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The Two Apostles of Botany Bay.

**Some Aspects of Evangelical Anglicanism in
the Early Colony of New South Wales.**

Contents	1
Abbreviations	2
Preface	3
Introduction	4
Moves in Mysterious Ways	8
The Reverend Richard Johnson	21
The Reverend Samuel Marsden	46
Conclusion	75
Appendices	81
Bibliography	89

Abbreviations

A.B.C.	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
H.R.A.	Historical Records of Australia
T.H.R.A.	Tasmanian Historical Research Association
T.S.A.	Tasmanian State Archives
A.D.B.	Australian Dictionary of Biography
R.A.H.S.J.	Journal of the Royal Historical Association
M.L.	Mitchell Library
S.P.C.K.	The Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge
S.P.G.	The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society

PREFACE

The first Evangelical minister whom I ever met, once asked me to preach in St Peter's Church Hobart. It was part of a very novel decision to involve laymen and so the minister thought that for a six weeks' trial period he would have lay people delivering the sermons. I knew nothing about Evangelicalism and I was to be the first of the six speakers.

I and two of my colleagues had just had a long, tiresome but victorious struggle for equal pay for women teachers, so I chose as my text Hebrews 11:1 "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," and my sermon was to be about a better and more equal deal for women in the church. The novel decision was cancelled immediately and I learned quite an amount about Evangelicalism, especially that it is not given to a woman to be the bringer of good tidings. In cases where it does happen, it is customary to shoot the messenger.

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INTRODUCTION

The scope of this thesis is confined almost exclusively to the work of the early Anglican parsons in the colony of New South Wales.

Richard Johnson was the clergyman who came with the First Fleet, prepared in body and soul for a mission field but not for a "vast jail", or the opportunism which developed in the new colony. Samuel Marsden arrived a little later and opportunism was something he did understand. Both these gentlemen were Anglican evangelicals, raised and educated in England when the evangelical movement within the Church of England was beginning to move under the aegis of the well fed merchants of the Clapham Sect, certain clergymen who saw that power lay in filling pulpits and university posts with like minded gentlemen, and others who saw in the movement a God sent opportunity for pushing out their own particular little boats.

This does not necessarily detract from the sincerity of any of them; what they wanted was in terms of spiritual reform - not for the poor, (Wesley was seeing to them) but for the middle class to which they mostly belonged. Johnson and Marsden did not belong to this class; luck and brains had given them both a chance and they both happened to be on the spot when spiritual rejuvenation of the convicts bound for New South Wales fleetingly came into mind. Fleetingly must have been the mode. Ford K Brown makes a composite clergyman whom he calls Mr Samuel Johnson, missionary. "Through the influence of Mr Wilberforce with Mr Pitt, he is appointed Chaplain to Botany Bay."¹ Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect became experts in sending young enthusiasts into the missionfield aided and supported by the L.M.S. and the C.M.S. This thesis deals with its Anglican agenda only.

¹ Ford Brown, *The Father of the Victorians*, p.76.

The development of Evangelicalism in Australia has not been popularly examined as yet, so it is very difficult to calculate its effects on the beginning of this country, here especially it is difficult to evaluate the contribution of the first two clergymen in Australia, who were not only avowed and apparently dedicated members of the evangelical movement but were, as it appears, hand picked, deliberately educated and then dispatched to an almost unknown country to be settled under penal conditions. They were to be the representatives of the Established Church as Anglican clergymen, but they were representatives of only a small group within the church; the scope of their ministry was limited. Richard Johnson at least took his calling as an evangelical very seriously; Samuel Marsden was a more complex and difficult person. An inability to project him against evangelical tenets made A.T. Yarwood's book "Samuel Marsden" a little disappointing; its title suggests perhaps a slight bias.

I wish to examine the two different evangelical approaches of Johnson and Marsden because although they impinge on the manner in which the early colony developed, they did not come to dominate the theological scene. When the colonies were thrown open to free settlement, some immigrants with their own evangelical agenda came from the dissenting and Wesleyan groups, while with those with money to invest in land and trade religion, was not often a prime concern.

One cannot examine aspects of Anglicanism in the colonies without being alert to the effects of its host culture, nor as if it were a transplant from an established regime uninfluenced by its adopted surroundings. Modern Australian evangelicalism has been almost entirely moulded by its environment. Over the years it has been within protestantism, a factor that is neither too high in church ritual nor too broad for acceptance. It is interesting that Knopwood's ministry in Van Diemen's Land, never High

Church, was still too high for Governor Arthur. While Knopwood knew that the Word existed wherever two or three are gathered, he always lacked the facilities and environment for ritual. In Australia where an attempt was made to transfer an English social, religious and cultural system into a convict colony in a harsh and grudging land, a caste system of classic proportions was just one of the ironies that developed.

I propose to examine the origins of both the Wesleyan and the Anglican evangelicals the better to place my men against a reasonable background.

Ford Brown² does not consider that Wesley's ministry has much to do with the Anglican evangelical movement, both however, were movements within the Anglican church; both stressed that the church and the mode of the times were neglecting whole strata of society while the church was engrossed in liturgy and ritualism. The church always takes refuge in this when under attack forgetting that a Catholic church should provide refuge for saint and sinner alike. While Wesley was concerned with the utter wretchedness and poverty of the poor, and preached his gospel wherever he could, the evangelicals came from warm vestries and sometimes real wealth and their agents were as much habitual as religious, but they were basically the same enterprise. In New South Wales Johnson's ministry more resembled that of Wesley, but Marsden with his eye ever to the main chance for the church, his masters and himself was almost a prototype evangelical.

The establishment of the Anglican Church in Australia was not done without a struggle, and it had its victims and its casualties. The alleged antagonism of the evangelical movement to "property, vested interest, the economic and political *status quo* and the privilege of the great" was a

² Ford Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians*, C.U.P. 1961, *passim*.

contrived fiction.³ Within the colony, fortune came to many who in the old country could never have achieved position and wealth, Marsden is the classic example.

Evangelicals had no interest in making a heaven on earth. It is an interesting irony that neither Marsden nor Governor Arthur viewed the secular world they lived in with much dismay, but if Knopwood did not express dismay, he at least showed concern. Anglican religious attitudes in England changed in little more than a generation. To a degree this shows how fluid Anglican evangelicalism was. To its four priorities of conversionism, activism, biblicism and crucicentrism,⁴ it also added a profit motive. It has always remained middle class.

Johnson and Marsden set a pattern in Anglican procedure in New South Wales that to a degree still persists. Anybody who has lived in Sydney knows about the evangelical Low Church movement that is so strong in that city; it has caused division and turmoil amongst Anglicans and misunderstanding and sometimes contempt in other churches.

³ *Ibid.*, p.10.

⁴ D.V. Bibbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, London; (Unwin, 1988), p.3.

Moves in Mysterious Ways

This is the age of cant, - cant political and cant religious.

Edward Smith Hall.
The Monitor, Dec 6th, 1828

To see a free country for once and to see every labourer with plenty to eat and to drink! Think of *that!* Never to see the hang-dog face of the tax-gatherer, think of *that!* No long-sworded whiskered captains, no judges escorted from town to town and sitting under a guard of dragoons. No packed juries of tenants ... no hangings, no rippings up, no Cannings, no Liverpools, Castlereaghs, Eldons, Ellenboroughs, or Sidmouths. No bankers, no Wilberforces, think of *that!* No Wilberforces.

William Cobbett.
*A Year's Residence in the
United States 1818.*

My biggest problem in beginning the work on my thesis was finding an adequate definition, or at least a description of what evangelicalism actually involved. I do not say "is" because the evangelical movement of today is vastly different to what it was at the end of the last century and it in turn is different to the evangelicalism of the early century. Neither is it the practical application as some believe of Wesleyanism. While Wesleyanism has deep spiritual values, its essentially evangelical theology stands in the christian theological tradition. (See Appendix A)

Evangelicalism is part of the Pauline interpretation. The early church held that the Bible is the truthful revelation of God and through it the life giving voice of God says that God is the almighty Creator and we are his dependent creation. Jesus Christ is truly divine and fully human; the power and the judgment of sin is a reality for all humanity. God takes the initiative in coming to us in Jesus Christ and by the Holy Spirit and the consummation of history will be explored in the second advent of Jesus Christ, the general resurrection and the final judgment, heaven and hell.

In the mediaeval church we find it enunciated by Anselm of Canterbury in his satisfaction of atonement, and in the expression of the stress and the passion of Christ as revealed by Bernard of Clairvaux. There was a place in the order of things for saint and sinner. It was essentially comforting and matristic.

In the Protestant Reformation we see the old matristic order changed. In the deep commitment to the revelation of the Bible, to the redemptive power of the Holy Spirit, to its final authority in all matters of doctrine and life and to the necessity of preaching and dissemination, it is equally committed to justification by faith in which acceptance with God is received by accepting his loving self-disclosure and not by any human accomplishment. It became an essentially patristic exposition.

The Church is composed of all believers who have been incorporated by the Holy Spirit and who have direct, personal and constant access to their Heavenly Father. During the Reformation certain institutional structures within the Anglican church contributed to many diversities within evangelical theology, - differences in understanding the nature of the sacraments, the nature of divine decrees in relation to personal salvation, the time of the millenium, the precise nature of biblical inspiration; the way to arrive at Christian assurance and the relation of the church to culture and the state. Today's evangelicals would regard these of secondary importance. The evangelical movement is no longer a movement within the Anglican church only. Almost anyone can bring good tidings.

With the evangelical awakenings of John Wesley and his preachers and followers, came the tendency to confirm the theology of the great and received tradition and to lay emphasis in the theology of the Christian life. The accent on conversion the consciousness of the love of God in Christ and the physical, mental and spiritual changes which accompanied it, the means of sanctification, the theology of the corporate spiritual life, and the evangelising of the world and the improving of society;- all were the results of the practical application of the minds of the great Wesleyan and Methodist thinkers to the appalling social conditions of their age and its resultant degradation of God's children.

Evangelicalism was later to be changed by the impact of technological liberalism, the Enlightenment, rationalism and the post Kantian stress on human consciousness as the bridge to the knowledge of God. The resultant ghetto mentality of evangelicals tends to defend its old views and to shout down anything else that bears the evidence of human thought or divergence. At the time when England emptied its hulks and jails, it had become a live orthodoxy. The Bible was not only

the central theological enterprise, but it was to be meditated on and prayed over as well as studied. To be able to read meant access to the Word. (It also meant being able to read *The Rights of Man*). The essential aim is to know God, to mortify pride and to live in a community out of love for others, always in the knowledge and acceptance that the return of Jesus Christ and the great accounting is near. In the meantime a personal education so as to read the Bible, to provide personal as well as guided interpretation, is of vital importance. It is also vital to work hard to provide a milieu where holiness could prevail and to be careful not only of the mote in the neighbour's eye, but also in one's own. At worst it became a deeply inward and almost total preoccupation with self, at best it evinced a concern for the lives and welfare and the necessity for salvation of those who had not been redeemed.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 plunged the Anglican church ideological disarray from which pragmatism and utilitarianism provided what some people thought to be the only egress.¹ When Divine Right and the theory of a pontifical king were abandoned politics and religion began to drift apart; the gulf between religion and science was already wide. The abandonment of compulsory church attendance and the emergence of a commercial economy rendered the old system obsolete. Men who silently believed that the true evidence of God was in nature, tended to be in the Royal Society where they carefully extracted evidence for religion from science; in holy orders they steered a successful course between strict Calvinism and High Church.² In university circles especially at Cambridge, they were characterised as neo-Platonists; within the church as Latitudinarians. Reason reinforced faith; the best ally of the church was natural history. Newtonian physics could confute

¹ Paul Johnson, *A History of Christianity*, (Penguin, 1990), p.332.

² *Ibid.*, p.333.

those who argued that God did not exist.

In an age of mercantilism Locke said 'that sensible men rejected short term pleasures and vices, and invested in eternity.'³ While some stressed ethics and duties, others were happy to regard Revelation as superstition and Christ as a Jewish wonder worker. It was not a very big step from here to a positive denial of eternity.⁴ The double standard substituted the more qualified attitude in private, but the full horrors were for public consumption.

Mechanical Christianity was producing a corrupt church led by a secular-minded clergy.⁵ In order to avoid fanaticism, rational Christians depersonalised religion and emphasised forms and institutions at the expense of the spirit. Establishment clergy almost ceased to be proselytising or even an active force though it remained a powerful social one. Reading the diaries of Gilbert White, or James Boswell reveals the better sort of clergy to be learned rather than pious, engaging in natural history or the arts to pass the time. The Anglican church represented a Christianity that was part cerebral, part ceremonial and totally devoid of emotion. It had little connection with and little to offer the lower orders and the swelling proletariat of the new industrial areas. It is little wonder that the authorities saw the new religious dynamic as a dangerous strategy and its evangelist John Wesley as an arch enemy of order. The amazing thing is that far from popular energy breaking out in revolutionary mode, as the authorities feared, Wesley not only saved but reinforced the established order.

Wesley, like so many, came to his active religion via St Paul. Wesley's Christianity was almost totally devoid of intellectual content, and it had no doctrinal insights. "God willeth all men to be saved" was basically his

³ *Ibid.*, p.339.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.400.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.343.

only message and to the end of his life he thought of himself as an Anglican. But he also believed that he had been appointed by God to assume the role of a modern Paul even if it meant breaking the conventions of the Anglican parochial system and preaching wherever he could find an audience. Upper class hostility and lower class prejudice had the effect of strengthening the conservative and conventional forces within the Wesleyan movement, as it did with early Christians. His sermons endorsed the existing order of society, he strove actively - and so did his converts,- to prevent economic and political unrest from breaking out into violence and his appeal was powerful amongst those who, while accepting the stratification of society, strove to achieve respectability, and better living conditions. They were the deserving poor.

Methodism tended to side with law, order and property but some of the strongest of political revolutionaries came from the strictest methodist families, [i.e. Luddites, Chartists]. They were often political reformers and Methodists and other non conformist sects became allied firstly with the liberals and later the Labour Party. Methodism also had a powerful effect on the ruling class and when the evangelicals split from the established church they remained with the establishment yet sought to evangelise from within. They were primarily concerned with moral and to a degree with social reform; they saw poverty, squalor, degradation and cruelty as enemies of the Commandments. They wished to improve society by making it more bearable: but of course they did not want to change its structure, they were essentially lower middle and working class.

John Wesley was some thirty years into his ministry when Henry Venn, in his rectory in Huddersfield decide that the degradation that he saw all around him, was not wholly the fault of the poor. Venn had come to Huddersfield from a curacy in Clapham in 1759 so he was not

unaware of the work of William Romaine who in 1749, assumed a lectureship at St Dunstan's where Tyndale had proclaimed the doctrines of the Reformation. His lectures were popular but he was only safe from the clergy and the churchwardens of the Church of England because he was the senior Chaplain to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, whose chief aim was to evangelise her own class.⁶

In Haworth William Grimshaw kept a small flock active in family meetings and so by family and clerical networking evangelicalism slowly spread through Yorkshire. The third important name in this trio was Joseph Milner, Headmaster of Hull Grammar School who was converted in 1770. The most interesting thing about these early evangelicals was that they were all Calvinist, Wesley was not. It was later to be this Calvinist aspect that was to deny Venn, Newton and Thornton leadership of the evangelical movement and to ensure that Wilberforce, a layman, did become its leader. An interesting question arises. How differently would the movement have developed had it remained directly within the church even in the Anglican Calvinist tradition, from the business like undertaking it was to become?

The emphasis on family networking led Venn to establish his Clerical Society in 1767 for the "mutual edification" of its members. When Venn returned to Clapham his work in Yorkshire was carried on by the Reverend Burnett in Elland Rectory.⁷ The resulting Elland Society in 1777 established a fund to send suitable young men to Oxford or Cambridge via the Hull Grammar School. The Clerical Education Societies at first turned to Oxford but this was unpopular with the evangelicals because it was here that Wesley had formed the Holy Club while he was at Lincoln College.⁸

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.365.

⁷ G.R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party*, (Langmans, London, 1933) p.136.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.81

The deliberate policy of educating clever poor boys to a station most never could have attained seems to have become part of a policy to capture clerical places, fill the pulpits with like believers, and spread the Word not to ignorant pagans at home, but to the not always ignorant, and not always unbelievers abroad. The evangelicals were very selective in their converts, for them the parish was their world; for Wesley and his followers the world was their parish.⁹

For a time the evangelicals were able to stabilise the doctrines and methodology of evangelicalism within the Church of England. Their agenda was not startling and was comprehensive enough to embrace almost every division within the church. They categorically stated that they did not want a new theology but the old doctrines of the Reformation.¹⁰ It was clearly an agenda for divines and not a benchmark for the ordinary people except as silent beneficiaries. William Swan from his mission to the Buryat Mongols in Siberia was to state their aspirations somewhat euphorically. "Oh it is dreadful to think of the multitude that have gone to perdition because no man cared for their souls. Their blood can be traced to the doors of Christian Churches, - to the closets and studies of Christian ministers in secular life."¹¹ Poor Swan's radicalism left no room for compromise and must have made many worthies in the L.M.S. who sent him to Siberia uncomfortable. But then he was a Scot and under the new directions of the evangelicals, exemplified their attitude to Calvinism, which was more comprehensive than the more dogmatic theologians were inclined to allow.

The most important of the early societies was the Clapham Sect. When Venn returned to Clapham (1792-1813) he organised the parish of rich merchants like Henry Thornton, son of John, whose business

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.51.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ C.R. Bawden, *Shamans Lanas and Evangelicals*, (London, Routledge, 1985) p158

interests lay as far afield as Russia, Charles Grant Chairman of the East India Company, James Stephen advocate, Zachary Macaulay late Governor of Sierra Leone. Here was a society of rich, well fed opinion makers, living in large houses, with splendid horses, who never had cause to doubt their wealth, power and authority, and who were strange enough to announce that their wealth was not their own but God's.¹² In "The Newcomes" Thackeray, always with an eye to visible Zion notes, "In Egypt itself there are no more savoury fleshpots than at Clapham." And William Wilberforce lived next door to the Thorntons. The Clapham Sect seemed not only to be wedded or related to one another, but to everyone else of importance. It was a warm, theologically incestuous group of self satisfied fine minds who ran their lives like their businesses and managed three hours a day at prayer, 5-6, 12-1, 5-6! They were also vigorous with their pens and took it on themselves to counteract the impact of the pamphlets of the disciples of Tom Paine which were flooding England.¹³ Tracts and lay sermons reached audiences the preachers hardly knew existed.

Their religion was like their businesses and interests, hardy, productive and paternalistic.¹⁴ Balleine records Dr Overton's comments in his *English Church in Eighteenth Century* "Perhaps like most laymen who take up strong views in theological subjects they were inclined to be narrow, none of them had or professed to have the slightest pretensions to be called theologians" but he goes on to eulogise the purity, disinterestedness and beneficence of their lives.¹⁵ Sir James Stephen comments on the snob value of the Clapham Sect; their most deadly

¹² Balleine, *op.cit.*, p.148.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.186.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.216.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.158.

attribute was the knowledge that they were always right.¹⁶ Later they were to become the source material for Charlotte Bronte, Charles Dickens, Samuel Butler, Thackeray, George Eliot and their middle class gentility was satirised in the great gothic romanticism of the nineteenth century. They also called themselves the Saints after the parliamentary group recorded by Ford Brown,¹⁷ an epithet which gave much delight to high churchmen, and whig latitudinarians who were in the early days the chief persecutors of methodists and evangelicals, - the one too humble to be believed, the other too presumptuous to be borne. They did not see that the subtle brainwashing of Wesley's ministry averted a revolution in England, and founded another church in an age of revolutions. Not only was the evangelical movement to change its direction, but its purpose and beliefs.

Most of the Anglican evangelicals were Tory and Calvinistic and they found their real power centred in groupings of influential, wealthy and religious families. The Clapham Sect was founded by John Thornton of Clapham, the wealthiest merchant in England. After his death leadership devolved on William Wilberforce, heir to a Hull merchant fortune and friend to William Pitt.¹⁸ The Clapham Sect was not really a sect at all but a pressure group within the Anglican church and it controlled the activities of many influential English merchant class families.

While methodists strove to make the working and lower middle class respectable, the evangelicals sought to instil a sort of *noblesse oblige* amongst their betters. With the best of intentions there seemed to be nothing that did not merit interference. Sir Richard Hill, first evangelical in the Commons, told the Commons that it was better to have a dearth of

¹⁶ Sir James Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, "The Clapham Sect", quoted in Balleine, p.157.

¹⁷ Ford Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians*, C.U.P., p.61.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.369-370.

earthly food than famine of the word of God. It is recorded that it was received with prolonged roars of laughter.¹⁹ The Evangelical Proclamation Society Against Vice and Immorality, was founded to enforce the laws against writers, publishers, printers, brothel keepers, prostitutes, unlicensed private theatricals, purveyors of obscene prints, operators of illegal dance halls and commercial Sabbath breakers. Evangelical societies commanded the whole spectrum of human grievance and misery, but an evangelical had to be converted no matter how long he had been in the church, or even if he were in holy orders.

Life in England for a whole class of people gradually became charged with an emotional propriety which we call Victorianism; the *pièce de resistance* was the evangelicals' wearing of black gloves. But under the disclaiming of worldly ambitions there was a high minded "deviousness of usefulness" - the necessity for using "excellent men".²⁰

Wilberforce spread his net very wide; the evangelical penetration of the Church of England and Cambridge University was thoroughly worldly.²¹ Evangelicals sent their sons to Cambridge and churned out numbers of right thinking clergymen who would set their endeavours in the pulpits of England; clever lads from the counties with no precedent, influence, and little help were caught in the net of the Elland and Eclectic Societies, and the Clapham Sect. They were destined to carry the good tidings to the heathens in Siberia, India, Africa and the new colonies in Australia. Two such were Richard Johnson and Samuel Marsden. No evangelical questioned the determining injustice of the great, their patronage was the absolute foundation of evangelical success.²² Even the early Calvinist influence amongst the evangelicals

¹⁹ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p.370.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.372

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.373.

²² Brown, *op. cit.*, p.7.

had to be accommodated, lest that ferocious religion prevent the blending of incompatible positions. A Calvinist was forced to call a man brother if he were called by God. And that is what conversion was. Wesley's mistake seems to have been that he thought that all souls were the same; "conversions of those who count" furthered the evangelical cause.²³ So charity and justice were good only if done for a Christian motive. Their chief good was the good they did to the giver; they therefore never served the interest of the poor.²⁴ It was a new way of gaining power by making the enslaved manufacture their own chains and by ensuring that those with the capacity of making fortunes did so at the expense of those who accepted the situation because they knew their place. Men like Wilberforce saw the limited worth of idealism in a movement such as this was, so it became a gigantic entrenchment of power disguised as morality, heavily patristic but not Calvinist and not to be confused with any other form of dissent. While they never succeeded in disassociating the Established Church from the High Church party, who could recognise self deception in all its forms, - yet the evangelical movement did make England more religious and interested in social causes. They also caused the church to rearrange its dogma and liturgy in a more catholic mode. So evangelical Anglicans of a puritan morality were now called low church. The low church took its evangelical calling into a sort of doctrinaire morality that took the precept of being their brother's keeper, to the point of interfering cant.

(Appendices B and C)

²³ *Ibid.*, p.71

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.153.

The Reverend Richard Johnson

My commission from God, extends equally and alike to all the inhabitants, without distinction. It is my duty to preach to all, to pray for all, and to admonish every one.

Richard Johnson, 1792

"What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me?"

Ps. 116:12.

This was the text for the famous service of Feb 3rd, 1788, when Richard Johnson, first chaplain to New South Wales, "under a large tree"¹ addressed the officers and felons of the First Fleet and his wife Mary, the only officer's wife to accompany the venture. Doubtless there were many in the assembled company who could have made an answer to the text had it been anything other than rhetorical, but Johnson had been nurtured in the special piety of Evangelical Anglicanism. To him the benefits were self evident. For a long time Richard Johnson's story has tended to be overlooked. Indeed most Australians even now would hazard a guess that the first chaplain was the much more complex and publicised Samuel Marsden, but the first battles with the establishment had been fought and Johnson's plans for exercising his ministry were well laid by the time Marsden, who was the younger and less experienced man, arrived six years later.

Forged by solitude, deliberate misunderstanding, and little help, Johnson emerges from colonial myth as a courageous, gentle and sympathetic figure, of persistence and perseverance, who cared for free, felon and aborigine alike, professed his Evangelical Anglicanism and tried to keep to the expectations of those who had chosen him.

He was, however, totally without political guile. While he was known for his gentle nature, he was also quick to take offence. He could be petulant and unwise in dealing with his brother officers and he almost came unstuck over his substantial differences with Grose, a practical

¹ Watkin Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, under the title *Sydney's First Four Years* (ed. L.F. Fitzhardinge) (Sydney, 1861), P.39

opportunist. But Marsden unfailingly speaks of his help and kindness² not only to himself but to all who needed encouragement or solace.

Johnson was born in the village of Welton in south-east Yorkshire in about 1755; he was a young child at the time when William Grimshaw (1708-63) of Haworth and Henry Venn (1724-97) of Huddersfield, both supporters of Charles Wesley, were beginning to organise Anglican Evangelism in Yorkshire. Johnson attended the Hull Grammar School (Hull was then known as Kingston upon Hull) where he could have been a contemporary of Wilberforce.³ If this were so, then he would be at school when the headmaster, the Reverend Joseph Milner (1744-97) created a sensation by adopting Evangelicalism.⁴

Johnson was ordained a deacon and priest of the Church of England by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1784 and he served some of his ministerial apprenticeship with the Reverend Henry Foster. He went through the evangelical mill as it were. His appointment to Botany Bay came neither from the Government nor the Church, nor the great Societies but from the evangelicals of the Eclectic Society.⁵ Macintosh thinks possibly the reformed old slaver, the Reverend John Newton⁶ at Olney, first nominated Johnson (possibly at the suggestion of William Cowper, the poet.)⁷ The appointment must have gone through the busy hands of Wilberforce otherwise Johnson, who had no influence either in Government or Church would probably have met the fate of the Catholic volunteer Father Walshe who offered himself to Lord Sydney to minister to the spiritual needs of the three hundred or so Catholics destined for the

² Neil Macintosh, *Richard Johnson, Chaplain to the Colony of New South Wales, His Life and Times, 1755-1827*, (Sydney, 1978). p.79.

³ *Ibid.*, p.31.

⁴ G.R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*, (London, 1933). pp.53-54.

⁵ Macintosh, *op.cit.*, p.29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.20.

⁷ C.M.H. Clark, *History of Australia, Volume 1* (Melbourne, 1969). p.75.

First Fleet. Walshe received no reply.⁸

The evangelicals exercised real power, although it is doubtful that it was as great as Ford Brown would have it.⁹ They were often ridiculed because other Anglicans found their piety pompous but they were seen to challenge the stance of the Established Church, and private patrons with parish livings at their disposal, took care that evangelicals were passed over for appointment. One might think that the appointment of Richard Johnson was a magnificent piece of luck. Johnson was proposed by Wilberforce to Pitt, his friend, Johnson's name having gone the rounds of the Eclectic Society. Wilberforce, also a Yorkshireman, was a foundation member of the Eclectic Society. Three laymen were to be most important in Johnson's life in London, the merchants John and Henry Thorton and William Wilberforce. The Reverend Newton's London Church, St Mary Woolnorth, became a centrepiece of evangelical worship and St John's Chapel, Bedford Row, where the incumbent was the Reverend Richard Cecil, became the meeting place of the Society.¹⁰

The details of Wilberforce's life are well known. He was not a declared evangelical until he came to London, but in 1786, influenced by Isaac Milner and the Reverend Newton, he was converted. It was at this time that he renewed acquaintance with Johnson, and William Pitt, a close friend of Wilberforce decided to send an expedition to Botany Bay to build a penal colony. Johnson was enmeshed in intrigue from which he could not escape.¹¹

There was no precedent that either the Church of the State could follow in Johnson's appointment; it was not clear whether the the appointment of a chaplain to such an expedition lay within the province of

⁸ George Mackaness, *Some Letters of Rev. Richard Johnson, B.A.*, (Dubbo, 1978) p.6.

⁹ Ford Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians*, (Cambridge, 1961) passim.

¹⁰ Macintosh, *op. cit.*, p.21.

¹¹ *ibid.* p.25.

ecclesiastical, secular, or even military authority. It was precisely this that was to cause Richard Johnson much trouble. It is suggested that Pitt, unconcerned as he was by matters of religion would probably not have provided a chaplain.¹² That was usually the prerogative of the S.P.G.¹³ since this group was interested in missionary work in the South Pacific. Johnson recalled in 1793, " In the evening of the 23rd Sept, 1786, I was asked by a friend if I had got the spirit of a missionary or if I wished to go abroad. I smiled and replied, "No", I had no inclination or thoughts of ever leaving my native country." ¹⁴ Johnson was commissioned on the 24th of October at 10/- per day.¹⁵ Although Johnson paid a formal call on the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr John Moore, after his commission, Neil Macintosh is of the opinion that the Church hierarchy had nothing to do with the appointment. The meeting must have been of great importance to Johnson; he was later to ask the Archbishop for help because of the treatment he received in Sydney (although he was really responsible to the Bishop of London).¹⁶ The Archbishop commended Johnson to the S.P.C.K.¹⁷ There was also a tenuous part played by the S.P.G. which in 1790 sent him some books from the S.P.C.K. via the New South Wales Corps. This gentle irony hardly mattered since he had the approval of the S.P.C.K. which made his position respectable, and not just an evangelical enterprise.¹⁸ This back door manner of his appointment is one of the strangest aspects of Johnson's journey with the First Fleet, but it was later to cause Johnson worry during Grose's control of the colony.

(Appendices D and E)

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

¹⁴ Macintosh, *op.cit.*, p.27.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.28.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge.

¹⁸ Macintosh, *op. cit.*, p.29.

Appointments in the eighteenth century were apt to be by influence, a fact that the Evangelical Movement put to great purpose. Johnson's appointment was at least not opposed by the Church, and since he was paid by the Government, his position was somewhat ambivalent, and perplexing. Who had first call on his services? Which of his roles was the more important? These were questions which were also to worry Marsden, but not so much as they worried Johnson. Although Johnson's appointment was not a hurried one, it may be seen as lending respectability and propriety to an otherwise purely secular enterprise; the moral welfare of the convicts was never the first priority.

Johnson's ministry in the colony may be divided into three sections. Under Governor Phillip he was worried about how he was going to set up his church and about Phillip's "rational approach to life and indifference to religious fervour." He was not to know that a church did not feature on Phillip's building list.¹⁹ He was appalled by the convict situation with its depravity and the fact that while every effort was made to keep the colony alive under appalling conditions nobody cared about the convicts' spiritual welfare.

Mid 1788 the chaplain wrote to Sir Joseph Banks. At the end of the letter he said "I can only say that as to myself I have not any very sanguine expectations that it [the colony] will ever turn to any very great account. What is to us hereafter is only known to God but at present I think appearances are against us."²⁰ After ten months he writes to Henry Fricker his friend "we have just got into our little Cabbage tree Cottage," and "almost all are heartily sick of the expedition and wish themselves back safe in England."²¹ He writes of his despair at the apparent failure of his evangelical mission.

¹⁹ Fletcher, "Arthur Phillip", A.D.B. Vol.2, p.327

²⁰ Mackaness, *op.cit.*, p.20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.24.

"They seem to be destitute both of eyes and ears. They neither see nor will be persuaded to seek The Lord of Mercy and Compassion of God, they prefer their lust before their souls, yea, most of them will sell their souls for a Glass of Grogg, so blind, so foolish, so hardened are they."²²

But his despair was not without reason. Their first little child, a boy, was stillborn and Mary "was for sometime in utmost danger."

"I am yet to be a field preacher. No church is yet is yet begun of, and I am afraid scarcely thought of. Other things seem to be of greater notice and concern and most would rather see a Tavern, a Play House, a Brothel - any sooner than a place for publick worship."²³

Johnson's evangelicalism was characterised by what he had learned at Hull and Cambridge - concern for personal and individual salvation and enthusiasm for propagating religious belief. At all times it was a personal faith. The Bible was interpreted in terms of individual piety but the object was the conversion of the listener. The Eucharist was truly received as Christ and his Grace, but it was received by faith alone. There was no transubstantiation.²⁴

Methodists differed from Anglicans in that they emphasised God's call to those who were destined for salvation by accepting God's grace through conversion; there was just a hint of Calvinism, in that they formed an elect. Methodists believed in free will and universal salvation, an Arminian emphasis.²⁵ To Anglicans of faithful ministry, a single parish was sufficient: to Methodists however, their duty lay in preaching wherever they could get a hearing.

Here in the colony Johnson, belonging to the Anglican wing of evangelicalism, with no church, was forced to become an outdoor

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Mackaness, *op.cit.*, p.25.

²⁴ Macintosh, *op.cit.*, pp. 32-33.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

itinerant preacher like Wesley. His fellow officers soon began to call him Methodist in terms of contempt and disapproval.²⁶ Nothing in Johnson's preparation for ordination had prepared him for a frontier mission.

Evangelicals made their most appeal to intelligent middle classes. Johnson's despair and unhappiness was not at failure, but at his having no practical ability in ministering to the spiritual needs of convicts. Paupers he could help, having served a curacy with William Gilpin who especially cared for the poor and needy.²⁷ Johnson could never believe that convicts were abandoned by God, and he almost destroyed himself in a colony where not only the convicts were outside salvation; the civil authority simply did not care. Johnson says himself that he accepted the call because of the "prospects of a glorious reward hereafter, laid up in Heaven for all God's faithful servants and people."²⁸

To equip himself for his mission Johnson made a visit to the hulk '*Leviathan*'.²⁹ We do not know what his reaction was, but he did not repeat his visit. In his other preparations he collected together what he would normally have used in any parish. He never neglected the 'forms and ceremonies' of the Church of England³⁰ and he conducted his services at all times with decorum and with due attention to the liturgy. As well he had a huge consignment of books supplied by the S.P.C.K. suitable for the edification of convicts, aborigines and chaplains alike. It is ironical that the sight of a clergyman in surplice with lectern and communion vessels should have struck some of his congregation as Methodist practice.³¹

The conjectured reasons for establishing a colony in New South

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.82 also Mackaness, *op.cit.*, p.39.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.35.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.28.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.39.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.50.

Johnson's Bible, Prayer Book and Chalice are still in St Phillip's Church, Sydney.

Wales seem irrelevant beside the fact of the arrival at "Botany Bay" of eleven ships with seven hundred and thirty nine convicts, (of which one hundred and fifty two were women and about one third Catholic.) In his letter to Henry Fricker of 9 April, 1790, Johnson gives his friend a commentary of events. Again he murmurs that nothing would induce him to such a venture again and comments on his own 'murmuring and complaining' but he repeats the magic evangelical mantra "I still believe this is by God's appointment, and this is sufficient argument to silence objection or complaint,"³² The letter tells of the colony's 'near starvation', the loss of the *Sirius*, his own success with his vegetable patch, the arrival of his second baby, a girl whom he named Milbah Mary (Milbah a name among the natives) and the little girl Abaroo whom he took into his home.

"I wish to see these poor brethren brought to the knowledge of xtianity and hope in time to see or hear of the dawns of that time when these shall be given for our Lord's heritage, and the outermost parts of the earth for his possession. But little apparent fruit yet among the Convicts, etc. Oh that they were wise, but alas! nothing seems to alarm them or allure (sic). Trust, however, I have been in some degree faithful, and believe that God's word will not return to Him void."³³

What role was Johnson supposed to play in the colony? As chaplain in an extraordinary penal colony, he could have either been licensed by the Bishop of London since all British subjects³⁴ overseas were under his spiritual jurisdiction or he could have been commissioned as a military chaplain. Some American colonies had been staffed in this way, and for a time they were supervised by a representative of the Bishop. This did not always work satisfactorily because chaplains and Bishops' delegates were often at odds with colonial governors who frequently

³² Mackaness, *op. cit.*, p.29.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Macintosh, *op. cit.*, p.34.

usurped ecclesiastical powers as well as secular authority. The Pitt government of 1786 was not dealing with an established colony but what was, in effect, a military expedition.³⁵ Richard Johnson was appointed in the same way as every other member and his Commission was stated in the words of a military chaplain. He was also liable to be court martialled should the occasion arise.³⁶

This put Johnson in a very awkward position; he was responsible to the Governor in secular matters but ecclesiastically he was responsible to the Archbishop of Canterbury; as a colonial chaplain his master was the Archbishop of London. It was not until the arrival of the first Archdeacon, Thomas Hobbes Scott, that any form of hierarchy was established and the colony became part of the Bishopric of Calcutta.³⁷ A bishop of the Australian colonies was not appointed until 1836, Johnson therefore was not quite a military chaplain, and never had the status of a colonial chaplain. Actually confusion existed over the relative responsibility of government, hierarchy and local congregations in the affairs of overseas chaplaincies.³⁸ Samuel Marsden understood the prevailing situation and when Commissioner Bigge asked him in 1820, "When chaplains arrive here are they entirely under the orders of Governor Macquarie?" He answered, "They are, very unfortunately for themselves, and also for the colony in my humble opinion."³⁹ In Johnson's day the chaplain was less and less in the normal situation of a military officer, but never quite gained the usual status of an overseas colonial chaplain.⁴⁰

The situation left Johnson out on a limb. He was too far away from ecclesiastical help, he had no church wardens to help and advise and

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.47.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.48.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ See *Ibid.*, p.48. Note 103.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.48.

until Marsden was appointed, had no support. The military chaplain Bain, attached to the New South Wales Corps obeyed his commanding officer Major Francis Grose. Although the colony was settling down into a little town, Johnson was still responsible to the Commanding Officer and although he was afforded technically the same privileges and favours, his letters reveal the thought that he was always at the bottom of the heap. New South Wales was neither a military outpost nor a mission station. Johnson could not solve his dilemma so he took the evangelical view, he was chaplain to the colony, his was a commission from God, his other allegiances came second. It worked while he had a sympathetic governor like Phillip, who did not obstruct Johnson's aspirations for his church, even if he did not believe in the efficacy of Johnson's religion, but it was more than awkward when secular causes or personal vanity, or expediency were at variance with church matters.

So Richard Johnson set about turning a sordid penal settlement into a parish. By the end of 1788 he was conducting Sunday services at Sydney, at Parramatta and at Toongabbie. He established a pattern of a service every Sunday somewhere should the weather permit, and the whole body of convicts were to attend. He managed to preach at Parramatta and Toongabbie every fortnight by travelling out on Saturday and back on Monday. It was strenuous, since Johnson also spent time visiting convicts and performing the usual services of marriage, baptism and burial.⁴¹

He found he could do little for the majority of the convicts whose background of poverty and degradation was not helped by the experience of transportation. Lloyd Robson says that not only were the majority of convicts ignorant of religion but they were usually hostile to it; that they were already hardened to anti-clericalism and religion before

they left England.⁴² Like other evangelicals Johnson was not slow to condemn sin, but he did not understand the destructive nature of guilt. To him the convicts were still men and women with immortal souls and since he was in New South Wales with the blessing of both the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., he had a duty of conducting a mission. The London Missionary Society (non-Sectarian) in the 1780s and the Church Missionary Society (evangelical Anglican) in the 1790s laid down certain modes of thinking and practice about missionary enterprise. They both had their origins in the great Anglican societies with not only Moravian, but also Calvinist and Wesleyan connections, and interest in them was developed by the explorations in the Pacific and the cult of the Noble Savage. Noble or not he was to be civilised and then converted, and civilisation meant being taught the English language and customs and then the Lord's Prayer.

The assumption was all native peoples were polytheistic heathens if not idolators, Johnson, like Knopwood later in Van Diemen's Land, believed in baptism first before civilisation was applied. He wrote to his friend Henry Fricker and announced,

"Have a native girl under my care. Have had her now about 11 months. She was brought in here dreadfully afflicted with the Small Pox. Have taken some pains with Abaroo (about 15 years old) to instruct her in reading and have no reason to complain of her improvement. She can likewise begin to speak a little English and is useful in several things about the house. Have taught her the Lord's Prayer etc."⁴³

Johnson hoped that he would ultimately be able to preach to the Aborigines but he had about the same luck as St Francis with the birds.

For the first years of his ministry Johnson was obsessed with his lack

⁴² Lloyd Robson, *The Convict Settlers of Australia. An Enquiry into the Origin and Character of the Convicts Transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1787-1852* (Melbourne, 1963). p.152.

⁴³ Mackaness, *op. cit.*, p.29.

of a church. The foundations were laid for a church in 1791 in Parramatta but it went through the stage of being a lock-up and finished as a granary. Although Phillip had allocated 400 acres of land for a church it was not built. Gradually the attendance at services began to fall away; the Governor attended sometimes and some of the officers. It was too difficult to compel the convicts to attend. Johnson remained the one clergyman. The Reverend James Bain arrived in 1791 as Chaplain to the New South Wales Corps under the command of Major Grose but his presence in the colony did little to aid Johnson.⁴⁴ Bain was not evangelical; it is questionable whether he was even Anglican but he did as he was told.

Governor Phillip was always well disposed towards Johnson. Johnson enjoyed all the privileges of the other officers and he took his place in the Board of Magistrates which pleased him very much. This was all to change when Phillip returned to England and the second part of Johnson's life in the colony began.

By the end of 1792 he was having increasing problems with his health. Pains in the head and deafness brought on by his necessitous *alfresco* preaching made his life miserable. Again he confides in his friend Henry Fricker that he knew that he was where God "aims and intends me to be"⁴⁵ and like a true evangelical, he will go on doing his duty until "I can hold out no longer."⁴⁶ All was well while Phillip was there but his departure precipitated a crisis for Johnson which seemed to go on forever.

Lieutenant-Governor Grose was quite a different personality and a conflict developed between him and Johnson that showed quite clearly how little the church had impacted on the colony. The conflict arose because the two men had different expectations of the colony. Grose

⁴⁴ Macintosh, *op. cit.*, p.59.

⁴⁵ Mackaness, *op. cit.*, p.39.

⁴⁶ Macintosh, *op. cit.*, p.61.

was a careerist soldier, an opportunist business man with the organisation of the Rum Trade making fortunes for a few and establishing a climate of alcoholism that still persists. Johnson told his friend Fricker in August 1790 that "ye colony is never likely to answer the wishes and expectations of the Government."⁴⁷ "In almost every aspect things are truly wretched and uncomfortable, and when it will be better for us, God only knows."⁴⁸ When the colony is beset by drought, "Justly does God in his Judgments assist us. We are truly a wicked people, sin abounds of all kinds and amongst all ranks too much: God and religion set little store by."⁴⁹ And again to Fricker in 1791 commenting on "his brother clergyman,"

"I trust I see things in a different light, and however stigmatised by the name of Methodist, Enthusiast, etc., I am not ashamed of the precious Gospel of Jesus, have long since come to the Apostle's Resolution, 1 Cor.2:2 well knowing that whatever doctrine does not tend to humble the sinner and to exalt the Saviour, is anti-Christ."⁵⁰

The Reverend Johnson must sometimes have been a little tedious, but he was always sincere.

When Major Grose assumed control there was little talk of reformation. He had had time to look about him and he had the backing of the New South Wales Corps, a vicious collection of thugs. What Grose implemented was a military government; certainly the colony prospered, the fear of starvation receded, but the rum trade and the blatant misuse of power destroyed Johnson's hopes. Civil magistrates were replaced by the officers of the Corps, each of whom was given, contrary to instructions, a hundred acres of land, and ten convicts to work them. Before long, trade, agriculture and justice were in the hands of the New

⁴⁷ Mackaness, *op. cit.*, p.35.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.37.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.38.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.39.

South Wales Corps and during the two years Grose was in charge of the colony, people like Lieutenant John Macarthur began to found a dynasty of wealth. As Manning Clark writes the colony ran on rum.⁵¹

The difference between Grose and Johnson began very simply. Johnson had no one to help him - to ring the bell, to dig the graves etc. Grose refused his request for a sexton. Johnson kept notes on the whole affair, and sent them in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵² Johnson had no success in getting redress in Sydney, David Collins was sympathetic but did not wish to become involved.⁵³ When Johnson contacted his lobby in England, the time it took for information to get to England and back made it unnecessary for Wilberforce to intervene on the old network because the arrival of Governor Hunter was expected at any time. Since Johnson knew Governor Hunter from First Fleet days perhaps he permitted himself to hope. He wrote to Henry Fricker "Since the arrival of Governor Hunter ... my situation has been much more comfortable than before."⁵⁴ These were just the incidentals to the quarrel; the real issue was again, Johnson's status as chaplain, his conduct of church matters and of course Johnson's actions and character as an evangelical.

At the time of Johnson's worst spiritual dilemma - Grose had refused to allow him to comfort two condemned men - Samuel Marsden arrived to help him. Johnson knew he had to obey Grose's order or Grose would court martial him. Johnson wrote to the two prisoners, but he believed that the whole affair had been set up deliberately to undermine his influence amongst the convicts and in the colony.⁵⁵ Marsden wrote in his

⁵¹ Manning Clark, Vol.1, *op.cit.*, p.132ff.

⁵² See note 272, Macintosh, *Op. Cit.*, p.64.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.82.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.85.

diary, "The Governor forbade Mr Johnson the prisoners who were to be executed Thursday next. This Mr Johnson warmly resented."⁵⁶ Grose's treatment of Johnson - refusing him convicts as servants, refusing help for Johnson in his church duties, indeed refusing him a church, were petty. Over an incident of theft in Johnson's household Grose accused the chaplain of lying.⁵⁷ In the end Johnson had to sleep with loaded pistols by his bedside,⁵⁸ and a mind touched with paranoia.

During the period when Grose was the Lieutenant-Governor, Richard Johnson reached his nadir. Still without a church in Sydney, often frustrated in his attempts to hold services, Johnson decided to build his own church. He told Grose what he was going to do and Grose, after trying to dissuade him, in the end promised help.⁵⁹ (The church was built where modern Hunter and Bligh Streets join, at what is now called Richard Johnson Place.)

Johnson had thought that Grose had been troublesome before, but he had no idea to what degrees of what really looks like vindictiveness, Grose could descend. During its construction Grose impeded the progress at every turn, and Johnson describes how he cut the timbers himself "in the woods" and worked "night after night".⁶⁰ He held his first service on 25 August 1793; Mrs Grose was in the congregation and the wind howled through the empty window frames because Grose refused the glass.⁶¹ The completion of the first Church of England in the colony must have been a source of great satisfaction to the besieged Johnson. He could do nothing about his position on the civil list, and he conducted his ministry with strict adherence to Anglican practice - two of the causes

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.66.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.68.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.69.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

of friction, but he had his church in spite of Grose.⁶² Then Grose began to use his military chaplain the Reverend Bain as a means of disturbing Johnson.

In the middle of 1794 Grose suddenly ordered the constables who were ex-convicts to attend Bain's services and not Johnson's.⁶³ Bain, military chaplain to the New South Wales Corps, "a man not known for his charm" did as he was told.⁶⁴ Gradually Johnson found his congregation was vanishing; nor was he allowed to hold services elsewhere. Grose withheld transport by boat and horse when Johnson went to Parramatta and Johnson had to walk the distance to Toongabbie (18 miles).⁶⁵ Grose made it too difficult for Johnson to establish a Sunday School where adults would be taught to read and write.⁶⁶ Grose was not going to foster such presumptions.

It was a poor situation that had developed. Grose denigrated Johnson's character, while appearing to be long suffering; Johnson over-reacted to his pettiness. It was not the behaviour of officers. On the other hand there was the ever present fear of revolt amongst the convicts in the colony. Grose was never sure that a revolt would not be enjoined by his pressed soldiers and Johnson did visit Parramatta and Toongabbie regularly, both hot beds of trouble.⁶⁷ Perhaps he thought that once a convict had accepted Johnson's teaching he could the more easily cause trouble in the sure knowledge of salvation. Macintosh comments that it was "common fashion" to link any form of religious disaffection from the Established Church such as Wesleyanism, with political and dangerous attitudes to the state. "Thus "Methodist", "Jacobin", "sans culotte" and

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.71.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.73.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.74.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.76.

"revolutionary" were words made to appear synonymous. The French Revolution made even mild reforms dangerous.⁶⁸

Johnson was not politically minded; nor was he a Wesleyan. (His attitude to the "Scottish Martyrs: was strictly establishment,⁶⁹) and he wrote so to his Baptist friend Henry Fricker in October, 1791. But he did wonder if

"Being discontented with my situation, being troublesome in making so long and repeated applications to get it bettered, constitute me to be of this character,"⁷⁰

Even Johnson's gentle urging that the derelict accept Christ and enjoy a hereafter seemed questionable to Grose.⁷¹ Grose's duty was to see the wicked punished and stay punished.

The situation did not make for harmony or stability and brought out the worst in both men. One admires Mrs Grose, who attended Johnson's services, maybe because she accepted Johnson's Mary as a fellow sufferer.⁷²

Marsden's arrival at first gave Johnson support, but Grose treated Marsden, who was an assistant chaplain, as if he were equal to the other officers. Marsden who was astute but not sensitive, comments on this "As I enjoy some privileges which [Mr Johnson] at present does not, this hurts him a great deal. ..." All this time Johnson was ill, sometimes dangerously so. "My fellow minister is now recovering - he hath been dangerously afflicted - was afraid he would have died," writes Marsden.⁷³

Some historians see Grose's term as Lieutenant-Governor as a disaster, but some now find that the colony was actually more prosperous

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.68.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.77.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.98.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.69.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.82.

under him than under Hunter. Grose and Paterson set the style of an economic system under which private enterprise was deliberately encouraged at the expense of government enterprise.⁷⁴ Governor Hunter who arrived in 1795 tried for five years to eradicate its worst features but was unable to suppress the liquor trade or the *compradore* rings. These merchants and landowners formed the central most important policy directions until Macquarie, and the situation they enforced played a big part in the development of the young Marsden. But Hunter's arrival, and Marsden taking up duties, gave Johnson a respite.

Johnson could not foresee this but he did soon lose control over convicts, the military crept into civil posts and of course he himself was supplanted by the military chaplain. It pleased Grose to call Johnson a "Methodist" a "discontented and troublesome fellow."⁷⁵ Johnson understood the implication of being called a Methodist rather than an Evangelical Anglican, but it is doubtful whether he paid much attention to the political significance of Grose's epithets. To his friend Fricker Johnson acknowledged that many of his brother clergyman diverted from the principles of the established Church. Grose saw him as an obvious troublemaker; there was a touch of the snob in Grose.

The transported "Scottish Martyrs", educated and moderate men, victims of a gross miscarriage of justice saw Johnson in 1795 as "a most dutiful son of the Church of England, thinking to be the best constituted church in the world. He is a Moravian Methodist ... a very good pious inoffensive man."⁷⁶ Johnson did not feel so good about them. In his opinion they were seditious.⁷⁷

Johnson's complaints were well founded and were basically

⁷⁴ Gordon Greenwood, *Australia. A Social and Political History*. (Sydney, 1966), p.8.

⁷⁵ Macintosh, *op. cit.*, p.97.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.77.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.77.

concerned with what he saw to be the position of the Church of England in the colony. Firstly he had no church building, then he was not paid when he built one himself, he was downgraded and humiliated in front of his brother officers, and indeed in front of Marsden, and he was the Senior Chaplain. What Johnson could not see was that the Church of England had no real position in the colony. Bain droned through a ritual and represented the "establishment", but it was Johnson who had position, Johnson the evangelist, popular with the convicts⁷⁸ who was the church, trying to educate the children and reclaim the derelict. Whether deliberately or not, he succeeded in irritating Grose so much - a man whom Arnold Wood calls "this brutal militarist",⁷⁹ that Grose began to wonder "whether clergymen in the colony were to be considered available to military court."⁸⁰ Johnson's reply was "Sir, I dare you to do it."⁸¹

Marsden wrote to Wilberforce concerning Grose's dispatch to Dundas⁸² which was blatantly a lie, affirming that Mr Johnson was "a man of uprightness and integrity and had acted becoming the dignity of his sacred office."⁸³

Johnson's friends did not desert him. John Newton wrote commending his fortitude and rather whimsically commented that he served the Lord in his garden as truly as "when you are upon your knees, or in your pulpit."⁸⁴ Newton urged Johnson to be contented with praying for his derelict flock and not trying to effect 'impossibilities.'⁸⁵ But Johnson

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.55.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.79.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.78.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.79.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.81.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

was really very ill, so much so that the Surgeon-General Arndell told him that his life had been in imminent danger.⁸⁶ When Grose and later Paterson departed, he felt that his friendship with the new Governor would make his life more pleasant. Governor Hunter had known the senior chaplain when he, Hunter had joined the First Fleet as second Captain of the *Sirius*.⁸⁷ They always had good mutual feelings and this helped the fragile Johnson; his reinstatement as magistrate restored his confidence and it pleased him that all his privileges were restored to him and he was given the same number of servants as the other magistrates. Hunter consulted him and Arndell the Surgeon and Marsden about the deplorable condition of the colony. Yarwood writing about Marsden believes that Johnson, Marsden and Arndell compromised their honesty in their accounts of Grose's rule.⁸⁸ The three letters were written between 5 July (Johnson) and 11 August 1798 (Marsden). Thomas Arndell's was written 25 July. Yarwood makes three interesting points. The Marsden - Macarthur feud was probably at its height, Governor Hunter was fighting for his public life and the contents of the letters have been used as the only reliable source of the nature of the terms of office of Grose and Paterson. One might suspect that their opinions are somewhat biased since both Marsden and Johnson attacked the prevailing morality of the colony, the contemptible position of a religious man and the corruption of the officers of the Rum Corps.⁸⁹ Marsden did not say at the time but he did later, that the importing of rum and the decay of moral and religious feeling brought economic disaster to the colony and its small land owners.⁹⁰ Marsden's account did not accord with Hunter's knowledge of

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.88.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.50: p.83.

⁸⁸ A.T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden, The Great Survivor.*, pp.53-55.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.54.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

the progress in the colony since he last saw it in 1791. Marsden writes of it later in 1795 as offering a haven to "thousands of poor English families." ⁹¹ It was still wild and rough and irreligious but all three, Johnson, Arndell and Marsden were making a great deal of money from their opportunities. Yarwood backs his argument with the findings of Brian Fletcher who maintains that the chief causes of distress of the small farmer occurred in the Hunter period.⁹²

Certainly Johnson, while he did not have the business acumen of Marsden was getting ahead. Johnson writes about farming success and was able to buy more land and livestock.⁹³ Joseph Holt writing in 1800 mentions that "Johnson made a large fortune with which he was now able to return to England." He raised the first orange tree in the colony and in a very few years the trees produced very fine fruit which he sold at from sixpence to ninepence each.⁹⁴ Johnson was not above prospering from a cornered market but then evangelicals were not above trade ever.

In 1798 Hunter tried to make church attendance compulsory as the result of the senior chaplain's complaints but an enterprising incendiary burned the five year old church down, just a few months after Johnson had been paid for it.⁹⁵ "The arsonist, however, had made his point; the convicts were never afterwards driven to church."⁹⁶

Johnson wrote to his friend Henry Fricker in August 1797 "Since the arrival of Governor Hunter ... my situation has been much more comfortable than for some time before." His Excellency attended services regularly and society being what it is, Johnson's congregations were

⁹¹ Yarwood, *op. cit.*, p.55.

⁹² Brian Fletcher, "The Development of Small Scale Farming in New South Wales under Governor Hunter.", *R.A.H.S.J.* Vol. 50, pt 1, p.3-4. Quoted in Yarwood, *ibid.*

⁹³ Macintosh, *op. cit.*, p.85.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.85.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.98.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

"much larger."⁹⁷ At last Johnson's determination to establish schools in the colony met with approval and two schools for children were established. The first teacher seems to have been Isabella Rosson, a convict who had been teaching since about 1791.⁹⁸ Johnson also helped in the foundation of the female orphan school but it was Governor King who gave it real impetus aided by an impressive committee of which Marsden was treasurer.⁹⁹

The return to Sydney of the missionaries who had been sent out by the London Missionary Society in the ship *Duff* to Tahiti brought disturbing news from the mission front but Johnson was ill again at the time. Johnson and Marsden became very involved with establishing the survivors in the settlement.¹⁰⁰ These were dissenters sent out by the L.M.S. and the Reverend James Cover was their leader. Marsden became friendly with Rowland Hassall who later became his trading partner with the Maoris in New Zealand.¹⁰¹ When the group built their church they asked Johnson and Marsden to open and dedicate it on 16 July 1800.¹⁰² It must have been sad for both chaplains to see a permanent building erected for Christian worship by Dissenters and not Anglicans.

By this time Johnson was very ill. He sailed from Sydney with Governor Hunter in the *Buffalo* in October 1800 and arrived in England in May 1801 on an indefinite leave of absence. Of the first chaplain, Marsden said, "I feel great regret in their leaving the Colony. Their kind attention to us will always endear them to me."¹⁰³

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.88.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.90.

¹⁰⁰ London Missionary Society, *Ibid.*, p.91.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.92.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

Johnson was not generously treated by the Government. Macintosh wonders if perhaps Grose's comments had been a factor determining his shabby treatment and if "perhaps it was simply another instance of prejudice against evangelicalism."¹⁰⁴

"The contrast between the serious-minded evangelical and the socially acceptable non-Methodist parson, was so Johnson found, just as real in England as on the shores of Port Jackson and many of his problems stemmed directly from this contrast."¹⁰⁵

But this is not the whole truth. Johnson had not the fibre from which great missionaries are made; his covenant was not solely with God. In a penal settlement he did represent authority and he liked it that way because it made him an officer, a gentleman and a magistrate. He had been warned by Newton,¹⁰⁶ but he did not wish to believe him. Conforming to the manners and practices of "them" had not made "them" more civil. "You have no reason to expect to be treated like a chaplain or a gentleman, while you do not conduct yourself as other chaplains and gentlemen usually do."¹⁰⁷ And in an age controlled by class, Johnson was not a gentleman; only a parson-magistrate appointed with power. There was a difference.

"Though my office is sacred, and though I have neither intention to become either a farmer or merchant, yet I conceived my station and standing in the colony entitle me to the same privileges and indulgences as are given to others ... I believe no gentleman in the colony has exerted himself more than I have done, as many both sick and poor will testify."¹⁰⁸

It did not happen to Knopwood, who wore his class somewhat carelessly; nor strangely enough to Marsden, who was also not a

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.95.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.67.

gentleman, who made no covenants, was an evangelical and became more Tory as his wealth increased.

(Appendix C)

The Reverend Samuel Marsden

Where were you when I made the World?

God to Job

Are there not saints in holier skies
Who have been scourged to Paradise?
O Lord, when I have come to that
Grant that there may be a Heavenly Cat
With twice as many tails as here -
And make me , God, Your Overseer.
But if the veins of Saints be dead,
Grant me a whip in Hell instead,
Where blood is not so hard to fetch,
But I, Lord, am Your humble wretch.

Kenneth Slessor

Vesper-song of the Reverend Samuel Marsden.

When Governor Macquarie tendered his resignation he sent to Lord Bathurst a "list of malcontents", those who had made his governorship difficult and had undermined his administration. Samuel Marsden's name topped the list. Marsden's attitude was the result of "deep-rooted malevolence and ... avidity for Power and Consequence." Macquarie believed that Marsden's ill will was the result of not being consulted on every occasion "as by some previous governors"; he had set out from the commencement of Macquarie's term of office "to oppose his every measure and regulation no matter how beneficial to the colony." Macquarie noted his sadness because it appeared that Bathurst had given credit to Marsden's "artful and insidious representations."¹ One would not suspect that Macquarie was speaking of his senior chaplain. It is true that their association had become a little taut; Marsden not only knew everybody in the colony and how to use them, but he had a powerful lobby in England.² He and the senior chaplain Richard Johnson had had conspicuous success in their early co-operation. Each, however, believed in his personal infallibility and Marsden also seemed to have access to invisible aid.

Marsden has an historic attraction to lists. The ABC held

¹ Macquarie to Bathurst, 1 Dec 1817, *HRA* Ser 1, Vol 9. pp 499-500.

² A.T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden the Great Survivor*. (Melbourne, 1977), p 9.

a competition early this year to decide on the ten most unpopular figures in Australian history. Again Samuel Marsden led all the rest. It would be of no comfort to him that Paul Keating's name was tenth. And yet in some parts of New Zealand he is spoken of as if he were beatified. In others the acclaim is not so noticeable; to them he is, as he is to Bill Wannan, "a sort of gun runner to the Lord."³

His arrival in Sydney was the best possible thing that could have happened for Richard Johnson. Mocked by soldiers and jeered at by convicts he spent most of his days weeping, in an advanced state of nervous exhaustion.⁴ He, never in his wildest moments, expected martyrdom to be like this. Yet Johnson with his ideas of adult education was on the right track if his superiors had but cared. Anyone who has worked in a jail will agree that education rather than exhortation gets the best results towards reformation. Elizabeth Fry excelled at it and later Governor Arthur in Van Diemen's Land, himself an evangelical, used her ideas.⁵

Marsden was very good to Johnson, his voyage to Port Jackson taught him a few things. The convict servant girl who had been assigned to Marsden and his wife, was seduced by the ship's captain and became his concubine, and Mrs

³ Bill Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals: The Turbulent Times of Samuel Marsden* (Sydney, 1972), p. x11.

⁴ John Ritchie, *Lachlan Macquarie: A Biography* (Melbourne, 1939), p.99

⁵ M.C.I. Levy, *Governor George Arthur. A Colonial Benevolent Despot* (Melbourne, 1953), p.159

Marsden had her first baby during a storm with everything wet, and nobody to help but Marsden. He recorded the event in his diary without mentioning Betsey, his wife. "In the midst of it all, I was not cast down, not doubting that God would be with us ..." ⁶ Marsden, Johnson and Arthur were all uxorious men; it may well be an evangelical trait deriving from God - Bible - Father = Power; Evangelicalism certainly produces men who know they are always right and that they also know what is right for other people.

Marsden, unlike Johnson, does not seem to have been upset by the working of the system in New South Wales. Those who offended were getting, biblically speaking, their just deserts. Slaves and chattels were part of the Enlightenment and convicts were expendable since they were nobody's capital. The fact that the colony lurched into depression when convicts were not supplied in large numbers because they were needed for the war against Napoleon, did not make convicts an essential and valuable enough commodity not to be somewhat wantonly used. Evangelicals were not above destruction in 'the name of the Lord' who believed in mercantilism and trade and wealth. It was only towards the end of his life that Wilberforce began to doubt the rather too obvious "enthusiasm" of Marsden,

the Gospel maker, and the colonial magistrate.⁷

A letter from the Reverend Newton, the ex-slave captain, written on May 24, 1793 to the Reverend Richard Johnson who had his taste of the slave trade when he buried the dead from the second fleet, brought the comforting words,

" The Lord has at length provided you with an associate, Mr Marsden, ... You will have the honour of being the first apostle to the South Seas, but I think you will have no objection that others should be sent to take a share in your labours."⁸

The second apostle was not in same league as Johnson.

Wannan, quoting from Bonwick, says he "was squat , broad and muscular; prominent in the region of firmness, self-esteem and combativeness, with an extraordinary preponderance of the practical perceptive faculties over the calmer reflective ones."⁹ A Paul to Johnson's Barnabas.

Marsden emerged through the same missionary route as Johnson. He was the son of a blacksmith born in Yorkshire, clever, ambitious and energetic who was taken up by the Elland Society ever on the look out for likely lads. He went to Hull Grammar school where the Headmaster was Joseph Milner. At the age of twenty-six he was sent to Magdalene College, Cambridge. He was there only two years when he

⁷ Yarwood, *op. cit.*, p.86

⁸ Wannan, *op cit.*, p.32

⁹ *Ibid*, p.33

was persuaded by Newton and Wilberforce that his career lay in Port Jackson and he was commissioned on 1st January, 1793.¹⁰ Bonwick states that Marsden was unwilling to go because he believed he was unsuitable. But he changed his mind.¹¹ It was rather a smart piece of evangelical blackmail by the Eclectic Society.

The two apostles must have been entirely without humour. The text of Marsden's first sermon was, "Behold the great day of wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand."¹² Not the convicts, they fell about with laughter.

Marsden established himself at Parramatta and began to fashion it in the style of an English parish. He had no church and he was not as forbearing as Johnson about some of the places where he had to preach. He had to watch hangings and was not so impressed with the alarm of those condemned as with their ignorance of God as "the dispenser of grace and mercy."¹³ Marsden was also disturbed with the development of the dissension between Grose and Johnson. He wrote to Mrs Stokes, a friend for many years in London in August 1794, some telling information.

"As I enjoy some privileges which Mr Johnson does not, this hurts him a great deal. ... Mr Johnson has been treated unkindly. I must and will take his part in what I see is right,

¹⁰ Yarwood, *op. cit.*, p.18

¹¹ J. Bonwick, *Australia's First Preacher* (London, 1898), pp.15-17,113.

¹² Revelation 6:17

¹³ Warran, *op. cit.*, p.38

but then I must not, it is not my duty, to be at variance with the Governor."¹⁴

So Marsden, keeping out of dissension, occupied his land grants, and like Johnson, was a farmer all the week and a practical man of business. On Sunday they might fulminate against the rum trade and general drunkenness; Johnson paid for much of his church with rum, and although Marsden was to deny that he sold rum, he had to use it in barter since it was the currency of the colony.¹⁵

It was of course only a matter of time before Marsden clashed with John Macarthur, the other denizen of Parramatta. Lieutenant Macarthur had come to the colony on the hell ship *'Neptune'* with the second fleet. Major Grose had not accompanied the New South Wales Corps, but when he arrived he and Macarthur began planning their private enrichment. By the time Marsden arrived, the colony had expanded principally because of the new trade in land and in rum that the compradores in the Rum Corps had initiated.

Marsden found that he could not thunder against drunkenness on Sunday and pay his hands in rum without Macarthur making much of his double standard. But the two preachers did represent an undermining of the power of the traffickers, however small. Johnson actually tended to

¹⁴ G. Mackaness, (ed.) *Some Private Correspondence of the Rev Samuel Marsden and Family, 1794- 1824*, (Sydney, 1942), p.7.

¹⁵ Neil K. Macintosh, *Richard Johnson, Chaplain to the Colony of New South Wales, 1765-1827* (Sydney, 1978), p.70

exaggerate the spirit traders' profits.¹⁶ The feud between Macarthur and Marsden in the early days peaked mid 1798 when Hunter was fighting for his governorship, aided by his two chaplains. Marsden's concern was that the rum traffic "lifted the lid from moral and religious restraints."¹⁷

In 1795 Marsden was sent to Norfolk Island and during his conversations with Captain King who had control of the island, he heard of Maoris from New Zealand whom they hoped would be able to teach them flax growing and processing.¹⁸ This was the beginning of Marsden's New Zealand connection and of his dream of building great centres of missionary enterprise in the South Seas, and of civilising the noble savages of the Pacific Islands into the Anglican protestant faith while using the bases for profitable trading posts. It was about this time the philosophy of evangelicalism became apparent. First came the missionaries, then came the traders to feed the missionaries and then came the soldiers to protect them all.

Johnson was mindful of his missionary trust but he believed that one stumbled along with the English language, taught the Lord's prayer, and then put the converts to suitable work. Marsden's theory was much more utilitarian.

¹⁶ Yarwood, *op. cit.*, p.50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.54.

¹⁸ Wannon, *op. cit.*, p.53.

He was not interested in the aborigines in Australia because not even he was able to make them work, as far as he could see they had no commercial usefulness. In New Zealand Marsden saw huge trading possibilities, the redemption of the natives from savagery, vice and cannibalism, and an accolade of approval emanating from his friends in England in the light of heroic ventures. He would be able to eradicate the natives' sin of laziness, turn them into industrial entities, and then lead them to the Lord. That he would destroy a way of life was of no importance and only one of the incidental sacrifices to salvation. Marsden was to give a new meaning to missionary enterprise, while he spent energy, which he always had in abundance, and time, which he diverted from his other promotions, in pursuing his own interests among the Maoris in the Bay of Islands, and the Polynesians in Tahiti. It took the missionaries fifteen years to achieve one baptised convert.¹⁹

Marsden was not the first in the mission field in the South Seas. The London Missionary Society in 1797 had sent out a group of protestant dissenters in the ship *'Duff'* to Tahiti and the Friendly Islands and a year later most of them were refugees in Port Jackson. Marsden welcomed them, and their services as teachers and evangelists were in demand in the colony. The story of the *'Duff'* is well

¹⁹ Yarwood, *op. cit.*, pp.161-4.

documented in Yarwood,²⁰ in Bill Wannan,²¹ and in Wright and Fry's *Puritans of the South Seas*.²² It was not an Anglican mission but emanated from the London Missionary Society, (L.M.S.) a non-denominational company of mainly dissenters. Ill-chosen and ill-suited they foundered on the rocks of their inability to understand what they were doing in a matriarchal kingdom which was unfortunately heathen. Marsden was not so pleased that the dissenters introduced sectarian fragmentation into his colony.²³ In their group were a number of Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists and a few Anglicans. There was only one ordained man in their group and many had lapsed in the dolce far niente of Pacific life. Roland Hassall remained in the colony to found his own dynasty and his son Thomas was to marry Marsden's daughter. Hassall began his colonial career on Marsden's recommendation as storekeeper at Parramatta, and his connection with Marsden led to great economic prosperity for both.²⁴

The Reverend James Cover, the ordained clergyman in the missionaries from the '*Duff*' found the atmosphere in the colony repulsive.²⁵

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73, 158.

²¹ Wannan, *op.cit.*, pp. 106-137

²² Louis B. Wright and Mary Isobel Fry, R.A.H.S. *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol xxiv, 1938

²³ Yarwood, *op.cit.*, p.72

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.74.

It appeared to him that there was a total absence of faith in divine support, depravity, inbred corruption and iniquity had become a fashionable way of life. Some of these missionaries, going home with faint heart, gave all too gloomy a picture of what was becoming a thriving and relatively progressive colony.²⁶ Lieutenant-Governor King had already taken steps to care for orphan children which is just as well, since it was the open concubinage in which convict women lived with, not convict men, but the officers and officials of the colony, that upset the missionaries. At the same time work was begun on St John's, Parramatta.²⁷ How could the Reverend Cover condone what was becoming open warfare between the Aborigines and settlers along the Hawkesbury River? But the Reverend Cover, unlike Rowland Hassall was a transient²⁸

By 1801 only three remained of the eleven refugees from Tahiti. Not all the complement of the *'Duff'* had fled to Sydney and those remaining were reinforced from the L.M.S. Marsden was consulted about choosing the right types and with total lack of irony described the hypothetical missionary as a man of "real sound piety, well acquainted with the depravity of the Human Heart," "not taken from the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.76.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

dregs of the common people," "with some education and of liberal sentiment," "of a lively active turn of mind rather than Gloomy and Heavy." Such a one of course also should be prepared to assuage the consciences of the L.M.S.²⁹

Marsden had a powerful influence in the L.M.S. but not all his friends approved his connection with a society thought to be controlled by dissenters. Wilberforce and the Reverend Thomas Haweis, both friends of Marsden were members, and formed a lobby group for him in London.³⁰ Marsden at all times seems to have had an unshakeable confidence in his own sense of what was right on moral and ethical questions; he saw no irony in the double standard either in trade or religion. In his intolerance of Catholics he deprived them of the mass; he demanded that all convicts attend a Protestant church all in the name of a godly society.³¹ Catholicism must be put down and Protestantism supported; the state should shoulder the responsibility of education. Marsden saw a society where evangelicalism, state aided, would be a panacea for everything.³²

When Marsden visited England he renewed his commitment to the L.M.S., and in 1807 planned a mission to the Maoris of New Zealand under the care of the Church

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.85.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.86.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.98.

³² *Ibid.*, p.99.

Missionary Society (C.M.S.) The Anglican church had no organisation for missionising heathen countries. The Eclectic Society talked about its missions, the Elland Society chose both Marsden and Johnson, but the Danes had been in the field in India for seventy years, the Moravians in Greenland for sixty, the Methodists had started evangelising the West Indian negroes, the Baptist Missionary Society had sent Carey to India in 1792. The *'Duff'* had been sent by the non-denominational L.M.S. in 1795.³³

The C.M.S. was formed by the Eclectic Society in 1799; Venn was chairman, and the Russian merchant, Thornton was Secretary. The society had the blessing of both religion and commerce. At first they were disappointed at the lack of candidates for foreign fields, and then a mission to the Maoris was offered. (Balleine³⁴ comments that English laymen were sent to work in New Zealand and some had to be dismissed for trading in liquor and guns.) Marsden, on the spot, became the agent and foreign director of the L.M.S. While he never went to Tahiti, Marsden became involved over a matter of supplies. He was able to point out to the C.M.S. the necessity of owning their own ship for carrying supplies and scattering christian goodwill.³⁵ King

³³ G.R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*, (London, 1933). pp.159-60.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.162

³⁵ Yarwood, *op.cit.*, p.106.

Pomare responded to Hassall's goodwill by ordering a still. Protestant endeavour raised murder and civil war in Tahiti where the rulers showed themselves much better at playing political games than the missionaries and were only impressed later by a Catholic mission with much more pragmatic ideas.

The foundation of the New Zealand mission was one of the reasons for the Marsden family's journey to England in 1807. "He yearned to join his more fortunate fellows who snatched souls from Satan's grasp in heroic missionary enterprises."³⁶ He also saw good trade and with a little help from his friends, a ship. At last he had a vision of himself as an evangelist ministering to Rousseau's chosen.

It was also on this mission that Marsden fell short of sainthood, but gained in stature as a flag carrier for commerce. He bought a small ship the '*Active*' and his business affairs electrified. Wannan quotes Governor Brisbane's comment on Marsden's neglect of the spiritual concerns of the parish, "Trade was being cloaked with a surplice."³⁷ There is no doubt that Marsden neglected his parish. Sunday was his day of spiritual activity but "he reads the liturgy like a man half asleep."³⁸

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.109.

³⁷ Wannan, *op. cit.*, p.176.

³⁸ *Ibid*.

John Thomas Bigge was commissioned in January 1819. His main task was to inspect the existing convict system and devise a method of tightening the management and discipline of convicts so as to restore the system's original punitive intentions.³⁹ This was a particularly bad period in the relationship between Macquarie and Marsden, despite the Governor's attempts at conciliation.⁴⁰ The end of the Napoleonic Wars had meant an unprecedented increase in the numbers of convicts. Macquarie had to find employment for them; the British government had worries about the cost and the effectiveness of punishing and decreasing crime.⁴¹

Marsden had leave during 1819 and 1820 so he went to see his missions in New Zealand and as usual blamed his subordinates for his disappointment at their condition, not being able to see his own mistakes or those of his Maori leader friends⁴² who were adept at exploiting situations at the settlers' expense.

Marsden also asked for leave to visit England but Macquarie refused permission.⁴³ Macquarie knew that Marsden would use his powerful lobby against him; he had one last trick up his sleeve and so he sacked Marsden from

³⁹ Yarwood, *op. cit.*, p.212.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.203.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.205.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.201.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.209.

his offices of "Justice of the Peace and Magistrate at Parramatta and its adjoining Districts."⁴⁴ But the damage to Macquarie had been done. Lord Sidmouth had no intention of building expensive penitentiaries in England while he had New South Wales, but questions were already being asked by Whigs and Tories alike about the efficacy of the transportation system as it was administered by Macquarie.⁴⁵ Marsden's friends in England seized the opportunity of Bigge's appointment.⁴⁶

Marsden's journey to New Zealand revealed that he had been made the tool of Kendall's gun running.⁴⁷ Kendall, the schoolmaster, in charge of the settlement at the Bay of Islands, as well as other trading parties and whalers, had peddled musketry to the Maoris until they were at the point of inter-tribal warfare. Settlers claimed it was impossible to do business in the Bay of Islands without firearms. Marsden's crisis came when the C.M.S. asked to see the books.⁴⁸

Marsden plied Bigge with tedious letters of explanation but Bigge had already drawn his conclusion.⁴⁹ "His assessment of the parson's character and labour were fair

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.212.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.213.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.222.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.224.

and balanced as well as thorough and perceptive." Bigge strangely, saw Marsden as having been hardened by the vice and crime that surrounded him so that his compassion "which formed the ornament of a Christian minister" had been eroded.⁵⁰ Marsden did not attend floggings; there were many in the colony who could swear to Marsden's habitual cruelty and could comment that Macquarie had let the abuse of power go unchecked.

Macquarie evened the score, "The Rev. Mr Marsden being himself accustomed to traffic in spirits, must necessarily feel displeased at so many public houses licenced in his neighbourhood."⁵¹ Bigge could not substantiate this.

Bathurst had more to worry about and greater problems than those posed by Macquarie. Radicalism, in his mind, was not only at work in England; Macquarie's levelling process with the emancipists had caused him great concern.⁵² Marsden gave Bigge a blow by blow account of his association with Macquarie but the Commissioner considered the senior chaplain "temperamentally unsuited to exercise the temporal power conferred on him and regretted that the parson had not channelled more of his exertion towards his spiritual function."⁵³ He stated that

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.225.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.226.

⁵² John Ritchie, *Lachlan Macquarie, A Biography.* (Melbourne, 1986) p.173.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.176

the chaplain "was less sensible than he ought to have been in the impropriety of combining operations of a mercantile nature with those of his profession."⁵⁴

Marsden's activities in New Zealand often looked as if he were winning a country for the Crown, rather than gaining souls for the Lord. He visited the New Zealand seven times and while he kept in touch with mission affairs, he also collected debts sometimes in a gunboat diplomacy fashion.⁵⁵

Rowland Hassall, Marsden's agent and partner had already made a great profit from consignments of arms and ammunition to Tahiti as early as 1803. The missionary-in-residence Brother Nott complained of their quality.⁵⁶ It is probable that all three missionaries Nott, Henry and Bicknell ran guns - and probably kept themselves alive - for a number of years. Marsden was not personally involved in this but his associate Rowland Hassall, and Hassall's son Thomas were.⁵⁷ When rebellion broke out in Tahiti the last of the hopefuls from the *'Duff'* had to leave for Moorea at the barrels of their own guns.⁵⁸

In Moorea the brethren embarked on their own trading

⁵⁴ Wannan, *op. cit.*, p.176.

⁵⁵ Wannan, *op. cit.*, p.106.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.121.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.122.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.124.

adventures in the *'Haweis'*. The L.M.S. insisted on their being self supporting so they saw no conflict in trading ventures. Their main problems arose from splitting the profits.

Marsden and the two Hassalls had an investment in the *'Haweis'* and the main article of trade from Moorea was coconut oil.⁵⁹ Its journey to England was supervised by the chaplain. Marsden's interest in the *'Haweis'* revived the gossip of his secular activities but this enterprise did not last long. In a rare example of poetic justice *'Haweis'* was seized by the Maoris near Whakatane, the crew was murdered and the ship burned.⁶⁰ Pomare in Tahiti progressed as a Christian to an absolute puritanism which included forced labour, public hangings and temperance. The passage of power from the chiefs to the missionaries had brought all the blessings of civilisation.

Marsden's efforts to establish a sugar export industry did not succeed mainly because the native peoples could not be dragooned into the West Indian style harvesting.⁶¹ The missionaries were able to harvest enough for the illicit liquor (moonshining) trade although the Tahitians were forbidden spirits.⁶² If ever a people were saved for the Lord

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.128.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.134.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.135.

by fire, death and cultural destruction, it was the Tahitians. When they appealed for help from the L.M.S. they were sent a boatload of tracts.⁶³ In the end two years before Marsden's death it was the French who sent gunboats to protect their Catholic missionaries - the anti-Christ incarnate.

Completely unmindful of the social disintegration and cultural trauma the L.M.S. missionaries had inflicted on the traditional Polynesian society of the Society Islands, Marsden, with his little boat the *'Active'*, probably bought in 1814, was able to give his full attention to beginning the mission to the Bay of Islands.⁶⁴ He expected financial help from both the L.M.S. and the C.M.S. in operating the *Active*.⁶⁵ The societies forestalled his request with the offer of a sum much less than he had calculated as necessary. Marsden's organised scheme for missionary activity was supported by Macquarie but he ran into opposition from rival trading interests; blackbirding, murder and plunder were the commercial agenda. For some time the *'Active'* operated at a loss.⁶⁶ While Marsden wanted the *'Active'* to be run as a Christian enterprise, he also wanted to sell New Zealand produce such as timber, fish and flax. Marsden was sincere

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 617B.

⁶⁴ Yarwood, *op.cit.*, p.164.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.165.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.164.

in his own fashion in wanting to wean his noble savages from incessant warfare and cannibalism to the practice of Christian virtues⁶⁷ but the difficulties of trade, and Marsden's dominating profit motive and the slowness of the societies in meeting their promises ultimately turned the *'Active'* into a whaler.⁶⁸ Marsden's agents in the Bay of Islands, Hall and King, soon engaged in private trading⁶⁹ despite the initial prohibition and Marsden's ideal of a sort of "missionary - settlement communism"⁷⁰ was to break down. This was not surprising, the evangelical protestant believed that the profit motive was part of the Lord's message. What was surprising was Marsden's pie in the sky concept of missionary settlement. In Sydney he was surrounded by men who would rob the dead; how could he be so naive as to believe that somebody like Hall, a skilled tradesman on one hundred and twenty pounds per annum⁷¹ would hold back from easy exploitation when it was part of Marsden's own credo.

The Maori social structure unlike that of the aborigines, was based on authority and subordination, and was easy to penetrate and using the technique of

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.166.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.166.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.147.

civilisation before conversion Marsden proceeded to make New Zealand "The Great Emporium of the South Sea Islands; faith and prayer will again build the walls of Jerusalem, even if we are obliged to hold the Trowel in one Hand, and the Sword in the Other."⁷²

Marsden had a great future logged out for his children of nature. He entertained chiefs in his house in Parramatta so that they could take back with them the finer points of Marsden's civilising techniques.⁷³ Industrious habits would teach them the intricacies of making flax cordage, raising sheep and cattle to supplement their protein deficient diets, the value of education for their children, European clothes to give them tuberculosis. That the teachers of these trades would be convicts did not alter Marsden's thinking one iota. He made the journey in 1814 in the '*Active*'⁷⁴ to New Zealand to prepare the way for the good tidings that would be presented to these Polynesians when the time was ready and a good little industrious sub-culture got under way in the Bay of Islands.

Yarwood relates a story⁷⁵ that 'a gentleman of Sydney' blew the whistle on Marsden and told the chiefs to look about them and see how "the British had despoiled the

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.167.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.168.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.169

inhabitants of New South Wales, a once happy race who would soon be extinct."⁷⁶ Marsden could not discover who the gentleman was but the chief Ruatara told Marsden to limit occupation to Rangihoua, a somewhat unsuitable site but within Ruatara's land.⁷⁷ Marsden was pleased with the venture, assured the Maoris that Governor Macquarie would prevent their being blackbirded by unscrupulous ships' captains and brought back a good cargo. There was no doubt of Marsden's courage. This was the area where six years previous, the *Boyd* massacre had taken place.⁷⁸ When the cattle and horses were landed and Marsden rode a horse on the beach on Christmas Eve 1814, he created such a sensation that he was moved to preach next day and took as his text Luke 2:10.⁷⁹ "Behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy." He obviously did not care about hubris.

Marsden set about surveying and laying out grounds for wheat cultivation and a town was planned in the European fashion with streets and a church.⁸⁰ By alienating land for themselves the missionaries began the steady subversion of Maori independence prophesied by Ruatara who was now dying. The settlers whom Marsden had brought found the

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.170.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.173.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.175.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.179

land useless for producing wheat and food and faced with starvation and dependence on the Maoris began trading with them for firearms and gunpowder.⁸¹ The settlers were paid forty pounds a year to every married couple and ten pounds a child and faced with the alternative of depending on the C.M.S. or helping themselves they chose the more reliable trade in forbidden goods. When Marsden left for Sydney he was afraid for the safety of his twenty five settlers, with Ruatara on his deathbed, so he prudently took with him eight sons of chiefs to be educated in Parramatta.⁸² In the same year, 1815, Marsden was able to write to London telling of mass conversions in Tahiti, while Pomare proclaimed Christianity the national religion.⁸³ Marsden's settlers were to provide role models for Maoris, celebrating the Sabbath with family worship, reading the scriptures and singing loudly in the hope that any itinerant Polynesian would be tempted to join in. This beginning of Marsden's great plan of civilising before baptism had many flaws already. If Marsden saw them he did not dignify them with recognition. Bill Wannan,⁸⁴ not a great admirer of Marsden, quotes him as saying in 1818 that the missionaries of New Zealand "could never have maintained their ground had they

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.180.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.162.

⁸⁴ Wannan, *op.cit.* p.178.

not been encouraged and supported from Port Jackson. How mysterious and wonderful are the ways of God! The exiles of the British nation are sent before to prepare the way of the Lord".⁸⁵ Marsden was not a deeply religious or sensitive man after the mode of Richard Johnson but he was a great justifier.

The opening up of New Zealand could well have depended on the exploitation of dubious marauding sea captains but Marsden always knew what was going on in that country. He liked Maoris and became their friend encouraging industry and agriculture. He was instrumental in the appointment of the first British Resident, James Busby⁸⁶ and expressed his concern to Governor Darling about the influx of non-British immigrants; but at home he remained a Sunday parson involved in his own advancement. His belief was that trade, commerce and the other blessings of civilisation should always precede conversion. It is doubtful if he had much success in the evangelising of New South Wales. By 1830 a new breed of enthusiastic dissenters were spreading the Word in New South Wales and Van Diemen's land. They saved souls first and civilised afterwards. Richard Johnson was vindicated.

Piety and cruelty were co-tenants in Samuel Marsden's

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ See Wannan's story of Ann Rumsby. *Ibid.*, p.140

psyche. In his later years his cruelty to women prisoners was repulsive and his running of the female factory at Parramatta was appalling. This was a reception house for female convict prisoners landed from the transports. It is recorded as being derelict verminous and totally unfit for habitation.⁸⁷ Marsden is recorded as not conducting services there for six years. He made no attempt to win these souls for Christ but then he did not get the open-mouthed wonder and admiration from these women, already destroyed by the same system that made Marsden rich, that he received from the Polynesians who thought that he was surely the reincarnation of their great god Rangi. His harassing of souls for the Lord today would probably be regarded as a form of insanity, caused by a fast rush of power to the head.

Macquarie, in the end, refused to see him except when public duties demanded it,

"I cannot help deeply lamenting that any man of your sacred profession should be so lost to feelings of justice, generosity and gratitude as to manifest such deep-rooted malice and vindictive spite against one who has never injured you."⁸⁸

Marsden was positively Florentine in his intrigues and political conspiracies, yet he never had to dissemble because he always had the Lord's approval. He was very like

⁸⁷Yarwood, *op. cit.*, p.275.

⁸⁸Wannan, *op. cit.*, p.183.

Wilberforce in what Hazlett called his moral equivocation.⁸⁹ Marsden counted as his friends the rich, *the exclusives*, who had the greatest power in the colony and the strongest lobbies in England. It is not to be forgotten that he played a major role in the recall of both Macquarie and Brisbane.

Marsden's missionary activities did not go unnoticed in the colony. A letter by a settler calling himself *Philo Free* appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* in January 1817. It was a particularly well informed letter which mentioned the illicit liquor trade, moonshining, in Tahiti and the gun-running activities of the missionary contingent in New Zealand. It referred to Marsden not by name but to the "active exertions of him who is the worthy head of these sectarian visionaries or missionaries in propagating the Gospel by such means:".....

Marsden of course appealed to the Judge Advocate Wylde and the subsequent law suit was a pyrrhic victory. Governor Macquarie's Secretary, J.T. Campbell admitted responsibility for publication and the verdict was virtually one of not guilty. The epithet *Philo Free* flitted about the colony for a long time.⁹⁰

This was not the only criticism. The Reverend John Butler, Superintendent of the Anglican mission in New

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.184.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.184.

Zealand, declared the *'Active'* carried cargoes bought with muskets and powder. Butler, a teetotaler, was dismissed on a charge of drunkenness⁹¹ Eyes no less calculating than Marsden's were already looking at Tahiti and New Zealand. The Calvinist mission, the remains of the voyage of the *'Duff'* faced disaster and would soon cease to function. Marsden did not live to see W.C. Wentworth's attempt to buy the South Island,⁹² and only seven years after Marsden's death on May 12, 1838 it was publicly reported that twenty-four brethren of the C.M.S. had alienated for themselves some 387,000 acres of land.⁹³

He saw nothing incongruous in his enterprises of farming, industry, political activity, dealing, trading and preaching the Word of God. It probably would not have worried the evangelical merchants in England either. Marsden believed that he was always right and so he was able to justify some very reprehensible activities. He was not called the "flogging parson" parson for nothing. In many ways he laid himself out to mockery. The little Irish girl convicts, when asked who was the father of their illegitimate children, always answered "Samuel Marsden." Yet in a colony notorious for its lechery that cannot be

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.186; see also Yarwood, *op. cit.*, ch 14 et seq.

⁹² Wannan, *op. cit.*, pp.186-187.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.190.

levelled at Marsden. Even after his wife was crippled by a stroke in childbirth he remained chaste although the condition did nothing to aid his developing cruelty and vindictiveness.

John Dunmore Lang himself an evangelical of remarkable power, but a Scot, labelled the Anglican brethren as principals in a conspiracy of the European inhabitants "to rob and plunder the natives of their land."⁹⁴ So what is new? Ruatara was prophetic in his thinking, but Marsden "that very moral man" safe in the Lord, probably believed that not only did the end justify the means (as Yarwood says)⁹⁵, but that the Lord also helped those who helped themselves.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Yarwood, *op. cit.*, p.281.

The Two Apostles

Conclusion

"Thou art not for the fashion of these times
Where none will sweat, but for promotion,
And having that, do choke their service up
Ever with the having."

Shakespeare: *As You Like It*.

The hungry, the poor, the frustrated and the socially dispossessed came to Port Jackson and most of them were also convicts. Unlike other British colonies the first females did not open up the frontiers alongside their men, and religion came in the form of authority. In the American colonies the first settlers took their parsons with them in their flight from what was to them the ultimate in religious oppression. In Port Jackson women came as convicts and those who weren't plundered on the voyage soon learned their roles within the purlieus of the establishment, the commissariat and the military.

The arrival of the Church within the colony seemed almost to have been a quirk of fate: certainly it caused some wry sort of satire in the somewhat blasphemous epithets it engendered. "The Apostles of Botany Bay" - the title of this thesis - makes sense only in the expectations of a failure of mission.

Both of these aspects established a core of thinking that persists today, exacerbated by time. The structure of Australian society happens to suit the male, whose emotional and sexual insufficiency while not allowing him to live without women, often ends in them both occupying contiguous cells of loneliness, misunderstanding and despair. The Church became at one with authority.

Australia's convictism did not build a class structure on the English model, but a caste system developed from the disparity of situations of convicts and authority central to which was the Anglican church. It was a society based on the existence of the free and the damned which only lost its potency in the last generation where to have a "con" in one's past became fashionable. My father grew up with two old convict servants whom the system had forgotten; cessation of transportation did not free convicts as cessation of slavery freed slaves in the British colonies.

After the Bigge report put paid to the visions of men like Macquarie and Sorell, tickets of leave and successful emancipation became harder to achieve and a lifer was just that. The thin black stain of convictism reinforced the caste system into a conspiracy of silence, within Australia, and a mode of derision abroad. "Sons of Convicts" was an epithet hurled at the first A.I.F., but only once.

How does the Anglican church feature in all this? When the two parsons, Richard Johnson and Samuel Marsden came to the colony, their role mapped out by the Evangelical church, and the London Missionary Society was that of evangelists, missionaries, bringers of good tidings. Faced with a situation within the colony that neither could have foreseen nor comprehended in terms of good tidings, both saw Augustine's City of God, and City of Man, as a choice they never would have faced had they remained in England. Both of these men were sons of tradesmen who were given their opportunity through the unerring judgment of the evangelical societies. Neither man wanted the role of "apostle" but gentle flattery, obligation and moral blackmail won the day. Neither Johnson nor Marsden was a martyr, a Carey, or a Swan. Johnson was almost too dangerously sensitive in any role of challenge, (but one suspects that Mrs Johnson was not). He did not choose the City of Man in its entirety; his Wesleyan Anglicanism, (Major Grose was very close to the truth) extended sympathy and kindness to the convicts where and whenever it was possible. He did not approve or understand the system that gradually destroyed his nerves so he fell back always to the only security he understood, the structure of church and home. Wesley could have got by in the colony without a church to preach in but Johnson needed the structural solidity of both else his life and his mission had no meaning. He fell back on the thing he really did well and gave him confidence. Many testimonies verify his excellence as a

gardener. He established the citrus industry and the wheat industry but not the evangelical church. He did not have the personality of a Whitefield or a Wesley although it is possible that he could have made an excellent martyr without exactly knowing why. British overseas endeavour is filled with people like Richard Johnson, brave, clever, earnest, deeply religious, sensitive, compassionate, generous, full of good intentions but who are not good survivors. St Paul never had to face a system like that which prevailed in Port Jackson. Richard Johnson endured it, and emerged from it unsullied but he left no good tidings.

Samuel Marsden was an entirely different man. I have no doubt that he was religious but his was the God of the Old Testament and strange as it might seem he was much closer to Anglican evangelical tradition than Johnson. He understood Augustine's choice very well. He chose the City of Man, but pretended to choose the City of God, forgetting that God is not mocked. His remarkable deception somehow is revealed in the indecisiveness of Anglicanism in Australia now. He left little evangelical influence and what he did was eradicated within the church by Bishop Broughton. It was left to people he hated, the dissenters, who came as free settlers and who brought their parsons and dissent with them, and the remarkable organisation of the Catholic Church when it at last received its blessing within the colonies to establish missions for their congregations.

Marsden, true to the evangelical tenets which encouraged trading and the amassing of fortunes succeeded in doing both. A man of enormous mental and physical energy, yet he was open and sensitive to hurt, his forced retirement from the bench of magistrates hurt him almost beyond endurance, he believed in punishment in all its aspects. He hated and distrusted the visions of Macquarie who more and more saw New South Wales as a colony and not a penal settlement and who used

able emancipists as part of his vision. Marsden could not stand Aborigines, convicts, emancipists, John Macarthur, and Lachlan Macquarie and to assuage his self devouring hate, he led his mission to the Maoris which greatly enhanced his fortune, and aided the Maoris in their wars against the Pakehas when New Zealand was settled.

His magistracy, while it made him part of the ruling junta, shed no lustre on his church, but rather redefined it in terms of establishment authority, and his sobriquet of "flogging parson", while it was justly earned, has blinded history to his good points. The enigma is that he who had no earthly substance in England gave in to temporal preferment yet still upheld his role as protector and comforter to the destitute and desperate. It was almost as if he intoned the Gospel in two voices - Manning Clark remarks, "So Marsden justified himself to himself, his God and to his superiors in London, those decisions which were to cause him an infinity of anguish and deprive him of the very respect he so desperately craved, the respect of his fellow man."¹

The compromise he effected established a protestant religious tradition in Australia that almost cut itself off from any lasting political influence; it had little inspirational role and little claim to the public conscience. That Sydney became so peculiarly a low church diocese had nothing to do with Marsden.

Marsden, not Macarthur, founded the wool industry. It is interesting that Wilberforce and the L.M.S. who dispatched two Yorkshire men in pursuit of souls, sent two magnificent gardeners who between them established three major primary industries.

Anglican Evangelicalism was not really a transportable article. It worked reasonably well in the middle class society in England obsessed with self deception, sin and redemption, but not in a colony where sin

¹ C.M.H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, Vol.1. (Melbourne University Press, 1962) p.144.

was a way of life, and redemption was pie in the sky.

Appendix A

The Greek word '*evangelizethai*' means to announce good news, and it is found 52 times in the New Testament. The noun '*evangelion*' means 'good news' and occurs 72 times mostly in St Paul. The noun '*evangelistes*' meaning evangelist appears only three times (Acts 21:8, Eph. 4:11, 2 Tim 4:5)

Evangelism is then to announce or to share good news and in the New Testament whenever the good news is proclaimed some will respond with repentance and faith while others will be indifferent (Acts 17:32-34, Cor. 4:3-4)

One of the great theological debates over the centuries has concerned the scope of the good news. Mostly all agree that the central message is salvation in Jesus Christ (Acts 8:35, Rom. 1.1:3), but differences occur over what is crucial and what is peripheral to the explanation of his salvation. Traditionally evangelism has been addressed to individuals and was exclusively concerned with the forgiveness of sin. The Gospels however, set evangelism in the context of the inauguration of the Kingdom of God (Mk. 1:14-15, Lk. 4:18-19). So some argue that God's concern is to create a new community, some that there cannot be a strong divorce between evangelism in a narrow sense and social action, others that the proclamation of the good news of Jesus should not merely be verbal but must be accompanied by supernatural signs and wonders as a demonstration of God's power and Satan's defeat. (Mk. 16:15-18, Acts 2:22, 43, 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 14:3; 1 Cor. 4:20)

The theology of evangelism also addresses itself to the motives for evangelism. Among the primary motives identified in the Bible are a concern for God's glory; obedience to Christ's commission (Mt 28:19-20), gratitude for God's grace, and a concern for the fate of the unbeliever. Modern interpretations also include obedience to Christ, incorporation

into his church and responsible service in the world.

Appendix B

Chronological Table

1729-1735	The "Holy Club" at Oxford
1738	Conversion of the Wesleys
1739	Field preaching began
1742-63	Rev. Grimshaw at Haworth
1749-95	Romaine, Lecturer at St Dunstan's
1754	Conversion of John Thornton
1754-59	H. Venn, Curate at Clapham
1759-71	H. Venn, Vicar of Huddersfield, Rector of Yelling, 1771-92
1760	Accession of Geo.111
1764-80	Newton, Curate at Olney
1764-95	Romaine, Rector of St. Andrews, Blackfriars
1767	Cowper at Olney
1770	J. Milner converted: died 1797
	Death of Whitefield
	Climax of Calvinistic Controversy
1773	Revolt of American Colonies
1777	Elland Society formed to assist candidates for ordination
1780	Raikes first Sunday Schools
1780-1807	Newton, Rector of St Mary's, Woolnorth
1782	Lady Huntingdon licenced her chapels
1782	Eclectic Society formed
1783-1836	Simeon incumbent at Trinity, Cambridge
1784	Wesley's first ordinations
1785	Conversion of Wilberforce
1787	Wilberforce attacked slave trade
	Hannah Moore joined evangelicals
	Wesley licensed his chapels
1788-1800	Richard Johnson chaplain in Sydney
1788-1820	Isaac Milner, Queens, Cambridge
1789	French Revolution
1792	Baptist Missionary Society sent Carey to India
	John Venn, Rector at Clapham
1794	Samuel Marsden arrived at Port Jackson
1795	London Missionary Society sent missionaries to South

Seas

- 1797 *Duff* sent to Tahiti by London Missionary Society
- 1799 Church Missionary Society founded by Clapham Sect
Religious Tract Society founded
- 1800 Richard Johnson retired from New South Wales
- 1804 Bible Society founded
- 1814 Marsden landed in New Zealand
- 1826 Lord Ashley [Shaftsbury] entered Parliament
- 1828 Undertook cause of lunatics
- 1833 Emancipation of Slaves
- 1835 Australian Church Missionary Society founded

Appendix C

Archdeacon Gunther, s, *The Church of England in Australia from 1788 to 1829* appeared to mark the first settlement centenary 1888. Johnson and Selwyn Smith's brief account was published in *The Australian Missionary News*. James Bonwick researched and transcribed documents in Great Britain. His first biography which was of Johnson has limitations but is very valuable.¹ In 1926 Arnold Wood produced an article on Johnson in *The Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*.²

The Reverend W.H. Rainey worked on the letters found in St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne but it was Dr George Mackaness who produced in 1954 with his detailed notes, two small volumes of Johnson's letters³ It was also in the fifties that the new material was discovered in Lambeth Palace including a 92 page notebook by Johnson wherein he tells of his treatment by Grose. There are also several letters - to the Archbishop of Canterbury, a plan of the first church in Sydney and an undated note to Wilberforce. From these and other researches in the county archives at Hull and the Public Record Office, Neil Macintosh compiled his story of Richard Johnson in 1978.⁴

¹ Bonwick, J. *Australia's First Preacher: The Reverend Richard Johnson, First Chaplain of New South Wales*, London, 1898.

² Wood, G.A., "The Reverend Richard Johnson, Australia's First Clergyman", *J.H.A.H.S.* xii (1926), pp.237-270.

³ Mackaness, G. (Ed.) *Some Letters of Rev. Richard Johnson, First Chaplain of New South Wales*, 2 Vols. Sydney, 1954

⁴ Macintosh, Neil.K., *Richard Johnson, Chaplain to the Colony of New South Wales, His Life and Times, 1755-1827*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1978, pp.12-13.

Appendix D**Richard Johnson's Commission**

George R.

George the third, etc., to our trusty and well-beloved Richard Johnson,
Clerk, greeting:

We do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain to the Settlement within our territory called New South Wales. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of chaplain by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging; and you are to observe and follow each orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from our Governor of our said territory for the time being, or any other superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of war.

Given at our Court at St James's, the twenty-fourth day of October, 1786,
in the twenty-sixth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,
Sydney.

Neil Macintosh. *Richard Johnson*

Appendix E**List of Books sent out with Johnson by the Society for Promoting
Christian Knowledge**

100	Bibles
400	Testaments
500	Psalters
200	Church Catechism Books
100	Osterwald's Necessity for Reading the Scriptures
100	Christian Monitor
25	Plain Exhortations to Prisoners
50	Synge's Religion Made Easy
25	Kettlewell's Office for the Penitent
200	Sermons on the Mount
12	Wilson's Instructions for the Indians
100	Wilson's On the Lord's Supper
200	Exercise Against Lying
50	Woodward's Caution to Swearers
600	Stonehouse's Administration
100	Stonehouse's Most Important Truths
200	Child's First Book Part 1
200	Child's First Book Part 2
50	Linus's Catechisms
200	Christian Soldier
100	Burkett's Help and Guide
20	Burrough's Devout Psalmist
100	Exhortations to Chastity
25	Daniel Hurley's Conversion
50	Life of God in the Soul of Man
50	Porteus on Good Friday
100	Stonehouse's Advice to the Penitent
50	Stonehouse's Spiritual Directions
100	Dixon's Spelling Books
6	Wothington on Self Resignation
6	Gastrell's Institutes
1	Greenwood's Harmony

- 1 Osterwald's Arguments
- 2 Secker's Lectures
- 2 Whole Duty of Man
- 2 Green's Discourses
- 6 Great Importance of a Religious Life
- 1 Nelson's Companion
- 6 Nelson's Directions
- 1 Woodward's Rise and Progress of Religious Societies
- 1 Bishop Mann on the Gospel
- 6 Stebbing on Prayer
- 1 Talbot's Christian Schoolmaster
- 12 Manual of Devotions
- 1 Set of Society's Tracts

Neil Macintosh

Richard Johnson

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