DR. JOHN DUNMORE LANG AND

IMMIGRATION

Rosemary Lawson

Thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts in the School of History.

Australian National University, CANBERRA. March, 1966.
"Arriving as I did in this colony, when it was a mere penal settlement, more than thirty years ago, I was early and strongly impressed with the idea that the grand desideratum for the development of its vast resources, as well as for its gradual elevation in the scale of intelligence and virtue, was the influx of a numerous, industrious, and virtuous free immigrant population; and this impression was only strengthened, on my repeated voyages to England, by the contemplation of the hopeless poverty and wretchedness of a large proportion of the humbler classes in the Mother Country, as contrasted with the comfort and comparative independence that were so easily attainable by all industrious families and individuals of these classes in this happier land of our adoption....I have been instrumental, directly, in bringing out upwards of 2,000 persons, with very few exceptions I believe, of industrious habits and virtuous character, to these shores. The immigration of about 4,000 of the destitute population of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland was entirely owing to my efforts in England in the year 1837; and I have ascertained that hundreds, and even thousands of respectable families and individuals besides, have been induced by my writings, and lectures, and personal intercourse in the Mother Country, to leave their native land and to become colonists in Australia".

- Lang's reply at the Presentation of the Testimonial of five hundred and fifty sovereigns, for services in Immigration, tropical produce, and political freedom: at the Australian College, May 1854.(1)

"Perhaps on the whole, his services in the cause of immigration were those which were really most beneficial to the colony. In his other movements, he worked largely with the tide, and co-operated in helping forward what would more or less have been done without him. But in respect of immigration he took a good deal of initiative". - Sydney Morning Herald 9.8.1878.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D.L.</td>
<td>Dixson Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.L.</td>
<td>Mitchell Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.L.</td>
<td>National Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.L.N.S.W.</td>
<td>Public Library of New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.S.A.</td>
<td>Queensland State Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.L.V.</td>
<td>State Library of Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.R.A.</td>
<td>Historical Records of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.P.</td>
<td>Parliamentary Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V &amp; P</td>
<td>Votes and Proceedings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.B.C.</td>
<td>Moreton Bay Courier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.M.H.</td>
<td>Sydney Morning Herald</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except where otherwise indicated, all Manuscript references are to those papers held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>The Scotch Mechanics and Immigration Theory: 1830-33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Government Immigration Commences; Lang is Critical: 1832-34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Co-operation; Lang with the Government: 1835-39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Opposition; Lang goes it alone: 1840-50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>The Harvest (Results)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Commentator and Agitator 1850-70.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bibliography

Appendices
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A Sydney reporter remarked on the death of Dr. John Dunmore Lang in August 1878, "Posterity will not be at any loss for materials of his political career." The Doctor prided himself on a lifetime which would leave indelible "footprints on the sands of time in Australia", as a contemporary noted, "Dr. Lang is great in autobiography.... It is a weakness of his to regard himself as the centre of surrounding circumstances, and not only to declare how those circumstances affected him, but how he affected the circumstances.... No politician has talked so much about himself, and so constantly challenged admiration for what he has said, thought and written. Today, Lang books and pamphlets on a variety of religious, political and social themes, fill an impressive space on library shelves, Lang papers abound, now carefully preserved in three major Australian manuscript depositories and in one private collection, Lang newspaper cuttings, laboriously compiled by the Doctor and his devoted wife, remain to record his career both abroad and at home, while in the usual government papers and contemporary journals Lang is well represented. Yet in 1950, over seventy years

2. Lang, J.D.: An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, from the founding of the colony in 1788 to the present day (London, 1875), Vol.1, p.iv.
4. Lang Papers are held in the Mitchell Library and the Dixson Library in Sydney, the National Library in Canberra, and by Sir John Ferguson.
5. Three volumes of newspaper cuttings are held by the State Library of Victoria, and two by the National Library, Canberra.
after his death, the publishers Angus and Robertson commented that "It is surprising that so little has been published about this dynamic figure of our early colonial history." Here, then, is reason enough for a Lang thesis.

In May 1825 the Rev. Mr. John Dunmore Lang, A.M., a clergyman of the Established Church of Scotland, having determined not to await "dead men's shoes" in his native country, arrived in the colony of New South Wales to form a Presbyterian Church in Sydney, in connection with the Scottish National Church. It was a pioneer colony only just outgrowing its prison origins, where a peculiar penal administration ruled the land, where society was openly corrupt with its convict dominated population, dearth of female inhabitants, and sly sale of hard spirits, a society, indeed, where the forceful Lang could not help becoming conspicuous in every major phase of colonial life. Although he agreed that it was preferable for ministers of religion not to become prominent in secular politics, Lang stressed that in the infancy of a country's development, it was absolutely necessary for capable men to lead out in society. Thus, when the Colonial Secretary, irate at Lang's recent pamphlet on the position of the Scots

6. Letter of Angus and Robertson to Archibald Gilchrist 16.11.1950. MS in N.L.
8. The Sydney Gazette 29.5.1823.
Church in the Colony, advised him to confine himself in future to his "proper function of furthering the principles and practice of that peaceful religion" of which he had been chosen a minister, Lang was not to be daunted. Rather, he interested himself in most of the major political, social and economic movements of his day, and was never far from the centre of controversy. The Cumberland Mercury of 1868 asserted that "the history of Dr. Lang is almost the history of the colony." Certain it is that his wide activity made him at once "the most acclaimed and the most abused man of his time in Australia." Many of his less gracious enemies were doubtless led to believe their reverend antagonist more secular than religious, but in all fairness to Lang we must say

10. Colonial Secretary to Lang, 6.4.1830. MS in N.L. (Lang prided himself on his resilience, as The Colonial Observer reported in 1842, "Of all people in New South Wales Dr. Lang is one of the least troubled with the disease which the old wives of Scotland call the nerves ... he will not suffer himself to be worried in silent non-resistance, like the timid hare. He will stand at bay, without stopping to ask either the names or the number of his opponents." (The Colonial Observer 26.1.1842). Dr. Cuthill later remarked on Dr. Lang, "Put him down, that's impossible! You may as well try to sink a cork in a bucketful of water - you have no sooner got it to the bottom than it is up again at the top." ("Presentation of the Testimonial to the Rev. Dr. Lang, May 1854." Newspaper Cuttings, vol.I. Held in N.L.)


that his clerical position was the dominant motivation in his life, closely to be followed by his British patriotism and by his loyalty to Australia as his "adopted country." For his was essentially a practical Christianity, expressing itself "in his deep concern for just and righteous government, for the welfare of the State, for a victorious and industrious people, contented, educated and free, and achieving a measure of material prosperity."

Immigration was thus integral to the entire work of Dr. John Dunmore Lang, churchman, statesman and patriot, who figured dominantly in the political, social and moral life of his adopted country in the half-century after his arrival in 1823. The importation of a numerous, industrious and virtuous population was basic alike to his varied plans for religious, educational and political advancement, enfranchisement, the separation of states, the end of transportation, and to railway and agricultural extension. Thus for the forty years from 1830 to 1870 Lang interested himself almost continuously in immigration, either sponsoring his own schemes, agitating for selective immigration under the government bounty, or offering advice to the governments for comprehensive colonisation. Herein lies the purpose of this thesis, to examine in detail Dr. Lang's immigration plans, in their conception,


14. 'In short, the encouragement and promotion to this territory is one of the very best means of securing a House of Assembly for the Colony'. The Colonist 28.5.1835.
execution and results, in the type of people they brought to
the colonies, and in the significance of these emigrants and
colonization schemes to Australian Immigration generally.
Such a study will, moreover, throw light not only on the other
work espoused by Lang, but also will reveal much of the
protean and forceful character of the man himself.

In matters of immigration method and practice, Lang was
not an outstanding innovator. Rather, his genius lay in his
expediency in taking up government regulations, and using them
to fit his own ideals and purposes in immigration matters. In
this lies the success and failure of his immigration work;
for while his quick grasp of vague government planning, his
statements of concerted policy, his practical immigration
schemes, and his widespread publicity all established firmly
his reputation and example in European immigration records,
his clashes with government decisions, often over some small
item of procedure, usually negated the practical results of
his work. Thus while Lang contributed directly a mere 1900
(15)
of the 116,762 immigrants who arrived in N.S.W. between
1830 and 1850, the value of his work cannot be assessed in
figures alone; rather, it lies in his conception of colonization
as distinct from mere immigration importation. This led him
to stress the selection of industrious and virtuous immigrants
suited to colonial conditions, the chartering of adequate

15. Abstracted from the Reports of the Committee on Immigration
of the Legislative Council of N.S.W.
shipping for transport to their adopted homes, and the provision of guaranteed employment or land grants to facilitate assimilation and settlement on their arrival in Australia. It was this model of practical and perceptive colonization which accounted for Lang's reputation in immigration history, for although the pressure of his other colonial activities and the impetuosity of his character prevented his pursuing his objects against the details of official red tape and government opposition, he nevertheless provided a worthwhile example for N.S.W. and the new colonies of Queensland and New Zealand alike to follow in shaping their immigration policies.

Throughout his forty-year association with immigration, Lang's basic ideals and method changed little. Of course, he learned a lot from experience, from adjusting himself to government planning, from meeting new challenges with the passing years. But overall, certain motives ran like a refrain through all his immigration writings, such as his goal of a predominantly Protestant, and 'numerous, industrious and virtuous population'. Yet, in search of clarity, his work may be divided into sections; the 1830's, when Presbyterian church and educational matters demanded his attention, and he was happy to keep within the newly designed land and immigration laws promulgated by the government in bringing out his ministers, schoolmasters, and bounty emigrants. By the 1840's, however, the usurpation of the Irish dominated private bounty system led Lang to embark on a crusade for a thoroughly
Protestant immigration, culminating in the settlement of 1200 of his specially selected immigrants in Port Phillip and Moreton Bay. The 1850's saw him preoccupied with political matters, and thoroughly disgusted with his treatment by both the Home and Colonial Governments in his recent immigration schemes, he confined himself to support of the Moreton Bay Land and Colonisation Company. Finally, in the 1860's, heartened by the Queensland Government's adoption of several of his suggestions in its immigration programme, he again offered his services as agent to Britain along with much advice to the new colony, while at the same time he prodded New South Wales into taking more positive action to recruit useful immigrants in the face of competition from both Queensland and New Zealand. In all, it is a notable career of long-sustained interest in the immigration of suitable people to his adopted country.
"The extent to which people will emigrate depends on the economic, social and political conditions of their home land compared with those of the country to which immigration is intended." Thus in the decade of the twenties, when depression and acute over-population in Britain combined with prosperity and a labour shortage in New South Wales, emigration appeared for the first time as the obvious solution. Unlike the mass migration which flooded voluntarily to the United States, however, emigration to the distant, unknown and less spectacularly attractive Australia, had to be sponsored and assisted at every turn by the colonial government. Even notable private immigration planners like Dr. John Dunmore Lang and Mrs. Caroline Chisholm worked out their various schemes within the framework of the government bounty, expecting merely to provide a model of the type of immigration they favoured, and for the government or some officially sanctioned land-stock company to do the rest. Lang was thus not an innovator in either immigration planning or practice; true enough, he had a sound understanding of colonization in all its aspects of recruitment, shipping, and settlement, but, except for a few points where he anticipated later government action, his immigration schemes did not differ greatly from

those organized directly by the government. Perhaps his chief contribution lay in his agitating for forty years from 1830 to 1870 to uphold the standards of the official immigration policy, especially in the selection of suitable people to assist to Australia, and in his wide dissemination of these ideals both in words and in practice throughout Britain and the colonies. For Lamg was a respected figure in his day in the electorate, in the local councils and, during the '30s at least, in Downing Street, and his fervent, active support for well-regulated colonization played its part in the shaping of colonial immigration policy.

The British parliament of 1830 was forced to consider the whole complex question of land and immigration in the Australian colonies. Aside from the facts that land regulations had become chaotic during Darling's governorship, that there was an acute labour shortage and disproportion of the sexes in New South Wales, and that Wakefield was agitating powerfully for a colonial immigration policy financed by the revenue from the sale of waste lands, conditions in Britain now pointed to emigration as the only solution to her overpopulation and overemployment problems. As the dreary year drew to its end, discussions in Parliament centred around four ways of assisting migrants to the colonies, by capital derived from a tax on assigned convicts or from the sale of waste lands, by employers contributing towards the expense of securing indentured servants, or by settlers receiving an abatement of quit-rent in proportion to the number of
labourers they introduced. Just at this point of the debate in the Imperial Parliament, Lang returned to London and, in his usual style, immediately assessed and took advantage of the situation to put forward a solution of his own.

The purpose behind Lang's 1830 visit to Britain was to obtain government assistance, qualified masters, and suitable equipment for his proposed academical institution in Sydney. But even during the voyage, he wrote later, "my attention was strongly directed to the subject of emigration to New South Wales both as a means of alleviating the general distress which was then most extensively prevalent among the working classes in the mother country, and as a means of effecting a great moral reformation in the Australian colonies". He could not but compare the appalling poverty and consequent disaffection which met him with the prosperity and open opportunity New South Wales offered to all, especially once there was sufficient population to develop its resources.

Lang, then addressed a letter to Lord Goderich soon after his arrival, suggesting two ways in which finance derived from the sale of land could be used for an extensive emigration to the colony. From the sale of Crown Lands in the town of Sydney, Lang expected to realise not less than £200,000, and

revenue from the progressive sale of the lands of the Church and School Corporation, amounting to one-seventh of the territory of New South Wales, seemed unlimited. He stressed later that when he wrote this letter to Goderich suggesting that emigration should be financed from the land revenue, he was not aware either of the existence or of the views and objects of Wakefield’s Colonization Society. While this solution is important then in revealing that foresight, practicability, impetuosity, and lack of tact which were to characterize Lang’s whole colonization work, it seems to have had no effect on the Imperial Parliament, committed as it was to its slow, empirical method of procedure. In January 1831 Goderich informed Darling that no positive measure had been resolved upon by His Majesty’s Servants, and put forward the various alternatives for discussion in the local councils. Two weeks later the Ripon Regulations were announced, regulating land surveys and sales, but having no bearing whatever on emigration assistance.

3. The Colonist 11.6.1835.

4. In his letter to Lord Goderich, which he published in his pamphlet Account of the Steps Taken... (Sydney, 1831), Lang described the Church and School Corporation as having lain as a dead weight on the colony for the last five years - repressing emigration, discouraging improvement, secularising the Episcopal Clergy, and thereby lowering the standards of morals and religion throughout the Territory! (p.26).

5. Goderich to Darling, 23.1.1831. HRA Series I, vol.xvi, p.34.

6. For a full text, see HRA Series I, vol.xvi, pp.850-1.
Thus, when Lang planned and carried out his 'Stirling Castle' immigration scheme in the first half of 1831, there was no precedent or form of government assistance for civilian immigration to Australia, and the example of Lang's very successful experiment had, therefore, a decided influence on the development of an immigration policy for the colonies. It will be both interesting and informative, then, to outline first Lang's scheme of 1831, forming as it did a veritable model for all his later plans, and then to discuss the gradual development of government immigration policy.

In the course of negotiations with Lord Goderich for the loan of £3,500 for the establishment of the Australian College, Lang decided to combine his educational and his immigration aims by bringing out to Australia a number of skilled tradesmen to construct the school buildings. Goderich approved, indicating he would authorise the Governor of New South Wales to extend the loan to the amount originally solicited of £6,000 if the dual scheme proved successful. Lang at the same time realized that if he could import his own artisans, he might erect far superior college buildings at a cheaper rate than if he had to rely solely on the dissolute ex-convict labour available in the colony. Thus was initiated

7. Lang, J.D.: Account of the Steps Taken in England, with a View to the Establishment of an Academical Institution, or College, in New South Wales; and to demonstrate the practicability of effecting an extensive emigration of the Industrious Classes from the Mother Country to that Colony. (Sydney, 1831), p. 11.
that comprehensive immigration experiment, complete in every detail from recruitment, through transportation, to final settlement, a systematic scheme which assisted the first free immigrants to New South Wales, formed the model for all Lang's later immigration plans, and which in some aspects, had a direct influence on the beginnings of government-controlled immigration to the Antipodes in the 1830's.

In organizing the "Stirling Castle" immigration, Lang was guided by the specific purpose of obtaining skilled labour for his College building programme, and by the general aim of initiating an extensive emigration of the working classes from the mother country to New South Wales. Thus he determined to choose not only those people with a high standard of workmanship and morality, but to select them from as extensive an area as possible, in order that they in turn might attract acquaintances to follow them to the colony. Scottish nationalist as he was, Lang considered these conditions could best be fulfilled in the northern kingdom, and a tour of inspection in Scotland convinced him that there were many skilled tradesmen short both of money and of employment who would willingly emigrate to New South Wales if assistance were provided.

Lang outlined his plan in two different prospectuses,

8. Lang to Goderich, 15.3.1851. Despatches to Governor of N.S.W., 1831, p.157.
one published in London, the other in Edinburgh, and made personal application for support to Members of Parliament, known benefactors, and men interested in the colony, but all without response. He then devised a bold experiment in assisted immigration, of grave personal risk to himself, but without expense either to the Home or the Colonial governments.

A ship should be hired to carry the artisans to New South Wales, on its arrival in Sydney the British government should advance the £1,500 charter fee from the £3,500 loan already pledged to Lang for the establishment of the College, Lang and his supporters in the colony would provide security for the cost of fitting and provisioning the vessel and guarantee one year's employment for the workmen in Sydney, while the immigrants themselves would pledge to repay their passages from their steady wages in the colony. Goderich approved the plan, Messrs. Alan Ker and Co. of Greenock agreed to supply the brig "Stirling Castle" of 380 tons a vessel already used in the Canadian immigrant traffic, and thus in this period before any government bounty was even considered, Dr. Lang originated the first assisted immigration to Australia.

The immigrants for this experiment had to be chosen carefully, and Lang travelled widely throughout Scotland.

publicising the scheme, considering applications, and finally selecting each candidate himself, chiefly in Edinburgh, (12) Glasgow, Greenock and Ayrshire. As a pre-requisite, he insisted that every artisan should hold certificates both of good workmanship and of adherence to a Christian church. Almost all were poor, many without the money to purchase even clothing and furniture on their arrival in Sydney. All were chosen from occupational groups most useful to the building of the proposed College, and included 19 stonemasons, 18 carpenters and joiners, 4 cabinet makers, 2 blacksmiths, 2 rope spinners, 2 coopers, 3 plasterers, 1 gardener, 1 engineer, 1 agriculturist, and 1 tin worker. Of the 54 artisans, only twenty-one were married men, with just 32 children among them, Lang having been forced to take on a greater number of single men than he had intended when at the last minute a party of eight or ten families in Edinburgh suddenly withdrew. Among those granted free passages were the architect and master builder, Mr. George Ferguson, a married man with seven children, of reputedly high character for his ability and integrity in business, who was engaged at £250 per annum for twelve or eighteen months to erect the buildings required and to superintend the mechanics' work on the Australian College. (16)

15. Lang to Acting Governor 8.11.1831.
16. Lang Papers, vol.17, p.27.
Lang had hoped to bring out about twenty boys and girls from the charity workhouses of Glasgow and Edinburgh to be bound out as servants and apprentices in the colony, but the magistrates determined they were not warranted to send pauper orphans out of the country, especially to a colony known chiefly as a place of banishment, and the plan had to be waived. Ten years later, however, Lang was again to revive this idea of juvenile-pauper immigration, when he wrote a pamphlet on the subject, endeavouring to gain public support for this cheap and most efficient means of obtaining valuable colonists for Australia.

The "Stirling Castle" immigrants were accompanied in the cabin by two ministers and three licentiates of the Church of Scotland. The Rev. Messrs. Henry Carmichael, A.M., William Pinkerton, and John Anderson were intended respectively for the Classical, English and Mercantile Departments at the Australian College while the two ordained men, the Rev. Messrs. Cleland and Thomson, were engaged to form congregations on the Hunter River and in Bathurst. Ever since 1826 Lang had been urging his fellow clergymen in Scotland to solicit funds for the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales, but the Church of Scotland was at that time notoriously indifferent to missionary or colonial enterprise and nothing was done.

On his arrival in England, Lang interviewed Lord Goderich on this mission, and obtained government salaries for two additional Presbyterian ministers in New South Wales. In later years Lang always followed this principle of bringing out ministers and schoolmasters with his immigrants, believing it wise to import his people with discrimination as a balanced society, each group able to provide for itself economically, spiritually, and socially.

Passenger accommodation to Australia at this time was quite haphazard, the would-be traveller engaging privately with whichever shipowner might be taking freight to this distant land. Conditions, prices and safety varied from ship to ship, and there was no government legislation controlling any aspect of the passenger trade. The brig "Stirling Castle" of just 380 tons, was a relatively small ship to be bringing 140 immigrants across the seas to the Antipodes. Lang had full charge of fitting and provisioning the vessel, a task he accomplished too luxuriously, he considered later, for the usual emigrant vessel. The rate of passage was


23. Lang, J.D: Account of the Steps Taken..., p.16. The Rev. Mr. Henry Carmichael wrote in 1834 that "where the ship is good, a steerage passage may be rendered fully as comfortable as one in the cabin, provided the Emigrant can, for a brief period, dispense with appearances." (Carmichael,H: Hints to Emigrants", The N.S.W. Calender and Directory, 1834, p.xv (Sydney 1834)). Although he does not here mention the "Stirling Castle" (ov
considerably lower, he said, and the rations and accommodation higher, than most passenger ships of the early 1830's, and he could easily have filled the "Stirling Castle" with private travellers paying £35 each before sailing, but determined instead to keep to his ideal of introducing artisans and setting a precedent for working-class immigration.

Hitherto the shipowners had provided no steerage-class accommodation for the voyage to Australia, and the cheapest fare available stood at £40, a sum far out of the reach of Britain's overcrowded labouring population. Now Lang had provided passages at just £25, and then on the principle of payment by instalments in the twelve months after arrival in the colony. Through this example, Lang made a vital and timely contribution to Australia's assisted immigration programme, soon to commence in June 1852.

The voyage of four-and-a-half months aboard the "Stirling Castle" seems to have been pleasant enough as well as instructive. For some it began with ill-omen, for when in dock at Greenock, a cat ran across the deck among the sailors, one of them called, "Kick it overboard, it will bring us bad luck for the voyage." "No need to bother", answered a companion, "we have half-a-dozen parsons on board and we can't have more ill-luck than they'll bring us".

25. Busby, A: Notes Illustrative of Social Conditions in Bathurst in the Early Days, compiled by Mr. James Nisbet for Reminiscences of Mrs. Busby, p.4. (MS in N.L) Mrs. Busby was Agnes Thomson before her marriage to Dr. Busby.
Although both measles and scarlet-fever broke out on the voyage, the death toll was small for the period, with only two adults and five children succumbing to the rigours of ship-life. They experienced their trials and their pleasures; Agnes Thomson, one of the cabin passengers, related in her Memoirs graphic details of the lack of provisions in the days before supplies were replenished at the Cape. "The live-stock we started with", she recalled, "consisted of fowls and pigs - the fowls excessively tough, scraggy, and the pigs - ugh! they got to be horrid. They used often to run about the deck and were generally believed to have the measles which had been communicated to them by the children who had brought the disease on board. Certainly some of the pork used to look very speckled and forbidding" (26).

The usual quarrels broke out in the close confines of the vessel, the frequent parties and celebrations were held. The three schoolmasters of the Australian College were mightily grieved to discover from a stray Sydney newspaper brought on board that just a few months previously Lang had besought divine blessing on the laying of the foundation stone of the Sydney Grammar School, and there were black looks and great coolness between the Doctor and his professors after that (27). On the other hand, the occasion of Lang's marriage to his cousin Wilhelmina Mackie at the Cape proved a time of great

excitement and surprise to all the passengers, and many were
the stories and rumours that circulated regarding the daily
French lessons in the Doctor's cabin, and the paternalistic
interest of Lang in his fair young cousin! (27a)

In keeping with the high purpose of this immigration
experiment, it was decided to devote the four-and-a-half
months at sea to the moral and intellectual development of
the immigrants. The Rev. Mr. Henry Carmichael, who had left
his Church duties in order to take up a position in education,
undertook to be the schoolmaster of the ship. (27b) Two of
the passengers on board were found to have copies of Lees'
Elements of Algebra and Geometry and of Ingram's Treatise on
Arithmetic, so it was decided to spend five days a week
studying mathematics (27c), a subject calculated to provide
that necessary scientific background to the crafts of the
stonemason, the joiner, and the engineer. Owing to a lack
of preliminary education, the bulk of the immigrants were
destined to be interested onlookers only, but a keen group
of five or six artisans finished six books of Euclid,
understood arithmetic and geometric progressions, and even

27a. op.cit. p.7.

27b. Carmichael, H. : Introductory Lecture, delivered at the
Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, June 3rd, 1844.
(Sydney, 1844), p.3.

27c. Carmichael, H. : "Introductory Discourse", The N.S.W.
mastered logarithms before the ship reached Sydney. Moreover, from the Cape onwards, Mr. Carmichael led out also in classes on political economy, and before long some thirty mechanics had worked through the first two books of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

It was Lang's idea that by increasing the knowledge of the Scotch artisans and giving them a taste for scientific investigation, they would be more likely to withstand the temptations to which they would be exposed in the colony. (28) Thus Carmichael's aim throughout the courses was to prepare the mechanics to continue their studies further by themselves. (29) To this they responded, for before the immigrants left the ship, they determined to form themselves into an association in Sydney combining the advantages of a Mechanics' Institute and a Benefit Society. Although the difficulties of early settlement thwarted this plan after the first couple of meetings, nevertheless the "Stirling Castle" expedition... carried within itself the germ of a Mechanics' Institution, and was actually in the course of events, closely connected with the establishment of the Sydney School of Arts. (30)

Moreover, the immigrants went on to found a temperance society

---

on board the "Stirling Castle" in the harbour of Port Jackson just prior to the landing of the passengers in Sydney, and thereby set a notable precedent for other of Lang's privately sponsored immigrant groups.

On their arrival, the artisans were free either to take up regular employment at £2 a week on the Australian College, or to branch out independently in Sydney or in the inland districts. Many appear to have followed the latter course, no doubt for higher wages, and a few of their wives and sisters set up as dressmakers or milliners in the town. One, Hugh Thomson, an engineer by trade, left the urban areas and engaged to a respectable settler on the Hunter's River, while seven of his fellow-passengers entered into partnership as contractors for the erection of the stonework of various public and private buildings both in Sydney and the interior. For those who engaged themselves on the College construction, Lang remained faithful to his contract, even after a rebuke from the Legislative Council caused a cessation in both individual and government contributions to the building fund, and he was forced to sell his private dwelling in order to meet the weekly wages of the immigrant artisans.

The majority of these "Stirling Castle" immigrants seem also to have kept their part of the bargain, for, being men of character and with confidence in their leader, the repayment

32. Lang, J.D: Immigration and the Scotch Mechanics..., p.16.
system appears to have been remarkably successful. In January 1822, just three months after their arrival in Sydney, Lang was able to report that already £356 of the £2064 owing on the passage out had been paid, despite the poverty of the mechanics when they first stepped ashore. He gave the example of J. Ochterlong and A. Pringle, reputable young men who, earning £2 per week, each paid him £1 every Saturday night, saying that they could exist more comfortably on the remainder in Sydney then they had lived on the whole of their wages in Scotland. Although when attacked in Parliament thirty-two years later Lang asserted that a large proportion of the passage money had not been repaid, he having received only £500 of the £2000 he had advanced, owing mainly to the introduction of government free passages in June 1832, it seems that he was exaggerating the issue; for in a memorial to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1833, Lang claimed that the greater number of the free emigrant mechanics had already paid up the whole amount of their passage money by weekly instalments from their wages.

The "Stirling Castle" tradesmen were given a varied reception in the community. The labouring emancipists suspected these "bloody immigrants" of coming to take the country from them, and snubbed these rival free artisans.

34. Ibid., p.64.
35. Lang, J.D: op.cit., p.5.
whenever they met them in the streets of Sydney. The *Sydney Gazette*, on the other hand, hailed the enterprise as "the most important importation the colony ever received, and certainly the boldest effort ever made by a single individual to advance Australia". After a few months, however, the "Stirling Castle" immigrants won the respect of all classes in the community, for not only did they prove a veritable "elite among working men", successful in their own affairs, in business, and in society, but also they were found to exert a remarkable influence upon the community generally.

In the first place, news of their success in New South Wales induced many of their friends and fellow countrymen to emigrate to the Australian colony rather than to the North American continent. Indeed, 'before fifteen months had elapsed', Lang noted, '...several other families and individuals of a similar class in society had arrived... from various parts of Scotland', emigrating solely on the recommendation of their relatives as to the state of the country and the prospect which it held forth to such persons'.

The artisans introduced new standards of architecture

and building to Australia, the art of stone masonry, and the style of nineteenth century construction in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The four college blocks erected in Jamieson Street were the outstanding examples of fine design and construction in contemporary Sydney, although their final cost of £12,000 proved of great embarrassment to Lang who had reckoned on a total expenditure of just £3000. Nevertheless, after 1832, stone masonry rapidly surpassed brick and wood for public building material in the city of Sydney. As Sir Thomas Mitchell explained later, 'when this city of Sydney was a town only, and when small wooden houses were numerous in its principal streets, the arrival of a number of skilled mechanics under the auspices of Dr. Lang was hailed by many interested in the improvement of our public and private buildings with hopeful anticipation of our future progress of the town. From that era in our present city, a marked improvement was visible not only in the style of building but in the character of our architecture'.

The "Stirling Castle" artisans, chosen for their moral worth as well as for their technical ability, introduced a new attitude of diligence and loyalty into the building trade in Sydney. The dissolute emancipist labourers, who had

40. Ibid., p. 4.
hitherto relied on scarcity of numbers to demand high wages for irregular and shoddy work were now forced either to retire into the country districts or to spend less time in the public houses. Lang noted the consequent decline in alcohol consumption and the rising public standard of morality with manifest satisfaction, and hoped that the immigrant tradesmen's example of church attendance, frugality, conjugal fidelity and diligence would soon influence other sections of the community. In the mobile social structure of New South Wales, the "Stirling Castle" immigrants soon took on the aura of middle class standards, creating an informed public opinion, receptive to a factual daily press, and filling a gap hitherto present in Sydney society between the emancipist working class and the governing and private enterprise upper class.

Governor Bourke was among those who observed the high social standards of the "Stirling Castle" immigrants, as he wrote in 1833, 'I am not only ready to admit, but have much pleasure in recording the service which Dr. Lang has rendered to the colony by introducing some very useful and respectable artisans, from whose skill in their several trades and propriety of conduct and behaviour the colony will be improved both in Arts and Morals' (43). This liberal Governor took the

42. Lang, J.D: *op. cit.*, p.5.
43. Bourke to Goderich, 8.7.1833. *N.S.W. Governor's Despatches, 1833*, pp.843-44.
unprecedented step of asking the Reverend Henry Carmichael (44) if he could now establish a Mechanics' Institute in Sydney, a task hitherto undertaken by Archdeacon Scott, but which had failed for lack of interested public support.

The preliminary steps for the formation of such a society had been undertaken aboard the "Stirling Castle" before its arrival in Port Jackson, and now these immigrants (45) formed the core of the new association. Over one-third of the "Stirling Castle" artisans joined the Sydney Mechanics' Institute, Carmichael was elected to the important post of Vice-President, and the preliminary meeting was held at the Australian College. Lang himself felt obliged to refuse a position on the Committee, as at that time he was engaged in one of his frequent political controversies (46), and did not want to bring disfavour from any quarter on the new Institution. The aim of the society was to diffuse scientific and other useful knowledge as extensively as possible throughout New South Wales, by means of association meetings, sufficient apparatus to illustrate the lectures to every member, a well-stocked library, and attractive reading rooms. As urban-bred society-builders, the founders thus conceived of colonization "Less in terms of exploitation of the resources of the land than of the spread of culture and education" (47).

44. Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts Minute Book, i, 1833-9.
46. Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts Minute Book, i, 1833-39.
47. Nadel, G: op. cit., p. 123.
Lang's paper the *Colonist* shared this view of the Mechanics' Institute as a civilizing mission, seeing it as an admirable substitute for the pot-house, filling the leisure hours of the artisan, while at the same time teaching him the principles of his art, so that he might gain both amusement and instruction from the monotonous toil by which he earned his bread. By July 1836, the Institute had a membership of 233, and a library of 850 volumes, soon to be doubled in number. Considering the subject matter of the meetings, however, including such topics as "The Mechanical and Chemical Properties of the Atmosphere" or again "The Connection and Practical Application of the Sciences," it is perhaps not surprising that few of the tradesmen class in society had cared to join.

In addition to the material success experienced by the majority of the "Stirling Castle" artisan immigrants, the teachers and ministers who accompanied Lang in the cabin in 1831 'formed a core of the ablest thinkers and writers the colony was to see for the next quarter of a century.' As an example, in 1833, the Rev. Henry Carmichael observed that the very remoteness of Australia from that "mighty scene of competition which keeps every intellect on the stretch," should oblige the colonists to develop a culture of their own.

49. Ibid., 28.7.1836.
"The living world of the mind we have quitted", he continued, "although we still may glance at the panorama of its movements, as reflected in the literary and scientific publications of our beloved fatherland. Yet if we mean to rise in the scale of nations, we must possess a literature and a science of our own" (51). The College teachers had been engaged by Lang on the understanding that there was no high school in the colony fit for the sons of the better sort of people, and hence all were highly skilled men in their profession. Bitter was their disappointment when on arrival in Sydney they discovered that there was no opening for such a teaching staff as they represented; rather they found themselves in the position of schoolmasters to classes of mixed and backward boys instead of being "Professors" to the body of students they had expected and anticipated (52). In the end they proved of little help to the College. Anderson, the master in book-keeping, arithmetic and writing, soon left for Van Diemen's Land, Pinkerton, the English and Geography teacher, died in 1834, while Carmichael remained just until his contract expired in 1834, and then left the Australian College to set up an institution of his own, taking the majority of his pupils along with him.

The "Stirling Castle" immigration must be hailed as a great achievement, both in the history of Australian immigration

52. Busby, A: op.cit., p.5.
generally, and as the very foundation of all Lang's later privately sponsored schemes. As Nadel has so aptly put it, the "Stirling Castle" project 'was typical of the attention to quality and purpose which a private emigration venture entailed but which the schemes of government officials and bounty agents usually lacked' . It brought to New South Wales a group of artisans whose trade was needed desperately, whose social influence was highly beneficial in the convict colony, a group transported in the first emigrant steerage vessel to Australia, under superior and supervised conditions, yet at a low passage rate, and then on the novel repayment principle, a group whose employment and settlement in the colony were guaranteed by the man behind the whole project, Dr. John Dunmore Lang. So successful was this comprehensive colonization scheme in bringing out superior immigrants and in enabling Lang to import easily the ministers and schoolmasters he required for his other religious and educational aims, that he retained the basic principles of the "Stirling Castle" venture in all his later immigration plans of the 1830's and 1840's. 'In one word, the importation of the Scotch mechanics of 1831, and their settlement in the colony, proved a remarkable and salutary revolution to the colony of New South Wales' .

54. Lang, J.D: op.cit., p.5.
Having completed successfully his comprehensive colonization scheme by the "Stirling Castle", and been amply praised for his initiative by Governor and leading citizens alike, Lang by 1832 considered himself an authority on the immigration question. In the closing month of 1831, indeed, he wrote to Governor Bourke that he had conducted the immigration expedition 'solely with a view to demonstrate the practicability of effecting an extensive emigration of the industrious classes from the mother country to New South Wales without expense to either', and stressed that if his plan were followed, over 20,000 worthwhile citizens could be brought to Australia in the next few years. Now he had shown the way, Lang felt that the government should do in the rest, and in two distinct sources, in a letter to the Governor of February 1832, and a pamphlet for general distribution in 1833, he outlined a detailed theory of immigration, an intended guide for government policy in this vital field of operation. At a time when the British government and public still considered emigration as a field for private enterprise and individual initiative, Lang's plan is remarkable for its insight in placing comprehensive immigration under official organisation and control.

55. Lang to Bourke 26.12.1831. HRA, I, xvi, p.496.
56. 'Suggestions on the subject of promoting an extensive emigration of the industrious classes of society from the mother country to this colony, respectfully submitted to His Excellency the Governor by the Rev. Dr. Lang. 1.2.1832. Lang Papers, vol.17, pp.31-35.
57. Lang, J.D: Emigration (Sydney, 1833).
Early in 1822, when the British government's momentous decision of the previous December to apply land revenue to immigration was not yet fully realised in the colony, Lang insisted that as the vast distance separating Australia from Great Britain precluded independent immigration by the industrious classes, and hindered the British Government from spending public funds in this purpose when other colonies were closer, the colony itself would have to take the initiative. He therefore suggested that a Board of Emigration should be established in Sydney, consisting of men of extensive practical experience in the colony, who should ascertain what classes were most needed in the colony, how to attract such people in the most effectual and economical manner, and where best to settle them, either in town or country. This, then, was to be the policy-making body, while the practical implementation of policy was to be carried on at three levels. Firstly, a smaller Board of interested men should be set up in London to make the necessary contracts for the colony; next an agent, a man of great intelligence and intimate knowledge of New South Wales, should be sent to Britain to select the emigrants personally and supervise their embarkation on approved vessels, and finally, an agency should be established in the colony to procure employment, organize the settlement, and supervise any repayments of the immigrants.

Lang's main emphasis was on the selection of immigrants -

58. 'Suggestions...', Lang Papers, vol.17, pp.31-2.
he believed that if the right type of people were chosen, very little else mattered. It is for this reason that the phrase 'a numerous, industrious, and virtuous population' runs like a refrain through all his writings. Now that the Home Government had pledged to devote the entire revenue from the sale of land in the colony to emigration, Lang stressed that it was the colonists' duty to see that this fund was used as productively as possible, for rather than bring unsuitable people to New South Wales, it would be better 'to cast the money at once into the depths of the sea'.

Lang considered that three classes of people were especially needed in the colony - firstly, an employer group from a higher class of British society to take up landholdings in the interior; secondly, agriculturists who should begin as group settlers or as tenants and work to become independent small farmers; and thirdly, skilled artisans to follow their trades either in the towns or small country villages. While he insisted that all emigrants should be properly selected to meet the specific needs of the colony, being of blameless moral character so as to raise the whole tone of society, and skilled in their own occupations, Lang outlined different means of attraction and reception for each group. As he intended that the employer emigrants should

59. Lang, J.D: op.cit., p.3.
become respectable landholders throughout the territory, he considered that a bounty should be offered them in the form of a land grant equal in value to the amount of passage money paid by them to come to the colony. In this way not only would Australia attract the best of intending emigrants of this class to her shores, but the bounty would encourage them to proceed to their lands immediately on arrival. Yet no idle landed aristocracy was envisaged by Lang, for even those with a capital of £2,500 he advised to learn the use of axe, saw and chisel before emigrating.

The shortage of skilled tradesmen and consequent high wages for this class in the colony led Lang to suggest that artisan emigrants should be obliged to repay within a limited period any advances made to them for their passage out. Under the government regulations of 1832, a £20 loan was allowed to all emigrants of this class, but in actual fact little money was ever redeemed. Lang insisted that if only a proper selection was made, the government could import honest, reputable persons without long-term expense to the colony.

However, it was the small agriculturalist which interested Lang most, the type which best fitted his ideal of diligent, self-supporting family groups working and worshipping together. By agriculturists, he insisted, he meant men and women bred to farming operations in the mother country, either

60. Lang, J.D: op. cit., p.9.
as farm servants or as the children of virtuous and diligent peasantry in Great Britain. He did not rule out the possibility, however, that an industrious and teachable operative worker could soon acquire all the knowledge and experience requisite for a farm labourer or employer. Young married couples, with one or two children, he considered best suited to emigrate, for not only were these most acceptable to landowning employers, but of themselves they also possessed the greatest stability and initiative to save and branch out independently on small farms of their own. Thus he advised that the Government grant these agriculturists a free passage to the colony, repayment being expected rather from the inevitably increased revenue and improvement of the colony socially and economically than from a direct money return.

In this way, then, Lang wished to import those classes of people which would best complement his social ideal, that of self-sufficient townships scattered throughout the arable territory of Australia, each consisting of from 50 to 100 families engaged in agriculture or the necessary trades, and each having its own minister and schoolmaster. He considered this group settlement especially suited to the Australian environment, for, whereas one emigrant family dispersed at large in the degraded colonial society could well lower itself

63. Ibid., p.12.
to the mass, a cohesive settlement, especially if all members were recruited from a particular district of the homeland, would not only maintain its political and social standard, but would also exert a beneficial moral influence on its neighbours. On the other hand, Lang made provision for some agricultural emigrants to become tenants to the large landholders on arrival, a course which he found preferable to their striking out independently without colonial experience or sufficient funds immediately they landed.

Thus Lang expounded a comprehensive theory and method of colonization, complete in its fundamental purpose, class of immigrant required, type of settlement desired, and practical machinery for organizing the whole project. In suggesting free passages for agriculturists, family emigration, government selection officers and a receiving agency, Lang anticipated later government moves, and must be given credit for his original ideas and coherent expression to the general public. Underlying his whole scheme was the basic premise that to be worthwhile, emigration must be 'highly beneficial' to three distinct parties, the mother country, the recipient colony, and the immigrant himself. As minister, British patriot, and Australian citizen, then, Lang hailed emigration as a divinely appointed remedy for the evils of a superabundant

64. "Suggestions..." p.34, & Emigration, p.17.
65. Lang, J.D: Emigration, pp.15-16.
66. Lang, J.D: Juvenile-Pauper Immigration, p.4.
and distressed population in the homeland and an undeveloped colony. As an ambitious and practical man of affairs, Lang was not content merely to theorize about colonization procedure, and early in 1832 demanded of Governor Bourke that he himself be appointed to Britain as an Immigration Agent. That this request was refused, that Lang's comprehensive scheme was largely ignored, is one of the tragedies of early Australian immigration history, and we might well echo with Mrs. Lang, in contemplating the suggestions sent to Governor Bourke in 1832, 'Had this plan been carried out'

67. Lang to Bourke, 25.2.1832. Bourke Papers, vol.II.
68. Handwritten comment, signed W.D.L. 1883, on back of MS in (67).
CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT IMMIGRATION COMMENCES; LANG IS CRITICAL: 1832-34.

By 1833 Dr. John Dunmore Lang had established himself both in Britain and in New South Wales as an authority on immigration. He expected that the Government would now respond to the fine example he had set in shaping its own immigration policy, and, indeed, for the remainder of the decade, he supported consistently the idea of government-sponsored migration, holding that 'to establish an immediate and effective system of Immigration, the Government must take the lead, and point out the way to the colonists'.

The administration, however, followed its usual empirical procedure, meeting each need as it arose rather than working according to any comprehensive plan, and thus, although Lang utilized the government bounties in bringing out his ministers, schoolmasters, missionaries, and suitable emigrants to the colony, he criticized continually almost every aspect of the official immigration policy in the 1830's. In such circumstances, it is both interesting and informative to compare Lang's private schemes with those organized by the government, in order to assess the value of the Doctor's judgment, the contribution, if any, that he made in this period to government immigration planning, and to follow the progress of his own immigration work.

1. The Colonist, 11.6.1835.
In June 1871 the Commissioners for Emigration had been appointed to collect and diffuse information on the British colonies and to give such assistance as they could to any persons desiring to emigrate. During the following months, assisted emigration to the Australian colonies was formally established, in September 1871 Goderich approved a bounty on female emigration financed by colonial land revenue, and early in 1872 the New South Wales Legislative Council voted £10,000 from the land fund for immigration, two-thirds to be used in the introduction of single women and one-third for mechanics. The Commissioners were thus enabled to make rapid progress in their work; they published information about Australia, with specific attention to prices, wages, and the demand for labour; in October 1871 they issued regulations encouraging assisted emigration - an £8 bounty would be granted free to all single women between the ages of 18 and 30 years who chose to migrate to Australia, preference being given to those accompanied by relatives and qualified as agricultural domestic servants, while mechanics would be entitled to a £20 loan to be repaid from their subsequent labour in New South Wales; moreover, now that working-class emigration to Australia was established, the Commissioners were able to persuade ship-owners to introduce an £18–£20

steerage passage to this distant colony. 

The tangible results of the Commissioners’ work were thus very similar to those already achieved by Lang in the “Stirling Castle” venture, in propaganda value and assistance to working-class migration. Yet the general conclusion reached by these gentlemen and by the Doctor on immigration were directly opposed. The Commissioners believed that since they had prepared conditions favourable to emigration, the actual embarkation should now be left to individual enterprise. "Impolitic as it would in any case be to undertake the entire charge of large bodies of people, and thus to destroy in them the habit of reliance upon their own personal exertions", they wrote, "this course would be more especially unwise in countries where there exists a great and constant demand for labour, and where consequently the exercise of individual judgment and industry cannot fail to meet its own reward". Lang, on the other hand, believed in organized, systematic colonization, as his mouthpiece the Colonist expressed it later, "We hold it incontrovertibly established on ethical grounds as well as on principles of the soundest policy, that the Government to whom the administration of the Immigration Fund is entrusted, is bound to exercise the most scrupulous care in the selection of proper emigrants for

4. ibid., p.4/
this Colony, to ensure proper treatment to those emigrants during their voyage, and to find them suitable employment after their arrival". It was over this difference in opinion, of laissez-faire against rigorous control, that Lang was to clash many times with the government immigration policy over the next twenty years.

Lang was never more caustic than over the assisted female emigration introduced in 1831. "In the year 1835", he asserted, "the streets of Sydney and the public houses of the colony were actually swarming with free immigrant prostitutes from the cities of London, Dublin, and Cork, the expense of whose passage out had been defrayed from the land revenue of the colony!" He therefore embarked on a vigorous campaign through his journal The Colonist and by his evidence at the 1855 Committee on Immigration to rouse both public and official opinion to demand the cessation of the whole system, and there is no doubt that he played a major role in bringing about its abolition by the new regulations of 1835. How justified was Lang in his vitriolic criticism of the female emigration system? It will be necessary to look at the whole scheme in greater detail in order to assess the value of Lang's judgment and of the part he played in its abrogation.

In contrast to other government assisted immigration of the early 1830's, the immigration of single females was, in

5. The Colonist 19.2.1840.
theory at least, carefully organized by both the British and the colonial governments. A voluntary committee of gentlemen in London was trusted with the responsibility of selecting only those young women of eligible age, occupation and character for assistance to Australia, steerage passages were arranged for them on specially chartered emigrant ships, with good accommodation, provisioning and superintendence, while on arrival in Sydney they were lodged in some specially prepared barracks, met by a committee of eminently respectable ladies, and advised on positions available in the colony.

The available evidence supports the truth of most of these points. The Committee of gentlemen interviewed each applicant from the London district before accepting her as an emigrant to Australia, and sent its principal agent into the country to select the provincial women. Steerage passages were provided at £16 each, and it was a matter of public notoriety, shipping-agent John Marshall told the Transportation Committee in 1838, that the vessels were selected with a greater regard to their thorough efficiency than in any other trade. Certainly there were no complaints about the standard of transport provided. The "David Scott", for example, which brought 350 emigrants to Australia in 1838, was set up with about one hundred sleeping places on both

sides of the ship, each designed to accommodate three persons; ventilation was good, the 'tween-decks were spacious, being seven feet in height, eighty feet in length, and with eighteen feet between the berths, while the men's berths, in the fore part of the vessel, were separated from the females by strong bulkheads. A hospital was provided, and the provisioning was very liberal, biscuit, bread, flour, beef, pork, peas, oatmeal, sugar and tea being issued to each mess-party of eight, who in turn weekly appointed some member of their group to act as cook. These conditions were remarkable at the time, especially when viewed against the background of the current 1828 Passenger Act which merely limited the number of passengers to three persons for every four tons burden, prescribed a minimum height of 5½ feet between-decks, and obliged vessels to take aboard fifty gallons of water and fifty lbs. of breadstuffs (the latter provided and paid for by the passengers themselves) for each person making the voyage. The conduct of the females during the long voyage

8. Marshall, J: A Reply to the Misrepresentations which have been put forth respecting Female Emigration to Australia. (London, 1839), p.11. Mr. Sampson Marshall, Superintendent of the "David Scott", Lieutenant of the Royal Navy, and no relation to the agent John Marshall, affirmed at the 1835 Immigration Committee that "no ship ever came to this or any other colony, better or more amply found in provision of every kind, both in the cabin and steerage, than the "David Scott". Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Committee on Immigration, V & P Leg. Council, N.S.W., 1835, p.39.

was often criticized, however, as Mr. Sampson Marshall, Superintendent of the "David Scott" complained that the females by that ship 'had an unrestrained intercourse with the men, and by their abandoned and outrageous conduct, they kept the ship in a continual state of alarm during the whole passage'

(10) Several persons testified to the fine provisions, commodious lodgings, and careful attention which awaited the female emigrants on arrival , for even when the overall character of those women brought by the "Layton" prevented ladies of delicacy from associating with them, the Colonial Treasurer and the Collector of Internal Revenue took upon themselves the responsibility of placing the immigrants.

It was not the female emigration system in itself, then, but the type of women it brought to Australia, which roused such bitter criticism in the colony. Governor Bourke claimed that the "David Scott" carried 'an admixture of many, whose characters if fully known would have prevented their passing the Committee...certain it is that about one-sixth of the whole number consisted of low and profligate women'

(13)

11. See evidence of Sampson Marshall, James Eckford, and Mr. McLeay before the 1835 Immigration Committee.  
A Local Government enquiry subsequently revealed that 41 of the 226 females brought by this vessel were common prostitutes. Similar criticism was levelled against each ship in turn chartered by the Committee, the "Red Rover", the "Bussorah Merchant", the "Leyton", the "Duchess of Northumberland", and the "David Scott", but some were criticised more than others, and the "Bussorah Merchant", and the "Duchess of Northumberland" were even received tolerably in the colony. Complaints were often directed not so much at the moral character of the immigrants, but at their unsuitability for colonial conditions. The labour market was glutted with governesses, nurse-maids, milliners, dressmakers, and upper female servants too refined for hard work; what was wanted was those women skilled in the management of a dairy and other farm work who were willing to go into the country. Chief among the causes for this failing was the fact that the majority of the females assisted were selected from the

15. Bishop Broughton wrote to John Marshall concerning the "Bussorah Merchant": 'Judging from what I saw in the case of the "Bussorah Merchant", I must think it would be cruel and uncharitable to stigmatise the emigrant females generally as corrupt and unworthy. Some of them might undoubtedly be so, and among the rest there must have been various shades of character; but for the respectable conduct of very many who arrived by that vessel I can venture to answer as it fell under my own observation'. Quoted in Marshall, J: A Refutation of the Slanders and Wilful Misrepresentations published at Sydney, by Dr. Lang, in the "Colonist" newspaper, belonging to him. (London, 1835), p.15.
towns rather than from the agricultural districts of Great Britain. Moreover, the majority of the female emigrants were collected from the charity houses of London, Dublin, Cork, and the other large towns of the homeland. This fact was not surprising considering that the London Emigration Committee, the official organ through which emigrants were sent to the Australian colonies between the years 1832 and 1836, was itself a sub-committee of the London Charitable Institution and the Refuge for the Destitute.

As a voluntary organisation, this Committee had to be self-supporting; it charged a £1 bonus for each passage it arranged, and selected its emigrants on the cheapest market by allowing the shipowners to choose the immigrants. Mr. John Marshall held the dual and often conflicting role of shipping contractor and chief agent for the Committee, and thus while on the one hand it was his duty to select the immigrants with deliberation and delay if necessary, it was in his interest to fill his ships and despatch them as soon as possible. It is interesting to note that without exception all ships chartered by the Committee embarked on the exact days planned beforehand, a fact which gave rise to many rumours that ships were filled at the last moment with

18. Goderich to Bourke 9.3.1832. HRA I, xvi, p.555.
whichever women were available at the time. The Committee, moreover, had complete confidence in the zealous Marshall, and always accepted his recommendation in the choice of emigrants. 'In short', Sir William Molesworth concluded when assessing this situation, Marshall 'became the Committee itself. The result was that the streets of Sydney were crowded for a while with female prostitutes'. Lang's journal the Colonist was thus not alone in its vitriolic comment on the Emigration Committee: "Was there ever a monstrous a specimen of Government stupidity? It is an insult to the nation, and a fraud to the colonies! The faithful application of our funds to the encouragement of useful emigration to which, in the year 1831, the King's Government solemnly pledged the Crown, is entrusted to a nondescript body called a Committee, having no pay, and therefore without a motive to exertion; no publicly defined duties, therefore without a helm to guide them; no oath of office, therefore without the restraints of conscience; no prescribed accountability, therefore without any law but their own good will and pleasure! ...The Committee themselves receive no pay, but the acting gents, to whom the work must necessarily be delegated, are paid, but paid in the worst possible manner - that is, paid by themselves, and out

of public money set aside for quite other purposes (23).

Lang organized a vigorous campaign against the female emigration system, publishing weekly articles in the Colonist denouncing "the emigration job", and reviling and lampooning chief agent Marshall to such a degree that this shipping broker felt obliged to answer with A Refutation of the Slanders and Wilful Misrepresentations Published at Sydney, by Dr. Lang, in the "Colonist" newspaper, belonging to him.

The controversy brought the whole matter to the forefront of public attention, and 'the colonists were aroused for the first time to the importance of immigration in a moral as well

---

23. The Colonist 30.3.1837. It is interesting to compare E.G. Wakefield's evidence on this subject: 'The State actually confides the superintendence of emigration with the public funds, to a benevolent society, a small party of private persons, who cannot be under any responsibility, since they have not to make reports to anybody, and are accountable to no one but themselves. They take care, however, to get paid; that is, the persons who really do the work, take care to be paid without responsibility...So that this is not a case of responsibility for want of pay, but it is a case of pay without responsibility.' Select Committee on Disposal of Lands in the British Colonies. P.P. 1836. XI, 512, Q.926.

24. Marshall, J: A Refutation of the Slanders... (London, 1835). In this pamphlet, Marshall attributed Lang's vituperation to the Committee's refusal to appoint as superintendent of the "David Scott" one of Lang's proteges, with his son, a young Scotch minister, acting as chaplain. Before this incident, Marshall stressed, Lang had visited the officers of the Emigration Committee many times, had always expressed approval for the great services they were rendering humanity generally and the colonies in particular, and had made only one recommendation, that of combining family with female emigration.' (page 6).
Lang was constructive and positive in his criticism, giving logical reasons for his intense objection to single female emigration, and putting forward a practicable alternative scheme. Any system of female emigration, he said, however wisely planned and disinterestedly conducted, was highly offensive in itself, and highly dangerous to the moral and spiritual welfare of the colony. In the first place, the disproportion in numbers between the sexes in New South Wales, to which advocates of female emigration were constantly appealing in England, was confined chiefly to the prison population - just those people forbidden to marry during their period of bondage. Secondly, moreover, he considered that the state of society in Sydney was highly unsuitable for unprotected females, quite decent girls soon being drawn into a low, degraded way of life. He therefore suggested that the government concentrate on assisting agricultural and artisan families to Australia, so that the young females would have natural guardians during the long voyage out and on arrival in their new environment, while at the same time they would be imported in equal proportion to eligible free men. With the acceptance of his plan, the

26. In 1833, there were 21,845 convict males to only 2,698 convict females, while the free population consisted of 22,798 males to 13,453 females. As a considerable proportion of the free male population was made up of emancipated convicts, Lang pointed out, it was almost exclusively in the convict-emancipist group that the disproportion of the sexes was confined. Ibid., (1837), I, p.345.
zealous Lang looked forward to the emigration of 10,000 families to Australia in the following four to five years. It is an interesting fact that John Marshall himself later concurred entirely with this view, being 'decidedly of opinion...that single female emigration will never be conducted, where the parties go out without their natural protectors, without a portion of women...turning out ill after they get to the colony'. Credit therefore must be given to Lang for the 1835 government immigration regulation allowing a bounty only to those single women proceeding to the colony under the care of a guardian. Right from the implementation of assisted immigration, the doctor had stressed the importance of family migration, while in his colourful conflict with Marshall, and through his influential journal the Colonist, he had drawn and organized public support to his cause. Finally, as a major witness before the 1835 Immigration Committee, he was able to bring his view to official notice, and in the following few months saw it implemented into government policy.

In direct contrast to the female immigration system, the importation of assisted mechanics was not nearly so tightly controlled. Here private speculators and humanitarians could organize projects, and, so long as the tradesmen selected met

27. The Colonist 15.1.1835.
29. The circulation of the Colonist was exceeded only by that of one of the other four or five colonial journals (the Colonist 13.1.1838), and considered immigration as 'this most important of colonial questions' - the Colonist 24.8.1837.
the age and occupation qualifications, the government, other than giving financial aid, took no part in their emigration. On the whole they seem to have been well received in the community, and the New South Wales Legislative Council continued each year to delegate one-third of the land revenue to assisting skilled artisans to the colony. They had, however, no committee to regulate and check their shipping to Australia, no place of reception provided on their arrival. In this era when the scant passenger trade regulations were only nominal anyway, the ships were often overcrowded with both freight and human cargo, the immigrants in the steerage were expected to bring on board the bulk of their own provisions, to do their own cooking, while little attention was paid to ventilation, cleanliness, or control. On their arrival in the colony, there were no government buildings to provide even temporary accommodation. The unfortunate immigrants could enter public lodgings or private houses, but the high tariff and rent costs soon consumed the small savings they may have been able to preserve, and the gullible immigrant was often taken in, disillusioned and debased before he even obtained employment in the strange city of his landing.

As senior minister of the Presbyterian church in Australia, and a known authority on immigration, Lang was

30. Evidence of W. Macpherson before the 1835 Immigration Committee. Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on Immigration, V&P Leg. Council N.S.W., 1835, p. 27.
often beset with applications for information and advice from these unhappy people, left to find their way as best they could. He therefore decided that an agency was indispensable in the colony, to collect and diffuse information, provide a link with employers wanting labour, and so to place immigrants as soon after their arrival as possible. He accordingly drew up a series of articles which were published anonymously in one of the colonial newspapers, and the idea was so well received that a public meeting attended by some eminently respectable citizens was held to establish the Emigrants' Friend Society. Mr. Macpherson, collector of internal revenue, was appointed honorary secretary, and although public support soon fell away, this gentleman carried on the good work alone, and within a few months had placed over 70 families and individuals in the country districts. In this way, then, Lang tried to improve on the official regulations, hoping that in due course a comprehensive system of immigration would be built up, under the control of the colonial government.

It was obvious to both the British Government and the colony alike that Lang had been vitally interested in assisted immigration right from its start, as he eagerly sought, both by precept and by practical example, to initiate an extensive migration of virtuous and industrious people from Britain to his adopted homeland, New South Wales. In 1833 he addressed a

Memorial to the Secretary of State for the Colonies requesting that, in appreciation of his labours and personal sacrifices in organizing the successful "Stirling Castle" immigration project, he be granted an extent of waste land in this Territory - not because he wished to become a landowner, but to enable him to form a settlement of free emigrant agricultural families which might eventually lead to an extensive emigration to this colony of persons of "that most useful class in society". The Colonial Office ruled, however, that as a purely private enterprise, the "Stirling Castle" immigration scheme had no valid claim to government compensation.

In 1834 when the government instituted a £20 loan for agricultural families immigrating to the colony, Lang was chosen to select the first sixty recipients under the new scheme. This was very convenient for the doctor, for just at this time he found it necessary to proceed to Britain to secure teaching replacements for his staff at the Australian College as well as ministers of religion to serve new congregations in the interior. Mr. Secretary Stanley agreed to grant him the loan of £20 in favour of each Presbyterian minister and schoolmaster he took to the

33. Stanley to Bourke 26.3.1834. N.S.W. Governors' Despatches 1834.
34. Lang, J.D: An Historical and Statistical Account... (1834), Vol.II, p.240.
colonies, and thus he determined to carry out an experiment in agricultural immigration, similar to that already demonstrated for artisans in the "Stirling Castle" venture. Again he would charter a whole ship, fill it up with Scotch or French Protestant farm-hands, accompanied by ministers and schoolteachers of their own communion, and encourage them to settle as a self-sufficient community on a block of territory he held in the Illawarra district, the land to be divided between them and paid for in instalments from their subsequent profits in the colony. Such was the model which he hoped would induce 10,000 agriculturists to emigrate to Australia in the course of the next few years.

The plan did not proceed as expected, however, for Lang was not able to go either to France or Scotland to select the candidates himself. Moreover, the acute agricultural depression in Britain prevented many would-be emigrants from making up the passage money over and above the government loan. It was not until the New Poor Law of 1834 came into operation that the rural population of England could be set in motion at all. In a final effort to save his plan, Lang decided to accept the offer of certain parishes in Hampshire to contribute £10 towards the cost of assisting

37. Evidence of Lang, ibid. p.52.
38. Cole and Postgate have assessed that "it was far easier for an Irish labourer to cross the seas to find employment in Lancashire or Yorkshire, than for a..."
pauper-farm labourers to emigrate. With ten or twelve such families and several single men from these western districts of England, in addition to another ten agricultural families from Scotland, Lang made up the ship's party of 86 passengers, and hired the "James", a vessel of 358 tons, to carry the group to Australia in June 1834. Great was the delight of his arch-enemy, Mr. John Marshall, at the outcome of Lang's ambitious agricultural immigration scheme. 'You tried every means in your power, put in motion all the local influence you could muster, to induce families from thence to accompany you', he sniggered, and yet such an insignificant number were obtained.

Those immigrants by the "James" from the west of England were mostly illiterate, and thoroughly untrained in the principles of religion, while those from Scotland, as was usual with agriculturists from this northern kingdom, were well grounded in basic education, Christianity, diligence and family unity. On their arrival in the colony, most of the English agriculturists obtained employment as farm workers from Sussex or Wiltshire or Somerset to make the land journey under the jealous watch of a host of parish authorities who stood in fear of becoming responsible for his maintenance if he established a settlement in their area." (Cole, G.D.H & Postgate, R: The Common People 1746-1946 (London, 1949), p.126.

38(contd). 'redundant worker' from Sussex or Wiltshire or Somerset to make the land journey under the jealous watch of a host of parish authorities who stood in fear of becoming responsible for his maintenance if he established a settlement in their area." (Cole, G.D.H & Postgate, R: The Common People 1746-1946 (London, 1949), p.126.

38. The Colonist 28.1.1836.
40. The Australian 21.11.1834.
42. see Kiddle, M: Men of Yesterday (Melbourne, 1961), pp.15-22.
labourers, and the Scottish immigrants, because of their greater education, took positions as overseers, all situations in which they seem to have done reasonably well. 'On the whole', Lang concluded, 'none of the immigrants have had occasion to regret having emigrated to this part of the world' (43).

In addition to these agricultural migrants, Lang was successful in obtaining free cabin passages on the "James" for two new schoolmasters needed to replenish staff at the Australian College, the Rev. Messrs. Wylde and Mackenzie. The Rev. Henry Carmichael had recently left the college to set up a rival institution, carrying a large portion of his scholars with him. Thus, when Mackenzie became principal on his arrival at the end of 1834, there were only about forty pupils. During the next three years, however, the school flourished, and by 1833 there were over one hundred students enrolled, and the institution was entirely self-supporting. Following Lang's departure for England in 1839, these hitherto dependable schoolteachers seem to have been caught in the cattle mania then current in the colony, as they bought land on both the Namoi and Murray Rivers and in New Zealand, transformed the College into the "head station" for their sheep and cattle transactions, and absented

43. Evidence of Lang before 1835 Immigration Committee, Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on Immigration, V&P Leg. Council N.S.W., 1835, p.33.
themselves for long excursions to their distant properties. Under these "clerical drovers", Lang claimed, the college attendance declined to just thirty pupils by the time of his return in 1841, and in the next year he was obliged to pay off both Wylde and Mackenzie with £100 each and temporarily close the Australian College.

These first four years of Lang's experience with colonial immigration, then, had firmly established him by the end of 1834 as a competent critic, perspicacious policy planner, and practical importer of successful and much needed migrants, both of the artisan and agricultural classes. Already the basic characteristics of his immigration work were established. He would aim to recruit his colonists from a wide cross-section of the British Isles, using any available government assistance for his own purposes, and with an inbred and increasingly strong bias in favour of Protestant immigration. It would be a well-balanced colonization, of virtuous and industrious families from various occupation and age groups, each shipload accompanied by its own ministers or schoolmasters. Apparent also were the obstacles he was to encounter again and again throughout his immigration work, such as the extreme difficulty of rousing Scottish citizens, agriculturists, and young married couples to emigrate.
The year 1825 was a turning-point in Australian immigration, a year when a Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales was appointed to review past activities, assess problems and needs, and suggest a programme for future immigration, a year which saw the proclamation of a new immigration system, broader in scope than that of 1831, further controlled, and giving both the government and the colonists alike a responsible place in immigration planning. The Rev. Dr. Lang watched these developments with deep interest and approval, and contributed in a significant way to the final result, as he acted as a major witness at the 1835 Immigration Committee, and vigorously championed the immigration cause through his journal The Colonist. It was in this period, then, 1835 to 1839, that Lang co-operated most harmoniously with the prevailing government immigration programme, publicising its terms through newspaper and published book alike, and using its bounty to bring to the colony ministers, school-masters, missionaries, agricultural and artisan immigrants of his own choosing.

The 1835 Committee called its witnesses from a good cross-section of those government officials and private persons interested in immigration, and questioned them on both the past history of the migration traffic and on their ideas for improvement in the future. The Colonist received the Committee
with enthusiasm, reporting that 'there has never been any subject under the consideration of our Colonial Legislature of equal importance to the welfare of the Colony, or in which the interests of all classes of its inhabitants are more deeply involved'. The Report of the Immigration Committee put forward some most constructive proposals. Since revenue from land sales between January 1831 and June 1835 amounted to £124,066, of which only £27,318 had been expended on immigration, the Committee held that this surplus, in addition to future land funds, could well be spent in introducing moral and industrious persons to the colony. Indeed, distance from the mother country and rival American and Canadian passages, made it absolutely necessary for Australia to subsidize its immigration programme.

Thus the Committee suggested that full-paying immigrants should receive a remission on the purchase of land equal to the expense of passage, up to a sum not exceeding £160 per family. Working-class migrants, on the other hand, should be given a free passage to the colony and assistance in obtaining employment immediately on their arrival. The Committeemen stressed above all the selection of the right type of people, that they should be both diligent and virtuous, and that around 3,000 should be imported in this first year of operation, at the ratio of one-eighth each of married farm-servants without children and married mechanics with up to three children, and two-eighths each of married mechanics

1. The Colonist 11.6.1835.
without children, single farm-servants and single females. They warned, however, that only those unmarried women accompanied by relatives should be accepted, and advised that the selection of immigrants be made as much as possible in the agricultural districts rather than in the large towns. To initiate this steady flow of immigrants, the Committee recommended that an agent be sent from the colony to Britain to diffuse information, select the candidates for assistance, and arrange their conveyance on 'temperance' ships under the control of surgeons of the Royal Navy, that a superintending London Committee be appointed to assist the agent in his important task, and that a Colonial Committee, like the Emigrants' Friend Society then in operation, be set up to communicate with the settlers and place the immigrants on their arrival. The colonial Committee considered that the government should concern itself with immigration promotion only so long as it took to initiate a steady stream of new settlers to New South Wales; for, simultaneously with this government system should be developed a privately sponsored immigration which, once established, should gradually take over altogether from the government scheme.

The Colonist was most enthusiastic, about all these proposals, considering the Report to be 'without exception

the most ably written and the best arranged, and at the same time, the most comprehensive, judicious, and satisfactory document we have ever seen put forth by any department of the Government of New South Wales. Such praise is understandable when viewed against the comprehensive colonization scheme outlined by Lang in his 1833 pamphlet and the immigration plans stressed almost every week throughout 1835 in The Colonist. The Committeemen had undoubtedly been greatly influenced by Lang's ideas and practical example in immigration matters, while both they and the Doctor, being all practical men of affairs in New South Wales, were receptive to colonial needs and conditions, and hence had reached a remarkably similar conclusion about immigration policy in 1835.

So often did Lang champion the immigration cause through his journal that he feared he might exhaust the patience of his readers. But of all colonial questions, he was quick to point out, it was this subject which demanded 'the most serious and unwearied attention of the colonists, for it is that in which their own interests, immediate and prospective, pecuniary, political, and moral, are most deeply involved'. Indeed he believed that if the Land Revenue were devoted to its rightful purpose of introducing an industrious and virtuous

3. The Colonist, 1.10.1835.
4. Lang, J.D: Emigration (Sydney, 1833).
5. The Colonist, 27.8.1835.
6. Ibid., 28.9.1837.
population, the whole aspect and character of colonial society would be completely changed and the influence of the emancipists thoroughly neutralised within a limited period. Thus Lang hoped to arouse the colonists to the importance of immigration in a moral as well as in a political light.

In accordance with the official opinion of 1835, Lang also favoured a dual system of immigration, sponsored by both government and private enterprise. However, he did not favour an unco-ordinated private bounty system as the Report might indicate. 'The combined efforts of a few of the influential colonists would', he said, 'be much more likely to issue in the organization of a proper system of management for all parties, and the introduction of a superior class of immigrants, than the uncombined, and, in all probability, ill-directed efforts of inexperienced individuals.' To this end, he persuaded a few influential residents in the colony to form a Joint-Stock Company for the purchase of land and promotion of emigration, a scheme similar to the land companies of America and Canada. The shares were to be sold at £50 each, two-thirds of which were to be taken up in the colony, and tracts of waste land were then to be bought from the government and sold in small allotments to bona-fide settlers at an advance price, payable within a

7. Lang, J.D: An Historical and Statistical Account... (1837), I, p.341.
10. Ibid. 7.1.1836.
certain period, and bearing interest at the common rate of the colony. Meanwhile, a competent person thoroughly acquainted with the colony would be appointed to select immigrants on behalf of the company in Great Britain and continental Europe, register them under the private bounty, and arrange for their passage out with shipowners in the mother country. Lang was careful to point out that the men directly behind the proposed company were philanthropists, not actuated by a mere desire for gain, but that in order to obtain widespread support they had to hold out a profitable prospect. Within a month of the announcement of the company, over 4,000 shares had been subscribed for, and a meeting of landholders, merchants and other gentlemen interested in the formation of the Company was held at the Pulteney Hotel in February 1826.

When Wentworth opposed the Company as a hindrance to the private bounty system recently introduced, The Colonist retorted with a caustic comment on those members of the 'woollen aristocracy' who bought up land by counties at the minimum price in order to resell it at an enormous profit whenever the opportunity arose. The Company, however, never seems to have got beyond these stages of preliminary planning.

In his ideas for government sponsored immigration, Lang's

11. Ibid. 18.2.1836. Lang explained that the proposed Company was merely a device for getting out to the colony, in strict accordance with the private bounty regulations, the largest number of useful immigrants in the shortest possible time.


13. Ibid. 4.2.1836.
conclusions were very similar to those adopted by the Committeeemen in their Report. He too saw distance and general ignorance as the major problems to be overcome in initiating an extensive emigration to Australia. He suggested that a bonus in land of up to 640 acres should be offered to all full-paying passengers arriving in the colony, and stressed that the Survey department would have to increase the rate at which it divided up the waste lands. Several respectable gentlemen and families who had arrived in the colony in the first six months of 1825, Lang pointed out, were unable to purchase land of their choice at auction because the area had not yet been measured, and hence they were obliged to remain in Sydney for an indefinite period at great expense and inconvenience. Working-class people should be offered a combined free bounty and loan to enable them to emigrate to Australia, Lang insisted, for 'in 10,000 cases, the families and individuals whom it would be most for the interests of this colony to encourage and to enable to emigrate, are just those who are least able to contribute a single farthing in England towards their emigration'. Agricultural families should receive a £20 free gift and a £10 loan to be repaid from their labour in the colony, while tradesmen, because of the high wages and ready employment

15. Ibid. 11.6.1835.
16. Ibid. 15.1.1835.
available on their arrival, should be content with a £10 gift and £20 loan.

The important task of selecting these immigrants should be entrusted to persons well-acquainted with the colony, Lang insisted, and not to those mercenary and unprincipled London jobbers who had dominated the trade in previous years. Generally speaking, he noted, there was no disposition to emigrate to this colony among the agricultural classes, and thus a 'demonstration' must be made on behalf of New South Wales, through the press, the clergy and the landlords, sufficient to attract general attention, excite extensive enquiry, and to mobilize those persons wanted in the colony to emigrate. A Board should be set up in Sydney to ascertain the type of people chiefly required in the colony, and to make provision for their distribution, settlement and employment after their arrival. In London, a second Board of mercantile and other gentlemen connected with the colony should be established to supervise the selecting agents and arrange conveyance to the colony in ships under the management of surgeons of the Royal Navy. Once the immigrants were landed in their new home, Lang considered that the artisans should be able to provide for themselves easily enough, but that a reception house should be erected for the use of

18. Evidence of Lang before the 1835 Immigration Committee, Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Committee on Immigration, V&P Leg. Council N.S.W., 1835, p.34.
agriculturists, and jobs and transport into the interior found for them. It was for the lack of such accommodation, Lang said, that many hopeful families, who might otherwise have been most comfortably settled, had spent their small savings within a few days of their arrival, and consequently had sunk into a state of reckless despondency, and been lost to the community. He hoped, indeed, that the government would see fit to set aside portions of suitable Crown Land which the agricultural immigrants could take up and pay for by instalments either immediately on their arrival, or at the completion of their first engagement in the colony. The aim should be to locate emigrants from the same district in Britain in the same locality in New South Wales, and thus 'the moral restraints of the mother country would be transferred with undiminished force to the new habitations of the immigrants'. At the same time Lang suggested that the government settle the immigrants in such districts as Port Phillip and Twofold Bay, and thus provide these areas with much-needed labour and prevent the concentration of population in one or two large coastal towns. In these ideas, then, Lang anticipated the work of Mrs. Caroline Chisholm in the next decade when she took up the cause of female immigrants, established the Emigrants' Home, and found positions for her

20. Ibid. 3.9.1835.
21. Ibid. 27.8.1835.
22. Ibid. 4.8.1836. At this time the district of Port Phillip had not yet been taken possession of as a government settlement.
protégés throughout the interior.

Lang and the Colonial Committeemen thus agreed on the principles of an immigration policy for New South Wales, and, in the course of the next two years, Downing Street approved the implementation of a dual migration scheme, sponsored by both private and government enterprise, such as they had suggested in 1835. In October 1855 Bourke announced the Private Bounty System, offering a fixed bounty to those settlers who introduced immigrants of the required type, £30 for each married couple under thirty years of age, either mechanic or farm servant, £5 for each child between the ages of one and fifteen years, £15 for each unmarried female fifteen to thirty years old, coming out under the protection of a married couple, and £10 for each single male artisan or farm labourer, eighteen to twenty-five years old, introduced by a settler bringing out an equal number of unmarried females. Before any payments would be made, the immigrants had to appear before a colonial board, and present testimonials signed by clergymen and respectable inhabitants of the places of their former residence. David Boyer and Alick Osborne, both naval surgeons who had accompanied convict ships to New South Wales, were appointed to Scotland, and North Ireland respectively, to select the immigrants on

23. See Kiddle, M: Caroline Chisholm (Melbourne, 1950).
behalf of those settlers without connections in Britain, and were instructed to accept only those candidates of high moral character, industry and sobriety, and to arrange their passages on commodious and well-provisioned vessels. The local government hoped to guarantee the immigrants' employment in their respective trades in the public works, for eighteen months after their arrival in the colony.

It was expected that the private bounty system would introduce only those people really wanted in the colony, while the settlers themselves would take the responsibility for both the personal character of the immigrants they sponsored, and their necessary accommodation on arrival. Lord Glenelg considered, however, that assisted immigration had become too important a branch of the public service to be committed to a largely gratuitous and desultory agency, and that it ought without delay to be entrusted to a paid officer of the Government responsible to the Secretary of State. Under the influence of Wakefield, the Lands Committee which met towards the end of 1836 also stressed centralization, urging that a Land Board responsible to Parliament be set up in London to supervise land sales, surveying and emigration in the colonies. In April 1837, then, Thomas Elliot was

25. Letter of Instructions to David Boyer from Colonial Secretary's Office, 10.2.1836. The Colonist 8.6.1837.  
Hitchens quotes both Prof. Egerton & Sir Charles Lucas as seeing the appointment of Elliot in 1837 and of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in 1890 as the consequence of these recommendations, see Hitchens, F.H: The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners (Philadelphia)1931), p.20.
appointed Agent-General for Emigration, with a series of agents under him at the chief ports of embarkation, all entrusted with the task of supervising shipping and diffusing information. Quite distinct from the private bounty system still in operation, this government immigration employed its own agents, chiefly surgeons of the Royal Navy, to scour the countryside to select the immigrants and then to accompany them on specially chartered vessels to New South Wales. 'As the Government emigrants were uniformly selected by men of respectable standing in society', Lang assessed, he was satisfied 'that the Government emigration system of that period was conducted throughout with a sincere desire to promote the general welfare, and especially the moral advancement of this Colony'.

While Lang had been concerned with seeing established the new system of assisted immigration, developments in the church and in education now demanded his attention. And, indeed, throughout his lifetime, despite his many interests and activities in the political, social and economic advancement of his adopted country, Lang was motivated primarily by his position as a minister of religion. By 1836, the colonial Presbyterian Church was, in Lang's opinion, in a state of...
extreme desolation, and 'completely paralysed' . Two ministers had been expelled for immorality, two of the remaining four were under charges of intemperance, and a third was siding with these delinquents . Just at this time, however, Bourke's Church Act was announced, equalizing official support for the major denominations, the Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians, by promising a government grant of £300 to every congregation which could raise a similar amount towards the erection of a church or manse, and a salary for its minister proportionate to the size of the congregation . Moreover, the bitter controversy over the


30. cf. Letter of Lang to his mother, sister and brother, 10.5.'36: 'In New South Wales, not to speak of my own congregation, what is the scene that presents itself? McGarvie, an infidel in disguise, a complete drag and dead weight on the cause. C. and G. two drunkards. Smythe, laboring already under a liver complaint, but in other respects very little interested in the general welfare of the body, provided he is well himself. One minister turned out for flagrant immorality; another promises as bad as others. A certain minister is mad at one time and inefficient in great measure when in possession of his senses. M. a mere apology for a minister. G. a very good sort of man in some respects, but very far from it in others. In short, if ever there was a church in a state of extreme desolation it is the Presbyterian Church in these colonies. (Lang Papers, vol.3. Letters to his family, 1833-52).

31. For outline of the Act - The Colonist 16.6.1836. The rates were fixed at £100 for those congregations with 100 members, £150 for those with 200 members, and £200 for those with over 500 members.
inauguration of the Irish National School system in Australia, in which Lang had played a major role in opposition, had resulted in compromise, and those Protestant denominations desiring their own schools were now entitled to government assistance. In this way the Glasgow Educational Society in communication with the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on Colonial Churches was entitled to select sixteen Presbyterian schoolmasters for emigration to Australia, the government having agreed to contribute £60 towards the passage and outfit of each one. In these circumstances, Lang considered it not only necessary but decidedly worthwhile to proceed to England yet again, and to gain recruits for his beloved church. 'It is doubtless unnecessary to enlarge on the vast importance of the field which has thus been opened up to the Presbyterian Church in the Australian Colonies', he wrote; 'Indeed, it will depend in great measure on the character and exertions of the men who shall go forth to occupy the stations at present open for candidates in the Presbyterian church in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, whether that Church is in future to sink into insignificance and contempt, or to be employed by Divine Providence, as its noblest and choicest instrument for the

32. Glenelg to Bourke 4.7.1837. N.S.W. Governor's Despatches 1837, p.5.
moral renovation and Christianization of half the world. He therefore applied to Bourke for leave of absence for eighteen months, and Glenelg approved the continuance of his salary at half rates for this period.

Resourceful as always, Lang decided to combine his church duties with his immigration aims, for if he could charter a vessel privately, not only would he be able to bring out his ministers and schoolteachers in one large group and in superior travelling conditions, but he could demonstrate also the advantages of the private bounty system by importing a number of industrious and virtuous immigrants. He therefore wrote to a committee of citizens offering to select and arrange transport for a group of agricultural labourers, shepherds and mechanics during his coming voyage to Britain. He even suggested that some forty or fifty proprietors should unite to nominate from one to two thousand families, including two or three hundred families of vinedressers and silkworm rearers from the south of France, and he would appoint a young gentleman experienced in such work to organize the whole scheme in the next twelve months. The Committeemen,

33. That Lang was quite sincere in his beliefs can be seen from the fact that when his family opposed this his fourth voyage to Britain, he wrote 'It would surely be altogether unjustifiable to interpose family considerations in a case of life and death to the Church of the living God...Divine Providence has...plainly called me to undertake the care of the presbyterian churches in these colonies as he did Paul to the care of the churches in Asia Minor'. Lang Papers, Vol. 3, Letters to his family 1833-52.

34. Lang to Lord Normanby 14.6.1839. N.S.W. Governor's Despatches 1839, pp. 43-44.

35. The Colonist 17.3.1839.

36. Lang to Provisional Committee 30.5.1836. (MS in N.L.)
however, failed to accept Lang's plan for systematic use of the private bounty system. Nevertheless, his brother Andrew Lang and Mr. George Rankin of Bathurst charged him to select 200 families of bounty immigrants on their behalf. On this his fourth voyage to Britain, then, Lang had yet another colonization venture to organize. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had at last constituted a Colonial Committee for regulating the church overseas, and it was to this body that Lang presented himself, explained the General Church Act of 1836, and requested that ten or twelve ministers be supplied to the church in New South Wales immediately. He also asked that the Irish Presbyterian Church be allowed to send out four or five clergy to minister to their countrymen in the colony. The Committee considered however that Lang was overstating his case, and was especially wary when it received a letter from the Rev. John McGarvie cautioning Presbyterian ministers against emigrating to New South Wales on the Doctor's representation, for every minister who had previously gone to that colony, the informant continued, had been duped, deluded and deceived by him. Never daunted, Lang determined to rely on his own recruitment campaign and his personal influence in Downing Street to obtain the ministers he required in the colony.

37. Lang Papers vol. 24, Printed Section, pp. 159-60.
He therefore went straight to the congregations, telling them that it was not money he wanted, but the right men, and if they could provide these, then the colonists of New South Wales were both able and willing to make up to them a sufficient and respectable income. Sir George Grey, then Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, was also impressed by Lang's sincerity, and, on the Doctor's sole recommendation, he authorized the Synod of Ulster to send out four of their ministers to Australia on the same government bounty of £150 per clergyman as allowed to the Church of Scotland. In this way, then, Lang by his own exertions persuaded twelve ministers to give up their careers at home and pledge their service to the colonial Presbyterian Church of New South Wales. At the same time he approved the sixteen schoolteachers who had been selected by the Glasgow Educational Society to work in connection with the church in Australia, and guaranteed the fulfilment of their engagement so far as his personal exertions and his fellow Presbyterians could ensure.

39. The Colonist 11.4.1838. In January 1837, Lang explained that during his campaign to recruit colonial clergymen, he had been "told again and again during the last few weeks by some of the best informed and most influential ministers of the Church of Scotland, that it will be utterly vain to make a single proposal of the kind to any person who has the least prospect of an Eighty Pound church in Scotland! However, he did not want men with no prospects, he said, having had "bitter experience" of such preachers in the past. Lang to Editor of some "widely circulating journal" January 1837. MS in collection of Sir John Ferguson.


41. Glenelg to Bourke 4.7.1837 (enclosure) N.S.W. Governor's Despatches, 1837, p.9.
Now that he had obtained his ministers, schoolteachers and their families, numbering about 70 persons in all, Lang had to recruit the two hundred families of bounty immigrants for his brother and Mr. Rankin. He accordingly drew up a broadsheet for general distribution in February 1627, outlining the conditions of the bounty system, the type of people required, and a resume of prices, wages and living standards in the colony. 'In short', he concluded, 'all that is wanted to develop the vast resources of the country and to ensure its rapid advancement in agriculture, in commerce, in morals and in religion is a numerous, industrious and virtuous population. And as the Colony of New South Wales, along with the other British Colonies in the Australian Territory, will at no distant period form a mighty empire: having innumerable islands in the South Seas and in the Indian Archipelago under its influence, if not under its dominion, it is of immense importance to the future welfare of a large portion of the family of man that the emigrants who shall be employed in laying the foundations of that future empire shall be Protestants and shall carry along with them the superior intelligence, the energy and the virtue that have uniformly characterised the Protestant population of Europe'. In Lang's mind there was no clear-cut distinction between the secular and the religious, and in thus promoting selected and systematic immigration to Australia, he saw himself performing a task well worthy of a minister of religion.

42. Lang Papers vol.17, p.115. Entitled "Emigration to Australia"  
43. See Lang, J.D: Emigration (Sydney, 1833), p.2.
He therefore went ahead to engage the ship "Portland" to carry his ministers and schoolteachers to New South Wales.

Mr. Andrew Lang had stipulated that fifty of the hundred families brought out on his behalf be vinedressers selected from Southern Europe, it being his intention to settle them on his estate at Dunmore, each family having its own small farm taken on long-term leasehold. Dr. Lang thoroughly approved of the scheme, as he had persuaded his brother to import also a minister and schoolmaster of the same country and communion as the proposed immigrants, and thus it fitted his ideal of a self-sufficient community working and worshipping together. Moreover, Lang had long been a supporter of vine cultivation in Australia, for he was sure that if wine consumption could substitute that of spirits, 'the reformation of the colony in this most important particular would advance rapidly and surely'. In February 1837, then, Lang proceeded to the Continent to fulfill his commission, but was thwarted on every count. With the help of French Protestant clergymen in Normandy, he selected a hundred families of French vine and olive growers, but when he applied to the British Government to sanction their emigration, news had reached a Downing Street official from some "respectable author" that Lang was "a dangerous man whom it was inexpedient to have anything to do with", and so the request was refused.

44. Lang, J.D: An Historical and Statistical Account... (1852), vol.I, p.283.
45. The Colonist 12.5.1836,
46. The Colonist 23.4.1835.
Next he went to Frankfort on Main, found a suitable group of people who were willing to emigrate, but then discovered that the Dutch Government, wary of fraud, would not allow German migrants to pass through Holland unless the British Government gave a guarantee that the Germans would not be returned as paupers; thus his second plan for continental migration had to be cancelled. On his return to England, however, Lang ascertained that a large number of German vine-dressers were residing in Le Havre who had left their native country with the intention of emigrating to America, but who had subsequently exhausted their funds. He therefore arranged with his French clergyman friend to select suitable emigrants from among this group, and, in addition to the government bounty of £15 for each adult, Lang promised on his brother's account another £5, in order that the shipping accommodation and provisioning might be equal to British standards. The vessel 'La Justine' embarked in July 1837 under Captain Bernard with 250 vine-dressers bound for Australia. Forced to call at Rio de Janeiro for supplies, however, the German community there so convinced the hapless immigrants that they would be slaves in New South Wales that within a few miles of leaving port, the Captain faced an armed mutiny, and was forced to return to the city. Lang at least found some satisfaction in the fact that his German migrants formed a flourishing centre at

47. Lang Papers vol.24, Printed Section, p.152, and Lang to Grey 11.3.1837 (enclosure in Glenelg to Grey 29.3.1837, N.S.W.Governors' Despatches, 1837, p.329.)
Petropolis, and proved of great value to the Brazilian state!

While on the Continent however Lang met the famous Dr. J.E. Gossner, Catholic Priest turned Protestant mission enthusiast, who had established a missionary training school on the principle that the godly mechanic made a better missionary to primitive peoples than did highly trained scholars. Ever since 1831 Lang had been interested in forming a mission station in the colony of New South Wales, but both then, and again in 1837, he could get no assistance from the self-satisfied Church of Scotland. As the Evangelical Lutheran Church was very similar to the Presbyterian Church in doctrine, discipline and form of worship, Lang now decided to use a team of the Gossner trained men to fulfil his mission aims in the colony. Lord Glenelg, moreover, approved the whole scheme, and promised a government grant of £150 towards the passage of each ordained missionary; the operative assistants, on the other hand, could be brought out on the colonial private bounty. Thus Lang engaged three regular clergymen, the Rev. Mr. Schneider, a medical man, the Rev. Edward Schmidt, a graduate of the Universities of Halle and Berlin and minister of the Prussian church, and the Rev.

50. Lang to Grey 12.5.1837. N.S.W. Governor's Despatches 1837, p.25.
51. Lang to Grey 22.7.1837. ibid., p.187.
Christopher Eipper, a scholar of the Missionary College, Basle, and now Evangelical Lutheran clergyman resident in London, together with ten artisan catechists, whose trades ranged from builders to tailors and cooks, to make up his mission team at Moreton Bay. The Station was to be under the control of the colonial Presbyterian Church, the first missionaries independent of foreign control in the colony. The reason Lang chose this particular location was that it was a largely unsettled site, well cut off from the pollution of convict influence. For Lang had long been concerned with the aboriginal problem, with their natural right to the Australian continent, and their actual status in God's creation: was the aboriginal native 'a man, capable of having the Divine image impressed upon his person, and of rising to the highest level of civilized humanity, or merely an irrational agent like the beasts that perish?'. This was the question Lang wished to answer, while he hoped that an extension of mission stations up the north coast would prevent a repetition of brutal aboriginal murders of ship-wrecked crews such as that which had befallen the "Stirling Castle" in 1835.

By the time Lang completed his arrangements with the German missionaries, the "Portland" had filled its passenger list, and the mission party could not be accommodated on board.

52. The Colonist 10.3.1838.
53. Ibid. 23.5.1838.
54. Ibid. 7.3.1838.
The doctor therefore decided to make further use of the bounty system, and assigned the remainder of his bounty nominations to a mercantile house in England on their agreeing to send out another ship from Scotland with immigrants of a similar type to those already engaged for the "Portland". A Mr. David Dickson was then engaged to select the migrants and accompany them on the ship "Minerva" to New South Wales. The vessel brought around 190 immigrants to Sydney early in 1858, a group well-proportioned between married couples, single males and unmarried females, the vast majority of whom were from Scotland with a few from Ireland, mostly members of the Church of Scotland, and people educated sufficiently to be able to write, or at least read. The male members of the party were equally divided between agricultural pursuits, such as farming, overseeing and farm-labouring, and the usual artisan occupations, while the single women were all house or dairy maids. Lang claimed that the bounty did not quite cover the cost of passage, so £308 was contributed by the steerage passengers before they embarked, while those of their number unable to pay anything bound themselves to promissory notes to be fulfilled in the colony. Typhoid broke out on the direct voyage from Britain, and at least eleven adults seem to have died either on the ship or in quarantine.

55. The Colonist 17.3.1858.
57. Register of Arrivals 1838, under "Minerva".
59. The Colonist 17.3.1838.
including the selector Mr. Dickson. Indeed, the government payment on the bounties was delayed for some time owing to the fact that a certain group in the steerage made complaints against Lang for his provisioning of the ship.

Just before Lang himself left England by the "Portland", he attended one night a meeting of distressed Highlanders in London, and subsequently was the means of directing 4,000 valuable Scottish immigrants to Australia in eighteen different ships, in the course of the next three years. Drought and crop failures had made it a year of severe depression for the Scotch Highlanders, and in desperation they had sent a deputation to London, seeking government assistance for 30,000 of their number in emigrating to Canada. Owing to lack of funds, however, they were refused, and so held a meeting in the Egyptian Hall to solicit public charity. Lang immediately remembered the £120,000 surplus land revenue in New South Wales pledged to immigration purposes, and met the deputation after the meeting to outline to them the government bounty and general colonial conditions. He was especially enthusiastic that each shipload of Highlanders should bring out its own minister and schoolmaster, native speakers of their Gaelic tongue, and that they should settle together in self-sufficient agricultural communities throughout New South Wales and Port Phillip. The deputation was delighted at the prospect.

60. Lang to Colonial Secretary 16.1.1839. Lang Papers vol.17, p.213.
put the case before an equally approving Lord Glenelg, who appropriated the necessary funds from the colonial land revenue, and so the migration was arranged. 'You were the first person who gave us advice as to the best mode of bringing the subject under the notice of the Government', the Rev. McLeod, leader of the deputation, wrote to Lang, 'and from the first to last we have been greatly indebted to you'.

The "Midlothian", the first of the vessels bringing Highlanders to Sydney, carried a group of immigrants from the Isle of Skye, together with a chaplain, the Rev. William McIntyre, A.M., who had been granted a £150 government allowance for passage and outfit. Indeed, Glenelg informed the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland that similar grants would be made to any other Gaelic speaking ministers accompanying Highland immigrant vessels to Australia. On arrival in December 1837, a large group of immigrants by the "Midlothian" refused to hire themselves out for general service, demanding to be settled as a body in some suitable agricultural district, and Gipps, feeling that the government was obliged to fulfil Lang's virtual promise to these people, agreed that if some proprietor would engage them as a group, he would arrange for their transport to the interior and

64. Elliot to Stephen 28.6.1837. HRA I, xix, p.29.
provide them with rations for two months. Mr. Andrew Lang offered to take the immigrants, consisting of 21 families or 101 persons, on his estate at Dunmore, and provided each family with a small farm of fifteen to twenty acres of first-quality alluvial land at a rent of £1 an acre. Lang was thoroughly delighted with this experiment, and urged that other landholders follow his brother's patriotic example; 'then we should soon have to boast', he said, 'of a moral and industrious peasantry - the true wealth and strength of a country'. Another group of twenty families of Highlanders seems to have settled together on Mr. Barker's property at Patrick Plains, but owing to severe colonial criticism in The Sydney Herald, The Australian, and The Monitor against the privileged position extended to these immigrants, no further group settlements occurred.

Those immigrants grouped on Andrew Lang's property seem to have done extremely well, for within a year of their arrival they had built a school-house, saying they would be glad to be equally as poor in ten years' time if only they could get their children educated, and most of them made a good profit on the harvest, averaging 45 bushels of wheat to the acre. One of their number, indeed, cleared £100, after paying

65. Gipps to Glenelg 20.7.1838. N.S.W. Governor's Despatches, 1838, p.969.
66. The Colonist 27.1.1838.
67. Ibid. 19.12.1838.
68. Ibid. 7.3.1838.
69. Ibid. 17.11.1838.
all expenses, from his wheat, maize, tobacco and poultry.

The Highlanders as a whole spread far and wide throughout the pastoral districts of New South Wales, Port Phillip and Queensland. While on a trip in later years to the northern rivers district, Lang found some of their number growing and manufacturing sugar on the Clarence and Manning Rivers.

Mr. John McMillan, who arrived at Port Phillip with his family of ten children in 1840 with just five shillings in his pocket, began in Melbourne as a stonemason's labourer, gradually bought up farming land at Brighton, started a dairy herd, took up a squatting station with his sons on the Murray River, and by 1845 reported to Lang that he was worth over £1100. One Highlander even attained the dignity of a minister of the Crown in Queensland.

In the twelve months that he had been in Europe, then, Lang had accomplished a great deal, recruiting ministers in Britain, missionaries in Germany, vinedressers on the Continent, and two shiploads of bounty immigrants in Scotland - and all despite a severe winter making travelling very difficult, and many hindrances from Church Council and government red-tape, alike. At last in July 1837 he was ready to return to the colony, and so embarked on the ship "Portland" of 541 tons,

70. The Colonist 22.12.1838.
71. Lang Papers vol.24, Printed Section, p.156.
72. Lang, J.D: Phillipsland; or the Country hitherto designated Port Phillip; its present condition and prospects, as a highly eligible field for emigration. (Edinburgh, 1897).
73. Lang, J.D.: An Historical and Statistical Account..., (1875), I, p.268.
together with his twelve clergymen in the First Cabin, the sixteen schoolteachers in the Second Cabin, and 239 immigrants (74) in the steerage. Statistically, these bounty migrants were similar to those later carried out by the "Minerva", being well-proportioned between married couples with few or no children, single males, and unmarried females, while just over half of the men belonged to artisan-type occupations.

Measles broke out during the voyage, being the prime cause of death for twenty-five children on board, and when on nearing Australia scurvy reared its ugly head, Lang commanded the captain to put into land at the nearest point, King George's Sound. Here, by the ingenious treatment of laying the sufferers in newly-dug soil, a miraculous cure was quickly effected, and the passengers were able to proceed to Sydney in excellent health.

Some of the "Portland" passengers, together with the missionaries who arrived by the "Minerva" a few weeks later, made a notable contribution to Australia, especially in religion and in education. For a start, all the bounty immigrants by the "Portland" obtained situations or employment immediately on their landing in the colony, a fact which Lang took as proof of his judicious selection of those types of people most wanted in New South Wales (75). The twelve new

---

74. "List of Passengers who have embarked per ship 'Portland' for New South Wales" - MS compiled by Lang.
75. The Colonist 17.3.1838.
Presbyterian ministers took the dispensation of religion to places where the sound of the Sabbath bell had never been heard before, gathering new congregations in the Hunter and Hawkesbury valleys, in Wollomong, Bathurst, Windsor, and secondary districts of Sydney, and acting as itinerant clergy to scattered communities in the interior. They infused a much-needed vitality into the colonial Presbyterian Church, though by their very arrival they added to the schism already apparent in its ranks, and played a major role in the bitter church controversy in the following decades. For Lang had thwarted the rightful authority of the Presbytery of New South Wales in taking on himself power to select new clergy for the colony in 1837, and they in his absence had steered through the Legislative Council the Presbyterian Church Temporalities Act, reserving for themselves the right to approve any additional ministers, and thus in effect depriving Lang's recruits of the salaries which had been guaranteed them in the General Church Act of 1836. Within eight days of their arrival in Sydney, then, Lang and most of his new ministers formed themselves into a rival Presbyterian Church organisation, called the Synod of New South Wales. It could not be expected however that Lang, conscious of his senior position in the colonial church and impatient of petty...

76. Lang to Labouchère 31.7.1839. Despatches to Governors of N.S.W., 1839, p.184.
hindrances to his great ideals, could work harmoniously with any group of fellow ministers, and early in 1842 he in turn broke with the re-unified Synod and carried his congregation at Scots Church with him as an independent church organisation. Four of the twelve ministers of 1837 were soon to publicly denounce the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian System of church government, two of their number becoming priests of the Church of England, while the other eight refused to take sides in the disruption issue between the states and the free churches within the Presbyterian communion. A bitter and self-righteous Lang complained that "among the twelve apostles whom the Church of Scotland sent forth...there were not fewer than four Judas Iscariots, and eight full-grown specimens of contemptible shuffling and drivelling incapacity" (79).

The schoolteachers that Lang brought out with him on the "Portland" were all highly trained and experienced men, graduates of the Educational Society of Glasgow, who had been chosen by means of competitive examinations, and then regularly sanctioned by the Special Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. It was intended that these teachers should work in conjunction with the Synod of New South Wales, and that a Presbyterian school should be established in each locality where there was a resident minister of the Synod.

79. Lang, J.D: Popery in Australia... (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 42.
Their aim was not to rival other schools, but to supply the children of the ever-increasing Protestant population with 'the blessings of moral and religious instruction combined with the elements of an enlightened and scientific education' (80). As in the parish schools of Scotland, the Bible and the catechism of the Church were to form an important subject of systematic instruction, but the rest of the courses were not to differ from the curriculum provided in other general schools. Within six months the Presbyterian schools were scattered over the whole settled district of the colony, from Berrina in the south to Patrick's Plains on the north, and from Sydney, in which there were no fewer than four schools opened, to Bathurst in the interior. Each school seems to have had around 30 to 60 pupils, and proved of immense value to the various districts in which they were established, while at the same time they provided a sufficient remuneration for the newly arrived teachers (81). By January 1842, for example, Mr. Peter Steel's Infant Training School in Upper Pitt Street had an enrolment of over 140 children, and was regarded as one of the best schools in the colony (82).

The missionaries to the aborigines who arrived by the "Minerva" in January 1833 were also placed under the control of the Synod of New South Wales, a position they held until

80. The Colonist 3.1.1838.
81. Ibid. 18.7.1838.
82. The Colonial Observer 6.1.1842.
early 1842 when they and the Scots Church congregation followed Lang's voluntaryist stand and renounced all connections with the Synod. The missionaries faced a formidable task in establishing a mission station in this virgin wilderness seven miles from the small settlement of Moreton Bay. The only means of conveyance to the station, which they hopefully called "Zion's Hill", was the shoulders of the missionaries, yet within a few months they had built eleven slabbed and thatched cottages, set amidst yards and gardens, purchased a few head of cattle and brought from fifteen to twenty acres under cultivation. They were often in fear of their lives, especially when stories of black cannibalism circulated around Brisbane town, while sometimes their meagre provisions were plundered by hungry natives. At the same time they tried to come in contact with the aboriginals, to instruct them in the truths of Christianity, and to teach the picaninnies, along with their own children, the elements of reading and writing. They found itinerating through the bush the only way of reaching the adult natives, though this meant their leaving the mission station for weeks at a time, and prevented their giving any systematic instruction to particular groups of aboriginals.

84. "Diary for the year 1840". Lang Papers vol.20.
The mission station was continually thwarted and embarrassed by lack of funds, though in the first four years of its establishment the public contributed almost £800 to its support (86). At last in March 1642 Governor Gipps visited the station, and the missionaries were proud to report that in the last eight months they had employed and fed 893 natives, instructed 766 of their children, and spent over four months on itinerant trips with the aboriginals (87). Gipps considered, however, that the station was too close to the disruptive influence of white society to be of any real use, and said that unless it was moved to a new site in the Bunya Mountains west of Brisbane, he could no longer support it as a public charity (88). The German missionaries refused to abandon for naught their strenuous work of the previous years, and the controlling Committee decided it would be impracticable to carry on the mission without Government assistance (89). Thus the Aboriginal Mission was officially closed, but a group of the lay missionaries remained on, and later bought, the estate they had been cultivating since their arrival in the colony. In this capacity they continued to exert a beneficial influence on the community.

86. Eipper, C: ibid. p.16.
around them, while others of their number went to Sydney to study at Dr. Lang's College for the ministry. Wagner was ordained in 1850 and went to Tumut as Presbyterian minister, while in 1851, Niquet and Haussmann arrived at the College and were ordained the following year. Haussmann subsequently became an itinerant chaplain in Queensland, took a great interest in the aboriginal mission re-established under the Rev. William Ridley, and eventually moved to Victoria in 1857 as pastor of Germantown in connection with the Lutheran church. In 1858 Niquet followed him to Victoria as Lutheran minister at Ballarat, while two year's previously, Gericke had become pastor of that communion at Bendigo.

In these ways, then, Lang's fourth voyage to England in 1836 had been a tremendous success. He had brought to the colony much-needed ministers, schoolteachers, and missionaries, together with two ship-loads of valuable immigrants, and demonstrated the practicability of many points in the colonization plan he had put before the Immigration Committee in 1835. As his friend and oft-times immigration associate, John Ker, wrote to him in 1838, "It must be very satisfying to you to see that your labours with the gentlemen of the Colonial Office have been crowned with so much success, and that the Government of this country are now acting so spiritedly...

---

91. Lang Papers vol.24, printed section, p.159.
upon the views of emigration which you so earnestly brought? upon their attention. So far as I can see they seem to have adopted every one of your suggestions, and are carrying forward their plans upon a scale that surprises many here. In fact a new era in the history of emigration appears to have begun and I have no doubt in a great measure through your instrumentality".

One of the major problems being discussed in both Britain and New South Wales in the late 1830's was the advisability of continuing transportation to the colony. There had been a Parliamentary Committee on Transportation appointed in 1837 while Lang was in Britain, and not only was the doctor called as one of the chief witnesses, but his books *Transportation and Colonization* and the *Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales*, were made virtual text-books in conducting the three-day examination of Lang. It was Lang's consistent purpose to combine immigration and transportation as complementary systems, for he believed that without a free and virtuous emigrant population to afford the requisite stimulus to reformation and repress the general tendency to criminality, transportation was doomed to be a failure. Properly administered, however, it was most


95. The Colonist 10.1.1838.

96. Lang, J.D: *Transportation and Colonization* (London,1837) p.56.
effective as a deterrent, being humane, corrective and cheap, and inducing the reformation of the criminal. He therefore proposed that the government should employ convict gangs in clearing the waste lands of the colony for settlement by intending immigrants; in this way the government could profitably use any number of convicts within the present colonial limits for the next twenty years. The pernicious assignment system should be abolished, Lang insisted, and convict gangs situated only in those areas with little European settlement. The transportee should continually be reminded, the Doctor said, that he was under the penal sentence of the law, and that in addition to his term of sentence he had forfeited the status which he originally held in public opinion, a status he could only recover by continued exemplary conduct at the conclusion of his term of bondage.

The official Committee did not accept Lang's opinion, however, and recommended the abolition of the whole system. "Transportation to the Australian colonies would be inconsistent with the policy of encouraging emigration there," they concluded, "For Transportation has a tendency to counteract the moral benefits of emigration, while, on the other hand,

98. Ibid. p.263, Q.4045.
emigration tends to deprive Transportation of its terrors."  
This, of course, was the problem Lang had tried to overcome in suggesting his combined immigration-transportation plan, and, undaunted, on his return to the colony in January 1838, he suggested that the area north of Port Macquarie be proclaimed a penal state while convicts cleared the land and built roads and bridges in preparation for emigrant agricultural settlement. Twenty years later he still strongly held the same opinion, believing transportation to be one of the best forms of secondary punishment, a state-necessity for Great Britain, and in the interests of humanity, commerce and civilization. He now suggested the north-west coast of Australia, especially the Victoria River district, as an excellent site for development by convict labour gangs.

This disagreement with official policy over transportation was indicative of what was to come, for in the following decade of the 1840's, Lang quarrelled bitterly with the government over immigration planning. Henceforward he would attempt to "go it alone", through joint-stock companies and emigration societies, without recourse to direct government assistance. Nevertheless, his close association with the official immigration programme all through the 1830's had established him both in Britain and in the colony as an

101. The Colonist 17.1.1838.
102. Lang to editor of the Empire 15.4.1857. Newspaper cuttings vol.I (N.L.)
authority on migration matters, had provided him with the necessary experience to organize a large-scale colonization on his own initiative, and thus prepared the way for that great "climax of his immigration work, the six ships of the late 1840's."
The climax to Lang's migration work came with the years 1846 to 1850, a period unique in the Doctor's career, when he concentrated exclusively on immigration. The reasons behind this change were two-fold: in the first place Lang was violently opposed to the official immigration policy after 1839, one concentrating solely on the private bounty system, and he determined to initiate an extensive emigration from the mother country based on his own colonization principles; secondly, he had a whole series of private immigration aims which he wished to fulfil - to recruit an extensive Protestant population of thoroughly respectable settlers who, as distinct from the semi-paupers sent out by the Emigration Commissioners, could pay their passage out in return for a land bonus on arrival, to gather a dozen ordained ministers and twenty candidates for the colonial Presbyterian Church, to revive the Australian College by British government aid and a respectable colonial population to support it, to foster the cultivation of cotton and other tropical produce in Moreton Bay, to experiment with self-sufficient agricultural communities in the area around Port Phillip, and to bring about the natural separation of Cooksland and Phillipsland from New 

1. Lang, J.D.: Popery in Australia and the Southern Hemisphere; and how to check it effectively, (Edinburgh, 1847), p.25.
South Wales, making them flourishing, independent colonies on their own account.

With these aims, then, Lang embarked on his sixth voyage to Britain in 1846, and for the next three years travelled extensively in England, Scotland, and Ireland, circulating bills and pamphlets, lecturing in the major towns and villages, writing innumerable articles for newspapers and journals, forming emigration societies in influential localities, establishing a series of joint-stock companies, and carrying on a continuous and increasingly bitter correspondence with the Colonial Office and the Colonial Land and Immigration Commissioners. As a result, he brought twelve hundred specially selected immigrants to Australia in privately chartered ships, men who left their mark on the colony politically, economically, and socially, and whose migration contributed in no small way to the general development of a colonial immigration policy.

Events of the year 1839 changed Lang from a supporter to a staunch antagonist of the official immigration programme. In that year the government bounty system, with its efficient complex of agents and surgeons of the Royal Navy, was terminated, the private bounty system instituted as the sole means of assisted migration, and within a few months the Colonial Land and Immigration Commissioners appointed as an advisory and protective body in matters of land and immigration. While the colony was to provide the capital and define the
regulations, the Emigration Commissioners were to administer this finance, investigate the voluntary emigrants, inspect the vessels and provisions, and, in short, protect British subjects against fraudulent statements and dangers. It was thus a compromise solution, designed to satisfy the colonists' desire for real power in the selection and transport of their immigrants, and to fulfil that British ideal of a government following in the wake of private enterprise, and supplying only that direction and control which circumstances might require. Neither aspect of this new programme pleased Dr. Lang, however, but before going on to examine his views on the subject, it would be wise to investigate briefly the official reasons for the policy change.

In 1839 an Immigration Committee of the Legislative Council was appointed to assess critically the relative merits of the private bounty and of the government systems of immigration. While it concluded that each scheme had introduced a great number of useful and industrious persons into the country, it stressed that the bounty system was not only much cheaper than that organized by the government, but also without doubt it introduced a more eligible type of


3. As Lord Grey explained it in 1848, "The State should only interfere to assist and direct the emigrant, leaving him to act for himself...I repeat that the proper functions of a government in this matter are not to supersede the efforts of individuals, but rather to guide and assist individual exertion", Hansard, CI, 1-50, August 10, 1848. Quoted in Hitchens,F.H.: The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, (Philadelphia,1931), p.290.

4. The Committee stressed that the number conveyed by the Government at a cost of £168,775 could have been conveyed... (OVER)
immigrant. Mr. Pinnock, the Colonial Agent for Immigration, added his influential opinion to this decision, saying that the Examination Board at Sydney made the whole system foolproof, bounties being awarded only for suitable immigrants complying with the occupation, age and character regulations, and sent out in approved ships. Many Government emigrants, especially those from Ireland, Pinnock went on, would have been refused acceptance, if they had come out under the Bounty Scheme. Owing to the close connection between the Agent-General and the Poor Law Commissioners, it was suspected that government immigrants were chosen to relieve Great Britain of her paupers; indeed, Under-Secretary Stephen assessed that "In the conduct of the emigration to Australia, every opportunity has been taken to render it as far as possible subservient to the relief of

4 (contd). by the Bounty at just £112,855.

5. Report of the Committee on Immigration, pp.4-9. V & P Leg.Council N.S.W., 1839. The 1838 Committee pointed out that "the private ship-owner has the strongest inducement to admit such Emigrants only as in their moral and personal qualifications conform strictly to the Government Regulations". Report of the Committee on Immigration, p.8, Ibid., 1838.


8. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 empowered the parish to borrow a sum not exceeding half the average yearly rate for the three preceding years for defraying the expenses of emigration of poor persons willing to emigrate to a British colony. See Madgwick, R.: Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851, (London, 1837), p.141.
distressed districts at Home. Finally, the colony complained that there was a higher degree of sickness aboard Government chartered ships, a result, a special investigatory board found, of the greater number of children carried out under that system.

The Land and Emigration Commissioners were able to answer most of these charges. Evidence before the 1839 Committee regarding both the character of government immigrants and the shipping provided, they argued, had not been fairly presented, and they openly accused Pinnock of not only misrepresenting the facts but also of being in collusion with John Marshall. The extra cost involved in the government system, they pointed out, resulted from their passengers being permitted to stay in the Immigration barracks for four weeks after their arrival, as compared with just forty-eight hours by bounty migrants. Indeed, the Commissioners concluded, it was a well-known fact that vessels hired by the government

9. Stephen to Baring, 2.3.1838. HRAI, xix, p.358. The Assistant Secretary to the Poor Law Commissioners testified to the Select Committee on Colonization from Ireland that "a very large portion of the pauper emigrants went to the Australian Colonies because the cost to the Parish was so trifling". Evidence of W.G.Lumley at the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland. P.P. 1847, VI, 737. Q.2849.

10. Report of the Board appointed to inquire into the probable causes which have produced in 1838 a greater degree of sickness on board Immigration ships chartered by the Government, than in those fitted out under the Bounty System. V & P Leg.Council N.S.W., 1839, pp.307-11. Th. It was Pinnock’s estimate that the number of children to adults aboard Government vessels was in the proportion of one to one, as compared with one to three aboard Bounty Ships. Report of Pinnock, 28.2.1839, ibid., p.4.

11. Both men had been closely connected through the London (OVER
were far superior on the whole to those under private charter, hospitals being provided and all arrangements being under the control of experienced surgeons of the Royal Navy, whereas bounty ships had no such direction, and as they usually took on intermediate passengers, the cabins and bulkheads built for this accommodation prevented the free circulation of air in the 'tween-decks. Elliot stressed further that since he took shipping care and discipline under the control of his office at the end of 1838, issuing a strict code of regulations to be observed on all government vessels, mortality had been remarkably reduced, seven of the twelve ships since sent out having arrived without a single death, and four of the remaining five with not more than two. The percentage of children aboard government vessels had been reduced from 34 per cent in 1837 to just

11. (contd) Emigration Committee 1833-35, Marshall as Secretary and shipping agent, and Pinnock first as a clerk in the Colonial Office and then as Colonial Emigration Agent in London.

12. Land and Emigration Commissioners to Under-Secretary Stephen, 14.9.1840. HRA, I, xxi, pp.16-24,


14. In 1837-38 a ship was considered prosperous if it reached its destination with fewer than ten deaths.
11½ per cent by 1839. Finally, Elliot answered critics of
the type of emigrant sent out by the government, with the
practical observation that "The remarks made on this subject
in the colony are somewhat too apt to assume that there is
an unlimited command of emigrants in this country. It may be
natural for an officer at Sydney to point out, that the
persons who arrive are not the best that could be desired;
but the duty to which the officers at home must attend is,
to send the best who can be procured" (15).

The Governor, the colonists, and the press were not
convinced by this defence, however. Gipps declared that
"the great cause why emigrants sent out by the Government
are at once more expensive, and less valuable, to the colony
than those imported on the bounty, appears...to be, that they
are usually taken from districts labouring under the pressure
of penury, want, or disease" (16). The Sydney Herald
condemned the government system as "a job" used by Whig
politicians in England to rid the country of its undesirables
Even Lang's journal The Colonist, during the Doctor's absence
in England early in 1840, came out in favour of bounty
immigration, declaring it superior to the government system.

15. Report from T.F. Elliot, Agent-General for Emigration from
the United Kingdom, to the Secretary of State for the


both in economy and in selection, there being less chance of a majority of Irish Catholics imported under its auspices. Dr. Lang was one of the few influential colonists then, who despaired of the change in policy in 1839. Not only had he always approved of the government immigration system, but also he violently opposed both aspects of the new programme, the bounty system, and the appointment of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners alike. In the first place, the government immigration had provided that official direction so much to his liking, surgeons of the Royal Navy experienced in the colony had been employed to select immigrants from districts throughout the British Isles and accompany them to the colony, well-provisioned ships had been despatched from numerous ports in each of the three kingdoms, and, moreover, he agreed with Elliot that the faults within the system, such as an excessive expenditure and high proportion of children, were largely eradicated at the close of 1838. "In this way", he concluded, the "Government Emigration ships were despatched from time to time with farm-labourers from the agricultural districts of England, particularly from the county of Kent; with pastoral emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland; with

18. The Colonist 26.2.1840. In a previous issue, the paper had reported that "The Immigration Fund of this Colony has been squandered by the Home Government in the most extravagant manner, not by any means to import judiciously selected and available labour into this country, but to disburden the over-populated estates of...whole swarms of starving and wretched Families, many of whom are altogether unfit for this colony...by this means they have endeavoured to aid the operation of their Poor Law system." Ibid. 19.2.1840.
mechanics from Dundee and the Clyde in Scotland, and from Londonderry in Ireland; and with farm-servants from Belfast and the South and West of Ireland. There was thus of necessity a considerably greater expense incurred, in the first instance at least, and till the system could be properly matured".

Despite the persevering efforts that had been made to produce a different impression, both in the Colony and in England, he declared in 1841, "I have no hesitation in expressing my belief and conviction...that these emigrants, as a body, were in point of moral and religious character incomparably more desirable for the Colony than the great majority of those introduced during the last two years by private speculation".

It was the Australian nationalist in Lang which led him to oppose the appointment of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, for he always held that it should be only those men personally acquainted and directly concerned with the colony who should lead out in its immigration policy. As The Colonist remarked on hearing that the Commissioners were entrusted with regulating the sale of land and the supply of immigrants in New South Wales, "There can be no doubt that this Colony has some reason to be jealous of having its most important interests placed absolutely in the hands of three men, who have no state in the Colony". It was the private

19. Lang, J.D.: The Question of Questions; or is this Colony to be transformed into a Province of the Popedom? (Sydney, 1841), p.5.
20. Ibid., p.6.
21. The Colonist 1.7.1840.
bounty system, however, which most angered Lang. By 1838 it was generally admitted that in actual practice the system had changed from the ideal at its inception, and that it was no longer based on a pre-engagement principle with individual colonists, but rather had fallen into the hands of shipping-brokers who selected immigrants complying with the current age, occupation and character qualifications, and who collected the bounty for each passenger passed by the Examining Board in Sydney.

In Lang's more colourful interpretation, a "pack of thoroughly unprincipled London speculators" had, "by dint of exaggerated statements, misrepresentations, and the concealment of important facts", duped "that pack of incapables, yelped The Legislative Council" into establishing the bounty system as the sole means of assisted passages, and thus the colonial immigration policy had degenerated into "a mere mercantile speculation". "To issue Bounty Orders, as they are called, to the extent of nearly a million sterling, and to leave the whole matter thereafter to chance, cupidity, and villainy, as His Excellency and his Councils have actually done, was a piece of absolute folly and infatuation". Lang therefore determined to use

25. Ibid. 6.1.1842.
26. Ibid. 10.2.1842.
pamphlets, newspaper letters, and his new journal *The Colonial Observer* to restore immigration as a "moral lever of incalculable power for good" in the colony.

It was the Scottish Protestant in Lang, however, which led him to oppose most doggedly the private bounty system, collecting petitions against it, heaping it often with acrimony and invective, and finally committing himself for over three years abroad to initiate a new alternate immigration system based on his own colonization principles. Statistics proved that the 1839 immigration programme was introducing a disproportionate number of Irish Roman Catholics into the colony; Bishop Broughton revealed in the Legislative Council that in the eighteen months between January 1841 and June 1842, of the 25,330 immigrants who were transported at the public expense, no fewer than 16,892, or two-thirds of the total number, were from Ireland.

Naturally, Lang agreed, this imbalance was not the deliberate policy of the colonial government, but rather was the inevitable result of the private bounty system. As not one in twenty of the colonists taking out bounty orders had any means of selecting and engaging immigrants in the United Kingdom, they simply transferred their orders to some

---

27. Ibid. 18.11.1841.
mercantile house in Sydney, engaged extensively in the immigration business, and having partners, agents or correspondents in London. Indeed, one Sydney merchant he knew, just prior to his departure for England, obtained an order from the local government for the importation of 500 bounty immigrants, and sold it immediately on his arrival to a London firm for £500. Moreover, Lang added, the principal agent in Sydney engaged in the private bounty business, through his London partners, was none other than Mr. John Marshall, of female emigration notoriety.

One of his vessels, the "Glenswilly", arrived in Sydney in March 1841 with 310 new colonists aboard, all from Ireland, fewer than twenty of them of the Protestant faith, and yet with every immigrant listed as of English origin embarked at the port of Plymouth. This monstrous distortion of the facts resulted, Lang claimed, from the unsupervised shipping agents' natural concern for economy, in that they sought their emigrants first on the cheapest market, namely the south and west of Ireland, and then sent them at five shillings a head by Dublin or Cork steamboats trading with London, to meet the Australian emigrant ships at Plymouth. Here they were all rated as emigrants from England. In 1840

31. Lang, J.D.: Immigration... (1870), p.16.
Lang had personal experience of this deception, for having missed his ship at Liverpool, he took passage on a bounty emigrant vessel to Plymouth via Dublin, and saw at first hand the working of the Australian immigration system.

Lang always insisted that he was neither racially nor denominationally prejudiced. "Provided that the Irish Catholic be a proper man in his social relations", his journal The Colonist explained, "his religion ought never to form any barrier to his eligibility as an immigrant, any more than it should as regards his participation in all competent privileges, whether civil or political, which belong to a free and reputable subject". What he did demand was "a fair field and no favour", with immigrants selected in direct proportion to the populations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, thereby to establish a thoroughly British-type society on the Australian continent. Despite these claims to tolerance, however, Lang's entire work in immigration revealed him to be exceedingly biased in favour

33. This ship the "Portland", aboard which Lang returned to the colony in 1840, carried female immigrants selected almost exclusively from Cork and Limerick, while only seven of the forty-three unmarried men were of English origin.

34. The Colonist 26.2.1840.

35. Ibid., 3.9.1840.
of English and Scottish protestants, from his inaugural immigration scheme of the Scotch artisans in 1831, right up until his aggressive campaign throughout the two kingdoms in the late 1840s.

In this militant anti-Catholic prejudice, Lang was a typical product of early Nineteenth Century Scotland, and in addition, of a staunch and zealous Presbyterian family. Believing "the whole Papal system" to be "not only a monstrous perversion of Christianity", but also "a serious obstacle to the political advancement and general welfare of any country", he set out to rally the denominations of Evangelical Protestantism to "set their face, as flint" against this common adversary, and to advocate "the exclusive appropriation of Protestant funds to the encouragement and

35b. In an open letter distributed throughout Scotland in 1847, Lang explained that as his object was to promote Protestant emigration to Australia, he could not be accessory to the emigration of any Roman Catholics from the country, a decision reached not because of any antipathy to that denomination, but because the colony already had too many of them from another quarter. Lang Papers, vol.17, p.231.

36. John Dunmore Lang's earliest interest in Australia had been to request his brother George, the first member of the Lang family to come to the colony, to report on the state of the Presbyterian Church in this new country. Lang Papers, vol.24.
promotion of Protestant immigration" (37). Roman Catholic immigration was indeed dangerous, he insisted, on two counts: politically, because every adherent came under the dictation of the Romish hierarchy, and formed a compact and distinct voting party, a factor to be avoided in a country where universal suffrage was soon to be introduced (38); socially, because history revealed that wherever Popery prevailed, Sabbath observance was desecrated, standards of morality were lowered, and infidelity greatly augmented (39). Moreover, the doctor noted, with regard to Irish emigration to Australia specifically, the situation was explosive, as the majority of Irish colonists were recruited in those very counties, Cork, Dublin, Galway and Tipperary, pro from which the largest portion of Irish convicts had come (40). They were generally people in the most abject poverty, in the lowest stages of moral debasement. One Irish landlord exulted in having ridded "his estates of several of his

39. Ibid., p.19.
40. The Colonial Observer 9.12.1841. A later article in this same journal noted that Mr. Macarthur had made a study of bounty immigrants, had found that the majority were from the same counties as most of the convict population, and had concluded "that a large proportion of our bounty immigrants are really no better than convicts". Ibid., 6.1.1842.
totally useless paupers at the expense of the colony of New South Wales". "In short", Lang concluded his remarks on the private bounty system, "if our Colonial authorities had been bribed...to do their best, without exciting suspicion throughout the Empire, to deliver this Colony over to Mr. Daniel O'Connell and the Pope, I am at a loss to know how they could have discharged their duty to their employer more effectually than they have done". This was challenge enough for the zealous Lang, and he determined that once immigration was renewed after the depression years of the early 1840's, he would personally direct a copious stream of thoroughly Protestant emigration to Australia, and thereby rescue this "principal source and centre of moral influence for the Southern hemisphere, for all time coming, from the grasp of the Papacy". In the meantime he published an inflammatory pamphlet in 1841 entitled The Question of Questions! or, is this Colony to be transformed into a Province of the Popedom?, and organized two petitions for presentation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, one from the City of Sydney, 

41. Samuel Browning to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 27.8.1847. Lang Papers, Vol.17, p.305. Lang heard on good authority the words of a parochial officer regarding certain bounty immigrants aboard the "Portland" in 1840: "No doubt they are no better than they should be; they take (meaning steal) a goose now and then; but they are angels compared with the people they are going out among". Lang, J.D.: Immigration.. (1870), p.16.

42. The Colonial Observer 15.6.1842.

43. Lang to the Editor of the British Banner 15.11.1848. Kiddle, M: Letters of Dr. John Dunmore Lang in the British Banner (12.7.1848-13.11.1849) copied from (OVER
the other from the district of Port Phillip, requesting that the immigration fund, derived as it was principally from the Protestant landholders of New South Wales, be used to introduce colonists in equal proportions from the three kingdoms of the British Isles.

By the end of 1844 the "bad times" were only a memory, labour in the colony was so scarce that some pastoralists were importing coolies from India to work their properties, and it was generally known that assisted immigration would soon be resumed on a large scale. During the three years of depression, Lang had been influential in immigration circles, having been appointed to each succeeding Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Immigration. In 1843 Governor Gipps announced that the private bounty system would be abandoned, while the Report of the 1845 Committee included several recommendations previously sponsored by Lang and undoubtedly strongly advocated by him now in Committee, that emigrants be derived in equal proportions from England, Scotland and Ireland and selected by responsible agents answerable to the Colonial

44. "Petition of certain Landholders, Stockholders, Householders, Merchants, and other Protestant Inhabitants of the District of Port Phillip to the Right Honourable Lord Stanley, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies". Newspaper Cuttings, vol.1, (N.L.). "Petition of certain Protestant Inhabitants of the City of Sydney to the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, April, 1845", Lang Papers, Vol.17, pp.219-21.
46. Lang, J.D.: An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, (1875); I, p.370.
Government, that on arrival in Australia these immigrants (47) be dispersed widely at the different colonial ports, and that land bonuses be provided for those immigrants paying their own passage out, £80 being allowed for a cabin fare, £40 for an intermediate, and £25 for a steerage class. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners now assumed strict control of the whole system of immigration selection, transportation and provisioning, and the 1845 Legislative Council Committee hoped that 12,500 emigrants would be sent out annually under the new regulations.

Lang was now determined to use this large-scale immigration to "establish a great moral and religious 'cordon sanitaire' of thoroughly Protestant settlements along 1500 miles of the coastline of Australia" (49), as he explained to David Archer, he would prevent this country from becoming a mere province of the Popedom simply by pre-occupying the unsettled portions of the country, particularly at Port Phillip and Moreton Bay, with an extensive Evangelical population. Thus he raised a great cry of

47. It was suggested that one-third of the immigrants should be landed at Port Phillip, one-third at Sydney, and the remaining third distributed at Portland Bay, Two-fold Bay, Jervis Bay, Port Macquarie, and Moreton Bay.
49. Lang to the Editor of the British Banner 15.11.1846. Kiddle, M.: Letters of Dr. John Dunmore Lang in the British Banner....
50. Lang to David Archer, 27.12.1845. Archer Papers, General and Business Correspondence, p.35.
"No Popery" in the land, suddenly and openly turned against the indefatigable but Catholic worker in female immigration, Caroline Chisholm, and publicly announced that he would make an extensive colonial tour in preparation for his sixth voyage to Britain, one devoted exclusively to the initiation of an immigration programme based on his own colonization principles.

It was his colonial tour of late 1845 and early 1846, taking him by coastal steamer, by horseback and by foot north-east into the Moreton Bay area, south-west into the Port Phillip district, which convinced Lang of three further fundamental objectives for his sixth voyage, achievements which were to assume vital importance during his three years in Britain, and which were to prove of far greater significance in the colony than his original aim of Protestant immigration. In the first place, the fertile river valleys, the rich pastures and the balmy climate of these virtually unpopulated areas renewed Lang's determination to experiment with his ideal of industrious and intelligent families, each working their own self-sufficient farms. If he

---

51. See the lively correspondence between Caroline Chisholm and Lang recorded in the S.M.H. 14-23 March, 1846. Margaret Kiddle has suggested that Lang's sudden antipathy to Caroline Chisholm was due in part to his jealousy of her popular acclaim in immigration matters. Kiddle, M: Caroline Chisholm (Melbourne, 1950), p.93.

52. Lang, J.D: Emigration... (Sydney,1633).
could establish the principle that every immigrant who paid either the whole or any portion of his passage money would receive a bonus in land proportionate to the amount thus outlaid, Lang was sure a far more useful, respectable and independent class of immigrants could be obtained. Moreover, since government immigration was financed solely through land revenue, he devised a plan whereby on his arrival in Britain he should form one or more companies to purchase colonial lands at the minimum price, on the condition that one-half of the cost price be used in conveying out the emigrants selected by the Company, and the other half in local improvements, such as roads and bridges, thus facilitating colonization in these hitherto unsettled districts; the land would then be resold in farms of eighty to one hundred acres to these immigrants of small capital and independence. In this way, self-sufficient communities would be scattered throughout the colony, communities which "would not only contribute materially to develop its vast resources, but would transmit the precious inheritance of our civil and religious liberties unimpaired to posterity".

54. Lang to David Archer, 27.12.1845. Archer Papers, General and Business Correspondence, p.35.
Lang's visit to Moreton Bay in 1845 convinced him of yet another great aim for his sixth voyage home, to demonstrate the practicability of growing both cotton and sugar in this district by European free labour. In the general salubrity of the climate, the fitness of the few British colonizers already settled, and the quality of the odd specimens of tropical produce he found there, Lang conceived the vision of a flourishing colony, supplying the British market with raw cotton and sugar, and combating the slave-based economies of the southern American and West Indian states. It was thus of prime importance to his homeland Britain, his adopted country Australia, and to humanity generally, that he succeed in this great objective.

Ever since his extensive tour of America in 1840, Lang had been a strong proponent of the separation of states; in the first elections for the Legislative Council held in mid-1843, Lang had been returned directly on this ticket as one of the three representatives for Port Phillip, and he had immediately drawn up a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the issue. His journal The Colonial Observer had already explained that "Port Jackson, Port Phillip and Moreton Bay have evidently been designed by nature, or rather by Divine Providence, as the sites of

great commercial emporiums, as the localities in which the capitals of separate and flourishing colonies, to be transformed in due time into independent and sovereign states, should be situated. Now his colonial tour only reinforced his determination that both these northern and southern extremities of New South Wales were eminently suited to separation, and he decided that during his visit to Britain, he would personally recommend to Earl Grey that a separate clause be inserted in the forthcoming Act of Parliament for the better government of the Australian Colonies. He was commissioned also by various anti-transportation committees to plead their cause before the Colonial Secretary, for the dearth of labour in the colony had induced the squatter party, led by Wentworth, to press for a renewal of transportation in New South Wales, against the wishes of the mass of the people. Although Lang approved of transportation as a means of secondary punishment, he strongly objected to its continuance in settled districts.

In addition to these various public-spirited objectives

58. Lang, J.D: Emigration to Australia, (Sydney, 1855), p.1.
59. E.C.Claus (Chairman Maitland Anti-Transportation Committee) to Lang 8.12.1846. Unclassified MSS held in the N.L.
for this sixth voyage to Britain, Lang had as always a few private aims directly connected with his position as senior minister of the Presbyterian Church in the colony. He needed ten or twelve new Protestant clergymen to form congregations both in the cities and in the country areas, ministers who, he hoped, would aid him in combating the "present monstrous ecclesiastical system of establishments" (61) in the territory. He wished to found a "native ministry", products of a clerical training college in the colony, suited to Australian needs and conditions (62), and thus he required twenty young candidates from Britain to form the nucleus of his class at the Australian College. At the same time he hoped to revive this same institution as a reputable educational establishment in the colony. With these aims, then, of initiating an extensive immigration of industrious and virtuous, independent and Protestant colonists to Australia, each receiving a bonus in land equal to the amount of passage money paid, Lang set out in July 1846 for his sixth voyage to Britain. By introducing a flourishing economy of semi-tropical products to Moreton Bay, and an intelligent and enterprising population to both Moreton Bay and Port Phillip, he hoped to clinch the separation of these two districts from the parent colony of New South Wales, while at the same time he trusted that

61. Lang to Rev. A. Anderson, 13.12.1848. Lang MS held in the ML.

his extension of the colonial ministry and education system would preserve these districts as centres of Protestantism in the Southern Hemisphere.

The forty-three months of his absence from Australia, from July 1846 to March 1850, comprised a period of intense activity for Lang. During the long voyage he completed two detailed books on the suitability of both the Moreton Bay and the Port Phillip Districts as fields for British emigration, books which were immediately published and widely circulated upon his arrival in London. He travelled extensively throughout the three kingdoms, lecturing in the major towns and villages, circulating leaflets and pamphlets, writing innumerable letters on colonization to the various local journals, pressing cotton manufacturers with the vast potential of the Moreton Bay district as the source of their raw material, corresponding with the Colonial Office on his special emigration project, and endeavouring to set up joint-stock companies to effect his colonization to Australia.

63. The titles of these two books were: "Cooksland in North Eastern Australia; the Future Cotton-Field of Great Britain: its characteristics and capabilities for European colonisation. With a disquisition on the origin, manners, and customs of the Aborigines" (London, 1847), and "Phillipsland; or the Country hitherto Designated Port Phillip; its present condition and prospects as a highly eligible field for emigration". (Edinburgh, 1847).

64. Lang's concern for joint-stock companies was not uncommon in his day, as the Colonist reported "The principle of joint stock is becoming quite the rage at present in the colony...By them local improvements can be at once anticipated, which if left to individual
After sixteen months' work, however, all came to naught. Britain was in the midst of a severe mercantile depression, and the public were singularly uninterested in any seemingly utopian emigration schemes. Although Lang was examined by two different Committees of the House of Commons on the practicability and probable results of the cultivation of tropical produce by means of European free labour in Australia, he was heard only coldly and incredulously, as the Committeemen preferred to follow Sir Robert Inglis' theory that there was some mysterious but undeniable connection between sugar or cotton production and negro labour. In July 1847 Lang outlined a detailed Prospectus for "The Australian Cotton-Growing and Emigration Company", an association designed to purchase progressively one million acres in the colony, to carry out and settle a free emigrant population under the supervision of persons experienced in both cotton and sugar growing, and then to sell this land to the new colonists at a fixed rate. Thomas Bazley, President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, gave £100 as the first investment in this project, and Earl Grey personally assured Lang that in

64 (contd). enterprise might be unattempted for years. The Colonist 4.1.1840.
65. Lang, J.D: Narrative of Proceedings... (Sydney, 1850), p.5.
66. Bright's Committee on the cultivation of cotton in India, and Hutt's Committee on the best means of suppressing slavery and the slave trade.
the event of a bona fide Company being established, there would be no objection to the Government granting it a Charter of Incorporation. But the mercantile depression, in addition to the serious losses that had been sustained by English capitalists in Sydney and Melbourne, resulted in a general withdrawal of public confidence from all such speculations, and the whole plan had to be abandoned.

Lang, indefatigable as ever, went on to plan "The Scottish Phillipsland Emigration Company", having persuaded several wealthy and influential men in Britain to invest their capital in the purchase of an extensive tract of land in the Geelong District, through which it was proposed to construct a railway for the progressive settlement of numerous agricultural families selected by the Company in Scotland.

Further investigation revealed, however, that the new Squatting Act of 1846, "one of the crudest and most enormous measures ever known in the annals of civilized legislation," virtually reserved these unsettled colonial lands to the squatters, and so thwarted any possible investment interest.

70. Lang Papers, vol. 177, pp. 223-25.
In the same way, Lang's earliest emigration overtures to the Colonial Office met with a direct rebuttal, for Lord Grey observed that his plans were contrary both to the Land Sales Act and to the Squatting Regulations recently promulgated in New South Wales, and, moreover, that it was impossible for the Government to countenance any immigration scheme favouring one denomination of Christians over another. He next addressed himself to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, offering his services as travelling agent to select suitable immigrants for the colony, but again he was politely but firmly refused. Speaking both as an individual and as a Representative of the People of New South Wales, an enraged Lang disclaimed these Commissioners as either "unfit for their office or unworthy of their trust".

So the first sixteen months passed in perpetual irritation and fruitless effort, and Lang, embarrassed now by his grandiose plans of the previous year, seriously considered emigrating himself to the United States! Before admitting defeat, however, he decided on one more concerted campaign. Beginning in March 1848 he wrote a

---

73. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners to Lang, 25.6.1847. Ibid., p.299.
74. Lang to the Editor of the Times, September 1847. Ibid., p.311.
75. Lang, J.D.: Narrative of Proceedings..., p.5.
long weekly letter to the British Banner, a popular journal among the evangelical religious public of England, Scotland and Ireland, thus keeping colonization constantly before the people. He travelled extensively and systematically throughout the three kingdoms, from London, through Manchester, Glasgow and Aberdeen, north to the Orkney Islands, and then west into Londonderry and Belfast. Everywhere he went he hired the major town hall, lectured under the chairmanship of some leading local citizens, and reported his message of Protestant, independent colonization, sugar and cotton production, of civil and religious liberty, widely in the press the next day. The terrible potato famine in Ireland, combined with the general mercantile depression, now made emigration a necessity for Britain, and Lang shared in this widespread colonization enthusiasm. At Bristol, he addressed an audience of over 1,500 people, including the mayor and the leading city clergymen of all denominations, while at Bedford the overcrowded meeting had to be adjourned to a near-by square.

76. Ibid., pp.5-6.
78. In 1847 only 966 persons were conveyed to New South Wales by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners at the expense of colonial funds; the next year the number suddenly increased to 12,203, and in 1849 extended still higher to 13,845. See Hitchens, F.H.: The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, (Philadelphia,1931), Appendix 10, p.322; also 2nd-11th Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, P.P. 1842-51 (volume numbers listed in the Bibliography).
where first he lectured to some 2,000 attentive listeners and then answered their many eager questions. He was inundated with letters from prospective immigrants, from a 

sawyer who could not "obtain a sufficient Employment nor a fair remuneration for it" in his native land, from an educated single lady who had no "vocation...for the married life" and who wished to start in business in the colony, from skilled farmers, from tradesmen and from paupers alike.

So great was the enthusiasm, indeed, that Lang was able to founded a whole series of emigration societies, based on the principles of benefit or friendly societies, in Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. After all the work had been done, the first workingmen's contributions received, however, he discovered, much to his chagrin, that in the amendment of

79. As William Lang described the scene to his mother:
"When father entered the Hall and went on the platform the people cried...that there were hundreds outside who could not hear; so they sent for a wagon, put it in a sheltered place; then they would not let father speak until he consented to go outside". (William Lang) to Mother, 27.6.1849. Lang Papers held by Sir John Ferguson.

80. Letters from prospective immigrants held by Sir John Ferguson, and in the Unclassified Lang MSS (1847-50). (M.L.).

81. The "Bristol and West of England Australian Emigration Society", the "Leeds and Yorkshire Emigration Association", the "North of Ireland Phillippsland Emigration Company", the "Scottish Australian Emigration Society", and the "Manchester and Lancashire Australian Emigration Society" were among the societies formed on this basis. Lang Papers, vol.17; Newspaper Cuttings, vol.1 (N.L.).
the Friendly Societies' Act in the previous summer, emigration had not been expressly mentioned as one of the objects for which such associations could be formed, and so the different societies had to be abandoned. Lang therefore turned his attention again to Joint Stock Companies, the only means by which his colonization programme could be legally effected under the existing acts of parliament.

With his characteristic enthusiasm, confidence, impetuosity, and disregard for strict interpretation of official regulations, Lang attempted to organize a variety of joint-stock companies. Ever since his arrival in the United Kingdom, he had been interested in promoting the emigration of young paupers to Australia, suggesting to the parish authorities that for the cost of just one year's support in the workhouse, they could send their adolescent dependents to the colony. Since Britain could transfer 20,000 such children to New South Wales in the next two years, Lang calculated, his plan would be of inestimable relief to the burdened home country, and of great benefit.

82. For example, on 6th October, 1849 a meeting of the "Glasgow and West of Scotland Australian Emigration Society was held in Glasgow to dissolve the society, and Lang, who had made himself responsible for the association, returned to each member the whole amount of his respective payments, without any deduction for expenses incurred. Broadsheet in the Lang Papers held by Sir John Ferguson.

slike to the developing, underpopulated colony, and to the young pauper entitled, indeed, to independence and security in life. In July 1848, then, Lang addressed a printed proposal to the officers of the parish of Marylebone, London, that they should experiment in emigration to Australia under the attractive official regulations, and so hopefully, create a precedent for an extensive national emigration of juvenile and able-bodied poor. He suggested that the parish authorities and the colony should between them put up sufficient capital to sponsor this emigration, that the money should then be deposited with the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, who would arrange passage for the nominees, and in return the parish would receive a colonial land order proportionate to their monetary outlay. If he could be appointed agent for the parish, he would arrange for the best available land to be selected in the colony, would lease or sell it to small farmers he wished to send out from Scotland and the North of Ireland, and could therefore guarantee that within five or ten years the parish would have its investment returned in full.

At the same time Lang organized Companies to effect his own immigration programme. The "Cooksland Colonization

85. Ibid., pp. 11-13.
Company" was designed to establish a flourishing tropical products economy in Moreton Bay, with each emigrant family working its own farm, processing its produce in the model factories and mills set up by the Company, the whole supervised by men experienced in the growth of cotton and sugar. A similar organization, the "Port Phillip Colonization Company", was intended to promote settlement to the dairy and crop farming area around Geelong. By July 1848 Lang decided that the duplication of administrative machinery and officials for these two companies was an unnecessary expense, and he proposed instead the establishment of a single association, the "Port Phillip and Clarence River Colonization Company", offering identical advantages in land and passage to both localities. With a capital of around £100,000, taken up in shares of £20 each, one-third of them by reputable colonists, two-thirds by prospective emigrants complying with the government regulations, the Company would nominate passengers of its own selection, to be transported to New South Wales through the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, while the margin of profit made on each land order thus obtained.

86. "Proposals to be laid before Earl Grey...by and on behalf of the Cooksland Colonization Company". Despatches to Governor of New South Wales, Sep.–Dec. 1849.

87. Lang to the Editor of the British Banner, 12.7.1848.
would pay investment dividends, and support public works and education in the colony. Prominent cotton merchants and manufacturers in Glasgow petitioned the Board of Trade in favour of the project, and the esteemed philanthropist Lord Ashley advised Lang to take out a Royal Charter for the Company to give it respectability and credit in the home country. But before arrangements were completed, Lang discovered that the directors in Britain were insistent on keeping all real power for themselves. He therefore cancelled the whole project, and, on his return to Melbourne in March 1850, he determined to establish the Company in Australia, incorporated by the Local Legislature.

Throughout his three years in Britain, however, while he was travelling, lecturing, and forming emigration societies, Lang was carrying on a constant and increasingly acrimonious correspondence with the Colonial Office. Soon after his arrival in London, he asked Benjamin Hawes, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether a colonization might legally be formed on the principle of land granted in return for passage money paid, and Hawes replied that since

89. "To the Right Honourable the Board of Trade, the Memorial of the undersigned Cotton Spinners, Cotton Manufacturers and Merchants connected with the Cotton Trade in the City of Glasgow and its Vicinity", Lang Papers, vol.26, p.557.
91. Lang to Powell, 15.10.1849. Lang Papers held by Sir John Ferguson.
this was the purpose behind the current Land Act, its actual
mode of execution was a "mere matter of detail" . It was
this statement which tainted all Lang's later relations with
the Colonial Office, for, despite repeated warnings that his
various emigration schemes would not be allowed, he refused
to be bound within the strict confines of official regulations,
and persisted in the optimistic belief that a successful
emigration project fulfilling the spirit but not necessarily
the form of government policy would inevitably be sanctioned.

His first proposal was that the government should
appropriate one of its emigrant ships to carry out one
hundred Scottish agricultural families of his own selection
intended to begin cotton cultivation at Moreton Bay .
When this special project was rejected, he returned to his
theme that land should be issued free to immigrants in pro-
portion to the amount of passage money deposited, and out-
lined several schemes to Earl Grey in connection with his
many emigration societies and joint-stock companies. What
was needed, he stressed, was an independent, self-supporting
colonization, of small communities previously acquainted with
each other, intending to settle together in their new
homeland, each under the supervision of their own pastor

92. Lang to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies,
27.3.1847. Lang Papers, vol.17, p.245.
93. Lang to Hawes, 2.10.1847. Despatches to the Governor
of New South Wales, Sept.-Dec. 1849, p.139.
and schoolmaster. Such respectable persons would not emigrate as mere paupers through the government, but rather would charter their own vessels for conveyance to the colony, and would take up land grants on arrival in recompense for their outlay.

Repeatedly the Colonial Office rejected Lang's suggestions: since the greatest need of the Australian colonies was a large supply of labourers, the Imperial Land Sales Act required that land revenue should only be used in importing persons unable to defray the expense of their own emigration; it was working-class emigration that was required, not independent, land-holding colonization which would aggravate rather than remedy, the want of labour already acute in the colony; finally, Hawes claimed, the only consequence of this "private speculation" would be a diminution by nearly one-third in the numbers of emigrants sent out supported directly or indirectly by the colonial land revenue. However, Earl Grey did concede that if Lang's project was effected through the Colonial Land and Emigration

---

97. Hawes to T.Bazley (Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Manufacture), 2.11.1849. Despatches to the Governor of New South Wales, Sept.-Dec.1849, p.136.
Commissioners, if he deposited the appropriate capital with them to purchase land at the minimum price, and if he submitted both his emigrants and his ships for inspection under the official regulations, then not only would his nominees receive free passage to Australia, but also any surplus moneys would be spent on public works in the district selected for their settlement.

Lang declared bluntly that he "knew he would not get the support of the Emigration Commissioners". This obstinacy resulted, no doubt, from the Doctor's initial distrust of the Commissioners in London having such extensive powers over the colonial immigration policy, from his own aversion to any outside interference in his colonization projects, and from his current disgust with the official emigration of Irish female orphans. In contrast to his often frustrated efforts, Mrs. Chisholm was having undeniable success in arranging for the passage of convicts' wives, deserted children, and unmarried girls through the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. In the eighteen months previous to July 1849, 2219 young Irish women were shipped to Sydney and Adelaide, thereby exhausting the public

98. Hawes to Lang, 11.4.1848, Lang Papers, vol.17, p.367. Hawes to W. Muscutt (Secretary of the "Cooksland Colonization Company"), 22.8.1848. Despatches to the Governor of New South Wales, 1849.
100. Lang to Earl Grey, 14.11.1849. The British Banner 21.11.1849.
moneys available for such emigration, and thwarting Lang's plan to send out lasses from the Orkney and Shetland Islands. "The lady at whose artless and disinterested suggestion...this peculiar species of emigration has been sanctioned and carried into effect by the Colonial department, is a Roman Catholic, Roman Catholic of the highest caste, a perfect devotee of the Papacy", Lang stormed, "and I am as confident as I am of my own existence that these young women, who are almost exclusively Roman Catholics, from the most thoroughly Romish and bigotted parts of Ireland, have been selected, as free emigrants for Australia, expressly with the view of their becoming the wives of the English and Scotch Protestant shepherds and stockmen of New South Wales, and thereby silently subverting the Protestantism and extending that Romanism of the colony through the vile, Jesuitical, diabolical system of 'mixed marriages'".

Determined to work no longer through the Colonial Office, Lang now approached Benjamin Hawes at his summer house in Brighton to ascertain whether he might deal directly with the colonial government. Despite Hawes'

101. Lang, J.D.: An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales (1875), vol.1, p.370-71. In his northern lecturing tour, Lang met up with the unfortunate Lady Franklin, then looking for her lost husband, and between them they organized regular levees in these islands of young women desirous of emigrating to Australia in search of husbands.

102. Lang to the editor of the British Banner 15.11.1848.
later denial, Lang persistently claimed that the Under-Secretary had encouraged him to go ahead with his plan, assuring him that the local legislature had but recently gained complete control over the waste lands. "No doubt", Lang admitted, "I had no letters from the Secretary of State guaranteeing such an arrangement, but this was out of the question, for if I had written to the Colonial Office for such a guarantee, the Emigration Commissioners to whom my letter would have been referred as a matter of course would most certainly have refused it. He therefore went ahead to charter the ship "Fortitude" to carry his first group of Protestant, independent cotton growers to Moreton Bay, confident that in the interests of a great experiment, the local government would grant him the necessary land bonuses, provide free passages for his ministers and schoolteachers, and exercise considerable latitude in regard to the age and occupation qualifications of many of his immigrants. On September 19th, 1848, five days after the despatch of the "Fortitude", he proudly informed Hawes of his action, adding that "it would not only be ruinous to those concerned, but prejudicial in the highest degree to the cause of emigration, and to the best interests of the colony, if any difficulty should be thrown

in the way, merely because there has been a slight but unavoidable deviation from the usual course of procedure\(^{(105)}\). An unimpressed Earl Grey found it necessary "for the protection of the public interest" to refuse any concessions for emigrants who had been sent out not only without the previous sanction of the Government but also in complete disregard for the official regulations\(^{(106)}\).

Thus Lang was forced to work through the Emigration Commissioners in order to secure land for his immigrants on their arrival in the colony. It was not a happy association, however, with Lang constantly flouting the official regulations, failing to meet deadlines, expecting advantages for his "exceptional colonization", and the Commissioners patiently but strictly enforcing every detail of government policy\(^{(107)}\). In this present period of emigration enthusiasm, the Board confirmed, they felt no compulsion to dispense with their ordinary rules of selection\(^{(108)}\).

Lang retorted that since numerous families and individuals

---

105. Lang to Hawes, 12.9.1848. Despatches to the Governor of New South Wales, Sept.-Dec. 1849. As a postscript of September 19th, Lang regretted that this letter had been "unavoidably delayed".

106. Hawes to Lang, 21.10.1848. Ibid., p.145.

107. Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners to Lang, 9,13,18,23 Dec., 1848. Lang Papers, vol.17, pp.439-47. Finally the Commissioners told Lang that since "nearly every step in this transaction has been hurried and irregular...on any future occasion, should you wish to sent out any more emigrants, ample time must be given to the Commissioners not only to consider the applications of the intending emigrants before their leave their homes, but also to examine and approve of the vessel in which they may be sent", Commissioners to Lang, 2.1.1849, Ibid., p.461.

not accepted by the Commissioners would be welcomed in the colony, he would take the responsibility on himself to send them to Australia (109). He despatched three of his vessels, the "Chaseley", the "Lima", and the "Larpent", in this way through the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, but then, exasperated with official red-tape, he refused to have any further connection with their rigid, vexatious system. The final two vessels, the "Travancore" and the "Clifton" were sent entirely on his own initiative, as he relied on "the colony and the future" to fulfil the rights and dues of these carefully chosen emigrants (110).

It was with acrimony and invective that Lang prepared a final "blistering plaster" for Earl Grey, a letter written aboard the ship "Clifton" as he departed from Britain in November 1849, and widely circulated in the press a few days after his departure. Violently he castigated the Colonial Office for having unjustly and rudely rejected every emigration scheme propounded by him during the previous three years, while at the same time in its own emigration programme it gave an unfair preference to Irish orphans and undue assistance to the clergy of the Anglican and Roman Catholic faiths. He spoke of "the haughty and contemptuous disregard both of the feelings and wishes of

British Colonists and Colonial Legislatures" shown by Grey's administration, those "palriest underlings of your Lordship's department...who regularly strangle every honest man and every honest measure connected with the Colonies". In short, he concluded, "your Lordship has, for three years past, been knocking at the gate of futurity for the President of the United States of Australia". This rash and ill-considered attack only confirmed Grey in his opposition to Lang, and he prepared a calm and well-reasoned rebuttal of the charges the doctor had made against his Office, proving that the Irish had no advantage in emigration selection, complimenting the Commissioners on the patience with which they had borne Lang's numerous evasions and irregularities, and declaring that, despite his frequent correspondence with the Colonial Office, the Doctor had never once referred to Hawes' supposed guarantee. His whole action was, Grey informed Governor Fitzroy, "a discreditable, though transparent manoeuvre, for he pretended to make a request to me before the departure of a certain vessel but kept back the letter until it had sailed, and in the meanwhile sent out to you by that very ship a letter designed to make you believe that this request had been granted and to lead you thereby into making certain payments.

111. Lang to Grey, 14.11.1849. Published in the British Banner 21.11.1849.
of money and certain grants of land which he knew he was not entitled to claim.\footnote{112}{Sari" Grey to Governor Fitzroy, 50 Nov. and 15. Dec. 1849. Despatches to the Governor of New South Wales, Sept.–Dec. 1849, \textit{pp.} 137–38, 148–51.}

Thus ended Lang's sixth visit to his homeland, a three year campaign intended to initiate an extensive emigration of independent Protestant landholders to Moreton Bay and Port Phillip, a cause which had taken him over the length and breadth of the British Isles, into the highest offices of the Colonial Department, and which had cost him the greater part of his private funds. His optimism and impetuosity had led him into many fruitless ventures, his invective and his disregard for authority had cost him official support. Yet, he had achieved a great deal in England, for, at a time before the gold rushes, he had made Australia known to thousands previously unacquainted with its potential, and had directed twelve hundred admirable immigrants to its shores.
CHAPTER VI
The Harvest - Results

Three years of intensive campaigning throughout the United Kingdom had made Dr. John Dunmore Lang famous both in Britain and in Australia as an emigration promoter. Now his colonization capabilities would be judged on the passage of his privately chartered vessels, on the reception he provided for his immigrants at their distant destination, and on their general success in their adopted homeland. In this chapter, therefore, we are to follow the fortunes of the 600 immigrants who went out to Moreton Bay and Port Phillip in the six ships in 1848-49, who were received and who always remained aware of themselves as a distinct group in the history of Australian colonization. Although for the most part they met with bitter disappointment as would-be landowners in the new country, yet they continued loyal to the ideals and person of their leader, Dr. Lang, and are widely admitted to have made an outstanding contribution, economically, politically and socially, to colonial Australia.

Lang always insisted on chartering his own ships. In the early 1830s this had been a practical necessity owing to the immorality prevalent on the often ill-equipped vessels, but by 1847 decent shipping plied regularly between Britain and the antipodes, and it was rather to attract a superior class of people who might spurn travelling on the government ships as ordinary immigrants, that Lang again privately
engaged six vessels for the long passage to Australia. These ships were no different either in accommodation or in provisioning, however, from the average government transport, as he usually chartered vessels which had previously been employed in the emigration traffic to Canada and Australia. They differed greatly in quality, depending on whichever ships were available at the time. The "Larpent", for example, the first of Dr. Lang's vessels to Geelong, boasted separate apartments for each family, though still at the usual steerage rate; the local press hailed the "Lima" to Moreton Bay as a "remarkably beautiful Scotch-built vessel", and described the "Travancore" as "really a beautiful ship, teak built from stem to stern"; on the other hand, the "Fortitude", just 519 tons and carrying 270 passengers, was grossly overcrowded, one cabin 18 feet square accommodating 18 people, while the "Chaseley", as one of the cabin passengers later testified, though not Al, was considered quite good enough to go to the Antipodes.

1. M.B.C. 27.1.1849. Evidence of Lang in the Final Report from the Select Committee on Dr. Lang's Petition (Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1860, p.3).
2. Victoria Colonist and Western District Advertiser 2.11.1849. The Geelong Advertiser 6.11.1849. As George Lang wrote to his mother. "The Travancore is a splendid ship and excellently fitted up...The Emigrants are a very superior class of people and are all very much gratified at the excellent accommodation provided for them", George to Mother, 4.7.1849. Lang Papers held by Sir John Ferguson.
3. W. T. Deacon to the editor of the British Banner 12.7.1849.

(OVER)
The general provisions seem to have been of average quality for the times, only the passengers in the cabin enjoying fresh meat from the livestock carried on board, the bulk of the immigrants satisfying themselves with preserved beef and pork, rice and raisins, and too often stale biscuits. This variety in the ships largely accounts for the conflicting contemporary opinions expressed about Lang's specially chartered vessels, for although the Doctor's shipping agent, favourably biased of course, declared that he had always selected the best ships available for the purpose in the London dock and supplied them with the finest provisions, Surgeon-Superintendent Fred Wilkinson complained during a bitter quarrel with Lang over his stipend, that he had never seen such infamous provisions as on board the "Lima", and concluded that the whole enterprise was a "complete job, and a black job".

Like the vast majority of government emigrant ships which made the long passage to Australia, all of Dr. Lang's six vessels arrived without having experienced any serious peril in transit. Their health record was likewise satisfactory.

4. (contd) careful inspection of the "Chaseley", Lieutenant Lean, the Government Agent of Emigration for the Port of London, reported that it was "well found and fitted in every way". Cutting from the British Banner in Newspaper Cuttings, vol. 1, (N.L.)
6. F. Wilkinson to S.M.H. 17.12.1849. Prominent Brisbane Settler Mr. J. Richardson and various emigrants by this same ship testified that Wilkinson's charges were greatly overrated. M.B.C. 19.1.1850.
despite the comparatively large number of children accepted on the voyages. The "Fortitude", which lost eight passengers en route, was ordered into quarantine on arrival, by the local authorities, because the surgeon-superintendent reported a suspected case of typhus on board; eight days later, however, it was released with all its colonists in excellent health. The whole episode gave Lang's enemies in Britain the opportunity to brand him for his "unworthy conduct" in ill-provisioning the ship, as Lord Grey wrote to Governor Fitzroy "the poor emigrants arrived with fever prevailing on the ship and several deaths on board. I cannot but fear that this has arisen from the imperfect arrangements which had been made for the health and comfort of the passengers, as such an occurrence is exceedingly rare in emigration to Australia when under the proper superintendence of the Commissioners". Great was the doughty doctor's satisfaction to relate in future years that the very next emigrant ship sent by the Commissioners to Moreton Bay was put into close quarantine immediately it entered the port with its doctor and fifty passengers taken by the fever.

The first scene in the passage of each of these six ships to Australia was at Gravesend, with the small yet


8. Lang to the Editor of S.M.H. 10.5.1875.
sturdy vessels set to sail, luggage, provisions and speculation-merchandise of every kind overflowing their decks, busy ships' officers noisily supervising their crew in loading, and with unhappy relatives, frightened children and heavy-hearted yet hopeful emigrants spilling into the ship. When all was at last quiet, a proud and enthusiastic Dr. Lang would rise up before the emigrants now massed together in the 'tween-decks, and fervently they would sing some such hymn as Watt's version of the 100th Psalm:

Sing to the Lord with joyful voice,  
Let every land his name adore;  
The British Isles shall send the noise  
Across the ocean to the shore.

Then would follow the Doctor's address, in which he inspired them with the importance and uniqueness of their emigration to commence sugar and cotton growing in the north, thereby to end negro slavery, aid British manufacture, and open up a new district to civilization, or, as in Port Phillip, to establish self-sufficient communities, each centred around its own church and schoolhouse. With them also lay the great responsibility of saving this new great land for the Protestant cause, of peopling these empty spaces with British stock, laws and customs. "God tells us himself, in his most blessed work", Lang would assure these now mission-conscious colonists, "that He made the earth to be inhabited, and He has given us, as a nation.....ships, colonies, and commerce, not only that this transcendently
important object should be carried out, but that the inhabited portions of the world should be filled, more especially with a people of British origin. Difficulties would no doubt come their way, in the close confines of the ship and in adjusting themselves to the virgin lands of their destination, but, Lang charged his hearers, if they were diligent and god-fearing in all things, their enterprise would "yet be crowned with entire success, and when all who are here present shall be dead and gone...every circumstance connected with the organization of this expedition, and the sailing of these vessels...will be regarded with the deepest interest by thousands and tens of thousands yet unborn, at the uttermost ends of the earth".

Thus Lang's 600 immigrants of the late 1840's left their homeland not only with the usual economic motive for advancing their material well being, but with a strong sense of duty as well. Their actual voyage was probably not very different, however, from those aboard the normal government ships of the time. The same quarrels broke out, as on the "Travancore", when Captain Brown and the surgeon-superintendent came to loggerheads, each with a section of the emigrants supporting him; similar sewing-rings and school-classes

9. Corio Chronicle and Western District Advertiser 17.8.1849.
10. Victoria Colonist... 2.11.1849.
11. The Geelong Advertiser 3.11.1849.
were organized, and church services held at least once a week; indeed, the immigrants by the "Chaseley" found their Congregationalist chaplain so tardy in his exposition that they sent a deputation asking him to read the Scriptures without explanation. There were sad scenes of sea-burials, joyful ship romances, even marriages. John Rugman of the "Larpent" fell so desperately in love with the fair Maria Tundy that the couple applied for permission to be married at once, assuring the Captain that unless their wish was complied with, they should go distracted. At the same time there were many discomforts to endure, in the uninteresting food, the stale water, and the disagreeable experience of rats abounding day and night. So numerous were these rodents aboard the "Chaseley" that the crew were forced to put out water for them in order to stop their gnawing through the ship's sides, and Mary McConnel related how she always sat at meals with her heels under her, the rats often competing with the emigrants for the food laid out on the table. Thus it was not that Dr. Lang's specially selected ships were any different from the usual government emigrant vessels, but rather the fact that they carried supposedly self-sufficient colonists who had paid

13. The Corio Chronicle... 29.6.1849.
for their passage in return for a bonus in land, which marked off this first phase in the Doctor's colonization programme as distinct from the current official emigration scheme.

With the long voyage over and the arrival of the vessels in the two distant colonies came the challenging test of Dr. Lang's preparations and the quality of his immigrants. Here the peculiarities of each respective district, the attitude of the local and the central authorities, and the stamina and initiative of the new colonists themselves all combined to spell out the resultant history. In the much smaller, far less advanced Moreton Bay District the arrival of 600 hand-picked immigrants would of course have greater impact than in the progressive Port Phillip. While the local authorities in each district readily accepted these sorely needed settlers of superior quality, the Moreton Bay immigrants had to pave the way as the first of Lang's settlers, unexpected in the community, and bear the brunt of Lang's recent bitter quarrel with the Downing Street officials. Thus, while some of the immigrants received the promised land-order, the majority had to make their own way on their arrival in Australia. In this they were phenomenally successful, as, almost to a man, these 1200 immigrants quickly established themselves as self-sufficient colonists exerting a sound moral influence in their districts, many of their number becoming leaders in the local parliaments and society.
Dr. Lang made absolutely no provision for the reception of his immigrants. Yet, over-optimistic as he always was, he told both the immigrants and his interested public in Britain, that he could guarantee the new settlers a cordial reception in the colony, and confidently proclaimed that "it would be difficult in the extreme to point to a single instance in the whole history of British colonization for a century past, in which such special care was taken beforehand of the comfort and welfare of the emigrants, or in which the latter would have so little of the inconvenience and hardships of emigration to experience". In actual fact, Lang's immigrant ships arrived unannounced, nothing was prepared for their reception, and, where individual settlers could not make an outstanding effort to accommodate them, the hopeful newcomers often had to undergo severe discomfort immediately on their arrival. It will be interesting and informative, then, to compare Lang's confident expectations with the actual facts of the case.

Shortly before the dispatch of the "Fortitude", Dr. Lang informed the public through his medium the British Banner that the inhabitants of Moreton Bay would be notified of the imminent arrival of the "Fortitude" by a letter sent on the "Artemisia", the first government ship carrying free immigrants to the northern district, and that his particular

15. Lang to the British Banner 5.3.1849.
friends in the colony would arrange for their reception in the community. A Brisbane merchant, a former member of Lang's congregation in Sydney, would transport the new settlers from the "Fortitude" to the town some twenty-five miles up the river, another would point out to the surveyor of the expedition the best locality for settlement, while an address would be forwarded to James Swan, owner of the Moreton Bay Courier and formerly chief of staff on Lang's journal The Colonist, urging upon the inhabitants from motives both of duty and of self-interest, to do everything in their power to provide temporary accommodation for the immigrants on their arrival. The many government buildings in the town would surely provide shelter, and any overflow could easily, Lang insisted, fit up temporary accommodation quite sufficient in that splendid climate.

Such was Lang's plan for the reception of his immigrants until through their own initiative and perseverance they should become self-sufficient members of the community. For reasons unexplained, however, the "Artemisia" brought no news of the despatch of the "Fortitude", and in January 1849, prominent Brisbane merchant Mr. J. Richardson, suddenly found himself committed to the whole expense of the removal of the immigrants from the "Fortitude" and their maintenance in Brisbane, though he had never been consulted on the subject.

16. Lang to the British Banner 12.7.1849.
17. Lang to the British Banner 5.2.1849.
by Lang, nor had received a line from the worthy doctor since (18) he had left the colony. Quite understandably he refused to take any responsibility for the immigrants, and, rather than the duty-conscious, independent landholders they expected to be on arrival, these "unfortunate unfortunates" found themselves thrown upon the public mercy.

Lang had obviously expected, then, as he did in Britain with his various emigration societies, colonial companies, and land orders, that the central government, the local authorities, and the population generally, would be so impressed with the superior type of immigration he was initiating, that all official barriers and natural suspicion would disappear, and that government appointees and prominent individuals on the spot would readily make up for any deficiencies in his scheme. The Moreton Bay Courier commented on this "total absence of all preparation and arrangement for the reception of the immigrants" by saying, "Not only has no communication been previously made with the colonial government on the subject of land for the immigrants; but, although aware of the existence of a local paper, Dr. Lang never availed himself of its columns to inform persons most interested of the nature of his plans, or of the time when the first arrivals might be expected" (19).

18. M.B.C. 27.1.1849.
19. M.B.C. 27.1.1849. A similar rebuke was passed by the Executive Council - Despatch of Fitzroy to Grey, 19.5.1849.
The local paper took up the challenge and informed the inhabitants that it was their bounden duty to do everything possible to settle the unhappy immigrants comfortably in their district. "Great as is the blunder which has been committed", it continued, "it may be in our power to amend it". The Police Magistrate ruled that, pending instruction on the matter from the Governor in Sydney, the immigrants might form a temporary village on the southern slopes below the old windmill, while those unable to maintain themselves until they obtained employment would be provided with government rations and accommodation in the old barracks. Thus the "Fortitude" immigrants' first dwelling in their land of promise was a line of insecure bark humpies in the vicinity of York's Hollow water-holes. Yet, as one of their number expressed it, "whatever their disappointments had been, they had met with a cordiality of welcome here that but few of them had expected to experience 16,000 miles from home".

The immigrants by the following two ships, the "Chaseley" and the "Lima" were more fortunate, for, although equally

22. M.B.C. 13.2.1849, 1.12.1849. One of the immigrants, Bullock, wrote to his family, "We were landed at Brisbane and all our luggage, free of expense; and the large government building in the place was provided by the government for our use. All that chose (sic) to apply, had rations given them. We received a very kind reception from the inhabitants generally," in Cutting from the British Banner in Newspaper Cuttings, vol.1, (N.L.).
unannounced by Dr. Lang, they had at least their predecessors and a now prepared public to receive them at Moreton Bay. As the Courier noted on seeing tidings in the British Banner that a third ship had been despatched to Moreton Bay, "no one has heard here, but, in the light of past experience with the "Fortitude" and the "Chaseley", it is advisable to begin preparations for their reception".

It was the same all over again at Port Phillip, where Dr. Lang relied entirely on his popularity as an elected member of the district and on his particular friend Dr. Thomson to provide a spontaneous reception for his 600 immigrants. And, owing largely to the fervour and exertions of the said esteemed Dr. Thomson, the immigrants to the southern colony were far more fortunate than their northern counterparts. Although the "Larpent's" rapid passage of ninety-one days outstripped notice of her arrival, Dr. Thomson quickly arranged accommodation for her immigrants in the stores of Messrs. Oldham Bros. at Geelong, while by the time the "Travancore" settlers arrived a few months later, the benevolent public had set up private lodgings for their reception. Indeed, so favourably impressed were the Port Phillip authorities with the quality of Dr. Lang's colonists that, on the landing of the "Clifton" in Melbourne

25. The Victoria Colonist... 4.11.1849.
early in 1850, the Superintendent opened the Immigration Barracks for the use of its passengers.

Such success led to a distinct smugness on the part of the southern inhabitants, as a prominent journal expressed it, "we think it our duty to state that the Rev. Doctor's arrangements were precisely the same for Moreton Bay ships as for the ships which have arrived at Geelong, and while all seems to have gone wrong at the former port, the Geelong immigration has turned out most satisfactorily and advantageously for the immigrants...now, with all these facts before them, all reasonable men must arrive at the conclusion that the cause of failure must be looked for in the colony, and can only be chargeable upon Dr. Lang in so far as he may not have exercised proper judgment in the selection of his Moreton Bay agent. The fact is obvious that Dr. Lang has not found a Dr. Thomson in Brisbane" (26).

It must be admitted, however, that Dr. Lang left himself open to severe attack in relying so heavily on individual exertion and colonial goodwill to make up for the deficiencies of his reception plan for his immigrants. Certainly one of the greatest weaknesses in his colonial programme, this neglect lost him the support of many influential men in Australia, and could easily have turned the immigrants themselves against him, and so brought about the failure
of his whole scheme. He was a man of tremendous energy and
initiative in formulating a large-scale plan, but lacked
the necessary patience and perseverance to complete the
details of his work. So often his ideas and initial work in
any programme were brilliant, but before they could be firmly
established in the community, he had lost interest in the
intricacies of their administration, and boldly shifted his
energies into some other equally admirable cause.

Before going on to examine the lives, fortunes, and
achievements of these 1200 immigrants after their arrival
in the colonies, it will be wise to take a look at the
people themselves, at their general quality compared with
the government immigrants of the day, at their occupations,
religious affiliations, age and marital status. Lang
always claimed he personally selected and brought out a
superior type of immigrant to Australia, as when in 1850
he said that in comparison with the government immigration
record, his efforts were to "introduce from our own father-
land, a totally different class of people, an intelligent,
industrious, virtuous and Christian population, whose
influence and example, whose labour and capital would
speedily raise the country to the highest pitch of civiliz-
ation". General comment since that time has usually

27. see Appendix.
28. Lang to Hawes, 12.9.1848. Also, M.B.C. 27.1.1849.
29. The Argus 25.2.1850.
supported his assertion.

The local press certainly noted and mostly commended Lang's immigration activities, devoting many columns in the days immediately following the arrival of one of his vessels to a discussion of the character of the new colonists, their aspirations, and their reception in the community. Typical was the Argus' assessment of the "Clifton" passengers as "superior to any previous importation ever landed in the province" (30). The Victoria Colonist and Western District Advertiser found the "Travancore" people to be "a very superior class to the immigrants generally sent out by the immigration board" (31), the Geelong Advertiser thought all Lang's colonists were of "the most valuable kind" (32), bringing both industry and capital with them to their new homeland, while the Moreton Bay Courier asserted that the immigrants to the northern port were not only prudent, reflective, and confident, but were distinguished as a body for their industry and intelligence (33). Such general comments are of prime importance in revealing the initial approval of

30. The Argus 15.2.1850.
31. The Victoria Colonist... 4.11.1849.
33. M.B.C. 10.3.1849. After inspecting the "Chaseley", Lieutenant Lear said that he had never seen a finer body of emigrants than those by whom he was now surrounded. British Banner cutting in Newspaper Cuttings, vol.1. (N.L.)
Lang's immigrants in the community, but we must look at them in greater detail if we are to assess their true character. Fortunately for the historian, the Lang colonists were well documented in the newspapers of the day, while in both Port Phillip and in Moreton Bay, a local organ of the press was owned by former Lang immigrants, men vitally interested in the progress of the Doctor's great scheme. In 1846 James Swan, emigrant of 1837 under Lang's auspices to take up the editorship of The Colonist, had founded the Moreton Bay Courier in the northern district, while in the southern extremity of Geelong, Henry Giles, a "Larpent" immigrant, in September 1849 assumed the editorship of The Victoria Colonist and Western District Advertiser.

Although a patriotic Scot himself, Lang was sensibly tolerant regarding the nationality of would-be emigrants; as he explained in 1835, provided he could get out virtuous and industrious persons to the colony, he did not care from which part of the United Kingdom they came. The majority of his immigrants of 1849-50 were undoubtedly English, with a good sprinkling of Scotch, and very few Irish. Indeed, from the three sets of figures available, and reckoning with a composite classification of heads of families, single males and single females, we find that to the fifty people of English origin aboard the "Chaseley", there were only eight of Scottish and six of Irish descent; for the incomplete figures available for the "Travancore", 44 were classed as English and only one Irish, while in the list of
those "Larpent" passengers passed by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 44 are named as proceeding from different counties in England, and just two from Scotland. The Corio Chronicle and Western District Advertiser reported on the "Larpent", however, that "the majority of the immigrants are Scotch, with a few from the west and other parts of England", and thus it would seem that most of that half of its passengers not approved by the Commissioners were Scottish, probably one-generation operatives of tenant stock.

Lang showed greater selectivity in the class origins of intending emigrants, preferring persons from the middle and labouring groups of society as more suited to the material needs of the country and possessed of "a diligence, frankness, and fidelity to morals and religion which alone constitutes the hope of the colony". As it was his aim, however, to set up self-sufficient immigrant communities, based on tropical or temperate agriculture, each with its own mechanics, minister and schoolmaster, he looked for people with considerable initiative and independence. "As a general rule", he explained, "the person who is able and willing to pay a proportion, if not the whole, of the cost of his emigration, is a more desirable person for the colony than the one who

34. See Appendix.
35. The Corio Chronicle...29.6.1849.
can pay nothing. At the same time he did not rule out the possibility that an industrious and teachable operative worker would soon acquire all the knowledge and experience requisite for a farm labourer or employer. Thus he was willing to select his immigrants from a broad cross-section of the middle and lower classes in society.

Lang found it difficult in 1848 to induce reputable people to emigrate to a locality as unknown and in such low latitudes as was Moreton Bay; in order to fill the "Fortitude", then, he was forced to give passages free or at half-price to many suitable families and individuals, to the extent of a deficit on his account of £1,400. Indeed, Robert Cribb gave evidence before the Select Committee appointed to examine Dr. Lang's Petition in 1860 that scarcely any of the "Fortitude" immigrants paid their passage in full, and then very few brought any capital with them at all. Once the impetus had been given, however, together with the ever increasing emigration exodus of the late 1840's, Lang did not find it difficult to recruit respectable people bringing both industry and small capital with them to the colony, and the following five vessels to Australia were practically self-supporting. With the ship "Travancore",

36. Lang to the British Banner 12.7.1848.
37. Final Report from the Select Committee on Dr. Lang's Petition (Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1860), p.19.
38. Lang, J.D.: Emigration to Australia (1855).
for example, £2807.10.0 was contributed by the immigrants towards their passages, leaving only £240 still outstanding, while the records available for the "Clifton" show that a total of £1341.10.0 was contributed by the passengers, incurring a small debt of only £82 owing to Lang.

It was this independence of Dr. Lang's immigrants which most impressed his contemporaries in the colony. The Moreton Bay Courier said that it was "simply ridiculous to describe them as belonging to the labouring class"; rather, it continued, "extensive worldly experience, political information, religious zeal, and a competency to take care of their own fortunes have peculiarly marked them". Mary McConnel declared that there were no servants in the class of immigrants sent out by Dr. Lang, another Moreton Bay resident witnessed that Lang had introduced a new middle class of respectable tradesmen and shopkeepers to the district, while William Pettigrew asserted that many of the "Lima" passengers had evidently been accustomed to a much superior position in society. An examination of the occupation lists for the four ships available for study

39. See microfilm of "Travancore" passenger list held in State Library of Victoria Archives Section.
40. M.B.C. 27.4.1850.
41. McConnel, M: op.cit., p.22.
42. The Press 20.1.1851.
43. Diary of William Pettigrew held by the Queensland Historical Society, Newstead House, Brisbane.
reveals that the majority of the immigrants by far were artisans - carpenters, joiners, shoemakers and the like, destined most probably to carry on their trades in the towns of the colony; farmers and agricultural labourers appeared in good number, while there was a strong body of ten trained ministers, several catechists, local preachers and students of divinity from the evangelical and dissenting denominations, and some schoolteachers. Indeed, those who could offer only muscle and brawn were scarcely represented. (44)

It was fortunate Lang was tolerant of all Protestant denominations, for, as an ordained minister of the Church of Scotland, he might be expected to concentrate on persuading Presbyterians to emigrate to the colony, but he found, like so many emigration agents before and after him, that the Scots were uncommonly difficult to uproot from their homeland. Speaking in 1860 of the 600 Moreton Bay colonists as a whole, Lang recalled that the large proportion of them were English non-conformists - Independents and Baptists in the main, with only a few Presbyterians among them. The "Travancore" likewise was dominated by evangelical dissenters, though on this ship Anglicans and Presbyterians appeared in strong force. The passengers by the "Larpent", on the other hand, were predominantly members of the Anglican communion, as the Argus reported "twenty families are Baptists, 44. See Appendix.
45. Final Report of the Select Committee on Dr. Lang's Petition.
46. See Appendix.
twelve are Independents, one Presbyterian, nine Wesleyan, and the remainder, amounting to two-thirds of the whole, belong to the Church of England" (47).

In the early 1830's we recall, it was Lang who broke away from the official policy of assisting only single men and women to emigrate, and stressed that young married couples with perhaps one or two children would have that incentive, stability, and diligence to make them superior colonists (48). It was just that class, however, which proved most difficult to shift, and Lang's immigrants of 1849-50 represent a fair cross-section of society, single young people, married couples with and without children, and all predominantly between the ages of twenty and forty-five (49). Indeed, Lang would not refuse an industrious emigrant merely because he had a larger family than the government regulations allowed; Mr. William Fitchett, for example, had been refused by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners for the simple fact that he had a child too many, and Dr. Lang not only accepted him as a passenger by the "Larpent", but presented him with a land order as well (50).

Thus Lang's immigrants of the famous six ships were predominantly young, of English origin, evangelical dissenters by faith, skilled tradesmen or independent

47. The Argus 4.7.1849.
48. Lang, J.D. Emigration (1833).
49. See Appendix.
farmers in the main, and of decidedly superior character to the usual government immigrants of the day. As Lang proudly expressed it, his colonists would be found "persons of superior intelligence, of enterprising and energetic habits, of unblemished morals, and of Christian zeal and devotedness; ardently attached to our common Protestantism and enthusiastic in the cause of civil and religious liberty\(^\text{(51)}\). They were a notable group of people, closely followed by the local press of the day, and destined to play a major role, as we shall see, in the political, economic and social life of the pioneering districts they had now made their home.

Dr. Lang's 1200 immigrants of 1849-50 came to the colony in the firm belief, it will be remembered, that they would obtain a land bonus of sixteen acres for each £20 paid in passage money. If the officials in London could not comprehend the needs and problems of a pioneering colony 12,000 miles away, Lang was convinced that the local authorities would praise his superior immigrants, respect them as the first fruits of an extensive colonization of similar quality, and fulfill to the letter the obligation he had imposed upon them. Immediately upon their arrival in Brisbane, then, the hopeful immigrants by the "Fortitude" sent an expedition under their surveyor, William Pettigrew, to select their

\(^{51}\) The Argus 14.2.1850.
area of settlement, and agreed upon a land block at the confluence of the Brisbane and the Bremer Rivers. The Moreton Bay Courier greatly admired the business-sense and resourcefulness thus displayed: "at all events", it asserted, "the passengers are fully entitled to land to the amount of their passage money, and, whether Dr. Lang...is successful or not in organizing the Company, their claims rest upon their own merits". The local government at Sydney, briefed by Lord Grey thoroughly fed up with Lang's blatant denial of authority and vitriolic criticism of official departments, refused to allow the unfortunate emigrants to settle even temporarily on any Crown land. The Doctor was not greatly upset by this outcome, however, as he rationalized that it was "absurd to talk of going upon land when people have no means of bringing that land into cultivation," and this was certainly the position of the majority of the first batch of his immigrants to the colony. It would be far wiser, he suggested, for these people to receive an initial apprenticeship in the colony, learning its peculiar ways of cultivation and saving the necessary capital to establish themselves as independent farmers.

The "Fortitude" land fiasco did induce Lang, as outlined in the previous chapter, to submit the immigrants by his next

52. M.B.C. 10.3.1849.
54. M.B.C. 17.3.1849.
55. Lang to the British Banner 10.10.1849.
three vessels, the "Chaseley", the "Lima", and the "Larpent", to inspection by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, and to deposit considerable moneys with them for land purchase in the colony. The reasons for the failure of the "Chaseley" land orders are not clear. In March 1849, the Commissioners passed 55½ statute adults by the "Chaseley", and Lang deposited £1,000 with them on behalf of these same immigrants. In his letter accompanying the "Chaseley" immigrants, Lang asked that the Local Government be considerate, and grant at least a lease for a year on the requisite extent of land, with the right of pre-emption at the minimum price, until full arrangements had been made between the Home Government and the Colonization Company. No more is heard of the disputed land orders, but it is certain that not only were the "Chaseley" passengers deprived of their bounty, but also that many of their number were obliged to auction some property brought out with them for their own private use in order to provide for themselves in the first few months after their arrival in the colony.

Meanwhile, Lang had deposited £850 with the Commissioners on behalf of the "Lima" land purchase, and when these immigrants came up for inspection, only 15 of the 68½ statute adults presented by Lang passed the Commissioners' inspection.

57. M.B.C. 5.5.1849.
While Lang did not limit land orders only to those approved by the Commissioners, it seems that only 12 of the "Lima" passengers divided the land among them in lots varying from 32 to 160 acres. William Pettigrew was appointed surveyor for the group, and in November 1849 attended the Brisbane land sales on their behalf, taking out a suitable block of land at Palen Palen Creek.

The "Larpent" immigrants proved most fortunate of all, for Dr. Thomson was able to secure for them 6040 acres of land in the Colac district, the very area selected for them by Dr. Lang, immediately on their arrival in the colony.

Certain of their number, including John Adams and William Fitchett, preferred to settle nearer Geelong, and land orders to the extent of 860 acres were retained for this purpose when suitable lands should be opened up for purchase.

Despite the confusing current land regulations and the restrictive squatters' pre-emptive rights, the "Larpent" passengers had not experienced the slightest difficulty in obtaining their land. Lang was so disgusted, however, by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners' refusal to pass the majority of his selected immigrants that he dispatched his last two vessels, the "Travancore" and the "Clifton", without reference to their authority, and so made

60. See William Pettigrew's Diary for details of the land he bought on behalf of "Lima" immigrants H. Barlow, J. Twine, J. Lamsden, W. Broadfoot, R. Hudson and H. Ellerby.
61. The Corio Chronicle... 17.8.1849.
63. The Corio Chronicle... 10.8.1849.
them ineligible for land grant consideration. Thus the greater majority of Lang's immigrants did not get the promised land order on arrival, a factor which does not seem to have worried the Doctor unduly, for he considered that they had obtained their full money's worth in the passage out, and advised them, moreover, to have wide colonial experience before branching out on their own account.

Lang's motives for bringing immigrants to Australia, it will be recalled, were manifold, a reflection of his diverse interests in his homeland, his adopted country, and in humanity generally. While he sought to relieve Britain of her surplus underemployed and depressed population by initiating an extensive emigration to Australia, he was determined to select only those industrious and virtuous people who would be of distinct material and moral value to the convict-tainted colony. At the same time he had more partisan interests to follow - to experiment with tropical agricultural production in the northern districts and with community settlements in the south, to bring out a "thoroughly protestant" population to balance the many Catholic Irish assisted through government immigration, and to introduce a strong group of Evangelical parsons and students of divinity for the ministry in Australia. As we turn now to follow the progress of Lang's colonists in their new homeland, it will be interesting to consider how far the doctor's ambitions were fulfilled.
After his 1845 visit to Moreton Bay, Lang was convinced that this 'northern extremity' could easily become the chief supplier of such tropical produce as sugar, raw cotton and coffee for the British and Australian markets alike. A great waste land could thus be brought into use, nourishing hundreds if not thousands of small farmers, supplying British manufacturers with colonial grown products, and discouraging such inhuman practices as negro slavery in America and the West Indies. Mr. Thomas Bowden, a sugar planter of fourteen years' experience who had recently lost his property in Jamaica, assured Lang that from the Doctor's description of the country he was confident sugar and coffee could be grown at Moreton Bay. As a result Lang enthusiastically granted his and his family a free cabin passage on the "Chaseley", and suggested that a joint-stock company with £10,000 capital be formed at Moreton Bay to enable Mr. Bowden to carry out his views.

The idea of sugar development was readily received in the colony, and a group of distinguished Brisbane citizens met with Mr. Bowden soon after his arrival to draw up a prospectus for the "Moreton Bay Sugar Company". They agreed that a capital of £3,000 in 600 shares of £5 each would be sufficient, as it was intended that the Company should concentrate on manufacturing the sugar grown by independent

64. M.B.C. 5.5.1849.
small farmers such as Dr. Lang's 600 immigrants, though in the early stages it would import canes from the South Sea Islands, cultivate about forty acres as a model farm, and for the added security of the shareholders, would diversify its interests through the production of maize. Surplus capital soon proved unobtainable in the comparatively new settlement of Moreton Bay, however, and Mr. Bowden went south to Sydney where considerable interest had been raised in the proposed Company. A meeting was held with Sydney businessmen, the Colonial Secretary agreed to assist a Bill of incorporation for the Company through the Legislative Council, land was selected at Evan's Head for the trial sugar crop, 20,000 cane plants were ordered from Tahiti, a quantity of cotton seed of the best Sea Island variety was sent out by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and within a month 230 shares had been taken up by persons of substance and respectability in the southern capital. This initial enthusiasm waned, however, as the Government refused to put up the land for sale at the minimum price of £1 per acre, and the public failed to subscribe the remainder of the shares. In March 1850, Bowden announced the abandonment of the whole scheme. Lang testified later in 1860 that the sugar company had failed owing to Bowden's "mismanagement!".

68. M.B.C. 2.5.1850.
69. Final Report of the Select Committee on Dr. Lang's Petition, p.6.
This would appear to be an unfair judgment, however, as the whole idea of tropical production by European free labour was novel in 1650, colonial capital was generally sunk in land and stock, and unavailable for speculation, while not even Dr. Lang's own immigrants appeared interested in the slightest degree in sugar cultivation once they arrived in the colony. It was the same in regard to the production of cotton, as a Moreton Bay planter expressed his surprise that "not one...of the parties he (Lang) sent out has attempted to cultivate cotton, which he so strongly recommended them to do".

Indeed, the majority of the "Fortitude" immigrants seem to have continued working at their trades in Brisbane and in Ipswich, as carpenters, bakers, tailors, shoemakers, and schoolmasters, while only 12 of the "Lima" passengers took up land. Alfred Slaughter, a former Covent garden draper who came out with his large family on the "Fortitude", established himself well in the first ten days of his arrival in Brisbane by selling out his entire stock of

70. Victoria Colonist... 14.12.1849. There is record of at least one "Fortitude" immigrant, however, who grew cotton at Kangaroo Point for two years. The Press 5.2.1851.

71. In a letter for "A Fortitude Immigrant" to the M.B.C. of 5.5.1849, a list is given of the present occupations of "Fortitude" immigrants as 5 gardeners, 3 carpenters, 3 schoolmasters, 3 domestic servants, 2 hutkeepers, 2 saddlers, 2 bakers, 2 tailors, 2 coachmakers, 2 bricklayers, 1 storekeeper, 1 accountant, 1 stockman, 1 shepherd, 1 blacksmith, 3 dressmakers, 2 shoemakers, 1 jeweller, 1 watchmaker, 1 stonemason, 1 labourer, 1 cowkeeper, 1 farmer, 1 surveyor, 1 minister, 1 straw hat maker, 1 cartridge maker, 1 not engaged, and 4 gone to Sydney.
merchandise, though having only a vacant loft for his store, and then settling himself on the land. William Pettigrew became a freelance surveyor in the colony, and later gradually founded sawmills throughout the south-eastern district, while the Cribb brothers of the "Chaseley" set up a flourishing general store at Ipswich. The ladies also occupied themselves profitably, Mrs. Roper setting up as a dressmaker in Queen Street, Mrs. Deakin as a straw hat and bonnet maker, and Miss Langridge opening a school for girls in the new Wesleyan Chapel in Albert Street. By 1855 Lang was able to report that almost all of his 600 immigrants to Moreton Bay were comfortably settled and comparatively independent, not a few of them even being wealthy. Mr. James Lamsden, for example, one of the "Lima" passengers who received a land order at Palen Palen, had but recently been offered £2,500 for his farm by a Brisbane merchant. Although the Moreton Bay immigrants did not fulfil Lang's ambition of introducing tropical production to Queensland, nevertheless his agitation was not in vain. Other small settlers took up the idea, experimented with cotton and sugar cultivation, and within twenty years both crops became most important branches of the Queensland.

72. M.B.C. 2.3.1850.
73. Pettigrew Diary.
74. M.B.C. 15.9.1849.
75. Pettigrew's notes on Queensland Immigrants: documents relative to the Immigrants sent out by Dr. Lang, 1848-49.
76. Lang, J.D: Emigration to Australia (1855), p.2.
economy. In 1871 over 15,000 acres were under cotton cultivation, producing some 9,000 bales for export, while another 2,000 acres grew canes to be manufactured into sugar within the state. Lang was exultant with this progress when he revisited the district in 1868: "What a magnificent result", he exclaimed, "as contrasted with the time when I plucked a few pods of beautiful cotton in the late Dr. Ballow's garden", a time when nobody in the old country would believe his prediction that cane could be grown and manufactured into sugar by means of European free labour at Moreton Bay.

The majority of the Port Phillip immigrants also continued in their trades after their arrival in the new colony. Most of the "Larpent" passengers had received land in the Colac district, but right from the start many of them engaged in service and either let their land for a few years on improving leases, or else sold it as soon as it was divided. Others who had intended to work their farms seriously found that the distance from markets, the shortage of water, and the lack of winter roads made all their efforts unprofitable, and gradually the "Larpent" settlement lost its original founders. John Matthews, for example, the Middlesex builder who had taken up 80 acres of the "Larpent" selection, soon removed himself to Grove Farm near Geelong,

77. Lang to the Queensland Express Oct. 1868 - cutting in Newspaper Cuttings held in the State Library of Victoria.
78. The Corio Chronicle... 16.7.1849.
and, in his capacity as architect, designed the De Garis houses which still stand at La Trobe Terrace, Geelong.

William Fitchett had refused to settle on the distant Larpent section, and bought land in the Barrabool Hills district; within a year he had died, however, and his wife opened a little shop at Ceres, six miles from Geelong, from which the older boys began work as soon as possible.

The uncertainty of land tenure in 1850 and the turmoil of the gold rushes no doubt affected many of Lang's immigrants soon after their arrival at Port Phillip. Ebenezer Davies, for example, son of Gloucester Independent minister, paid for the full passage of his large family aboard the "Travancore", having intended to invest his inheritance in a pastoral run in Australia. This insecurity in land tenure deterred him, however, and he purchased suburban allotments at Geelong, then joined in the gold rush to Ballarat where the hard manual labour soon discouraged him, and returned to Geelong to make a considerable fortune in land sales and rents from the great influx of population to the town. But the buoyant prosperity was short-lived, his dream of returning to England in independent circumstances was cancelled, and he established a tannery to bring in a secure income in a now stable Geelong. He remained a highly respected citizen of this city.

79. I am indebted for this information to Mr P.L. Brown of Geelong.
identified himself with benevolent and religious enterprises, and, as with so many Lang immigrants, his sons proved a credit to him in the professional ranks of society. Three of Ebenezer Davies' sons became solicitors, for example, and two bank managers. William Fitchett, a "Larpent" passenger, was the father of the Rev. Dr. W. H. Fitchett, first headmaster of the Methodist Ladies' College, Melbourne, and of two other sons who became distinguished New Zealanders—Alred, Dean of Dunedin, and Frederich, Attorney-General.

Lang always maintained that he and his small group of immigrants were chiefly responsible for the two major issues in early Queensland political life, namely the end of transportation, and separation. Lang had first come to Moreton Bay in November 1845 when, because of the acute labour shortage, the dispute over the proposed renewal of transportation was in full force, the squatters with the known approval of the British government demanding convict labour, and a small group of townsmen insisting that a free colony be maintained. Thus Lang determined to thwart the squatters' case by sending out free labour to the regions, while at the same time he fulfilled his own plan of agricultural settlement. Immediately on their arrival, these immigrants found the burning question of the day to be whether Moreton Bay should be converted into a Crown colony to which England

could send her "exiles", and whether the district should have separation with a constitution similar to that of New South Wales. Following, as usual, their master's ideas, the six hundred took up the anti-transportation line, and at meetings in which several of Dr. Lang's immigrants took a prominent part, a strong protest was entered against the sending of any convicts to Moreton Bay. The six hundred addressed a petition to Parliament in which they remonstrated against the injustice of the arrival of the "Hashemy" convicts, firstly by having forced upon them the society of criminals, secondly by having, as free immigrants, to compete in the labour market with transported felons. The Moreton Bay Courier congratulated Lang's immigrants for their interest in the anti-transportation cause, for "unassisted by the older inhabitants of this place, and only guided by their own deep sense of right, those persons have endeavoured to prove that there are at least some few at Moreton Bay who are prepared to assist in averting the threatened degradation of the port". On September 30, 1850, the "Bangalore", the last of the convict ships sent to Moreton Bay, arrived at the port of Brisbane. Undoubtedly

84. M.B.C. Mr. Cowper later testified that it was largely owing to the opportune introduction of Dr. Lang's colonists that Moreton Bay was saved from being practically a penal settlement. The Empire 22.12.1860.
the united voice of Lang's band of immigrants added weight to the townsmen's "separation without convicts" as against the squatters' "separation with convicts".

Lang was even more insistent in his claim of having brought about separation, as he asserted in his two similarly entitled pamphlets written in 1874 and 1875, the Narrative of the Steps Taken in Promoting the Separation of Queensland from New South Wales. While in England in 1846, he explained, Hawes informed him that Grey intended shortly to submit a bill to the Imperial Parliament for the better government of the Australian colonies, and he asked Dr Lang, as an old Colonist and member of the Colonial Legislature, for suggestions. Believing that "the vast territory of New South Wales has evidently been designed by the Great Architect of the Universe to form three separate and independent Colonies or states", Lang put forward that "a clause should be inserted in the forthcoming Act of Parliament, authorizing Her Majesty to separate from New South Wales, and to erect into a distinct and independent colony, whenever she might deem it expedient to do so, the territory extending northward from the thirtieth parallel of South Latitude".

When the first and second editions of the Bill in its passage

85. Lang, J.D: Cooksland in North-East Australia, p.2
86. Narrative of the Steps Taken in Promoting the Separation of Queensland from New South Wales, (1874), p.12. Lang's journal later declared that "the idea of separating the Moreton Bay District from New South Wales, and of fixing the thirtieth parallel of South latitude as the Northern boundary of this colony, originated exclusively with Dr. Lang". The Press 5.2.1851.
through the House failed to contain this clause, however, Lang again urged its inclusion before he left England in 1849, and, he proudly reported, "the matter having been referred to the Commissioners of Land and Emigration, the following clause, to the exact effect I had suggested, was inserted in the final editions of the Bill, and forthwith passed into law". Although the principle of separation had occurred to the British government as early as 1842, and although Grey never attributed any influence to Lang in this matter, nevertheless even the most conservative estimate must agree with Robert Cribb when he said he believed "it to be universally admitted that separation took place some five or six years sooner owing to the energetic conduct of Dr Lang". On his return to England Lang took with him the first petition from Brisbane demanding separation, while in the hotly contested election against Arthur Hodgson in 1854 he united all townsmen behind his cry "separation without convicts". Even the Select Committee of 1860 which refused him compensation for his immigration losses felt compelled to concede that "with reference to the valuable and successful exertions of the Rev. Dr. Lang to bring about the separation of Moreton Bay from New South Wales, and to found the Colony of Queensland, your Committee think that the thanks of the Legislature of this Colony are due to him".

87. Narrative of the Steps Taken... (1874), pp.12-13.
88. Final Report from the Select Committee on Dr. Lang's Petition, p.19.
89. Ibid., p.19.
Politically, Lang adhered to a very liberal policy, as he explained that his "views on these fundamental principles of government - universal male suffrage, perfect political equality and popular election, generally referred to by the political writers as chartism, communism and socialism - have stemmed from the word of God which endureth for ever".

Lang's immigrants, predominantly townsmen of the artisan class and thus predisposed to liberalism, followed on in this tradition. Benjamin Couzens, William Cartwright, and Henry Giles were among the burgesses of Geelong who sponsored the public meeting which resolved that "the obtaining of immediate separation is the primary object. The extension of the franchise, the settling of the electoral districts, and the number of members, and also financial restitution from Sydney, we consider essential adjuncts to the Separation question". In the north, Fortitude Valley soon became the centre of radicalism in the new colony. While the Moreton Bay district was still sending members to the New South Wales legislature, Robert Cribb sat with the Liberal Party in the New South Wales Assembly, and, with the approach of separation, the Valley led the way in developing a Liberal organ, the Queensland Liberal Association being formed there.

90. Quoted in Gilchrist, A: "In search of John Dunmore Lang", Victorian Historical Magazine, February 1951, p.170. In a pamphlet entitled "A Word to the Middle Classes on the Rights of the People", (Manchester, 1848), Lang endorsed five of the six Points of the People's Charter, disagreeing only with the call for annual Parliaments.

91. The Victoria Colonist... 3.12.1849.
in September 1859, "Fortitude" immigrants Charles Trundle acting as scrutineer of the first meeting, and Thomas Scott opening his schoolroom to its future committee meetings. With separation, Lang immigrants immediately appeared in the new Legislature, Robert and Benjamin Cribb, William Pettigrew, Dr. Challinor, and Dr. Hobbs being elected to the first Parliament, soon to be joined by J. Macfarlane and S. Grimes.

Despite his varied secular activities, Lang was essentially a Minister of the gospel, a practical churchman, it is true, whose religion expressed itself in his deep concern for just government, for a virtuous, industrious, and educated population, but who was concerned also with the details of church organization. In 1842 he had renounced his government stipend of £300 per year, both because of schism within the Presbyterian Church in Australia, and because he genuinely supported the voluntaryist principle of religion; as he rigorously put it: "If a man believes his religion right, let him pay for it, which he should gladly do; if he don't believe it, it is an unjust imposition to force him to do so." Thus, Lang explained, it was chiefly with a view to promote the full and free development

93. Quoted in The Age 2.6.1923. As early as 1832, Lang had explained that men of the humbler classes in society are uniformly found to take a greater interest in the ordinance of religion when they themselves contribute towards its support. Lang to the Colonial Secretary, 17.10.1832.
of the voluntary system in Australia that he returned to Europe in 1846, to induce a large body of Christian ministers to emigrate to the colony. Fourteen ordained ministers from the different evangelical churches, twenty-two students of divinity, and a number of catechists and lay ministers seem to be the result of Lang's work among the clergy of Great Britain. All these ministers were decidedly opposed to state endowments for the support of religion, the doctor declared, and therefore cast themselves for the future on the good providence of God and on the Christian sympathies of their expected congregations. At the same time they would endeavour to form their churches on so broad a foundation as to comprehend in one body and communion members of the different evangelical denominations represented in the colony. Thus was to be realized Lang's

95. The Rev. Mr. Charles Stewart, a Baptist minister and native of Glasgow, and the Rev. Mr. Clift, also a Baptist, came by the "Fortitude"; the Rev. Mrs. Charles Kingsford a Presbyterian, by the "Chaseley"; the Rev. Mr. Samuel Baker by the "Lima"; two Independent ministers, the Rev. Messrs. W. Higgins and R. Roebuck arrived by the "Larpent"; the "Travancore" brought two Independent, one Baptist and one Presbyterian minister - the Rev. Messrs. Cuzens, Allen, Moody and Pringle, and a Mr. McIrwin, a theological student of the Irish Presbyterian Church who disliked the Regium Domum system in Ireland; four ordained clergy came by the "Clifton", the Rev. Messrs Anderson, McNichol, Odell and Gibson.
96. For a complete list of the divinity students, see The Argus 23.2.1850.
97. The Geelong Advertiser 3.11.1849.
98. M.B.C. 27.1.1849.
plan for "the evangelization of our vast interior on a broad and Christian basis".

Mr. Charles Stewart, a highly educated, sincere, and popular Baptist minister who had arrived in Moreton Bay as chaplain to the "Fortitude", preached regularly every Sunday in the Court House from the day of his coming to a combined evangelical congregation, it being his aim to "experiment not in merging many sects into one sect, but in uniting individual Christians, whatever be their individual opinions on minor points, into one body". In June 1849 it was decided to build a chapel in South Brisbane, with the constitution of the Church based on the broad doctrinal principles of the Evangelical Alliance; whenever each sect should desire and be able to build for itself, this original church edifice should be sold, and the proceeds divided equally among the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents. The church committee hoped that the new chapel would serve many objects, for in addition to the usual hours of divine service and Sunday-school, it should be a kind of Mechanics' Institute.

99. Quoted from Lang in the British Banner, in Newspaper Cuttings, vol.1, (N.L.). Earlier Lang had written "Our grand business is to stand forward as the champions, not of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Wesleyan Church, or the Congregationalist Churches, but of Protestant Christianity". The Colonist 3.10.1838.

100. Charles Stewart to Lang 2.5.1850. Lang Papers held by Sir John Ferguson.


102. Letter of "Old Brisbane Colonist" to The Empire 9.6.1865. Newspaper Cuttings held in the State Library of Victoria.
specially designed for the moral as well as the spiritual and secular well-being of the inhabitants. Mr. Stewart, labouring under a respiratory condition so severe he had often to preach in a whisper, chastised his congregation for their "ball room propensities" and so incurred the wrath of the Episcopalian ladies who resented his interference in their "circle"; at the same time a group of a dozen stalwart Presbyterians refused to continue worshipping in his evangelical communion, and established their own Free Church under the ministry of Mr McLeod of Scotland, a brother of Mary McConnel. The large combined congregation remained under the well-loved and efficient administration of Mr. Stewart, however, until April 1857, when the original church building was sold for £1,500 and the three denominations each received £500 towards the cost of their respective chapels.

When news of the arrival of the "Fortitude" with two ministers on board reached Ipswich, a request that the Rev. Mr. Clift should come and settle in their district was immediately sent to Brisbane, and a subscription was opened to meet the cost of his support. Mr. Clift, however, answered a call from his Baptist brethren at Parramatta, and proceeded south, soon to be deserted by the very men who had

104. Letters of Charles Stewart to Lang 1850-52. Lang Papers held by Sir John Ferguson.
105. M.B.C. 3.2.1849.
first induced him to their locality. Meanwhile, the Rev. Mr. Kingsford, the newly-arrived Presbyterian minister by the "Chaseley", had been accepted as resident minister in Ipswich, where plans for the erection of a kirk were now forging ahead, supported not only by Presbyterians, but by Dissenters of different denominations as well as by Episcopalians.

In contrast with this evangelical alliance which Lang's immigrant ministers were able to effect at Moreton Bay, a strong and bitter sectarian dispute seems to have arisen at Geelong. The Rev. Mr. Higgins, Independent chaplain of the "Larpent", arrived in the colony under the designation of "missionary", but immediately brought the brand of "denominationalist" down upon his head by remaining in Geelong, a city better supplied with ministers in proportion to the population than most districts in Britain, because there were none there of his persuasion. When four new ministers arrived by the "Travancore", the local press expressed the hope that they would not compete with the clergy already established in the district. Finally, it was approved that only one of the ordained ministers by

106. Lang to the British Banner 31.5.1850. Lang considered the whole episode "absolutely indecent".
108. The Corio Chronicle...16.7.1849.
109. The Victoria Colonist...4.11.1849. One of these four, Mr. Allen, formed a new Presbyterian congregation at Collingwood, in Melbourne. The Argus 15.12.1849.
the "Clifton", the Rev. Mr McNichol, should remain in Port Phillip Province; the Rev. Mr Anderson proceeded to Hobart's Bethel Institution, the Rev. Mr. Gibson, a former missionary of eleven years standing in Jamaica with the Land and Missionary Society, was sent to the Clarence River district, and the Rev. Mr Odell to a new Sydney congregation.

Lang had found it difficult to induce ministers of superior quality to emigrate to a relatively unknown colony where they must rely on anticipated congregations for their full support, and often he had been obliged to pay part or the entire cost of their passages himself. His proposed remedy was to make Australia independent of Britain as the source of her much-needed clergy, by establishing a training college for all evangelical denominations within the colony. To this end the now declining Australian College at Sydney seemed admirably sited. Thus Lang advertised in that evangelical organ, the British Banner, for thirty promising young men, interested in "the cause of God in Australia", to accompany him on the "Clifton" and be trained for the colonial ministry. Again Lang was disappointed with the material support contributed by the churches at home, much of the cost of the whole undertaking coming from his private resources, but he was well pleased with the twenty-two

zealous candidates from the different evangelical denominations of the British Isles who pledged themselves to preach the pure religion of Christ in the colonies and to maintain the absolute unity of the Church of Christ. "Why transport the petty differences of the mother country to the Colonies?", the young David Blair asked, seconded by the words of candidate Carey, grandson of the famous Calcutta missionary, "the world is to be converted, the earth is to be evangelised. It is our desire that all God's people should be one" (111) Sectarian differences soon intruded themselves, however, on the harmony of the twenty-two ministerial candidates living together at Dr. Lang's manse and studying a course of theology, philosophy, and literature under the Doctor and the Rev. Mr. Quaife at the Australian College. When Mr. Carey finally accepted a call from the Baptist congregation at Parramatta, Dr. Lang stated his terms that so long as the students were living at his house, he expected them to worship with the Presbyterian communion, and not to identify themselves exclusively with other dissenting denominations (112). As a result, the four

111. The Argus 23.2.1850.
112. Lang to the editor of the British Banner May 1850. One of the students who worked for many years as a Congregational minister in Tasmania after graduating from the College, later wrote to Mrs. Lang, "I have had no communication with the Doctor since I left your house in July 1854, but I have never forgotten his true nobility of mind and his self-sacrificing spirit for the good of others. Nor can I ever forget, dear Madam, your great attention and kindness to us students when in the College and under your roof. No parents on earth could have done more for their children than the Dr and yourself, and indeed all your family, did for the students he brought out from England". D.S. Tinning to Mrs. Lang, 26.8.1878.
Baptist students and four of the Independent candidates seem to have left the Institution, although Lang asserted that the course of instruction offered would not be offensive to Episcopalians or even in some sections to Roman Catholics. At the end of a year at least six of the candidates were ordained as fully-trained clergymen for the colonial ministry, and one of their number, David Blair, soon gained considerable notoriety when he abandoned his church, denounced both Dr. Lang and the city of Sydney for their treatment of "honest men", and connected himself with the press in Port Phillip.

Many of Lang's immigrants opened schools and began teaching in the colony, a tremendous boon to education in those days when all formal instruction was left to the caprice of private enterprise. When Mr. Bulgin, the Rev. Mr. Baker, and Mr. Welseley, all men of several years' experience in teaching in the home country, opened their respective "academies" in Brisbane and Ipswich, there was but one other schoolteacher in the Moreton Bay district, and a retired sailor at that. These gentlemen promised to impart a solid English and commercial education while at the same time to pay strict attention to the morals and manners of the pupils.

Several of the single female passengers, many of them daughters or sisters of clergymen, also set up as teachers in both Port Phillip and Moreton Bay. By September 1849

113. S.M.H. March 1855. The editor hoped that as Port Phillip now had a lunatic asylum of its own, Sydney had indeed heard the last of Mr. Blair.

114. M.E.C. 17.2.1849, 10.11.1849, 16.3.1850.
Dr. Lang's immigrants had been instrumental in founding a School of Arts in Brisbane, Dr. Hobbs acting as Vice-President of the new society, Mr Langridge as Secretary, and four of the eight committeemen coming from among the 600 but recently arrived passengers. By June 1850 the Governor had recognized the value of the Society to the working classes of the district, and allowed £300 in the estimates in aid of its library and building programme. Mr. Smith, a "Fortitude" immigrant who had long been connected with the temperance movement in England, organized the first temperance meeting ever to be held at Moreton Bay. Although several people came forward to sign the pledge, the decision was not unanimous, as one dissenter was heard to retort, "I should like to see the speakers in the scrubs on the Dawson or the Condamine, and then they would soon change their tunes". Meanwhile at Geelong the Rev. Mr. Higgins had established a Mutual Benefit Building Society which attracted wide support, though a respectable Melbourne journal branded the scheme as a mere "lottery", and doubted whether the people of Geelong were much indebted to Mr. Higgins.

118. M.E.C. 10.11.1849.
for his innovation.

The 1200 immigrants introduced into Australia in 1849-1850 as a result of Dr. Lang's intensive colonization campaign were, then, a remarkable group. They brought their skilled trades to the developing colony, made up a prosperous middle class in the northern and southern districts, revolutionised the moral, social and religious life of their communities, revitalised the movements for political liberty, the separation of states, and the end of transportation, and were generally useful, stable and progressive members of society in their adopted homeland. The local press and prominent leaders all praised them for their success in overcoming their early difficulties, for their outstanding achievements as time passed in almost every aspect of colonial life. They remained aware of themselves always as a distinct group specially selected to bring the merits of British civil and religious liberty into Australia. They retained their

119. The Geelong Advertiser 1.9.1849. The Argus 5.9.1849. When Higgins first contacted Lang in England, he wrote "although I should go as Pastor, I should not wish to sit at home, lounge on the sofa, or ride in a carriage; no, I should wish to seek the temporal, as well as the spiritual interests of my people....In addition to being their minister or Pastor, I could superintend any work, or could plan and superintend the building of houses". Higgins to Lang, 14.4.1848. Lang Papers held by Sir John Ferguson.

120. In 1899, for example, in both Moreton Bay and Port Phillip, the surviving immigrants and their descendants gathered for jubilee celebrations, to remember their unique emigration, and to trace their achievements in the last fifty years. See The Queenslander September, 1899., The Argus 29.6.1899, and "The Larpent" (commemorative pamphlet, original held by Mr P.L. Brown of Geelong).
loyalty to their leader Dr. Lang, refuting the charge that he had deliberately misled them, continuing as living proof of the ultimate success of his colonization programme. Perhaps a southern journal best expressed general opinion on this unique emigration when it early declared that "The Government should perform on a large scale what Dr Lang has done with his limited means".

121. Two "Fortitude" immigrants wrote to Lang "We found we could not emigrate under any circumstances so favourable, and although we have been disappointed by your philanthropic purposes being frustrated, we protest against the charge that you have either deceived or defrauded us. We beg to assure you that these are the sentiments of the body of the emigrants by the "Fortitude". William Wall and Alexander Black to Lang, 19.8.1850, Newspaper Cuttings, vol.1 (N.L.). Another colonist by the same ship claimed that "Earl Grey is right in understanding that confidence is still placed in Dr Lang as an individual, and there is not one among us all who doubts for a moment that he would, even out of his own private property if he had it, make up the full amount of our claims". T.O.Dadswell to Editor of S.M.H. 5.8.1850.

122. The Geelong Advertiser 2.8.1849.
CHAPTER VII
Commentator and Agitator 1850-1870.

Only an epilogue remains. By 1850 Lang's work as an active immigration promoter was over, as church matters, elections, parliamentary business, jail sentences, and musings of a full life occupied his time. Yet, his interest in immigration remained great, and in the succeeding twenty-five years he organized still another colonization company, carried on a vigorous immigration campaign in Britain with his son George, and was ready at all times to offer sound advice to the various colonial governments on all matters of immigration.

On his departure from England at the end of 1849, it will be recalled, Lang intended that his colonization which he had just initiated should be continued on an extensive scale by a land and immigration company incorporated by the colonial legislature. He therefore left agents, Messrs. Smiles, Arnold and Kerr, in both London and Glasgow, and kept up a vigorous correspondence with the presidents of various emigration societies which he had formed and with a large group of intending immigrants. The prevailing distress in Britain, the consequent huge exodus of emigrants to America and the Colonies, and undoubtedly Lang's persistent protestations to the Colonial Office over the previous three years, now induced the Imperial Parliament to amend the Friendly 'Societies' Act so as to extend its provisions to
emigration, and thus the time seemed auspicious for the Doctor to press ahead with his plan. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he discarded the gold fever, which had in the meantime struck the southern continent, bringing fortune seekers in by thousands, as being any proper substitute for assisted immigration, and declared rather that since colonial waste lands belonged to the people of the Empire as a whole, Australia had some responsibility to the British working class.

In the years 1851 to 1854, then, Lang announced plans for societies called variously "The Australian Colonization Company", "The New South Wales Immigration and Tropical Cultivation Company", and "The Moreton Bay Land and Immigration Company". In each case emigration societies were to be set up throughout Britain under the regulations of the Friendly Societies' Act, with each member contributing a weekly sum to their funds, while in Australia where the Company would be incorporated, it would purchase land and thus become eligible to nominate specially chosen immigrants for a free passage out in ships controlled by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. The Company's agents would select the emigrants, artisans, small farmers, and labourers, accommodation.

2. The Press 30.7.1851.
3. The Press 8.1.1851, The Empire 26.11.1853, Lang, J.D: Emigration to Australia.
4. Again Lang confirmed that Scotland was decidedly the best part of the mother country for mechanics of all kinds for the colonies, for in the large European cities there was much greater division of labour, whereas in the northern kingdom their training was much more general, and consequently better adapted to the colonies.

The Empire 21.1.1854.
would be provided at Glasgow, the chief port of debarkation, model farms and factories would be established in the area of settlement, and to finance these projects and at the same time give a ten per cent interest to shareholders, land bought by the Company at £1 per acre, would be resold to the new colonists at 25/- or 30/- an acre. Once again Lang had many motives for promoting such an emigration scheme - to give the wretched working class of Great Britain the chance of success in a new and challenging environment, to encourage the growth of tropical produce in the northern district in order to benefit the colony, the mother country, and the American anti-slavery movement alike, to settle finally the transportation question by introducing ample British free labour, and to accelerate the general economic interests of Australia. "From my early residence in this colony", Lang noted, "I was led to form a very high opinion of its capabilities, and to conclude that nothing was necessary but the settlement of a numerous, industrious and virtuous population in the available portions of its vast territory, to render it one of the finest countries on the face of the earth". He determined that his adopted homeland should reap the benefit of his twenty years of valuable experience in emigration promotion, and on his European tour in 1852-53,

5. Lang to editor of The Argus 10.8.1852.
he spent much time in organizing emigration societies and in interviewing prospective colonists.

The new Colonial Secretary, Sir John Pakington, replied to the Doctor's overtures, however, that he was not prepared to enter into any negotiations for the sale of lands or for the sending out of emigrants on special terms. "Finding it recorded that you greatly misled numerous persons who were formerly induced by you to embark in a scheme of emigration, and that you had altogether failed to fulfil the conditions which you held out to them", he went on, he wholly declined to approve any fresh project which Lang might promote.

The northern squatters echoed this assessment when they commented on the proposed Moreton Bay Land and Emigration Company, "we look upon the general outline of the scheme as excellent...But as usual, in every matter with which the Doctor is connected, there is much that...is highly objectionable; and we fear, however excellent the project may be in itself, that should it be given to the public under the auspices of Dr. Lang, that fact alone would be sufficient to damn it". They sincerely hoped, however, that the scheme would be realised under other patronage.

8. Colonial Secretary to Lang 23.12.1852. Ibid. p.139.
9. Moreton Bay Free Press 20.12.1853. This was the organ of the squatter class, as opposed to the liberal, urban orientated Moreton Bay Courier edited by Lang immigrant, James Swan.
long learned the truth of the maxim he adopted soon after his arrival in the colony in 1823, that in any undertaking having for its object the glory of God or the welfare of men, discouragement, opposition, and hostility in the outset were the best assurance of success and prosperity in the end. In the 1854 election, then, he consented to stand as representative for the county of Stanley, with the direct aim of promoting a land and immigration company in the northern district. The first bill to this effect was thrown out by a majority of two, however, but in the following year it was passed, and the "Moreton Bay Immigration and Land Company" was finally organized. Insuperable difficulties continually harassed the Company's operation, however, in that agricultural lands selected by Lang as suitable for settlement remained firmly locked in squatters leasehold, and as it was found impracticable to ensure that after an emigrant's departure from Britain his repayments to the colonization society which had nominated him would be continued. In actual fact, the Company never sponsored an emigrant to Australia.

10. Lang, J.D: Emigration to Australia.
11. The Empire I, 2, 1856.
12. 9 of the 12 elective members favoured the motion, but the officials and nominated members combined for its defeat. Lang to the Editor of The Operative 14, 12, 1854. Newspaper Cuttings, vol.1, (N.L.).
13. S. Lardey (Grafton) to Lang, 8, 2, 1858. Lang Papers, vol.18, p. 243.
14. Lang to Colonial Secretary of Queensland, 28, 11, 1860. Lang Papers held by Sir John Ferguson.
In 1859 Queensland separated from New South Wales, and one of the first acts of the new Parliament in the following year was to pass the Crown Lands Alienation Bill allowing a bonus of thirty acres of land to every immigrant who paid his own passage to the northern colony. In this way, Dr. Lang's land and immigration principle, first enunciated by him almost thirty years before, was at last effected in law. The Hon. R.G.V. Herbert, first Queensland Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Jordan, their well-known emigration agent in England, both publicly acknowledged Lang as the true originator of the land order system, and, for the following decade, the doctor's interest in immigration was decidedly focussed on this new northern colony. Now the long sought Moreton Bay Colonization Company would come into extensive operation, he was convinced, and he suggested to the new government that on his very next visit to Britain he should take his son George to act as official immigration recruitment officer for the colony of Queensland. Although this offer was declined on the grounds that it would interfere with the existing system, Lang and his son nevertheless carried on a vigorous campaign throughout England and Scotland in 1861 on behalf of the northern colony, holding meetings on emigration and tropical cultivation in the chief towns and villages, and writing

15. Lang to the editor of The Empire 26.12.1860.
innumerable newspaper articles and private letters on colonization under the designation of "Queensland Emigration Office".

Meanwhile, trade and employment conditions in the British Isles had so greatly improved that the surge for emigration had largely fallen off, and during the next decade Lang concentrated his immigration interest in prodding New South Wales into adopting the land bonus principle as the only means of attracting colonists to its shores. The United States pledged 160 acres of land for each immigrant landed, New Zealand 40 acres, while Queensland, despite its relatively inferior climate and opportunities for settlement, had in the last ten years quadrupled its population owing to the merits of its land and immigration policy. No wonder then, Lang remarked, that New South Wales, with its "insane and suicidal policy", was not able to compete in this decade of low emigration enthusiasm, and that its emigration agents, Messrs Parkes and Dalley, had met with little success in the homeland. In 1862 the Doctor put a motion to the legislative Assembly that all emigrants between the ages of fourteen and fifty years arriving in New South Wales be given an initial free gift of twenty acres of land, to be increased to thirty acres after two years' successful residence in the colony. Eight years later he published his pamphlet

19. Lang to Legislative Assembly 29.7.1862.
Immigration, outlining his long and varied experience in colonization, and insisting in conclusion that the only means to originate and carry out an extensive system of immigration for New South Wales lay in the land bonus system. But his voice fell on deaf ears, and in 1874, just four years before his death, disappointed and disillusioned, he refused Sir Charles Cowper's request to aid in the promotion of government immigration; in former times, he replied, he had protested against the official immigration policy which brought useless semi-paupers rather than agriculturists and artisans into the country, and now, he concluded, "I cannot identify myself with such a system or make myself responsible for its working in any way".

Dr John Dunmore Lang stands as the greatest single figure in Australian immigration of the Nineteenth Century. Not only was he directly responsible for bringing 1900 specially selected immigrants into the colony, but also his comprehensive colonization plan, his astute criticisms of official policy, and his original contributions to immigration planning, all helped to shape the immigration programmes of the various Australian colonies in the years before Federation. As early as 1831, before the Government had applied Wakefield's idea of supporting assisted immigration by land revenue, Lang despatched his Scottish artisans in the "Stirling Castle" at

just £25 per head. These were indeed the first "steerage passage" immigrants to Australia, an example which was immediately taken up by British shipowners and which formed the very basis of future government assisted immigration to distant Australia. By 1833 the Doctor had formulated in his pamphlet Emigration a full-scale colonization programme, outlining the types of people most needed in the colony and the best means of obtaining them, a veritable blue-print to which he adhered in principle during his following forty years of activity in immigration. His original land order principle, wherein every colonist received a bonus in land in proportion to the passage money he had paid, became in due course the crux of the immigration scheme adopted in the colonies of Queensland and New Zealand, while, at all times throughout his long association with immigration his trenchant and constructive criticisms of various aspects of policy, of single female immigration, of arbitrary age and occupation qualifications, of the private bounty system, helped reform abuses and mould an official policy well suited to colonial needs.

It was Lang's belief that a Christian minister should involve himself in all the great movements of his day.

and thus in addition to his clerical duties, we have found him actively engaged in education, the extension of the franchise, transportation, tropical cultivation, treatment of the aborigines, separation of states, the abolition of state aid to religion, railway development, and in all aspects of immigration, whether working through the official regulations or initiating his own colonization schemes, and introducing not only ministers, schoolmasters, missionaries and students of divinity, but a large body of superior artisans and agriculturists as well. His colonization work reveals him as a multi-dimensional figure, uncompromising to the point of obstinacy when once convinced of the rightness of his cause, pugnacious and often lacking in tact and care, but enthusiastic, sincere and undoubtedly patriotic in all his activities. His immigration programme alone, then, would secure his ambition, to "leave footprints on the sands of time in Australia that will never be effaced".

24. Lang to the editor of *The Empire* 26.11.1856.
APPENDIX.

"Fortitude" Immigrants (1)

Occupations

1 minister of religion
1 schoolmaster
1 analytical chemist
2 bakers
1 blacksmith
1 bookseller
1 bricklayer
1 builder
3 carpenters
1 compositor
2 drapers
2 dressmakers
1 engineer
1 joiner
2 milliners
1 plumber
2 saddlers
3 shoemakers
3 tailors
1 warehouseman
2 matchmakers
15 farmers or agriculturists
4 farm labourers
1 farm bailiff
4 agriculturists and drapers
1 agriculturist and grocer
1 gardener.

In addition, there were 22 males and 21 females listed unclassified - mainly very young men, or widows.

Marital Status

Married couples without children - 14
Single males - 32
Single females - 21 (plus 4 widows)

Married couples with children - 1 child - 4 families
2 children - 7 families
3 " - 3 "
4 " - 3 "
5 " - 1 "
6 " - 4 "
7 " - 2 "
8 " - 3 "
13 " - 1 "

1 widow with 2 children
4 children (Hills) with A. Black's family.
2 persons listed with no particulars.

Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heads of families</th>
<th>under 15 years</th>
<th>15-45 years</th>
<th>over 45 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single males</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2 (widows)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not listed - 15

"Chaseley" Immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 blacksmith</td>
<td>1 ironfounder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bricklayer</td>
<td>1 mining engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 butcher</td>
<td>5 labourers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 builder</td>
<td>2 sharebrokers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cabinet-makers</td>
<td>2 shoemakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 carpenters</td>
<td>2 stationers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 clerks</td>
<td>3 tailors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cooper</td>
<td>1 wheelwright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 domestic servants</td>
<td>1 woollen manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 draper</td>
<td>1 woolstapler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 globe-maker</td>
<td>8 farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 governess</td>
<td>1 farm labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 grocer</td>
<td>1 gardener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 squatter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 listed unclassified.

Marital Status

Married couples without children - 10
Single males - 19
Single females - 4) over 15 years
Married couples with children - 1 child - 2 families
                      - 5 "
                      - 7 "
                      - 5 "
                      - 7 "
                      - 1 "
                      - 2 "

1 person listed with no particulars

Age:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>under 15 years</th>
<th>15-45 years</th>
<th>over 45 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heads of families</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Scottish</th>
<th>Irish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heads of families</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Analysis from "Register of Arrivals" 1849, Queensland State Archives.
### Occupations (3)
- 3 bricklayers
- 4 carpenters
- 1 cook
- 2 domestic servants
- 1 dressmaker
- 6 female general servants
- 16 labourers
- 1 miller
- 1 shoemaker
- 1 stonemason
- 1 tailor
- 4 farm labourers
- 3 gardeners

### Marital Status (4)
- Married couples without children - 5
- Single males - 36
- Single females - 11 (plus one widow with a child)
- Married couples with children - 9 families
  - 2 children - 7
  - 3 children - 2
  - 4 children - 2
  - 5 children - 5
  - 6 children - 2
  - 7 children - 1

### Age (5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 15 years</th>
<th>15-45 years</th>
<th>over 45 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heads of families</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Religious Denominations (6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Episcopalian</th>
<th>Wesleyan</th>
<th>Baptist</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Presbyterian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heads of families</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Nationality (7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heads of families</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Analysis only of those passed by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners - see State Library of Victoria, Manuscript held in Archives Section.

4. Analysis of all immigrants - see microfilm in State Library of Victoria Archives Section, and The Larpent Jubilee (original held by Mr. P.L. Brown, Geelong).

5. Analysis of all immigrants - see microfilm in State Library of Victoria Archives Section.

6. Analysis only of those passed by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners - see State Library of Victoria, Manuscript held in Archives Section.

7. Ditto.
"Travancore" Immigrants

Occupations (8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clergymen</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolmaster</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass fitter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet makers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial traveller</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currier</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draper</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French polisher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosier</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housemaid</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematical instrument maker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painters</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap works foreman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw manufacturer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailors</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelwright</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labourer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy maid</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers or agriculturists</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer and builder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm overseer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardeners</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marital Status (9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married couples without children</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married couples with children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 &quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 &quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 &quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Age (10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Under 15 Years</th>
<th>15-45 Years</th>
<th>Over 45 Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heads of families</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Males</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nationality (11)

Of the 45 given, 44 came from England, and 1 from Ireland.

8. Analysis from The Victoria Colonist... 9.11.1849; also microfilm in State Library of Victoria Archives Section.
9. Analysis from Geelong Advertiser 3.11.1849; checked with microfilm cited above.
10. This analysis is far from complete. Source - Microfilm in State Library of Victoria Archives Section.
11. Analysis from The Victoria Colonist... 9.11.1849, and microfilm copy cited above.
Religious Denominations (12)

Heads of Families (13): Independents 21
Church of England 16
Presbyterian 13
Baptist 9
Wesleyan 7
High Calvinist 4

12. Analysis from the Geelong Advertiser 3.11.1849.
13. By counting heads of families, single males, and single females separately in the official list of immigrants, the total is around 70. Thus it would seem that the term "heads of families" as used in the Geelong Advertiser in fact includes these three groups.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. JOHN DUNMORE LANG — HIS WORKS

i. Manuscripts
ii. Books and Pamphlets
iii. Newspaper Cutting Books
iv. Newspapers

II. JOHN DUNMORE LANG — GENERAL REFERENCES

i. Books
ii. Pamphlets
iii. Articles
iv. Manuscripts
v. Theses

III. IMMIGRATION — GENERAL REFERENCES

i. Official Publications
ii. Collections of Documents
iii. Books
iv. Articles
v. Newspapers
vi. Manuscripts
I. JOHN DUNMORE LANG - HIS WORKS

i. Manuscripts

Lang, J.D.: Papers held by Sir John Ferguson.
Lang, J.D.: Papers in the National Library, Canberra.

ii. Books and Pamphlets

Lang, J.D.: A Word to the Middle Classes on the Rights of the People (Manchester 1848)
Lang, J.D.: Account of the Steps taken, in England, with a view to the establishment of an Academical Institution, or College in New South Wales; and to demonstrate the practicability of effecting an extensive emigration from the Mother Country to that Colony. (Sydney 1821)
Lang, J.D.: An Appeal to the Starving Highlanders and Islanders of Scotland, addressed through their Ministers, urging them to emigrate to Australia. (Edinburgh 1847)
Lang, J.D.: An Authentic Statement on the Facts and Circumstances of the Deposition of Dr. John Dunmore Lang from the Christian Ministry by the Synod of Australia, in Connexion with the Church of Scotland, in the year 1842. (Sydney 1860)
Lang, J.D.: Australian Colonisation (n.p., n.d.) (Printed Letter of Lang to editor of the British Banner, 5.3.1849)
Lang, J.D.: Australian Mission. To the ministers and elders of the secession and relief churches. (n.p., n.d.) (1847)
Lang, J.D.: Brief Sketch of my Parliamentary Life and Times, from 1st August, 1843, till the late dissolving of Parliament. (Sydney 1870)

Lang, J.D.: Bristol and West of England Australian Emigration Society. (n.p., n.d.)

Lang, J.D.: Cooksland Colonisation Company (n.p., n.d.)

Lang, J.D.: The Coming Event! Or, Freedom and Independence for the Seven United Provinces of Australia. (Sydney 1870)

Lang, J.D.: The Coming Event; or The United Provinces of Australia. Two Lectures delivered in the City Theatre and School of Arts, Sydney. (Sydney 1850)

Lang, J.D.: Cooksland in the North Eastern Australia; the Future Cotton-Field of Great Britain: its characteristics and capabilities for European colonisation. With a disquisition on the origin, manners, & customs of the Aborigines. (London 1847)

Lang, J.D.: Cooksland, or the Moreton Bay district of New South Wales, a highly eligible field for immediate and extensive colonisation; being principally a series of extracts from a work entitled "Cooks-Land, in North Eastern Australia, the Future Cotton Field of Great Britain." (London 1848)

Lang, J.D.: Cotton Cultivation Company (n.p., n.d.)

Lang, J.D.: Cotton Cultivation in Australia. (Manchester, 1847)

Lang, J.D.: The Dead Fly in the Apothecary's Ointment; or, The Reason why Presbyterian Church Union in Australia has hitherto proved a failure: A Letter to the Rev. James Begg, D.D., &c., &c., Edinburgh. (Glasgow, 1861)

Lang, J.D.: Democracy, or Government by and for the People, the Ordinance of God, and the best security for the welfare and advancement of society. (Sydney, 1859)
Lang, J.D.: Emigration: considered chiefly in reference to the practicability and expediency of importing and of settling throughout the territory of N.S.W., a numerous, industrious and virtuous agricultural population. (Sydney, 1833)

Lang, J.D.: Emigration to Australia. (Sydney, 1855)

Lang, J.D.: Emigration to Port Phillip; or, a brief statement of the general capabilities of that province for immediate and extensive colonisation: with a view of the principles and objects of the Port Phillip and Clarence River Colonisation Company. (London, 1848)

Lang, J.D.: The Fatal Mistake! or How New South Wales has lost caste in the world, through misgovernment in the matter of immigration: and what is the present duty of the colony in the case. (Sydney, 1875)


Lang, J.D.: Historical Account of the Separation of Victoria from New South Wales. (Sydney 1870)


Lang, J.D.: Immigration; and the Scotch Mechanics of 1831: Being Chapter V of a Work in preparation, to be entitled "Reminiscences of my Life and Times, both in Church and State in Australia, for upwards of Fifty Years Past." (n.p,n.d)

Lang, J.D.: Immigration: the Grand Desideratum for New South Wales: and how to promote it effectually. (Sydney 1870)
Lang, J.D.: Juvenile-Pauper Emigration: A Letter to the members of the Vestry of the Parish of Marylebone, London. (London 1848)

Lang, J.D.: Moreton Bay Separation (n.p, 1857)

Lang, J.D.: Narrative of Proceedings, in England, Scotland and Ireland, during the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, with a view to originate an extensive and continuous immigration of a superior character from the United Kingdom into this territory. (Sydney 1850)

Lang, J.D.: Narrative of the Steps taken in Promoting the Separation of Queensland from New South Wales. (Sydney 1874)

Lang, J.D.: A Native Ministry, the prime necessity of the Presbyterian Church. (n,p,n.d) (1866)

Lang, J.D.: The Petition of John Dunmore Lang, Doctor of Divinity and Member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales to the Legislative Assembly of Queensland. (Brisbane 1860)

Lang, J.D.: Petition to the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Queensland. (n.p,n.d 1864)

Lang, J.D.: Phillipsland Company. (n.p, 1847)

Lang, J.D.: Phillipsland; or the Country hitherto Designated Port Phillip; its present condition and prospects, as a highly eligible field for emigration. (Edinburgh 1847)

Lang, J.D.: Popery in Australia and the Southern Hemisphere; and how to check it effectually: An Address to Evangelical and Influential Protestants of all Denominations in Great Britain and Ireland. (Edinburgh 1847)
Lang, J.D.: Port Phillip: or the Colony of Victoria; Part First, Early History of the Province, as a dependency of New South Wales; Part Second, Its Present condition and prospects, as a separate and independent colony. (Glasgow, 1853)

Lang, J.D.: Present Aspect & Prospects of the New Church; with a plain statement of the case of the Church of Scotland and the British Colonies. (Glasgow 1831)

Lang, J.D.: Prospectus of a Company to be designated the Australian Cotton Cultivation Company. (Glasgow 1852)

Lang, J.D.: Prospectus of a Company to be designated The Australian Cotton-growing and Emigration Company. (Glasgow 1847)

Lang, J.D.: Prospectus of a Company to be designated the Scottish Phillipsland Emigration Company. (Edinburgh 1847)

Lang, J.D.: Queensland, Australia; a highly eligible field for emigration, and the future cotton-field of Great Britain with a disquisition on the origin, manners, and customs of the aborigines. (London 1861)

Lang, J.D.: Statement of the Capabilities of Cooksland, or the Moreton-Bay District of New South Wales, for Immediate and Extensive Colonisation; with suggestions for the formation of a chartered company to effect such colonisation. (London 1848)

Lang, J.D.: Suggestions, with a view to the Formation of a Company to promote the cultivation of cotton, and other tropical produce, by means of European free labour, in the territory of Cooksland, or the Northern division of the Colony of New South Wales, and also to promote Protestant Emigration to the said territory. (Edinburgh 1847)
vi.

Lang, J.D.: The Question of Questionslor, is this Colony to be transformed into a Province of the Popedom? A Letter to the Protestant Landholders of New South Wales. (Sydney 1841)

Lang, J.D.: Repeal or Revolution; or, a Glimpse of the Irish Future: in a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell. (London 1848)

Lang, J.D.: Statement of Facts and Circumstances illustrative of the origin and history of the Presbyterian Church & of the earlier efforts on behalf of academical education in New South Wales; including an account of the monstrous proceedings of the Synod of Australia in 1842. (Sydney 1857)

Lang, J.D.: Statement of the Principal Non-Political Services Rendered to the Government and People of New South Wales. (Sydney n.d) (1876)


Lang, J.D.: Three Lectures, on the Impolicy and Injustice of Religious Establishments, or the Giving of Money for the Support of Religion from the Public Treasury in the Australian Colonies. (Sydney 1856)

Lang, J.D.: To the Cotton-Spinners and Manufacturers of the City of Glasgow and its vicinity. (n.p, 1849)

Lang, J.D.: To the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Victoria, the Petition of John Dunmore Lang, Doctor of Divinity, one of the Representatives of the City of Sydney in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales. (Sydney, n.d) (1861)

Lang, J.D.: To the Protestant Tenantry of the North of Ireland. Emigration to Australia. (Glasgow 1847)
Lang, J.D.: To the Scottish & other Presbyterians and to the public generally. (Sydney 1873)

Lang, J.D.: Transportation and Colonisation; or the Causes of the Comparative failure of the Transportation system in the Australian Colonies: with suggestions for ensuring its future efficiency in subserviency to extensive colonisation. (London 1837)

iii. Newspaper Cutting Books


National Library, A.C.T.: Newspaper Cuttings (3 Vols.)
State Library of Victoria: Newspaper Clippings (3 Volumes)

iv. Newspapers


The Press: Jan. 1st - Aug. 6th, 1851
II. JOHN DUNMORE LANG — GENERAL REFERENCES

i. Books

Bartley, N.: Australian Pioneers and Reminiscences, together with Portraits of some of the founders of Australia. (Brisbane 1896)

Buchanan, D.: Political Portraits of some of the Members of the Parliament of N.S.W. (Sydney 1863)

Collier, James: The Pastoral Age in Australasia. (London 1911)

Craig, W.W.: "Dr. Lang's Work" Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir. (Brisbane 1924)

Curtis, J.: Shipwreck of the Stirling Castle. (London 1838)


Hay, Rev. A.: Jubilee Memorial of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland 1849-99. (Brisbane 1900)

Leavitt, F.W.H.: Australian Representative Men. (Melbourne 1887)

McConnel, Mary: Memoirs of Days long gone by. By the Wife of an Australian Pioneeer. (n.p, n.d)

Mackenzie, D.: Ten Years in Australia. (London 1852)


Palmer, Vance: National Portraits. (Melbourne 1948)

Petrie, C.C.: Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland. (Brisbane 1904)

Reid, G.R.S.: Presbyterian Pioneers in Australia. (n.p,n.d.)
Russell, H.S.: The Genesis of Queensland  
(Sydney 1888)

(London 1850)

(London 1852)

(Brisbane 1938)

Tait, Thomas: John Dunmore Lang - a fighter for the right.  
(Sydney 1923)

ii. Pamphlets

Eipper, Christopher (Rev): Statement of the Origin Condition, and Prospects of the German Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, conducted under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales  
(Sydney 1891)

(Sydney 1878)

Marshall, J.: A Refutation of the Slanders and Wilful Misrepresentations Published at Sydney by Dr. Lang, in the "Colonist" Newspaper, belonging to him.  
(London 1835)

Marshall, John: A Reply to the Misrepresentations which have been put forth, respecting Female Emigration to Australia.  
(London, n.d)
Melton, C.: "Fortitude Valley"

Morrison, A.A.: "Politics in Early Queensland."


Stevens, E.V.: "Fortitude' Emigrants",

### iii. Articles

Anom. "Early Chronicles of Queensland"

Austin, Jordan & Laurie: "Dr. John Dunmore Lang"


Blair, D.: "John Dunmore Lang, D.D."
*Once a Month*, Vol 4, 1886.

Blair, D: "John Dunmore Lang: A Recollection"
*Centennial Magazine* 1888-9, VolI.

Butler, Rev. J.: "Dr. Lang and the Missionaries"
Carmichael, H.: "Hints to Emigrants"
The N.S.W. Calendar Directory, 1834. (Sydney 1834)

Carmichael, H.: "Introductory Discourse delivered at the Opening of the Sydney Mechanic's School of Arts, April 23, 1833."
The N.S.W. Magazine Vol.1, No.2, 1833.

Carmichael, H.: Introductory Lecture, delivered at the Sydney Mechanic's School of Arts, June 3, 1844. (Sydney 1844)


Craig, W.W.: "Dr. Lang's Work"
Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir. 1924.


Hanlin, F.: "Sidelights on Dr. John Dunmore Lang",
Royal Australian Historical Society Journal. XXX (1944)

Lawson, H.: "Dr. Lang"
The Australian Nationalist Aug. 1888.

iv. Manuscripts


Pettigrew, W.: Diaries.


Archer Papers
Bourke Papers

Compiled by Mr. James Nisbet from Reminiscences of Mrs. Busby.
D'ArCY Wentworth Papers.
Deas Thompson Papers.
Despatches to Governors of New South Wales.
Macarthur Papers.
Mitchell Papers.
New South Wales Governors' Despatches.
Parkes Correspondence.
Papers on Education 1804-68.

V. Theses.

Child, A.C.: "John Dunmore Lang: some aspects of his work and character."
(M.A. Thesis - Mitchell Library)

Evans, L.W.: "John Dunmore Lang, and Education."
(M.A. Thesis - Baillieu Library, Melb.)

McPheat, W. Scott: "John Dunmore Lang, with special reference to his activities in Qld."
(M.A. Thesis - Uni. of Qld. Library)

(B.A.H. Thesis - Uni. of Qld. Library)

Whiteley, Jacqueline: "Two Families of Early Brisbane"
(B.A.H. Thesis - Uni. of Qld. Library)
III. IMMIGRATION - GENERAL REFERENCES

i. Official Publications

Annual Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners:

Commission and Instructions. P.P. 1840, XXXIII, 35.
First Report, 1840 - P.P. XXXIII, 613.
Fourth Report, 1844 - P.P. XXXI, 178.
Fifth Report, 1845 - P.P. XXVII, 617.
Sixth Report, 1846 - P.P. XXIV, 706.
Seventh Report, 1847 - P.P. XXXIII, 809.
Eighth Report, 1847-8 - XXVI, 961.
Ninth Report, 1849 - XXII, 1082.
Tenth Report, 1850 - XXIII, 1204.
Eleventh Report, 1851 - XXII, 1383.
Twelfth Report, 1852 - XVIII, 1499.

Report of the Commissioners for Emigration, March 1832.
P.P. 1832, XXXII, 724.

Queensland Legislative Assembly: Final Report from
the Select Committee on Dr. Lang's Petition.
(Brisbane 1860)

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee
on the Disposal of Lands in the British Colonies,

First Report of the Select Committee on Emigration
from the United Kingdom, 1826.
P.P. 1826, IV, 404.

Reports of the Select Committee on Emigration from
the United Kingdom, 1827.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Commit­
ee of the Legislative Council on Immigration,
1835. V.&.P. Leg.Council N.S.W., 1835.
Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Immigration, 1837. V.&.P. Leg.Council N.S.W., 1837.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Immigration, 1838. V.&.P. Leg.Council N.S.W., 1838.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Immigration, 1839. V.&.P. Legislative Council N.S.W., 1839.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Immigration, 1840. V.&.P. Legislative Council N.S.W., 1840.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Immigration, 1841. V.&.P. Legislative Council N.S.W., 1841.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Immigration, 1843. V.&.P. Legislative Council N.S.W., 1843.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Immigration, 1845. V.&.P. Legislative Council N.S.W., 1845.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on Transportation, 1837. P.P. 1837, XIX, 518.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on Transportation, 1838. P.P. 1837-8, XXII, 669.

ii. Collections of Documents.

Clark, C.M.H.:(Ed) Select Documents in Australian History. 1788-1850. (Sydney 1950)

The Historical Records of Australia. Series I.
### iii. Books.

**Anonymous:** The Emigrant's Guide to Australia. With a Memoir of Mrs. Chisolm. (London n.d.)

**Anonymous:** Emigrant's Letters: Being a Collection of Recent Communications from Settlers in the British Colonies. (London 1850)

**Anonymous:** Extracts from the Works of Various Authors, for the Entertainment and Instruction of a Party of Emigrants, on their Voyage to Sydney. (For Private Distribution) (London 1838)

**Anonymous:** The Committee for promoting the Emigration of Females to the Australian Colonies. Having received Reports from Australia relative to the Emigrants who went out last year by the Ships 'Bussorah' 'Merchant' and Layton, deem it proper to publish the following information derived from the Superintendants who accompanied the Females to secure their comfort on the voyage, and from other sources on which the Committee can entirely rely. (London, n.d. 1834)

**Baker, Charles John:** Sydney and Melbourne; with remarks on the Present State and Future Prospects of New South Wales, and Practical Advice to Emigrants of Various Classes. (London 1845)

**Butler, Samuel:** Hand-Book for Australian Emigrants; being a Descriptive History of Australia, and Containing an Account of the Climate, Soil and Natural Productions of New South Wales, South Australia and Swan River Settlement. (Glasgow 1839)

**Carrothers, W.A.:** Emigration from the British Isles, with special reference to the development of the overseas dominions. (London 1929)

**Chisolm, C.:** Emigration and Transportation Relatively Considered. (London 1897)

Coghlan, T.A.: Labour and Industry in Australia: from the first settlement in 1788 to the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901. 4 Vols. (London 1918)


Dawson, Robert: The Present State of Australia; a description of the Country, its advantages and prospects with reference to Emigration. (London 1831)

Greenwood, G.: (Ed.) Australia: A Social and Political History. (Sydney 1955)


Hancock, W.K.: Australia (London 1930)


Hansen, Marcus Lee: The Immigrant in American History. (Cambridge, Mass. 1948)

Harris, Alexander: The Secrets of Alexander Harris a frank autobiography. (Sydney 1961)

Harris, Alexander: Settlers and Convicts: or, Recollections of Sixteen Year's Labour in the Australian Backwoods: by an Emigrant Mechanic. (Melbourne 1953)

Henderson, John: Excursions and Adventures in New South Wales; with Pictures of Squatting and of Life in the Bush; an Account of the Climate, Productions, and natural History of the Colony, and of the Manners and Customs of the Natives, with advice to Emigrants (London 1851)

Henning, Rachael: Letters, Ed. David Adams. (Sydney 1952)


Kiddle, M.: Caroline Chisolm. (Melbourne 1950)

Kiddle, M.: Men of Yesterday: A Social History of the Western Districts of Victoria 1834-1890. (Melbourne 1964)

King, H.: Richard Bourke (Melbourne 1963)

Knight, J.J.: In the Early Days: History and Incident of Pioneer Queensland; with Dictionary of Dates in chronological order. (Brisbane 1895)


Madgwick, R.B.: Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851. (London 1937)


Mann, A.: Emigrant's Guide to Australia; including the Colonies of New South Wales, Port Phillip, South Australia, and Moreton Bay. (London, 1849)

Martin, A.W.: Henry Parkes (Melbourne 1964)


Mossman, S. and Bannister, T.: Australia Visited and Revisited. A Narrative of Recent Travels and Old Experiences in Victoria and New South Wales. (London 1853)
Nadel, G.: *Australia's Colonial Culture: ideas, men and institutions in mid-nineteenth century eastern Australia.*  (Melbourne 1957)

Parkes, H.: *An Emigrant's Home Letters*  (Sydney 1896)

Parkes, H.: *Stolen Moments: A Short Series of Poems.*  (Sydney 1842)


Serle, P.: *Dictionary of Australian Biography*  2 Vols.  (Sydney 1949)

Shepperson, W.S.: *British Emigration to North America: projects and opinions in the early Victorian period.*  (Oxford 1957)

Silver, S.W. & Co.: *Emigration Guide and Colonial Itinerary.*  (London 1859)

Smith, Kenneth: *The Malthusian Controversy.*  (London 1951)

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon: *A Letter from Sydney, and other writings.*  (London 1929)

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon: *A View of the Art of Colonisation: with present reference to the British Empire in letters between an Statesman and a Colonist.*  (London 1849)


Wittke, C: *We Who Built America: the saga of the immigrant.*  (Cleveland, Ohio 1939)

Clarke, Percy: *The 'New Chum' in Australia, or the Scenery, Life, and Manners of Australians in Town & Country.*  (London 1886)
iv. Articles


Anonymous: "First Stage to Australia" Household Words, Vol VIII, No 181, Sept.10, 1853.


Kiddle, Margaret: "Irish Papers, c.1830-1850." Australian National University Seminar 20.5.54, in Series "The British Background of Australian Settlement, 1830-90"

Kiddle, Margaret: "Scottish Lowland Farmers, c.1830-50" Australian National University Seminar 13.5.54, in Series "The British Background of Australian Settlement, 1830-90.

Mackay, J.M.: "Emigration" National Association for the Promotion of Social Science - Transactions 1858.


v. Newspapers

The Argus
The Australian
The Corio Chronicle and Western District Advertiser, 1848, 1849 Jan-Aug.
The Geelong Advertiser
The Melbourne Daily News
The Moreton Bay Courier
The Moreton Bay Free Press
The Sydney Gazette
The Sydney Morning Herald
The Victoria Colonist and Western District Advertiser, Aug-Dec 1849, 1850.

vi. Manuscripts

Journal of a Voyage to Australia Felix in 1842. Illustrated. MSS in NL.
Mackenzie, John: Journal of a Voyage to Port Phillip 1841. MS in NL.
Stamp, E.S.: Daily Journals of the Voyage to Port Phillip per ship Tasman from London, June 1849.