholder to make a distinction. Discontent and dissatisfaction would be the result on the part of

the free labourer if no such distinction was made; jealousies and heart-burnings would be the result on the part of the convicts if it were attempted.

2nd. Because, if it were even attempted, with a view to equalize the number of the free emigrants of both sexes, to bring out as many unmarried adult females as unmarried young men, a much inferior description of females would be procured; not to mention the great dangers to which their morals would be exposed both during the voyage and after their arrival in the colony. For although the spirit of adventure may be as strong in some females as it is in most men, we cannot suppose, generally speaking, that it would be the most virtuous of their sex who would undertake a voyage of 16,000 miles to what the lower classes in England still consider as a mere convict-colony, for the purpose which so great an undertaking is usually understood to imply.

The interests of virtue, therefore, and the peculiar constitution of our anomalous society, combine in requiring that the agricultural population to be imported into the colony at the public expense, should consist exclusively of married persons, with such unmarried female relatives as they can severally induce to accompany them.*

* Besides mechanics of the various occupations I have elsewhere enumerated, the Board of Emigration, or rather commissioners appointed for the purpose, have lately been granting assistance from the funds arising from the sale of Crown-lands in the Australian colonies to unmarried females emigrating to New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land. Up to the 19th of August, 1833, seven hundred and sixty-one females had been assisted by the Government in emigrating to New South Wales, the whole amount expended for that purpose being £9812. On the com-

Now, there are two ways in which families of this description could be located in the colony, in almost any number, with eminent advantage to themselves and to the community at large; and the first of these ways is, as tenants of small farms for cultivation to be leased to them for that purpose in the agricultural districts of the colony by the more extensive landholders in these districts.* The want of a reputable tenantry has hitherto been universally felt and acknowledged throughout the territory, and has operated as a hindrance to the general improvement of the country to an incalculable degree. The ticket-of-leave man or emancipist, who has just served out his time, takes a small farm on a clearing lease in the district in which he has previously resided.

mencement of this system of emigration, the females who were enabled to emigrate were of the very worst description, and the consequences to the colonies were just such as might have been anticipated. Mr. Drouet, the Governor of Lambeth Workhouse, states in his evidence before the Commissioners on the Poor Laws, page 242: "Last October, *as an experiment*, we sent off eight girls to Van Dieman's Land; they were all brought up as workhouse children, and were incorrigible prostitutes. One of them had been three times tried for felonies, having robbed the persons with whom she was in service." It WAS *an experiment*, in good earnest. Latterly, however, the business has been much better managed, and the females who have been assisted in emigrating to the colonies during the past year (1833) have been of much better character; the Board, which consists of gentlemen of the highest standing and respectability, having exercised every possible degree of care and circumspection in their selection. Still, however, I cannot help thinking that if the bounty were to be held out chiefly to the daughters and other unmarried female relatives of reputable married persons of the industrious classes emigrating to the colonies along with them, the system would be materially improved.

* "*Colonus* est qui alienum agrum colit." Minel. Comment. in Horat. "A colonist, in the Roman sense of the term, was one who cultivated land held on lease."

The chance is, however, that he will abandon it before the first year of his lease is expired, after having got considerably in debt to his landlord. Or if he continues to occupy the farm, the chance is, that his house will become a general receptacle for all the stolen goods of the neighbourhood, and that he will thus contrive to cherish and to perpetuate those habits of indolence which in all probability first led him into crime. Or if he cultivates his farm in right earnest, and obtains a plenteous harvest, the chance is, that in one or other of those periodical seasons of debauchery that are ever and anon recurring in this colony, he will expend the last farthing of his hardly earned property in riotous dissipation, and thereby plunge himself and his family (if he has one) into poverty and wretchedness again. The frequent recurrence of such scenes has disgusted many well-disposed landholders throughout the territory at the very idea of letting any part of their land in small farms, which in other circumstances they would most willingly do; and the consequence is, that many proprietors are forced on the one hand to cultivate a large extent of land, who would otherwise have devoted their attention exclusively, and in all probability much more profitably, to their flocks and herds; while, on the other hand, large tracts of the most fertile land in the colony are suffered to lie utterly waste within reach of water-carriage to the principal market of the territory. Now if reputable families of agricultural labourers were poured in upon us in such numbers as they might be, many of the landholders in the agricultural districts of Hunter's River, Bathurst, and Illawarra, would be able, and would

find it greatly to their interest, to form a respectable tenantry in whose integrity they could place confidence, and to whom they would naturally surrender the whole business of cultivation, confining themselves thenceforward to the superintendence of their flocks and herds, and reducing their convict servants to a more manageable and profitable number. For free emigrants of the class in question would soon find that it would be much more to their advantage to rent small farms in the settled districts of the territory, than to occupy the same extent of land as a freehold at the distance of two or three hundred miles from the capital.

It is the opinion of many intelligent persons throughout the colony, that the Reformed Parliament of England will ere long make an entire revision of the transportation laws, and perhaps discontinue that species of punishment altogether. For my own part, so far from participating in the lugubrious feelings with which this not improbable consummation is usually regarded in this colony, I am decidedly of opinion that if the available resources of the colony were employed to the extent they might be, in importing an industrious free-emigrant agricultural population of the kind I have described, and in settling them throughout the territory, it were a consummation devoutly to be wished rather than at all to be deprecated.

There is one great evil arising from the past and present circumstances of this colony as a penal settlement, which I conceive it behoves every well-wisher of the colony to keep in view when recommending any scheme of emigration to its territory. The evil I allude to is

this, that when a few reputable families of free emigrants are dispersed among the prison population of the territory, instead of elevating the corrupt mass of society around them to their own higher level in the scale of morals, the probability is that they will themselves gradually sink to the lower level of the surrounding population. This unfortunate tendency—the result of evil communications corrupting good manners—suggests the propriety of concentrating the free emigrant agricultural population that may arrive in the colony as much as possible, and of forming small communities in different parts of the territory: for by this means the moral and religious restraints of their father-land would continue in active operation in this country, while a benign and hallowing influence would be shed on the vitiated population around them, and they would stand as a light shining in a dark place till the day-star from on high—the harbinger of a brighter and happier era—should arise on our adopted land.

The other mode, therefore, in which a free emigrant agricultural population could be advantageously located in this territory is in small communities of from fifty to a hundred families each. To each of these families there should be allotted a farm of twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty acres of land, according to the relative fertility of the district in which their settlement should be effected and its distance from the capital, while each community should have its own carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, and weavers of coarse woollen-cloth among its own members. The whole produce of each of these communities could be disposed of through the

agency of one of its own members, elected for that purpose by the rest, on the principle of the societies for mutual benefit in some parts of the mother country; and the same person could also purchase the articles required for the domestic consumption of the community, to be afterwards kept in a general store in the district, and disposed of at a very moderate profit to the members. In the event of such a system being acted on, it would be expedient that the members of each of these communities should be brought, if possible, from the same district of country in Great Britain or Ireland, that the moral restraints of their native vicinage might continue in vigorous operation in their new settlement; and for this purpose each community, if sufficiently large, should also have its own resident minister and schoolmaster. The communities in question would thus be independent of convict-labour on the one hand, and be free on the other from the contaminating influence of the prison population. Like the children of Israel, they would dwell alone, and would scarce be numbered among the people of the land; but their presence would nevertheless be universally felt, and many would doubtless be led through the influence of their example to return again to those paths of virtue from which they had long gone astray.

The only instance with which I am acquainted of a free emigrant agricultural community being formed in this colony, is that of the settlement of Portland Head on the Hawkesbury, which was formed in the year 1802 by about a dozen families from the Scottish Border. Their number was doubtless too small to afford a proper

example of the influence of such communities as I have described; but their comparative isolation from the rest of the colony was effected in great measure by the peculiarity of their local position. And in regard to the strength of those moral and religious influences which still continued to exert a salutary power over them in the land of their adoption, I have only to mention that the public ordinances of religion were dispensed among them by one of their own number, acting as a voluntary and unremunerated catechist, for the long period of twenty-four years.

Governor Macquarie was evidently aware of the benefit which the colony would derive from the formation of a series of well-ordered agricultural communities throughout this territory; but, having no proper materials to work on, he endeavoured to form them out of those which the transportation laws had supplied to his hand, by giving grants of thirty acres of land to deserving prisoners on acquiring their freedom. But there is no making bricks without straw. The original Portland Head settlers, if I am not greatly mistaken, all retain their original grants without exception; but a great many of Governor Macquarie's grants were sold before they were measured, a great proportion of the remainder were in due time mortgaged for rum to the Sydney merchants, and, at this moment, I have reason to believe that not more than one in ten of them remains in the hands of the original grantees.

A community of the kind I have described consisting of a hundred families, with from fifty to a hundred children in all, including a minister and schoolmaster,

with such artisans as would be required for its comfortable subsistence, could be brought out in a single vessel, and landed in the colony for somewhat less than £3000.*. The expense of their conveyance to the particular district of their location, and of rations for all of them for six or nine months after their arrival, would in the present circumstances of the colony be comparatively trifling. Seed-corn and agricultural implements might perhaps be advanced to them on loan; but no further expenditure would be necessary in forming such a settlement, for the land allotted to each family might be sold to them on condition of being paid for by instalments at the rate of five shillings an acre if at any of the out-settlements, or at a still higher rate if in any of the more thickly-peopled districts of the colony. And if such a contract were fulfilled, as I am confident it would be by industrious and virtuous men, the sale of the very land they had come to cultivate would go far to cover the expense of their conveyance to the territory.†

* Considerably less, from the circumstances already alluded to, viz. the depressed state of the shipping interest and the opening of the trade to China; New South Wales being very little out of the way for ships bound to Canton.

† An agricultural family consisting of a husband and wife with one or two children, could at this moment be conveyed to New South Wales for £30. Such a family could not obtain land at present in the colony for less than 5*s.* an acre, ready money. But if they were enabled to purchase a hundred acres at 7*s.* an acre—that amount being payable as in Canada by instalments in five years, with ten per cent interest after the first year—the arrangement would be highly advantageous to the emigrant in the present circumstances of the colony, and would consequently be gladly accepted by him, while the price received for his farm would more than meet the whole cost of his emigration.

Having occupied so much of your time already, I shall not enter into details in regard to the mode in which the principles I have developed could be acted on with the utmost efficiency. Let it suffice to observe, that the gradual sale of land and of town allotments in this colony would form a prospective capital of a very great amount. On the security of that capital money could be borrowed in London at a low rate of interest, to defray the expense of the gradual importation of any number of agricultural emigrants and of their settlement in the territory; a committee of gentlemen connected with the commerce of the colony could be appointed to superintend the selection of the emigrants in the mother country, and a board could be established to effect their location in the colony. All this could be done too at a very small expense, if not in great measure gratuitously, should some such plan be carried into operation. A stimulus would thereby be afforded to enterprise of every kind and in every direction throughout the colony, extensive and immediate; and the benefit conferred on the mother country by the gradual abstraction of a portion of her redundant population, though not so extensive or so generally felt, would nevertheless be as real as the benefit conferred on this colony by their settlement in its waste and uninhabited territory.

In short, the colony of New South Wales possesses the means of peopling her *vast solitudes* with a numerous, industrious, and virtuous agricultural population; and if she uses these means vigorously, discreetly, and

efficiently, and thus also causes her moral wilderness to blossom as the rose, Great Britain will have to say to her in looking over the long list of her colonies, "Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou hast excelled them all!"

POSTSCRIPT.

The following Letter, which I had the honour to receive in acknowledgement of a copy of the preceding lecture a few days before I embarked for England, will not only afford the reader some idea of the sentiments of the more respectable members of the Australian community on a subject of much interest to the colony, but will also enable the intending emigrant to form a more correct judgment than he should be likely to do from any statements of mine, in regard to the extent of unlocated and eligible land in the territory of New South Wales, or rather in regard to the capabilities of the colony for an extensive emigration. I have also received letters in approbation of the principles developed, and of the plans proposed, in the lecture from Colonel Snodgrass, Member of the Executive Council of New South Wales; from W. Lithgow, Esq., Auditor-General, Member of the Legislative Council; from James Laidley, Esq., Deputy Commissary-General; from Major-General Stewart, now of Bathurst, New South Wales; from James Macarthur, Esq., J. P.; from James Atkinson, Esq., J. P.; from J. Mudie, Esq., J. P.; from G. Ranken, Esq., J. P.; from John Piper, Esq. J. P.; from J. Larnack, Esq., and from J. Wighton, Esq.,—all resi-

dent landholders in the colony — the publication of which, however, would occupy too much space, while it is perhaps scarcely necessary.

From Major Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales.

My Dear Sir, Craigend, (Sydney) June 22, 1833.

I have to acknowledge the receipt and to thank you for the copy of your lecture on Emigration, which I have read through; and as I concur entirely in your views of the subject, I shall merely express my satisfaction at finding, comprehended in a few pages, the pith of all that can be said for the colonization of Australia, with that kind of population too which I have long wished to see thriving upon it. Your plan for the establishment of small communities of free emigrants seems the most practicable that I have heard proposed, and appears peculiarly eligible for the adequate cultivation and improvement of many beautiful isolated spots, and indeed districts, at present lying waste in all parts of the territory. Some of these are, it is true, remote from Sydney; but this circumstance is more favourable, as well as their isolated position, for the preservation of the exclusive character of these communities, their concentration, and their consequent greater security from the contaminating influence around them. At your request I have endeavoured to make a list of these, but I find them too numerous to mention; and I shall therefore subjoin only the names of such places as seem most eligible and where the waste lands are of very good quality, and in general extensive.

To the southward, the limits of our present colony terminate on the borders of one of the finest regions I suppose in the world for the establishment of an agricultural population—I mean the banks of the Yass, the Boorowa, and the Morumbidgee, consisting of rich open plains watered by copious never-failing streams. To that country level roads may be made the whole of the way from Sydney, and in time the seacoast nearest to it may be also rendered accessible by the same means. To enumerate particular parts of that extensive country is needless at present.

The upper parts of the Shoal-haven river are also, in general, very good, from Kurraducbidgee southward. There are many parts of the banks and valleys opening on this river, which might maintain a very numerous agricultural population.

The shores of Bateman Bay, and the lower part of the river called the

Clyde, are still very little taken up, and contain much very superior land for cultivation.

To the westward of Burra-burra lagoon is a tract of beautiful land; the situation is isolated, but to a small community it would prove perhaps eligible enough; it is watered by some fine mountain streams, and is in the immediate vicinity of the sheep stations of Messrs. M'Arthur, M'Alister, &c.

Goulburn Plains are still but thinly peopled, although consisting in general of excellent wheat land, and in every respect a good situation for a farming population. Northward of these is Tarlo, where some good land is still vacant.

Bungonia, where a township has been laid out. In this vicinity there is much land very eligible for small farms. A few miles nearer Sydney, at Bumballa, near the Shoal-haven river, there is much good land still unlocated; and at Cambewarra, an extensive portion of table land south of Illawarra, which consists of about sixteen square miles of the richest land wholly unlocated, although overlooking the sea, and very near Jervis Bay, which is likely to become in a few years the port of Argyle, &c.

The Kangaroo river, a branch of the Shoal-haven river, flows in a secluded valley where the land is of an excellent description: this river is immediately behind Cambewarra: the Shoal-haven may be rendered navigable to within a few miles of it.

Illawarra—there is a tract of land still vacant, very eligible for a small agricultural community.

East Bargo—some good land vacant, were it accessible by the road proposed.

West Bargo consists of much land fit for cultivation still vacant.

Burragorang—(the bed of the Nattai and Wollondilly rivers) where the land is excellent, and capable of maintaining a very numerous population.

Lake George (various parts of the shores of this lake).

Bresdalbane Plains.

Lake Bathurst.

Sutton Forest (about Nundialla, Black Bob's Creek).

Paddy's river (near the new line of road).

Westward.

The heads of the river Lachlan.

Bathurst (numerous fine valleys in this county).

Capertee.

Mudgee.

Talbragar.

Vale of Clywd.
Solitary Creek.
New road to Bathurst (beyond Gray's station).
Do., near Stoney range.

Northward.

Brisbane water.
Wyong creek (the upper part terminating in rich cedar ravines).
Southern shore of Toggerah Beech Lagoon.
Lake Macquarie.
Watagan, or Sugar Loaf Creek (a branch of the Wolombi).
Valley at the head of Ellalong.
Head of Wallis' creek.
William's river (upper part).
Kingdon ponds (ditto).
Head of Page's river (on the road to Liverpool Plains).
Banks of the higher tributaries to the Goulburn river.
Jerry's Plains.
Liverpool Plains—the numerous valleys at the head of these, situated between them and Sydney, contain land of excellent quality, and are well watered.
Port Macquarie.

I fear these situations will not be all intelligible to you without the map, but the list may serve to point out the variety and extent of eligible places to which bodies of agricultural emigrants might be led.*

Yours, my dear Sir,
Very faithfully,
The Rev. Dr. Lang. T. L. MITCHELL.

But independently of the vast importance of a well-regulated system of emigration to the Australian colonies, as affording the likeliest means of effecting their moral regeneration, no person of intelligence and proper feeling, who will only cast his eye over the vast and unoccupied territory of Australia, and over the other

* It cannot be necessary to direct the attention of the intending emigrant, of whatever class in society, to this very interesting letter. It shows, at all events, that there is still a vast extent of available land of the first quality in the colony open for the settlement of emigrants of all classes.

extensive colonial possessions of the British empire, can fail to contemplate Great Britain in a light in which perhaps he has never regarded her before—in a light the most interesting to the genuine philanthropist.

The lover of military glory will naturally delight to contemplate the British nation as a warlike nation, and will doubtless point with a feeling of exultation to the laurels of Trafalgar and Waterloo. It may be questioned, however, whether posterity are destined to reap any real advantages from either of these great victories, or whether the vast accession of military glory they were the means of acquiring for the nation was not achieved at too great an expenditure of national blood and national treasure. But surely no Christian man can doubt for a moment that the present aspect of affairs in Great Britain and Ireland—the gradual diminution of that respect which was wont to be universally accorded to the constituted authorities of the country, and the consequent loosening of the bonds of society, the tendency to insubordination, and the fearful demoralization of the lower classes—a state of things which has undoubtedly resulted from the late *just and necessary war*—indicates the operation of that retributive justice which will assuredly afflict the nations that delight in war, and eventually stain the pride of all their military glory.

The political economist, on the other hand, will doubtless regard the commercial and manufacturing wealth and power of the British nation as a far broader and far firmer basis for the perpetuity of its existence and the perpetuity of its fame. But the history of the world supplies us with many precedents for regarding it as a

possible case, that the spirit of commercial enterprise may in some future age be diverted to other shores, and that the goodly fabric of the manufacturing wealth and prosperity of Britain may fall at some future period as rapidly as it rose.

But when we regard Great Britain as the planter of colonies, the mother of nations, "the nurser of men," we see her in a point of view in which there are no gloomy shadows to darken the light of her glory; we see her fame resting on a basis too firm and too permanent to be affected by the revolutions of empires, and we feel assured that her name and her memorial will continue illustrious while the race of man inhabits the earth.

And how can I doubt that such is the light in which Divine Providence intended that Great Britain should exhibit herself to the nations, when I look to my adopted country, the colony of New South Wales? For I will venture to affirm that that colony—formed as it has been in great measure of the offscourings of the population of Britain; neglected, as it was, for a long period after its first settlement, by the British Government; and possessing only few, very few, individuals of intelligence and influence in any period of its past history, to consult the real welfare and to advance the best interests of its people—I will venture to affirm that that convict-colony, so wretchedly constituted and so unhappily circumstanced, nevertheless exhibits at this moment the elements of future greatness in a much higher degree than any colony of freemen that ever ema-

nated from any of the other mother-nations of Europe—from France or Holland, from Portugal or Spain.

I confess I have never yet seen one good reason for admiring military glory—associated, as I have scarcely ever failed to find it, with the moral debasement of the victors as well as with the misery of the vanquished. And when I reflect that in that better order of things to which the world is tending, *men shall not learn the art of war any more,* I cannot help regarding it as one of the most fruitful sources of calamity to Britain, that it should hitherto have been so highly prized and so eagerly pursued. When I look, moreover, to the fall of Venice and the virtual extinction of the Dutch republic, notwithstanding the goodly fabrics of commercial and manufacturing power and prosperity they successively erected, I cannot help suspecting that the glory which the political economist seeks for his country is perhaps equally worthless in its nature and transitory in its duration. But the glory that accrues to a nation from its successful endeavours to replenish the waste places of the earth with a race of enlightened and virtuous men, to give birth to great nations at the extremities of the globe, and to extend the benefits of law and learning, and morality and religion to the most distant lands—such a species of glory I can easily appreciate; and I can only feel the deepest regret, as a lover of my country, that with innumerable ships, extensive colonial territories, and a superabundant population, it should hitherto have been so little sought for and so little esteemed.

Suppose for a moment, that in some future age Great

Britain herself should become the scene of *perpetual desolations*, and that some Christian philanthropist from some distant land should be induced to visit her deserted shores; he would doubtless regard the ruined monuments of her military glory and her commercial greatness—were there nothing else to contemplate—with the tear of pity for the vanity of mankind or with the smile of contempt; and he would doubtless exclaim, "What! art thou too, thou Queen of nations! thou haven of ships! art thou also become as Babylon and Tyrus? How are the mighty fallen, and their "glory departed!" But should he be enabled to look beyond the wide Atlantic to the vast continent of America, and there to behold a hundred millions of the descendants of Britons still speaking the language, and governed by the laws, and cherishing the religion of the long-deserted isle—should he be enabled to witness a scene equally cheering to philanthropy at the southern extremity of Africa—nay, should he be enabled to behold, at the utmost ends of the earth, a third great nation sprung from the same prolific source on the continent of New Holland, and sending forth scions every successive year to the ten thousand isles of the boundless Pacific; methinks he would regard every object around him with a feeling approaching to religious veneration, and the stones and the dust of Britain would be as pleasant and as dear to the traveller as those of Zion to the Jew.

Let no cold-blooded political economist, therefore, presume to reason down the propriety of emigration, so as to deter virtuous and industrious families and individuals from adopting that expedient, or to prevent the

British Government from affording them encouragement and assistance. Let no affected patriotism throw any obstacles in the way of a measure that would enable thousands of such families and individuals to live in comfort and independence abroad, instead of struggling with increasing poverty and privations at home. I should sooner doubt the fact of my own existence than doubt that the happiness and prosperity of the British nation are indissolubly connected with the pursuance of a course, the adoption of a measure, and the discharge of a duty, which Divine Providence has made so clearly imperative, and on which the true glory of the nation so evidently depends.

CONCLUSION.

On a beautiful evening in autumn in the year 1820, two gentlemen from the west of Scotland, who had gone to spend a few days at the mineral waters of Pitcaithly in Perthshire, took an airing together in a phaeton. In the course of their drive, the horse's foot happening to come in contact with a stone on the highway, the animal stumbled and fell. This occurrence, apparently trivial and unimportant, led, through a series of events of which it is unnecessary to inform the reader, to my three successive voyages round the world, to the planting of the Presbyterian Church and the establishment of a College on the eastern shores of New Holland,

to the emigration of many families and individuals from Scotland to New South Wales, and to their comfortable settlement in the colony. We are but ill qualified to decide respecting the comparative importance or insignificance of each individual link in the vast chain of events, which extends in the eye of Omniscience from the first of time to the consummation of all things. Actions and occurrences, which to all appearance are trivial and unimportant, may nevertheless be fraught with consequences of the highest moment to individuals, and to whole classes of individuals, in the most distant regions, and to the latest posterity. For if the horse had passed but a few inches either to the right or to the left of the stone, the writer would in all likelihood have lived and died in Scotland without ever crossing the English Border; and the other events above mentioned would either never have happened, or would have been brought about by a totally different instrumentality. In short, "The decrees of God," *who alone knoweth the end from the beginning*, "are his eternal purpose, whereby, according to the counsel of his own will, he doth, for his own glory, foreordain whatsoever comes to pass."

THE END.

PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.