JOHN DUNMORE LANG

HIS WORK AND INFLUENCE

IN

AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION

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A THESIS PRESENTED

for the

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

by

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University of Adelaide

1949

C O N T E N T S

PREFACE

The topic of this thesis on John Dunmore Lang and his influence on Australian Education was chosen after a preliminary perusal of his manuscripts, now housed in the archives of the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Very little previous research has been done on the life and work of Doctor Lang and there are no dissertations which deal exclusively with his contribution to Australian Education. Mr. A.C. Child has made an investigation of Dr. Lang's life and work and has published two articles in the Royal Australian Historical Society's Journal. However, that study has been spread over all the Doctor's activities, while the present study is limited to his work in education.

The problem of this study was to investigate and evaluate Dr. Lang's work and influence on the educational development of his adopted country. But it was obviously both impossible and undesirable to isolate entirely the educational activities from the other work of Dr. Lang in Australia. In some cases the educational work was bound inextricably with other phases, as when the establishment of the Australian College was also the opportunity for a bold and successful venture in immigration. The first chapter is an attempt to outline briefly the life of Dr. Lang so that the details of his educational work could be seen in proper perspective. For this purpose also an appendix has been prepared to outline chronologically the main events of the Doctor's life.

Other chapters have been dictated of a necessity to give to Dr. Lang's work a background without which the study would lack clarity and significance. Thus a brief survey of education in Australia up to Dr. Lang's arrival in the colony has been included. The chapter on Church and School Corporation has a further purpose, in that Lang's actions in relation to this Corporation influenced practically all his later work in education. Apparent digressions will thus be recognized as necessary because of later influences.

But all this background material and the details of Lang's educational ventures have been included as basis for a judgment on his influence in Australian education. The extent of Dr. Lang's work in education is amazingly wide both in nature and time, and is all the more surprising when one realises that other phases of his work were as much or more widespread though not perhaps as lasting. He managed to crowd several careers into one lifetime, and do well in all of them.

The opportunity of making acknowledgment of help given must also be taken here. The thanks of the writer are due to the staff of the Mitchell Library who helped and co-operated whenever possible. The manuscripts of Dr. Lang were still in process of assembling, checking, and binding, but any inconvenience caused by the writer's desire to use the material was cheerfully accepted. The writer's gratitude goes also to Dr. E.V. Steele, the Fisher Librarian of the University of Sydney, who so graciously granted the privileges of graduate use of the fine library.

CHAPTER I

J.D. LANG THE MAN

LIFE AND CHARACTER

"He came to Australia with an expansive intellect, a brave spirit, a capacity for work and mastering the details of life, and with a quality which has been accounted the greatest of all human qualities - the power of gentleness." [1] Thus spake Sir Henry Parkes of his old associate, John Dunmore Lang, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the latter's death.

Lang had spent his life in service to Australia and its people, and ranks as one of the great men of Australia's first century. He was actively interested in many aspects of the colonial life, and left his mark quite definitely on the history of his adopted country.

John Dunmore Lang was born in Greenock, Scotland in 1799. His ancestors on both sides had been Scottish farmers and land-owners, some of whom had taken part in a sojourn in Holland for their religion's sake between 1662 and 1688. William Lang, his father, was apparently an artisan, for he is described on John's entry form to Glasgow University as "Gulielmi Artificis",[2] and this description is substantiated by his later

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[1] Bartley - Australian Pioneers and Reminiscences. p.142
[2] J.D. Lang - MSS Apendix, Mitchell Library.

activities in Australia. It was while coming to Sydney to advise his son on matters of building that he lost his life.

John's mother, Mary Dunmore Lang, on her father's death inherited some property at Largs, Scotland, and after the successful outcome of a legal struggle concerning the title, the family took up residence there in 1806. Mary Lang was evidently quite a strong minded character and no doubt it was from her that John inherited much of that determination and perseverance which characterized his activities in Australia. She followed her son to Australia and was quite ready to fight for him when she thought she could help him. On the occasion when relations between John and Governor Brisbane were rather strained over the question of building a Scotch Kirk, she visited the Governor and did much by her influence to straighten out the difficulty.

John attended the parish school in Largs and was bright enough to enter Glasgow University in 1811 when only 12 years of age. During his stay there he studied in Arts and Theology, and obtained his Master's Degree in 1819. However, he did not limit his study to narrow courses but attended optional classes in anatomy, surgery, chemistry and natural history.[3]

He left the University in 1820 and was licensed as a preacher of the Gospel by the Presbytery of Irvine. But his

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[3] J.D. Lang - MSS, Mitchell Library, Vol. 24.

independent spirit rebelled at the thought of resting his advancement in the church on the whim of some laird who had power of preferment. He says "I could not help regarding it as both humiliating and degrading, for a licentiate to be kept waiting at the footstool of some nobleman or other." [4] It is interesting to contemplate how Lang with his "biting tongue and vitriolic pen"[5] would have fitted into the church system of the homeland.

But Lang had already gained the idea of going abroad. His younger brother George, who had begun the study of medicine at Glasgow University, had left his study to take up a managing position on a West Indies plantation. This arrangement had failed, through no fault of George, and he had then taken the advice of Sir Thomas Brisbane, their local laird, and had decided to emigrate to Australia. John "directed his brother, when embarking for New South Wales, to make a moral survey of the country on his arrival in Australia, and in particular to ascertain the condition and prospects of the Presbyterians he might find in it; as it was not improbable that if his account were at all favourable he should proceed thither as a minister of the Gospel himself." [6]

Meanwhile John was seeking a call in the homeland and had had some hope of success in obtaining an appointment, for he had been chosen one of four out of a group of thirty, to preach a second time for a test sermon. On receiving word

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[4] J.D. Lang - MSS, Mitchell Library, Vol. 24
[5] "Old Chum" - Truth. 1908
[6] MSS, Ibid.

from George, advising him to emigrate, he "declined the invitation to preach a second time."[7] George had made inquiries, both in Van Dieman's Land and in New South Wales, among the Presbyterians settled there, and had no hesitation in advising his brother to come out as the first Presbyterian minister.

John's friends considered his venture " a hare-brained and desperate scheme", but he had determined that he "would go forth beyond seas to some transmarine field of labour, in which no minister of the Church he belonged to had ever laboured before."[8] He therefore set out for Australia "of his own choice and at his own charges"[9] by the ship Andromeda on October 14, 1822.

After a journey of seven months he arrived in Sydney, and a few weeks later wrote in his diary - "The climate is delightful. The country is highly productive, but its people! O generation of vipers! Will they never be warned to flee from the wrath to come! I scorn to be the pensioner of thieves and adulterers. I shall stay here only till I get our Scots Kirk finished and till I can leave the place honourably." A little later, when the Scots Kirk subscriptions were proceeding quite nicely he felt better about it all, but said, "I shall not like to continue all my life, providing it be long, in so contracted a sphere."[10]

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7 J.D. Lang, - MSS, Mitchell Library. Vol. 24
8 Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of N.S.W., p. iv.
9 Ibid.
10 J.D. Lang, - MSS, Mitchell Library. Vol. 1

His life proved to be a long one, but there is nothing to suggest from his activities in New South Wales that he ever allowed the sphere to be a contracted one. He was interested in many aspects of the colonial life and actively engaged in as many avenues of service as possible.

Lang's early impressions were apparently very justified, and to a young man of zeal, fresh from a College course, the difficulties and the evils would have loomed large in his vision. Lang had the sympathy of others already in the colony, for the Rev. Samuel Marsden writing to a friend in England said, in 1830,

> "The Dr. has had many difficulties to meet, but I hope in time he will get over them - New South Wales is not by any means a place suited to a young man just entering public life - there are too many opponents to everything that is good, that without much experience and wisdom, it will be impossible for him to avoid severe trials and difficulties - and if he has not patience and perseverance he must sink under their weight." [11]

Lang had many "trials and difficulties" during his work in Australia, but while he had the perseverance, he certainly did not have the patience hoped for. He was a man of unusual capacity and energy, and from the first he took a very active part in the public life of the colony. He was impulsive, and hotheaded, and the very intensity of his feelings often led him to say and write things which roused the ire of his opponents. He tended to be led on by his own earnestness when his better judgment would probably have said him nay. In 1853 Parkes,

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11 Letters of S. Marsden. B.T. Box 54 Mitchell Library

his protege and friend, wrote to him declining to publish in "The Empire" one of his bitter letters because it would cause unnecessary pain and even weaken Lang's own influence.[12]

Lang was heartily welcomed by the Scots residents particularly, and at once set about planning for the building of a Scots Kirk. The Governor and Lady Brisbane, themselves Presbyterians, headed the well-supported subscription list, and prospects were rosy. Lang and his committee approached the Government for a grant from public funds, and while the Governor was apparently in favour, (Lang says he came from Parramatta with a letter promising £1,000 from The Public Treasury if the subscription reached £1,000),[13] his advisers, notably Major Goulburn and Dr. Douglass, were opposed to it, and persuaded the Governor against the grant. The reply published in the Sydney Gazette of September 25, 1823, was far from politic in its wording, suggesting by its implications that the Presbyterian Church was to be put on probation and tested before help would be granted. Lang was not the type of man to see his Church receive such a public and unwarranted rebuke. He addressed a remonstrance to the Governor couched in terms which his righteous indignation dictated. However warranted it may have been, it was of such a nature, with an implied threat that he would take the matter to England, that the Governor could not ignore it. The Governor's name was removed from the subscription list and not only did subscriptions stop - for who could afford the Governor's dis-

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12 J.D. Lang Papers, Vol. 22, p.4
13 J.D. Lang - MSS, Mitchell Library, Vol. 1

pleasure - but Lang's congregations fell away.

Lang did refer the matter to the English authorities, and had the offending letter published in the London press, but before word came back from England, Mrs. Lang had been able to work on the Governor to such an extent that he had granted a subsidy on the land, had renewed his subscription, and agreed to officiate at the laying of the foundation-stone. When despatches did arrive from England they contained a rebuke for the Governor's published attitude to the application for a grant to the Scots Church, and ordered the Government to pay one third the cost of the church.[14] Lang celebrated his victory by a return to England and a successful application to Lord Bathurst for the granting of a salary from the Government to himself and to the Presbyterian minister whom he persuaded to go with him to New South Wales.

Lang's family had arrived in New South Wales in January, 1824, and the young minister had more incentive to make this land his own. But he did find cause to make many trips - nine in all - back to England, one of them, in which he journeyed further afield, lasting for almost four years. Lang now took a very active part in the affairs of the colony. He did not limit his work to the church but was interested in all the many aspects of a new and growing settlement. This thesis is concerned particularly with his very important work in education, but that was only one avenue for his energy.

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14 Historical Records, Series I, Vol. 11, p.346

IMMIGRATION

Lang did a noble yet practical work for Australia through his efforts towards immigration. He claimed that the Government was not taking sufficient care in its choice of free settlers, and he urged that some definite policy be adopted. He suggested that "the classes of persons of whom the colony is generally supposed to stand most in need ... are mechanics and agricultural labourers." [15] He wanted some scheme of finance adopted whereby the skilled worker would repay his passage money "within a certain period after his arrival in the territory" [16] and in which the agricultural labourer would be given free passage, for the country would benefit "from the certain increase of the colonial revenue which would immediately ensue, and from the general improvement of the colony in a great variety of respects." [17] He favoured a grant of land proportionate to passage money paid, the whole to be financed from the sale of Crown lands.

These principles are very sound, and as Lang himself proved, were very practical. He had in 1831 brought out a ship-load of Scotch mechanics to help build his Australian College, and the venture was highly successful. The principles which Lang urged were in the main accepted and adopted by the British Government, and Lang would no doubt have been honoured as a great benefactor to his country for his work in immigration, but his enthusiasm led him into indiscretions.

Following his successful venture with the Scotch mechanics in 1831, a venture which received very favourable comment in the

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15 Pamphlets on Immigration 1833 - Lang
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.

press of the period, he brought from England in 1837 a group of 250 German vinedressers under engagement to his brother Andrew. Unfortunately for Dr. Lang, the ship called in at Rio and the local people were able to offer such inducements to the emigrants that all decided to stay. The Doctor retained only a group of German missionaries who later were established in an aboriginal mission at Nundah, near Brisbane, in 1838.

Nothing daunted, Lang next tried to create a colony of cotton growers at Moreton Bay in 1848,9. It was in this venture particularly that he ran foul of officialdom. His suggestions regarding the selection of suitable Scotch immigrants were not accepted by the Emigration Commissioners in England, and so Lang with characteristic impatience went ahead without their sanction. He obtained a verbal assurance of Government help in grants of land, but this was later withdrawn. Lang was instrumental in sending off three ships to Moreton Bay, and three to Port Phillip, but the consequent confusion between settlers, Government authorities and Lang was unfortunate. Lang must take the great share of blame for this confusion, but it is undoubted that the Government authorities were hard to move. Lang's enthusiasm, his fondness for his own schemes, his impatience with those who did not agree with him, made it hard for him to adapt himself.

This particular venture, leading as it did to a vote of censure by the Legislative Council, throws light on Lang's character. Lang was a man of fierce enthusiasms. He could not brook opposition to his desires, and while his general aims and ideals were

high, there were times when his very zeal led him into indiscretions. He was inclined to be fierce in his attacks, to be led too fast by the righteousness of his cause. No power of opposition, Governmental or otherwise, could deflect him from his purpose. And even when absolutely defeated, as in this Moreton Bay episode, he would not bow his head in defeat.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Lang had a full career in his own church, but he found time to cram in several other careers. When in 1842 the New Constitution made provision for the election of 24 members to the Legislative Council, Lang, after a vigorous campaign, was elected as member for Port Phillip. He said of this departure from established practice that

> "In the general principle involved in such a proposal - that of ministers of religion being members of political assemblies - I confess I am strongly opposed; but there were circumstances at the period in question which appeared to justify an exception in my own favour in that particular case, although there had been no instance of a clerical member of an elective legislature in the previous history of British colonization." 18

Lang led the fight for the separation of Victoria, and when the effort was defeated in the Council, sent home to the Queen a long petition from the Port Phillip residents which gained the desired freedom, though there was some delay in its execution. He was also the leading figure in the fight for Queensland independence, and showed a vision and statesmanship comparatively rare in Australian politics of the time.

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18 J.D. Lang, Phillipsland, p.363

Lang resigned his Port Phillip seat in 1847 but was elected a member for Sydney in 1850 and again in 1851.

> "From August 1854 to February 1856 he represented the county of Stanly (Moreton Bay). The Constitution Act which was passed in 1853 and ratified by the Imperial Parliament in 1855, contained a clause excluding from Parliament all ministers of religion. This clause had been engineered by Lang's political enemies, in order to exclude him from membership; and when strictly responsible government was inaugurated in 1856, Lang had no seat. The following year, however, this obnoxious clause was repealed, and from 1859 until 1869 Lang was again a member of the House as a representative of West Sydney." 19

He interested himself in public affairs of all kinds and was indefatigable in his work to boost his adopted country. "He brought the kind of passion to public affairs that most of the men around him reserved for the pursuit of their private ends."20

THE PRESS

The vigour of Lang's attacks on what he thought was wrong, and the indiscretions into which his zeal led him, frequently caused conflicts with the more influential section of the community. Lang apparently enjoyed these conflicts and in 1835 provided himself with a very powerful weapon. In that year he established his own newspaper, "The Colonist." He claimed that only in this way could he have the privilege of speaking in his own behalf,

> "for constituted as the colonial press has been till very lately, and engaged as I have been, in undertakings which have appeared to me to be connected with the advancement of the public welfare, I have often been obliged to sit silent while my character was traduced, and my motives and actions misrepresented by the press, without being permitted to say a single word for myself in any way." 21

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19 Tait, John Dunmore Lang, p.33
20 Vance Palmer, National Portraits - p.71
21 J.D. Lang, History of N.S.W. - p.275

He claimed that the new colony needed a "really independent Journal whose columns should exhibit something very different from the vapid inanity of the existing colonial journals, the mean temporising policy of another, the ignorance and effrontery of a third, and the loose morality and rampant infidelity of a fourth." [22] His claims that he had been badly treated in the past by the press on all occasions are not borne out by the facts, but with such an editorial to start his own paper it is no wonder at all that his future work was sometimes scathingly criticised.

This paper, The Colonist, ran from 1835 to 1840, and was followed by the Colonial Observer, 1841-1845, and, The Press 1851-1852. Through the pages of these journals Lang set forth his views on the important matters of the day, often in such vitriolic terms that they led to libel actions. He attacked vice wherever he thought he saw it and his methods knew no half measures. "We like to see the medicine we administer taking effect. And when we do inflict the chastisement of the lash on any delinquent we like to see it bring the blood at every stroke." [23] He claimed that his paper was to report religious proceedings and important events, and that it would not be a paper to publicize the lurid tales of vice that adorned some papers. In general he kept to this proposal but his own writings were sometimes fierce and cutting, strange indeed for a man of his profession.

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22 The Colonist, 1 January, 1835, first issue.
23 Ibid., 17 March, 1838.

CHURCH AFFAIRS

With a man of such definite views and outspoken habits in command, it would be strange indeed if the history of his church were not rather stormy. Lang's difficulties with Governor Brisbane have been mentioned earlier, but these were overcome and the Scot's Church was opened on July 16th, 1826. Lang had been granted a stipend of £300 a year by the Government on orders from England. In 1830 and again in 1836 Dr. Lang had succeeded in bringing out from Scotland several ministers who were to help him in his work. He had the opportunity of placing them in the country where he thought best, and of authorising the State to pay them a stipend.

When Sir Richard Bourke sent his famous Despatch on churches and schools to Lord Stanley in 1833 he said,

> "The members of the church of Scotland are amongst the most respectable of the inhabitants, and are to be found, with fewer exceptions, in the class of free emigrants. --- For administering the offices of Religion --- of the Church of Scotland, four paid ministers; the whole charge on the Public treasury for the Church of Scotland, (for the next year) is 600 £." 24

Bourke had recommended that the Government should help the various denominations with monetary aid in their building plans and with stipends to their clergy. Lang admitted that this was "an expedient of even-handed political justice" but said it was "anti-scriptural, latitudinerian, and infidel in its character, and could not fail to be ultimately and extensively demoralizing in its tendency and effects." 25

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24 Sir Richard Bourke's Despatch to Lord Stanley, Transcripts of Missing Despatches, 1833-1838. Mitchell Library

25 J.D. Lang, History of New South Wales, p.415

However, he "was not unwilling to give it a fair trial." (ibid).

In 1837 Lang was instrumental in setting up a Synod of New South Wales with absolute power over its members, but in 1840 this Church Court was declared to be "in connection with the established Church of Scotland." Lang set off for England again in 1839, his fifth visit in 17 years. He himself claims he made these visits to build up the church, but some of his congregation began to complain. The consequent altercation had much to do with Lang being "led to look more attentively ... at the principle of the General Church Act,"[26] and on the 6th February 1842, having already led his congregation to break all connection with the State, he "publicly renounced all connection with the State, and the State Churches of the colony as a minister of religion"[26]. He suggests in his History that the breach came before his congregation decided to follow the same principle, but the facts of time suggest otherwise.

That same year the Synod which he had left, (not without telling it of its insufficiencies, of course), was led to depose Lang from the ministry, and the decision was forwarded to Scotland where it was confirmed by the Presbytery of Irvine. Lang claimed that this was "an act of the sheerest folly and infatuation, as it was simply 'ultra vires', or beyond their powers."[27]

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26 J.D. Lang, History of New South Wales, p.439
27 Ibid. p.440

He characteristically determined to fight for his rights, but it was not till 1861 that he attended a meeting of the Presbytery of Irvine in Scotland. The Presbytery and the General Assembly both did their best to ignore him but Lang went to the Civil Court and won his right to prosecute for redress. The Church authorities rapidly relented and Lang came back to Sydney in triumph, reinstated and fully accredited.

Lang carried on his fight against State support of the clergy until it was finally renounced by the N.S.W. Parliament in 1862. This act opened the way for a union of the four distinct sections of Presbyterians in the colony, a happening long desired by many of the adherents. In 1865 the United Church of Presbyterians was formed, and Dr. Lang's work for his church was quite deservedly recognized by the award of the Moderatorship of the General Assembly in 1873, his Ministerial Jubilee Year.

CHARACTER

Dr. Lang resigned from Parliament in 1869 and spent the remaining years of his life in comparative quiet. At this period of his life it was said of him, "To sit beside him, so calm and pleasant, listening to his flow of words, I could hardly realise that I was with the man whose voice could stir the crowd, whose pen made governors and statesmen writhe with vexation, and whose activity and energy in the pursuit of a political and moral object seemed to be tireless." [28]

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28 Bonwick - An Octogenarian's Reminiscences, p.212

Lang has quite aptly been called by a successor in the Scots' Church, Sydney - "Fighter for the Right." He was this at all times. His fighting knew but one method - attack heavily. There is little finesse in his warfare. He was impatient of those who would hint at a wrong and gloss over it. Lang believed that where evil existed it should be attacked. And undoubtedly there was much in the public affairs and even in the lives of public men of the time that warranted attack. But often he was led away by his own growing indignation to use terms and illustrations more indicative of a crusader than of a priest.

With such an attitude, and with so many evils in the country it is not surprising that Lang made many enemies. But his gentleness in dealing with the unfortunates of life made him greatly respected and loved by the people of Sydney. On at least two occasions when Lang had been brought before a Court for his outspoken utatements, public subscription at the rate of 1/- a person raised £100 or more to pay the fine or costs in a few hours and it must have cheered him greatly when, in prison for months for a libel, he was nominated as a member of Parliament and returned at the top of the poll.

Lang had many statesman-like views concerning the development of his adopted country, but they did not always coincide with the views of Government or of those who were benefiting so munificently from the status quo! Lang's advocacy of those things which would be for the benefit of Australia often offended powerful

interests, but that did not deter him in the slightest. His democratic viewpoint was not very popular with those who already had the power they relished. But he believed passionately in Australia's future and probably by his extensive travels, knew more about it than any contemporary.

However, Lang's activities would have been more effective had he possessed the ability to work better with others. Too often, as a "fighter for the right," he interpreted 'Right' to be the views of J.D. Lang. He was very apt to construe opposition to his schemes as a personal insult, and to wax vindictive. The experiment to bring settlers to Moreton Bay is a case in point. With better handling he could have co-operated with the Government authorities and received their blessing rather than a vote of censure. More important to Australia and to his settlers, such co-operation would have meant a much better start in the new country for these settlers, in that land may well have been granted them. The settlers still declared of Lang "their unhesitating confidence as an individual" but that was not enough to make the scheme successful. His "bull-at-the-gate" attitude was determinedness carried to an extreme.

He did not mellow particularly with age. In July of 1876 he wrote a memorial to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church protesting vigorously against its action in allowing the Phillip St. Church to be taken over by the officers of St. Stephens at a nominal cost. He claimed that action was unlawful and was not an "amalgamation," as claimed by the assembly, but was a "Sale."

"The proceeds," he said, "should be 'handed to the Presbytery to be appropriated for the erection of other Presbyterian Churches which are greatly needed in the destitute localities of the city.'" 29

Lang was a true son of his Church, and did all he could to build it up. He imported ministers, and built churches. As late as 1875 he appealed to members and friends of the Presbyterian Church in Sydney for £80 to pay off their debt on the manse at Liverpool. He had obtained a minister, but the manse was in debt, and he appealed that the amount of his debt be subscribed.

On 8th August, 1878, Dr. Lang died by a stroke of apoplexy.

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29 Dr. Lang - An Appreciation.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA 1788-1823

At the time when plans were being made in England concerning the new colony to be established in Australia there did not exist in the Mother Country any system of public education. The schools that did operate had been set up by various religious bodies, or by philanthropic groups, or by private individuals for profit. It is therefore not surprising that the colonization scheme did not include any provision for the education of the young. In fact it was only on the recommendation of William Wilberforce, of anti-slavery fame, that the establishment included a chaplain, in the person of the Rev. Richard Johnson. It was also by the influence of Wilberforce that Governor Phillip was instructed to reserve two hundred acres of land in or near every town for the support of a schoolmaster. This instruction [1] was repeated to Governors Hunter and Macquarie but was never fully carried out.

Thus education in Australia was on the same footing as in England, for it depended on the initiative of private individuals or groups, and not on Government encouragement. The first school in Australia was set up by the chaplain, Rev. Richard Johnson,

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1 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.1, Part 2, p.259

and was opened on the 13th February, 1793. But he had organised some teaching prior to this, for in 1792 he applied to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts for help in the support of two women who were teaching some of the children in their own huts. He was allowed a grant of £10 each. The new school was first taught by Stephen Barnes, the Chaplain's clerk, but from Michaelmas, 1793, the work was taken over by William Richardson, or perhaps by his wife, a former school mistress who had been a convict.[2]

Another small school was carried on by William Webster, but on the death of his wife, Webster was dismissed because "being too much addicted to drinking, (he) was led to treat his scholars too severely." [3] By 1797 the number of schools had grown to six, of which three were in Sydney. They were subsidised by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and in fact this Society continued to help support the schools until 1830." [4]

The Rev. Johnson worked very hard for education. He had in 1798 united

> "several small schools into one, the three masters to instruct the children admitted into it..... About 150 children collected and the church appropriated on week days for that purpose. But the scheme was very soon frustrated by some evil minded person setting fire to the building. (1 October 1798) In consequence of which the Governor lent the Court House but by the frequency of holding Courts that was found inconvenient." [5]

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2 McGuanne, Early School Days (quoted in Truth, May 11, 1919)
3 Historical Records of New South Wales. Vol.3, p.184
4 Bonwick Transcripts - Missionary, Vol.1. pp. 43-44
5 Letter from Johnson to S.P.G Bonwick Transcripts, Vol.1, p.146.

However, the arson could not be charged to the children, but to the adult population, probably because of Governor Hunter's order to compel a better attendance at divine service.

The Rev. Richard Johnson was anxious to obtain more teachers from England, but the Government was not interested, and the inducements were so meagre that there was no incentive for free persons to emigrate as teachers. Even Wilberforce, writing to the Home Secretary in 1792 said, "I wish you would send out a few persons with small salaries to take on them the office of schoolmasters in New South Wales. I say small salaries, because if you were to fix large ones improper persons would accept the situations." [6] The Government, perhaps because of apprehensions re the fitness to teach, did not appoint any teachers at all.

But help came to Australian education from another philanthropic source. Missionaries from the London Missionary Society, (formed in 1795) had set out to establish a mission in Tahiti, but the work there proved both difficult and dangerous, and in 1798 a group of these missionaries arrived thence in Sydney. They were advised by their headquarters to use their efforts in the education and religious instruction of children,[7] and accordingly at least two schools were established by them.

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6 Historical Records, Vol.1, Part 2, p.634
7 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.3, p.731

The two chaplains (the Rev. Samuel Marsden had been appointed as assistant to Rev. Johnson in 1795) had long wanted some definite Government help in the establishment of schools, but though Governor Hunter had urged it on the home authorities nothing had been done. Wilberforce had stressed in 1794 the value of the Government, "even pecuniary advantage" [8] of establishing schools, but it was not until the advent of Governor King in 1800 that any direct action was taken. Even then King acted on his own initiative and not with Government direction. When in charge of Norfolk Island King had been interested enough in education to establish a couple of schools there. [9] In 1800 while waiting in Sydney to take over his new command as Governor, King was evidently making plans re education, for the Rev. Johnson, writing home on April 29, 1800, says of him, "One of the first measures he means to adopt is to establish an Orphan School upon a permanent and public foundation." [10] And in a letter to the Duke of Portland in July 1800, King said that he "had it in contemplation to raise a fund from the entries and clearances of ships and on duty on landing articles for sale", [11] to establish a school for the children of the colony, the majority of whom were "abandoned to every kind of wretchedness and vice." [12]

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8 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.2, p.282
9 Mitchell Library Manuscripts. B.T. Box 49, p.43-44
10 Ibid. p. 171
11 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.4, p.113
12 Ibid., p.113

As soon as he became Governor, October 1, 1800, King purchased a fine brick residence from Captain Kent, and converted it into an Asylum for Orphan Girls. It was opened in August 1801 with an enrolment of 31 girls between 7 and 14 years of age, who were soon "in the greatest order, feasting on excellent sort of pork and plumb puddin'".[13] The girls were victualled from the Government stores, and the school supported from the funds raised from this first Australian Customs duty. The enrolment gradually increased, and evidently soon reached its maximum, which must have been far below the estimated one hundred;[14] for the erection of another building to make the total capacity one hundred and four, was reported in 1803 by Governor King. This school could do but little toward the education of the young because of its limited size and the great number of destitute children. (King wrote in 1800 that out of nine hundred and fifty-eight children, three hundred and ninety-eight were destitute.)[15] But at least it was an attempt, and the establishment of such an institution by the Government, even though on private initiative, was a hopeful sign.

Governor King continued his interest in education, and during his regime several small schools were set up. Most of the school masters were victualled from the Government stores, but the first record of teachers being paid by the Government is in the estimates for 1809, when two schoolmasters each re-

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13 Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.4, p.447
14 Ibid., Vol.4, p.136
15 Ibid., Vol.4, p.135

ceived £60 per annum.[16] The Government's attitude to education now changed to the extent that it was willing to grant salaries to a number of schoolmasters, and said that "no reasonable expense which may be carefully applied to obtain and secure them ought to be spared."[17] But the salaries suggested were so low that the Rev. Samuel Marsden, who in 1808 was scouring England for schoolmasters, wrote that "The salary was too small for any proper person to accept it."[18] Marsden did succeed in obtaining two men, one of whom was Mr. William Hosking. This man, the first qualified teacher to come to Australia, took charge of the Female Orphan School, remaining there till 1818.

Under the brisk direction of Governor Macquarie, Australian education moved steadily forward. Macquarie established several government schools, supporting the teachers from the public funds. He "exhorts all who live in townships to enter cheerfully and liberally into a subscription for erecting schoolhouses within their respective districts," and he offers a government "donation of £25 towards the erection of a school house in each township."[19] But the greatest difficulty was to provide suitable teachers, and in several despatches the Governor asked that additional schoolmasters be sent out to the colony.[20]

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16 Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol.7, p.78
17 Ibid., Vol.7, p.251
18 Mitchell Library, Manuscripts. A859, p.194
19 Historical Records of Australia, Vol.7, p.531
20 Ibid., Vol.7, p.441

In the absence of qualified teachers, many of the colonists were forced to entrust the education of their children to convicts. Since by education it was hoped to promote law and order, and improve the morals of the rising generation, it is anomalous that this education should ever be in the hands of convicts. But because of the scarcity of qualified teachers, the practice of using convicts was recognised by the Government, though "great doubts may be entertained at the propriety of the practice of placing such persons in these situations."[21] In 1819, James Bradley, a convict still under sentence, writing to an old pupil mentioned that he was teaching the children of the Hassall, Shelley and Oakes families, and receiving £30 p.a. for his services.[22] And Dr. Halloran, whose school in the 1820's was supported by many of the leading citizens of the colony, was another of the convict band who was allowed to influence the morals of the young.

In 1820 the Rev. Thomas Reddall, who had been trained as a teacher under Dr. Bell's National System in England, came out as assistant chaplain and temporary schoolmaster in New South Wales. He introduced Dr. Bell's monitorial system in the Male Orphan School (which had been recently established in the buildings previously used as a Female Orphan School) and wanted to train teachers to spread the system to the other schools of the colony. Later Reddall established a school of his own just outside the city where he received the children of many of the better class citizens including Governor Macquarie's son.

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21 Historical Records of Australia, Vol.14, p.789
22 Hassall Correspondence, Mitchell Library MSS., Vol.3, pp. 673-676.

It was about this time that Commissioner Bigge, and his secretary, Mr. T.H. Scott, were in Australia inquiring into every phase of Governor Macquarie's administration. Bigge has some interesting things to say of the education of the time and the attitudes of the colonists toward it. He claimed, for instance, that the school of the ex-convict, Dr. Halloran, was preferred by "the principal inhabitants of Sydney,"[23] to that of the Rev. Thomas Reddall, the educational expert. He also estimated that in 1820 one child in six received some kind of elementary education.[24]

No doubt there are many reasons why the educational system in New South Wales lagged behind the needs of the colony. Parsimony was probably the most serious obstacle to the establishment of well staffed schools. But with this must be linked the sectarian differences that hindered concerted efforts for education. In 1810 the Rev. Marsden, writing to his patron Wilberforce, says with obvious pride-- "Roman Catholics, Jews and persons of all persuasions send their children to the public schools where they are all instructed in the principles of our established religion."[25]

In spite of the obvious defects of the educational work several claims were made that the system was satisfactory for the needs. In 1810 Marsden wrote - "I am happy however, to inform you that through kind interests in England the rising generation are now likely to be taken care of; we have got three good schools

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23 Bigge's Report. Vol.1, p.104
24 Ibid., Vol.3, p.314
25 Mitchell Library MSS. A1677, Vol.2, p.28

now established, one at each of the principal settlements for the education of the children, and I am now forming more. In a short time I hope to see a school in every district and most of the schools are taught by pious men." [26] And in 1824, Wentworth said that everyone in New South Wales, however poor, could give his children "a good plain education: that is, to have them taught reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic. For this purpose public masters, who receive stipulated salaries from the police fund, are distributed through the various districts, and keep day schools."[27] The Government in 1827 claimed that it had made all the provisions necessary for the education of youth - "His Majesty's Government having made such provision as it has considered necessary for the Education of youth in the Colony."[28] These views would appear to be written from the angle of an advertiser rather than that of an historian.

The correct picture of Australian education about the time of Dr. Lang's arrival in the country (May, 1823) is probably that given by Governor Brisbane in a despatch dated 18 August, 1824, when he is concerned with "The languishing state of education in the Colony."[29]

Or perhaps by the Rev. Reddall who in a report written for Archdeacon Scott says that - "My visits (to public schools) were very discouraging and distressing to my feelings."[30]

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26 Mitchell Library MSS, A1677, Vol.2, p.27
27 W.C. Wentworth, New South Wales, (1824) Vol.1, p.356
28 Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol.13, p.72
29 Governor's Dispatches, Mitchell Library MSS. Oct. 1824
30 Quoted in Smith's "A Brief History of Education in Australia", p.37

Archdeacon Scott adds his view, written in November, 1825, that "the schools throughout the district (Hawkesbury Valley) have been ill provided with masters and books."[31] At that time there were only twelve Public Schools in the Colony, apart from the two Orphan Schools and the Aboriginal School established by Governor King. The only other schools of the period were the small private schools where a curriculum of grammar, reading, writing and simple accounts was generally offered. Wentworth claimed of them that "for the board and education, or for the education alone, of the children of opulent parents, there are several very good private seminaries in Sydney, and other parts of the colony",[32] but the short span of life enjoyed by most of them does not particularly recommend their quality.

It was this picture of education that greeted Dr. Lang when he arrived in the colony in 1823.

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31 Governor's Dispatches, Quoted in Smith's History of Education in Australia, p.37

32 W.C. Wentworth, Statistical Account of British Settlements in Australasia. p.361

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND SCHOOL CORPORATION 1826-1833

One of the first occasions of Dr. Lang's public interest in education was the establishment of the Church and Schools Corporation. His interest in this body was linked to a large degree with his own efforts to establish a college in Sydney, but his objections to the Corporation were made characteristically enough and had such far-reaching results to make the subject important to this study.

The Church and School Corporation had its root in the visit to New South Wales by Commissioner Bigge and his secretary, Mr. T.H. Scott, in 1819-21. Mr. Scott had plenty of opportunity to investigate the educational facilities of the colony, and some little time after his return to England he drew up a very elaborate scheme for an educational system in New South Wales. Mr. Scott had meantime become a clergyman of the Church of England and this, coupled with his political connections, explains why in his educational scheme, he planned for control to be in the hands of the Anglican Church. Mr. Scott's scheme planned for primary schools in each parish, elementary technical schools, a school of the Grammar type when necessary, and envisaged the ultimate establishment of a University. The Government in England decided to adopt a modified version of Scotts'scheme and also decided to ask Mr. Scott to accept the post of Archdeacon of Sydney (at a salary of £2,000) in order to put the scheme into

operation. Scott accepted the offer and arrived in Sydney on 9th May, 1825.

Revenues of the Corporation were to come from the land which it was directed should be vested in it. This land was to include all the church glebe lands and other lands already set apart for the maintenance of education, plus "in each and every county, hundred, etc.," into which the colony might be divided a tract of land "comprising one seventh part in extent and value of all the lands in each and every such county."[1] The revenues from these sources were to be divided into two equal sections, one for an "Improvement and Building account," the other for the "Clergy and School account." And of this latter account, two sevenths were "for the support of Schools and Schoolmasters, and as to the remaining five equal seventh parts, to the Support and Maintenance of the Clergy."[2] Control of the activities of the Corporation and of its revenues was in the hands of the trustees, a group including the main Government officials of the Colony, the members of the Legislative Council, and the nine Senior Chaplains of the Church of England. The schools were to be "subject to the Order, Direction, and Superintendence, and Control of the clergyman or Minister of the Church of England... belonging to the Parish in which the school is situated." The Archdeacon was to be Visitor of all the schools, and was to have the power of appointing or removing Schoolmasters.[3]

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1 Instructions to Governor, 17 July, 1825, quoted in Burton "Religion and Education."
2 Act of George IV setting up Corporation, quoted Burton.
3 Act of George IV re Corporation, Article XXX.

The introduction of a system of education as co-ordinated as this would obviously have many advantages to the colony, but Mr. Scott had been working on the assumption that the Church must be in control of education. In his original proposals he said, "Intimately connected as education is with the Church Establishment I set out with the principle that they are to be united, and that the affairs of both are to be administered by the same body of trustees."[4] For this view he had the support of Earl Bathurst's original instructions to Commissioner Bigge who had been told, "You will also turn your attention to the possibility of diffusing throughout the whole colony adequate means of education and religious instruction, bearing always in mind in your suggestions that these two branches ought in all cases to be inseparably connected."[5] The principle may have been acceptable in England at the time, but in the new colony, where the spirit of the people, because of their very environment, was so different, and where it was now proposed to make this Church control a Government supported perpetual arrangement, it is not suprising that there should be opposition to the idea. Mr. Scott arrived in Australia in May 1825, with a copy of the Charter in his possession, and at once proceeded to take over the responsibilities of his new position, but unfortunately the Governor had not yet received the official document and the new Archdeacon got off to a bad start. It was not until March 1826 that the new Corporation was officially gazetted.[6]

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4 Enclosed with Governor's Dispatches MSS, Mitchell Library, 30 March, 1824.

5 Instructions to Commissioner Bigge in letter dated 6 January, 1819

6 Sydney Government Gazette - 15 March, 1826

Dr. Lang had been in England from 1824 recruiting Presbyterian ministers and even succeeding in gaining financial support from the Government for himself and the said ministers. He arrived back in Sydney in January, 1826, and it is not surprising that he should hear immediately of the new educational scheme and its exclusive control in the Church of England. Nor is it surprising that on hearing this news he should be really indignant. He says,

> "I was utterly astounded, in common with most of the colonists, at the promulgation of a Royal Charter, appointing a Church and School Corporation for the religious instruction of the people, and for the general education of the youth of the colony, on the principles of the Church of England exclusively; and allotting a seventh of the whole territory, for that purpose, to the Episcopalian clergy, with free access, in the meantime, to the colonial treasure chest." 7

Dr. Lang had very fresh in his mind the slight given the Presbyterians by Governor Brisbane on the occasion of their application for help in building a church. But fresher yet was the triumph he had gained in the rebuke that came from England to the Governor for his tactlessness. The success of his trip to England in gaining Government financial help for the Presbyterian ministry only helped to stress the exclusiveness of this new educational control. He expressed it as "so wanton an insult... to the common sense of the whole community."[8] Although there were many colonists who would agree with Judge Burton that the establishment of the Corporation afforded "a gratifying instance

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7 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, IV Ed. Vol. II, p.362

8 Ibid., p.362

of that care for the greatest concern of a Christian state which dictated its wise and salutary provisions,"[9] there were many others who felt with Dr. Ullathorne that "the unfortunate Catholics and the equally unfortunate dissenters will be reduced to a worse than Egyptian bondage."[10] It appears that in this establishment by the Government of an exclusive educational system, was if not the seed of Dr. Lang's developing interest in Education, at least a freshening shower that fostered its growth. His freedom loving nature, and his intense loyalty to his church would not allow him to accept such a position without doing something positive about it. He found an outlet for his activities in the field of secondary education.

On his return from England in 1826, Lang found that "an Educational Institution, designated the Free Grammar School, had just been formed in Sydney, on the plan of various institutions of a similar kind in the mother country."[11] An announcement in the Sydney Gazette of December 8, 1825, stated that the school was to commence on January 9, 1826, under the Leadership of Dr. Halloran, with Mr. Cape as assistant. However, the school failed after the first year and there was no secondary school in the colony for the next several years. Mr. Scott had included Grammar Schools and Collegiate Schools as part of his scheme[12] but none had been established during his stay in New South Wales. In his

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9 Burton - State of Religion & Education, p.20
10 Dr. Ullathorne - Reply to Burton, p.30
11 J.D. Lang - Historical & Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.362
12 Burton - Religion and Education, Appendix XX

final report to the Colonial Secretary in 1829 Scott says that he "endeavoured to establish a few boarding schools for both sexes where at moderate terms children might receive education," and that the establishment of a good grammar school was hindered by lack of funds.[13]

Whatever the reasons for the non-establishment of such a school the fact is that the Colony lacked a secondary school between 1826 and 1830. Lang claims that the control of £20,000 a year by the Corporation "without providing the colony all the while with a single school in which a boy could be taught the simplest elements of mathematics or the merest rudiments of the Latin tongue" to be "so monstrous - that it would have been absolutely incredible if it had not actually occurred."[14] For his purposes Lang neglects to mention the increase in numbers and efficiency of the primary schools of the Colony under the Corporation.

In "The Australian" newspaper of June 28, 1826, there appeared a notice advertising that Dr. Lang would be starting his Caledonian Academy in the Princes Street Chapel on 3rd July of that year. The curriculum offered was divided into three sections, one of which was classical. This venture apparently failed for no further reference is made to the school and its work, apart from the claim made in a newspaper some years later that Dr. Lang had attempted such a school in 1826 and that it had failed.[15]

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13 Governor's Dispatch MSS, Mitchell Library, 1-9-29
14 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol. II, p.364
15 Sydney Gazette, 13 December, 1831

On December 5, 1829, Lang had published in The Sydney Gazette a prospectus of an academical institution, recently formed in South Africa, named the South African College. This was given point by an article of his own comparing the conditions of the two young colonies.[16] He followed this up by approaching the new Archdeacon, Rev. Broughton, to ascertain the Archdeacon's intentions concerning education, but evidently he considered these were rather uncertain, for he decided to request from the Governor an allotment of land of land on which to build a Presbyterian School. On the refusal of this request Lang decided to join the supporters of the Free Grammar School. The Archdeacon, however, must have thought that Lang had decided to join in with the scheme for the King's School, for on January 16, 1830, he addressed a letter to Dr. Lang complaining of the Doctor's change of allegiance to an "Institution, which, if I may judge from the published reports of its objects, is not only not to be conducted in accordance with those Christian principles to which in conversation with me, you expressed your adherence, but rather upon a system of religious laxity."[17] In a later newspaper article it is stated that Lang "so far pledged himself to the Archdeacon as to become a coadjutor in the King's College that his name was set down as a member of the Committee."[18]

Dr. Lang claimed that his decision to use his efforts in support of the Free Grammar School depended on the condition that the Committee "would extend and remodel their institution, agreeably

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16 The Sydney Gazette, 31 December, 1829
17 J.D. Lang Manuscripts, Mitchell Library, Vol.16
18 The Sydney Gazette, 13 December, 1831

to certain suggestions I took the liberty to propose."[19] Apparently they did so for Lang became a shareholder for £50, and the name of the institution was changed to the "Sydney College." The prospectus as adopted was largely Lang's work and it would appear that the College was ready to develop into a successful institution for secondary education. The foundation stone for the new College was laid on January 27, 1830, and Dr. Lang performed "a most conspicuous part in the ceremony," to the extent of delivering "a rather lengthy invocation for the blessing of Providence on the infant institution."[20]

But this laying of the foundation stone seems to have been regarded by some members of the Committee as the task achieved, for in the next few months little was done. Lang did his utmost to stir the Committee into activity, but all to no avail. The Rev. Doctor was obviously anxious to get the College into operation before any which should be established by the Church of England authorities but the resolutions which were passed did not have fruition in action. Incidentally, it was in connection with plans for the Sydney College that Dr. Lang's father set out from his home on the Paterson River in April of that year. But he was never to reach Sydney, for the tiny vessel, the only one available, in which he embarked from Newcastle was lost in a terrible storm. Such a blow must have had an effect on the Doctor's attitude to the Sydney College and when in June 1830 he found the Committee pushing aside another of his recommendations he decided to break right away from it, and return to his original plan of establishing an educational institution in connection with his Presbyterian Church.

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19 Colonist, 21 January, 1836
20 Sydney Gazette, 13 December, 1831

It was unfortunate that Lang's resignation from the Sydney College group was so badly timed. "He continued to give the institution his undivided support until the moment of his embarkation for England when the Secretary (George Allen, Esq.) was astonished by a letter under the Doctor's own hand informing him that he then and there dropped all connection with the Sydney College."[21] On Dr. Lang's return he received quite a deal of criticism for his "vacillations." Much of this censure came from the Sydney Gazette, which outlined his activities concerning the establishment of a College, and accused him of a "restlessness of mind, a fickleness of temper," in his dealings. He was accused of leaving the Sydney College because he had not been able to foist his own religious views upon it. Of course, the Doctor wrote very vigorously in his own defence. He claimed that his reason for leaving the Sydney College was because "of the want of union, want of energy, and the want of an enlightened zeal exhibited by the committee of management."[22] Of the timing of his resignation letter to the Sydney College Secretary he has a long explanation -

> "Another main object of my voyage to England was to procure additional Presbyterian ministers for the Church of Scotland for this colony. I had been memorializing the Colonial Government on the subject for upwards of four years previous to my sailing for England, but as His Excellency Governor Darling generally referred the matter to his ecclesiastical advisers, it was concluded that the Presbyterians of the interior had no need of ministers, and my memorials were consequently unattended to. Now, as I was strongly impressed with the belief that I could not have obtained leave of absence to proceed to England,

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21 Sydney Gazette, 13 December, 1831
22 Ibid., 31 March, 1832

> had these objects of my voyage been generally known a fortnight or three weeks before I sailed, I was obliged to proceed with a degree of caution and circumspection which I should not have exhibited had the case been otherwise. This will account for the circumstance of my secession from the Sydney College not having been notified till I had actually sailed for England." 23

In this explanation there is again evidence of Lang's intense loyalty to his own church, and his strong individualism which demanded that both he and his church should allow no one and no thing to surpass them. But, while perhaps satisfactory to Lang, these explanations were not nearly good enough to satisfy his critics, and much of the difficulty he had in the early years of the Australian College was due to the hostility of a section of the community, a hostility sown by his own impetuous and indiscreet procedure.

To return to the Church and School affairs. It was with this background of Colonial arrangements in education that Lang put into writing his criticism of the Church and School Corporation. It is very possible that Lang was not feeling particularly happy about the activities for secondary education in Sydney, and particularly his own part in them, and was in these accusations seeking for a measure of self-justification. However, if the worthy Doctor's mind did operate in such a way, it is certain that this would not be <u>his</u> classification of the reason.

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23 Letter from Lang - <u>Sydney Gazette</u>, 5 April, 1832

In his letter, written to Goderich, dated 30th December, 1830, Lang accused the Corporation of a multitude of sins, both of omissionand commission. He claimed that the seventh of the land granted for the Corporation's upkeep was "on the avowed understanding that the said grant would immediately and forever relieve the Colonial Government from the burden of supporting the Church and School establishment."[24] He then claimed that, in fact, the Corporation spent more money than before and much of it on Church upkeep. "To think of twelve or fifteen colonial ministers of religion managing for years together to spend public money to the amount of upwards of £20,000 a year, under pretence of providing for the religious instruction and the general education of so small a colony as New South Wales then was!"[25]

> "But the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales has been productive, my Lord, of stillgreater evils to the community at large, than any arising from the mere expense of its management. It has tended to identify the Episcopal clergy, in the estimation of the whole colony, with secular pursuits, it has given extreme dissatisfaction to many respectable emigrants who have had to go far into the colonial wilderness with their families, in search of land to settle on, while numerous tracts of land, of the first quality, were lying utterly waste in the most accessible and eligible situations, in the hands of the Corporation, it has excited a spirit of disaffection towards His Majesty's Government among the native youth of the colony, and I will even add, my Lord, has sown the seeds of future rebellion. In short, the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales, instead of proving a benefit either to the Government or to the Episcopal Church, as its projectors unfortunately persuaded His Majesty's Government it certainly would, has lain as a dead weight on the colony for the last five years -

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24 Sydney Gazette, 17 December, 1831
25 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.363

> repressing emigration, discouraging improvement, secularizing the Episcopal clergy, and thereby lowering the standard of morals and religion throughout the territory." 26

Whether or not these accusations helped Lang's cause in England it is impossible to say, but they certainly did not help his cause in Australia. On his return from England, with quite an amount of personal triumph, Lang was foolish enough to publish the letter which he had written to Goderich, along with an account of his activities in England, in pamphlet form. It would seem that he was led astray again by his enthusiasm, this time enlivened by the successful issue of his English trip. He was probably trying to justify his former changes of allegiance by the favourable omens for his new venture. Lang seldom used a defensive technique; he believed in the military maxim that "the best method of defence is attack."

In this instance his method failed rather dismally. There is no doubt that the Church and School Corporation was weakened in the new colony by the exclusiveness of its control. Back in 1822, the Rev. Richard Hill in writing home to the Bishop of London, said, "But from the peculiar state of the population of this colony anything of an exclusive nature cannot obtain assistance. The peculiar effects of these feelings have been remarkably manifested in the principal Public School in Sydney by driving nearly all the children out of it in consequence of the National System being introduced."[27] But the remainder of Lang's accusations were either misleading or exaggerated.

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26 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol. II, p.368

27 Bonwick Transcripts, MSS, Mitchell Library. Vol.4, p.1098

Lang's letter "gave prodigious offence to the Venerable the Archdeacon (Broughton) who accordingly addressed a long letter on the subject"[28] to the Acting Governor. It was pointed out that the first land was granted to the Corporation on February 3rd, 1829, and on the 3rd December, of the same year a letter from the Governor told of the suspension of the whole arrangement. It could hardly be said that the Corporation had kept much valuable land lying waste while settlers were forced inland. In 1840 Burton set out the full details of the Corporation and pointed out that the Corporation was never given enthusiastic co-operation by the local government and "that the claims of the corporation were very little attended to with regards to lands, either positively valuable on account of situation, or relatively so by their contiguity to towns and their suburbs, or to rivers, creeks or public roads."[29] The Corporation was not given anything like the seventh of the land stated in the charter, and the land it was given was often in poor country. In the county of Cumberland "the nearest allotment which they have ever received is situated at the distance of seven miles on the barren sands and inaccessible shores of Botany Bay, and of the 4175 acres which it contains, the most valuable portion has since been resumed."[30] Lang's claim re the heavy expense is as easily refuted. For three years after its charter the Corporation was without means of raising funds, and yet was expected to care for the financial needs of the

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28 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.369
29 Burton - Religion and Education in New South Wales, p.27
30 Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol.16

religious and educational establishments. Under such circumstances there was no possibility that the promulgation of the Charter should "immediately and forever" take the burden of the two establishments from the Government. The Corporation was compelled to ask the Government for the money to support its activities, and really was acting as agent for the Government in the dispersal of these funds.

It is obvious too, that there would be comparatively heavy initial expenses "during the first four years of the Corporation's existence in preparing for the survey, occupation, culture and improvement of the lands to be vested in them."[31] But the Corporation, under Scott's leading was very successful in cutting down expenses in other directions. Its accounts show a distinct saving in the management of the Orphan Schools, and the other public schools.[32] Regardless of its methods of economy, it certainly cannot be fairly accused of extravagance. Lang's other claims were very nebulous, and were easily refuted in the Sydney Gazettes of 1831.

Archdeacon Broughton addressed a letter through the acting Governor, Colonel Lindesay, to Lord Goderich, refuting the claims made by Lang, and pointing out that the support given by Goderich to Lang's own educational venture appeared to give countenance to Lang's outburst against the Corporation. The letter concluded with (according to Lang) "a series of intemperate charges against

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31 Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol. 16
32 Burton - Religion and Education in New South Wales, p.35

myself."[33] Acting Governor Lindesay forwarded the Archdeacon's letter to England mentioning in his covering letter to Lord Goderich, "Dr. Lang's indiscretion which appears to me so palpable..."[34] Whether by accident or design Lang did not receive a copy of the Archdeacon's letter "till four days after the vessel in which it was transmitted to the Secretary of State for the colonies had sailed for England."[35] Lang was outraged indeed, though it does seem similar in some respects to the circumstances of his resignation from the Sydney College.

Lord Goderich wrote back a letter of censure to Lang, and in a dispatch to the new governor, Bourke, he stated that had he thought for a moment that Lang would have been so indiscreet as to publish the letter in Australia, he would certainly never have granted Lang any financial assistance for his College.[36] Lang, of course, went into action to defend his honour and wrote a long letter to Goderich in answer to that of the Archdeacon. He claims that his accusations against the Church and School Corporation were the result of his interest in using the land granted to it to raise revenue for an immigration scheme calculated to relieve some of the distress in England at the time. But he adds nothing at all definite in his particular claims against the Corporation.

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33 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.369
34 Historical Records of Australia, Lindsay to Goderich, 18 November, 1831
35 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.370
36 Historical Records of Australia, Goderich to Bourke, 3 May, 1832.

The final scene in this particular act came in 1832 when Archdeacon Broughton introduced into the nominee Legislative Council of the Colony a vote of censure upon Dr. Lang for the publication of the statements made in the first letter to Goderich. This vote was passed on 15th March, 1832, and published in the various newspapers of the colony. Lang admitted that this vote had an almost disastrous effect on his financial resources at the time, but his spirit was in no wise crushed. He went so far as to infer in his History that the letter which he wrote to Goderich replying to the Archdeacon probably led to the dissolving of the Corporation. "The Corporation was finally dissolved, by order of the King (William IV) in Council, in the following year (1833). Whether my letter had had any influence in leading to that result, I do not know. I hope it had. The thing had at length become perfectly intolerable, and the Charter was accordingly revoked."[37] Lang conveniently forgets that the suspension of the activities of the Corporation in 1829 on the intimation from the Governor that it was His Majesty's intention to revoke the charter was really the finish of its operations and that the 1833 revocation was merely a formality. But Burton certainly suggests that the revocation was "a yielding to the clamour of avowed or secret antagonists of those institutions which it was the object of the charter to support.... No reason, was however, to be found in the institution itself."[38]

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37 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol. II, p.373

38 Burton - Religion and Education in Australia, p.30

Whether or not Lang had much part in this early clamour it is hard to say, but he had certainly come in for a great amount of publicity towards the close of the Corporation's official life. In fact, to no other man in the colony had this Corporation been as important as it was to Lang. Not only had its exclusiveness stirred him to take definite steps to establish a school in the colony, but his inadvised publication of criticism concerning it and the opposition thus aroused affected his educational work for many years. He managed to stir against himself a deal of hostility among the ruling powers and this, with the public censure he had drawn, hindered his operations considerably.

CHAPTER IV

SIR RICHARD BOURKE AND THE "IRISH" SYSTEM

Sir Richard Bourke was appointed Governor of New South Wales in 1831, and reached Sydney in December of that year. He brought to the office a more liberal attitude of thought, evidenced among other things, in his proceedings concerning education.

The Church and School Corporation was finished for all practical purposes, though the final act in its dissolution did not come till 1833, and it fell to the new governor to suggest methods to be adopted for the support and development of education in the colony. His suggestions were influenced undoubtedly by events in the Homeland, and by the ideas and opinions held by Ministers of the English Government. In 1831 this Government had set out a scheme for Irish National Education which it was hoped would help settle many of the differences in that country. The idea was to give the same curriculum to children of all sects, but make provision for separate religious instruction. It was on similar principles that Governor Bourke planned to establish the educational system of New South Wales, and on 30th September, 1833, he set out his suggestions in a despatch to the Secretary for the Colonies, the Right Honourable E.G. Stanley, who had instigated the system in Ireland.

There are several points in this important despatch which should be noted, for the controversy which it aroused stirred the colony considerably. Sir Richard Bourke approached the Colonial

Secretary for guidance in establishing a school organization now that the charter of the Church and School Corporation had been officially revoked. He pointed out that the inhabitants of the colony were "of many different religious persuasions, the followers of the church of England being most numerous, but there are also large bodies of Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, beside Protestant Dissenters of many different denominations." [1] But the support given by the Government was mainly to the Church of England, which in 1834 was to receive £11,542, while the Roman Catholics had £1,5000, and the Presbyterians £600. Bourke stated that "a distribution of support from the Government, of so unequal an amount ... cannot be supposed to be generally acceptable to the Colonists who provide the funds from which the distribution is made."[2] He suggested that the Government should extend its grants to the three most important churches - Church of England, Roman Catholic and Presbyterian - and give support where numbers and voluntary contribution warranted.

In Education there was an immediate problem of setting up a system to control and organise the schools of the colony. Bourke described the Orphan Schools, and the King's School at Parramatta and their organization. Of the primary schools established by the Church and School Corporation he stated "they are superintended by the Chaplains, and in all of them the Catechism of the Church of England is taught; and although children of other persuasions may,

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1. Governor's Despatch, 30th September, 1833
2 IBID.

and do sometimes attend these schools, they are necessarily considered as belonging to the Church of England."[3] His further statement that "they are of no great importance or value" did not help the Church of England leaders to take kindly to his suggestions for a new system. Bourke claimed that the disproportion of Government support for the schools was "a subject of very general complaint." He suggested

> "That schools for the general education of the Colonial youth, supported by the Government, and regulated after the manner of the Irish schools ... would be well suited to the circumstances of this country; ... those schools in which Christians of all creeds are received, where approved extracts of Scripture are read, but no Religious Instruction is given by the Master and Mistress, such being imparted on one day of the week by the Ministers of the different Religions attending at the school, to instruct their respective flocks." [4]

Unfortunately for the Colony, this dispatch was not answered for some considerable time, due to various changes in the Government in England. However, the colonists were anxious that something definite should be done for education, and different bodies of citizens formed plans for the establishment of schools. Chief of these was the Australian School Society, established in January 1835, being "a Society for the education of the children of the lower classes in Sydney and throughout the Colony, on the plan of the British and Foreign School Society, one of the well known and fundamental rules and principles of which is that the Bible, without note or comment, shall be read daily in the schools of the Society, but

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3 Governor's Despatch, 30 September, 1833
4 Ibid., 30 September, 1833

that no catechisms shall be used."[5] Dr. Lang took quite a prominent part in the organization of this Society and by his pen in "The Colonist" helped arouse the public's interest in education.

Dr. Lang had established on January 1, 1835, a newspaper, "The Colonist", which he claimed was necessary because of the "vapid inanity of the existing colonial journals, the mean temporising of another, the ignorance and effrontery of a third, and the loose morality and rampant infidelity of a fourth."[6] In this paper he did much for the cause of Education. In the issues of January 29, and February 5, 1835, he devoted most of the paper to Education, and dealt particularly with the need for a definite scheme for the Colony. The Governor's despatch of 1833 had not been published but Lang dealt at length with the Irish Scheme and denounced it thoroughly. No doubt Lang was basing his views on those of the Presbyterians in Ireland who at that time were bitterly opposed to the system introduced in 1831, and he quotes the General Assembly vote that

> "no countenance from the Government of this realm ought to be bestowed on any system of National Education of which instruction in the Holy Scriptures does not form an essential part. That they have observed with much regret and disappointment that a system of national education is still maintained in Ireland, in which no adequate provision is made for the daily reading of the entire word of God in the authorized version without note or comment." 7

He pointed out that the other prominent Protestant sects were just

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5 Colonist, 22 January, 1835
6 Ibid., 1 January, 1835
7 Ibid., 5 February, 1835

as determined never to assent to a system which "adopts for its fundamental principle the entire exclusion of religious instruction." Lang claimed that "a system of education to suit all parties is absolutely utopian and impractical"[8] because of the many different points of views held by the various religious groups. He strongly urged that the Governor should form a Board of Education "consisting of a certain number of ministers of religion, and of intelligent laymen ... and on their annual reports as to the numbers, the wants, the merits, and the services of each communion in the cause of education to apportion the assistance of Government towards the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and English dissenting schools."[9]

Dr. Lang's articles were given added point as a result of the meeting of the Australian School Society held on 2nd February, 1835 at which the Society was definitely launched. As mentioned above, this society was to be based on the principles of the British and Foreign School Society which used the Bible for reading and teaching but avoided all catechisms. The Roman Catholic section, however, were quite opposed to this scheme, claiming that it was sectarian, but they suggested that if the scriptural extracts prepared by the Irish National Board were used, the Roman Catholics would co-operate in the scheme. The Anglican leaders were also opposed, not because of the use of the Scriptures, but because they saw no good reason to change from the status quo. Both of these

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8 Colonist, 5 February, 1835
9 Ibid., 5 February, 1835

groups were receiving Government subsidy for their schools, the Anglicans £2,806, and the Roman Catholics £800 (for 1834).

Dr. Lang, with his usual enthusiasm, did his utmost to help establish the society. While still holding at this time to his idea that a denominational Board to regulate Government assistance to all sections would be the best answer to the problem, he decided that the Australian School Society would satisfy some of the educational needs, and that it was therefore worthy of his support. The Colonist of February 19, 1835 announced that Dr. Lang had been appointed a member of the Committee of the Society. He continued to write in his paper concerning Education and it is unquestioned that his emphasis on the needs of education on the colony, and his positive suggestions did much to inform and influence public opinion. He defended the new Society against the attacks of the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans and was pleased to announce in his paper that the Society was commencing a boy's school in Hart's Buildings on 8th June, 1835. He mentioned that he had brought out from the parent Society in England a case of books, lessons, slates, and other necessary school apparatus.

In other issues of the Colonist[10] Lang kept urging the establishment of a Denominational Board. He set out the amounts given for Episcopalian Schools for 1835 as £6,587, for Roman Catholic as £800, and for Presbyterians and others as nil. To help establish his arguments he cited the benefits which had accrued to the Colony from the establishment of his Australian College. He claimed in effect that

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10 Colonist, April 30, June 4, 1835.

given Government support, each of the denominations could establish similar institutions and primary schools, all of them giving consequent benefits to the colony. In his leader of June 4, Lang urged that the Government should support all educational institutions, and should pay at least £100 per annum to each Headmaster of a College.

The Doctor did not allow the iron to cool. Almost every week in his paper he had something to say about education. Sometimes it was recapitulation of past events and justification for his own actions, sometimes it was appeal to Government and people to follow his suggestions for an educational establishment, sometimes it was reference to the efforts being made by the various groups to satisfy the educational demands. But all of it served to keep the subject of education very much in the public view and it undoubtedly was one of the main influences in building public opinion against the Irish System. In the January 14, 1836, issue of "The Colonist" it was announced that a girls' school upon the plan of the British and Foreign School Society would open on January 18. In March, the anniversary meeting of the Australian School Society was held, and both the boys' and the girls' schools were said to be progressing very well. The enrolment at the former was 100, at the latter 27. Dr. Lang was again voted to the committee of the Society.

Lord Glenelg's reply to Governor Bourke's despatch was dated 30th November, 1835, and evidently arrived early in 1836. The arrival of this reply may have been rumoured in the colony, but at all events, Lang's barrage against the Irish System increased in the month of May, 1836. Dr. Lang set out again all the old objections to the system, and added some new thoughts on the matter. He made it quite

clear, in fact he guaranteed, that if the system were introduced by Governor Bourke, "The Colonist" would use all its influence to bring it to naught, and have it withdrawn. In support of his case, Lang published an article by the French Minister of Public Instruction, the Right Honourable M. Guizot, who said: "that children shall receive in schools the religious instruction prescribed by the worship professed by the families to which they belong."[11] "The Colonist" emphasized the point that a Catholic country was not only ready to tolerate Protestant education, but even willing to establish Protestant schools and pay the Protestant schoolmasters. This was claimed as a strong argument for Dr. Lang's Denominational Scheme. "The Colonist" pledged its opposition to Governor Bourke's National System "because, however well intentioned and benevolently planned, we believe it to be unchristian in its principles, latitudinarian in its tendency, and oppressive in its practice."[12]

Lang did not have the field to himself in the use of the press. "The Australian", one of the other Sydney papers of the period, was doing its utmost to rouse support for the Irish System. Through the month of May, 1836, it had much to say about education, and claimed that the Irish System was

> "peculiarly adapted to a mixed population like ours - it is framed with a strict regard to the inculcation of religious knowledge, but in such a way as not to interrupt the course of general study - it admits of the most careful supervision and above all it promotes those habits of early intercourse and friendship, which in after life will enable the Roman Catholic and Protestant, the Presbyterian and Methodist, the Quaker and the

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11 The Colonist, 5 May, 1836
12 Ibid., 5 May, 1836

> Jew to mingle in society without thinking of Faggots, Racks, or the Holy Inquisition." 13

In answer to some of the claims of "The Australian" that Lang's suggested separate instruction plan would not be practical, Dr. Lang a few days later, replied that

> "in such places as Liverpool and Windsor, etc., where it is not possible for the community to support more than two schools at the utmost, let there be one Protestant and one Roman Catholic school; and all the Protestant denominations in such cases, merging with the Episcopalian. And where there could only be one school for the whole community, let that school by all means, be on some system as the Irish plan recommends." 14

In view of Lang's opposition to the exclusiveness of the Anglican Church in the Colony his willingness to suggest a practical compromise indicates the strength of his feelings on the necessity for an educational system. Earlier in the year Lang had published that his strong support for the Sydney College was due to "the prospect which the successful establishment of that Institution afforded of providing a powerful and effective check upon the Colonial Episcopal establishment ... which threatened to engulf every other denomination."[15] Yet now he was willing to group the non-Catholic churches in an Episcopalian school if that would help the Government set up an educational system which "would secure the exercise of religious liberty to all."[16] But he was quite opposed to the Irish System which he claimed "interferes with the unquestionable right of every British subject to have his children educated in the faith he professes."[17]

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13 The Australian, 17 May, 1836
14 The Colonist, 14 May, 1836
15 Ibid., 21 January, 1836
16 Ibid., 2 June, 1836
17 Ibid., 2 June, 1836

Governor Bourke presented his despatch and Lord Glenelg's reply to the Legislative Council on 2nd June, 1836, and after outlining the needs for education in the colony he stated that his own plan was to introduce a system based on the Irish National System. No decision was made that day, but the Governor's statement made his intention very clear. Immediately the Protestants of the colony were stirred to action. Public meetings were announced and strongly attended and petitions drawn up to present to the Government. The newly appointed Bishop, the Rev. Broughton, led out in some of this opposition to the proposed scheme. The Bishop, because of some technicality, was prevented from taking his usal seat on the Council but he made up for this by his work with the public.

Dr. Lang used his newspaper with telling effect. In considering the two despatches under dispute Lang first praised the sections which dealt with church support. The Government were suggesting support for all denominations, and Lang claimed that this decision, in eliminating the exclusiveness of the Church of England was "The Great Charter of the Presbyterian Church."[18] Lang claimed that this was the "halfway house" to the complete voluntary system, and although it did grant support to the Roman Catholics it was very much worthwhile. But the remainder of the despatches he did not relish. Or rather he did not agree with GovernorBourke's interpretation. For Lord Glenelg's reply made it clear that the local authorities were best fitted to make decision on the system to be used. Glenelg agreed that the Irish National System would probably be the type suitable to Australia, but he also forwarded to Governor Bourke a

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18 The Colonist, 16 June, 1836

Report of the British and Foreign Society "which is conducted on very liberal and comprehensive principles," and stated that he would "wish that it may be thought practicable to place the whole of the New Testament, at least, in the hands of the children."[19] Through June and early July, Dr. Lang continued his writing against the Irish System, and supported the idea of a Denominational Board to administer a denominational type of education. "As for those parts of the territory in which separate schools for each denomination could not be established, let the denomination of the school be that of the majority of the pupils, as in France and Prussia; the minority being relieved from the regular religious exercises of the school."[20] These suggestions from Lang are particularly interesting as compromise suggestions to overcome practical difficulties. His denominational scheme would obviously fit in the large communites, and Lang evidently thought that its value in these larger groups was well worth a practical compromise in the rural areas. Of course it is easy to see the beginning from the end, and Lang's later change of view is perhaps evidence that his judgment here was based overmuch on Presbyterian feeling in Ireland, yet it appears somewhat strange that Lang should claim that a denominational Board could administer educational funds to these denominations without controversy. He was so forthright, even fiery himself, that meetings of such a Board must have generated heat, for Lang no doubt thought of himself as a charter member of his proposed Board.

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19 Lord Glenelg's Despatch, quoted in Burton - The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, Appendix p.68

20 The Colonist, 30 June, 1836

"The Colonist" of July 14, 1836, published the minute by the Governor that he planned to set aside money in 1837 to set up general education based on the Irish System. The proposal was put to the Legislative Council, which at that time consisted of Government nominees, on July 25 and was passed on a vote of 8 to 4. The four in opposition were of the non-official group, and this arrangement of votes did not strengthen the official position.

Dr. Lang had sailed for England on the day the vote was taken, but his influence lingered because of the effective work he had already done, and because his newspaper continued in the same trend as he had set. The passing of the vote gave a spur to the agitation against the proposed system, and Governor Bourke sent out to the police magistrates a circular letter which was planned to make known the principles of the Irish System. "The Colonist" published this in full but in its next issue[21] repeated the report of the public meeting held the previous year to oppose the scheme, and republished the petition which had been drawn up. It reported that the Archbishop had presented a new petition against the vote, and led out at another public meeting on August 3, 1836. Early in September a leader set out information concerning churches and schools in Van Dieman's land, saying "we hail with joy equally unfeigned the far different sentiments avowed by Lieut. Governor Arthur 'The reading of the entire scriptures will be the basis of instruction. Upon this alone, I am convinced, can any system of education be founded

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21 August 4, 1836

that will withstand the test of time and experience.'"[22]

Governor Bourke's scheme was favoured by a group of citizens in a public meeting at Woollongong, and the Governor erected there a school which was actually the first National School in Australia. But the opposition did not abate at all and the Governor evidently decided that it would be unwise to proceed further. Early in 1837 "The Colonist" announced that Governnor Bourke was planning to resign his office mainly because he had not been upheld by the Home Government in another matter. No doubt the reverse he had suffered concerning the educational system had quite a part in his decision to resign. Later in the year "The Colonist", thoroughly representing Lang's views, though he was still in England, had a leader entitled "The Triumph of Portestantism." It stated that "His Excellency has informed the Bishop of Australia that he does not intend to establish any schools on the Irish System ... and ... we feel it our duty to make known the joyful fact." The whole situation was again reviewed to stress "The triumph that has thus crowned the spirited exertions of the General Committee of Protestants."[23]

For a few years there was a lull in the efforts for a National System. Dr. Lang had had much to do with this early reversal of the Governor's scheme, and his influence continued to be felt in government circles in matters of education.

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22 The Colonist, 8 September, 1836
23 Ibid., 18 May, 1837

CHAPTER V

THE AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE

Dr. Lang's most outstanding venture in the realms of education was the establishment of The Australian College. Following his efforts in 1829 and 1830 when he had been interested in both the Sydney Grammar School and Broughton's King's Schools, Lang decided to set up his own Presbyterian College, and in order to raise funds for the venture he journeyed to England in August, 1830. In the controversy which developed after his return Lang was accused, inter alia, of introducing his own college merely to outwit those institutions which he had left in early 1830. But these accusations were easily refuted by earlier events.

In the Lang Papers - Volume 16 - there is clear evidence of the Doctor's plans for a College, for a prospectus appears there under date of March 3, 1826, which outlines a College on practically the same organization as that finally set up inthe early 30's. The manuscript goes on to state that this scheme had been outlined to several gentlemen in the Colony "previous to his embarkation for England in 1824, and a conditional arrangement has in the meantime been made with a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, highly qualified for the office, in the prospect of its being established."[1] Lang states elsewhere that "on embarking for Europe in the year 1824, I proposed making some effort during my stay in England, in reference

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1 Lang Papers - Volume 16, Mitchell Library

to the third of the objects I have mentioned - the establishment of some provision for the general education of youth in the Colony; but ... the attempt proved abortive."[2] Notice of the intended establishment of this school was made in "The Australian" of June 28, 1826, and, though the school was to begin operations in the Princes Street Chapel, it was planned to erect buildings to suit the Elementary, Mercantile, and Classical sections which the Academy was to include. But this early venture apparently failed through lack of students for no further reference is made to it.

Doctor Lang's movements concerning the establishment of a secondary school during 1829 and 1830 have been outlined in a previous section and need no repetition. It is sufficient to state that Lang's patience ran out, for "I could not help thinking it high time that the education of the colony should be rescued in some measure from the hands of exclusives and incapables."[3] He decided to go ahead on his own initiative and get support for a Presbyterian School by appealing to friends in England. Accordingly he set out for England in August, 1830, with this as the particular object of his visit, though he also intended to procure additional Presbyterian ministers for service in the colony.

Doctor Lang arrived in England towards the close of 1830 and immediately set about the task of raising funds for his proposed College. In a letter published some time later he stated

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2 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, pp. 335- 1834

3 Ibid., Vol.II, p.347 (1834)

> "that loan I expected to procure from British capitalists - not from His Majesty's Government - and to facilitate the attainment of that object, I was not only empowered by the trustees of the Scotch church to mortgage or to grant a long lease of the vacant portion of their allotment but had also provided myself with the deeds of a property in Sydney which had fallen to myself through the decease of my father, and which was valued for that purpose by Mr. Bodenham." 4

Lang states further that he was strongly advised to submit his plans for education and emigration to the Government "and to solicit a loan from His Majesty's Government." His decision to do so may have been occasioned by a difficulty of raising private funds, for at the time of his visit England was in a state of extreme financial and economic depression. Lang claimed that "the cry of distress from the agricultural districts of the mother country was so loud and piercing on my arrival in England ... that I took the liberty to address a letter to Lord Viscount Goderich, pointing out the means of conveying thousands of the distressed agricultural population of Great Britain without expense to the mother country, to the colony of New South Wales."5

It is evident that Dr. Lang showed in this instance commendable initiative and decision. It was not until December 12, 1830 that he reached England. Yet he was able to gauge the position there very speedily, and to recognise in it an opportunity of furthering his own cause. During that same month of December he sought and obtained several interviews with Lord Goderich who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies. He set out his plans for a College to be established

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4 Sydney Gazette, 5 April, 1832
5 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol. II, p.367

under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, and in asking for Government assistance pointed out that some of the proposed loan could well be used in taking out to the Colony a large number of artisans. This would relieve the Mother Country to that extent, while benefiting the new colony by introducing good quality free citizens of a type much needed there. He proposed to his Lordship

> "to charter a vessel of four hundred tons, with the assistance of my friends in England, to carry out to the Colony a certain number of families and individuals of the class and on the conditions above mentioned, provided his Lordship would authorize His Excellency the Governor of New South Wales to advance, on the arrival of the said vessel in the colony, the sum of £6,000 as a loan for five years, for the establishment of an academical institution or college in the town of Sydney." 6

Lang had every reason to be pleased with the successful outcome of his approach to Lord Goderich, and he lost no time in gathering together his emigrants. He had decided that Scotch families would be the best asset to New South Wales, and incidentally to the Presbyterian Church, and during the early months of 1831 he was busy organizing. His zeal and ability is evidenced by the fact that on June 1, 1831 he was able to sail in the chartered "Stirling Castle" for Australia with "five other Presbyterian clergymen and fiftynine emigrant mechanics, the greater part with wives and families."7 *Three of these ministers had been chosen as masters for the new* College. The mechanics had been engaged on the understanding that

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6 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol. II, p.384 (1834)

7 Sydney Gazette, 15 October, 1831

Lang guaranteed them 12 months employment at £2 per week, and they promised to repay the passage money of £25 for each adult member of the family.

This group of new settlers arrived in Sydney on October 15, 1831, to be greeted enthusiastically by the whole settlement. The Sydney Gazette was loud in its praises of the enterprise as "really the most important importation the colony ever received, and certainly the boldest effort ever made by a single individual to 'advance Australia'."[8] Of Lang it said - "We scarcely know in what terms to express the very high sense we entertain of the noble spirit exhibited by the Rev. Dr. Lang."[9] Lang received commendations on all sides and surely could be excused for looking upon it all as a personal triumph. On the way to Australia he had married Miss Wilhelmina Mackie, a cousin who was coming out to stay with his brother Andrew. His efforts to obtain a government loan for his College had been successful. And his scheme of assisted emigration gave every promise of success. Fortunately he did not foresee the obstacles which were to arise in his pathway, many of them the result of his own tactlessness.

Quite possibly it was this glow of personal achievement that motivated Lang to publish, soon after his return, the letter which while in England he had addressed to Lord Goderich. Perhaps he published it in order to refute the accusations made against him by some of those who were supporting the Sydney College. Lang claims

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8 Sydney Gazette, 15 October, 1831
9 Ibid., 15 October, 1831

that the successful outcome of his English visit had annoyed the Sydney College.group and that he was accused of "calumniating" many of them while in England. "On this and a variety of other charges equally frivolous and equally unfounded, changes were rung at my particular expense - from meeting to meeting and from month to month."[10] One charge made was that Dr. Lang had purposely withheld from the Sydney College Committee the letter from Lord Goderich acknowledging receipt of a copy of the College Prospectus. However, as Lang point out, the letter had arrived in Australia while he was in England, and it had been forwarded as soon as he himself had received it. The date of the publication of his pamphlet entitled "An account of the steps taken in England with a view to the establishment of an Academical Institution or College in New South Wales, and to demonstrate the practicability of effecting an extensive emigration of the industrious classes from the mother-country to that colony," is not definite enough to enable decision on the immediate cause of its publication. But the result was both immediate and definite. Probably by no one other single stroke did Lang do so much to rouse opposition against himself and his schemes. He was not the man to express regret over an action, and he was very ready to justify all he had said and done, but if ever man had cause to repent of his tactlessness, that man was Lang. However, any emotion of this nature he managed to keep very secret. The general feeling toward Dr. Lang and his enterprise, immediately after his arrival, was that expressed in one paper of the day - "We heartily wish the proposed Presbyterian seminaries every

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10 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.366 (1875)

success which we doubt not from the excellent moral character of the generality of the Scottish ministers, they will be found to merit."[11] It is regrettable that Lang himself caused the change in this attitude.

The efforts to get a College started had many of the elements of a race. The Gazette said of the Sydney College that "the buildings of the above Institution being in a state of rapid progress, and Committee being desirous of completing them forthwith; the Trustees are hereby informed that they are required to pay in the second instalment of £5 on each share."[12] The same paper on December 10th welcomed the news that the King's Schools were to be opened on the first Monday in the New Year. Lang had lost no time in setting about his building work. One week after the arrival of the "Stirling Castle" in Sydney a start was made on the buildings of the Australian College. Lang had made a very wise choice in his Scottish mechanics and had at his commandmen from a wide range of building crafts, "an ample supply of industrious and well skilled artisans."[13] He, too, was anxious to be first in the field, and so the first classes of the Australian College were begun in a hired building on November 15, 1831. However, the idea of starting off the College before the buildings were ready had been in Lang's mind for a long time. In fact, when a member of the Committee for the Sydney College, Lang had recommended that "the Institution should be commenced forthwith in a hired building."[14]

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11 The Australian, 21 October, 1831
12 Sydney Gazette, 21 October, 1831
13 Ibid., 18 October, 1831
14 Colonist, 21 January, 1836

so that the school could start its growth at once.

Lang had been so busy getting the College, both buildings and classes, well started, that he had not found time to have a meeting of shareholders to set up the constitution of the College. One newspaper of the day, while commending the work "of an exceedingly zealous and long-headed minister of the Presbyterian Kirk" suggested that a liberal and constitutional management be established. "But is it to be conceived that the public will take an interest much less shares in a college where one man, self-deputed, however zealous, however learned, however upright, is to have the whole and sole control over the masters, the pupils, the system of instruction, the funds, all of which concern the shareholders individually and the public at large."[15] A week later, on December 23, 1831, a meeting of the shareholders was held at Mr. Underwood's buildings, Church Hill, and the details of the School organization were considered. At that meeting the College was officially launched. The organization of the College was practically identical with the original scheme which Lang had drawn up at least as early as March, 1826. There were to be four departments in the school:

1. An English department or elementary School - to include English grammar and composition, elocution, history, geography, etc.
2. A writing or Mercantile department for writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, etc.
3. A classical department for the Latin and Greek Languages.
4. A mathematics and physical department for mathematics and natural philosophy. It was planned to give from time to time a course

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15 The Australian, 16 December, 1831

of public lectures of some of these subjects.

To teach in his college Lang had chosen three Licentiates of the Church of Scotland, who had travelled out with him on the "Stirling Castle." The Rev. Henry Carmichael A.M. was to take the Classical Department, the Rev. William Pinkerton the English, and the Rev. John Anderston the Mercantile. All of these men had been well recommended by University Authorities in Scotland. The fourth master was "a gentleman, of literary and scientific attainments, residing in the colony."[16] This was the Reverend John McGarvie, A.M. who had been acting as the minister of the Scots Church, Portland Head. He was to have charge of the mathematical and physical departments, and was to offer a series of public lectures to be held at the College. It was decided at this first meeting that Dr. Lang was to be Principal of the Australian College, without pay and without an active share in the Education, until "completion of arrangements into which he has entered with His Majesty's Government at the one hand, and with the gentelmen undermentioned (the council members) on the other, for the establishment of the said College; as also with certain Scotch mechanics; ... on the completion of which arrangements he shall surrender the said office into the hands of the Council."[17] Another item decided that "there shall be a principal of the said College, who shall also be a professor, having the management of one or other of the departments of education comprised in the institution and being elected by the College Council."[18] But this privilege never came to the Council for the "completion of arrangements" did not eventuate till long after the decease of the College, and Lang remained Principal

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16 J.D. Lang - Account of Steps taken in England with a View to Establishment of an Academical College. p.8
17 Sydney Gazette, 29 December, 1831
18 Ibid., 29 December, 1831.

during its lifetime. Nor does it appear that he was without Salary, for the ledger of the Australian College shows that in 1832 he received £850, and in 1833 he had £1,408.[19] How much of this was 'salary' and how much for expenses is not recorded, but Lang received the money from the College finance.

Dr. Lang's plan for the buildings included a house for each master in charge of a department, each house to allow the accommodation of about eighty or a hundred boarders, with some classroom accommodation. It was also planned to build a large lecture hall, where public lectures could be given by some of the College masters. Lang had some difficulty in having this scheme followed out in full, but finally succeeded in overcoming all the obstacles in his path. The buildings were located in Jamieson Street, next to the Scot's Church. (Today, 1949, none of the buildings remain. The Wentworth Hotel stands where the College Lecture Hall was situated, while on the other side of the street most of the land once occupied by the terrace of four houses is now used as a parking lot.)

Announcement of the opening of College for the new year appeared in the Sydney Gazette from January 3 to February 11, 1832. Classes were to be held again in Mr. Underwood's buildings until the College houses were ready. The announcement set out the various departments of the College, the hours of attendance to be from nine a.m. to three p.m. and stated that accommodation would be provided, at a moderate rate, for a limited number of boarders. "The education of the youth attending the classical and elementary classes cost £15 a year;

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19 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library

boarding in the family of one of the headmasters or professors, costs £30 additional."[20]

Meantime the work of building was proceeding. Lang had not lost a day in getting on with the task. He had written to the Government immediately on his return, asking for permission to quarry stone under Port Phillip. On 28th October, 1831, this permission was granted, and the Town surveyor was authorized to point out the approved place for quarrying. However, Lang evidently decided to press his success, and eleven days later asked for men to quarry the stone. On the 16th November, 1831, he was informed that "instructions have been given for the assignment of the two quarrymen named in the margin, (Redmond London and Martin Brady) to your service for the purpose of ... assisting in the erection of a building for the education of youth."[21]

Dr. Lang was thus first in the field with an academical institution which provided not only an elementary school but also a secondary or classical education. Though in a hired building, classes had begun on November 15, 1831. The King's School, though announced as opening on January 1, 1832, had not begun operations until January 16,[22] under the leadership of the Reverend George Innes. The King's School at Parramatta was planned to open on 13th February of that year under the Rev. R. Forrest. Meanwhile the Sydney College was "not at all so far advanced as it ought to be. No doubt stones and mortar have partly done their work."[23]

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20 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, 1837, p.360
21 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library
22 Sydney Gazette, 17 January, 1832
23 The Australian, 16 December, 1831

It seems clear enough that Lang was quite justified in setting out to establish his own institution. Of the Sydney College "The Australian" says, "No doubt much exertion, and a good deal of good in INTENDED, but are not the trustees (as a body) rather supine? ... had they been actively alive (as a body) to the great work of EDUCATION at what stage would the Sydney College have been at this time of day?"[24] And of the King's School the same paper remarks that "it seems certain that the course of instruction - will be on High Church, High Tory principles. If so, the King's Schools will prove unsuitable for the education of the children of Catholics and Dissenters form the Established Church."

DIFFICULTIES

Dr. Lang had managed to get his College started but the pathway roughened as he advanced. His first opposition came from those who claimed that he had shown a lack of loyalty. One section was the supporters of the Sydney College. Dr. Lang was accused of all manner of offences, chief of which that he had literally 'stolen away' from his Sydney College activities to England, where he had gone ahead with his own plans. The manner in which Lang had resigned from the Sydney College has been dealt with earlier, and it was certainly a just cause of complaint. Lang claimed that his character was calumniated consistently and widely by his erstwhile associates, in all manner of meetings, until he himself visited one such meeting, where, although he was not allowed to speak, at least the abuse was stopped. On December 20, 1831, there was published in the Gazette a letter over the pen name of Publius in which it was urged that debates on procedure should not be allowed to rob the colony of the undoubted benefits

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24 The Australian, 16 December, 1831

of the Australian College. It was also suggested that Dr. Lang might continue his efforts with Archdeacon Broughton and establish a joint College. It is quite possible that Dr. Lang himself could have been the author of this letter in order to prepare the way for a union with one of the other institutions. Early in January the Sydney College authorities received a letter from Doctor Lang proposing some form of union between that College and the Australian College. At their usual meeting the committee members expressed their opinions on the matter and were to a man opposed to the Doctor's proposition or any connection whatever with his institution."[25]

Apparently this published report was the first intimation that the other committee members of the Australian College had received of any concrete suggestion for union, and at their meeting on 20th January, 1832,"it was resolved to call upon Dr. Lang for an explanation of the nature of the communication made by him."[26] Lang, who had been absent in the country, did not wait for the next meeting to explain. On January 26 there appeared in the press a long letter from him setting out the development of this idea for union. Lang claimed that on his return from England he had been approached by a shareholder of the Sydney College, formerly a committee member, suggesting a coalition. Later

> "a very active member of the committee of the Sydney College called repeatedly at my house to ascertain whether such a coalition were practicable ... I intimated both in conversation and in writing that an incorporating union of the two institutions did not appear to me to be at all practicable: but that a combination of efforts equally advantageous to the

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25 Sydney Gazette, 14 January, 1832
26 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

> colonial public might be effected after the institution with which I have the honour to be connected should be established." 27

Lang claimed that the idea of a union had been discussed in a committee meeting of the Australian College held on December 23, 1831, and that though nothing was done in the matter, a friendly feeling had been expressed. He had waited until the new year's classes had been commenced and "conceiving that the Australian College was now pretty

> fully established" he had "stated in conversation, as well as in a written memo which I left with His Honour the Chief Justice that ... if the two institutions were simply to divide the course of education between them - the one for instance to provide for the English and Classical, the other for the mercantile and mathematical department - more extensive good might be secured to the community -- at a comparatively small expense and without compromising the interest of either, or rendering it at all necessary to unite the management of their funds." 28

Next day the Australian College committee met and the Doctor explained the situation as above. However he stressed that no proposal for a union had been made but that "such a proposal had been gratuitously and, for obvious reasons, inferred."[29] The committee, no doubt animated by feeling of independence, and hastening to deny any suggestion that they needed help, decided to insert in the press an advertisement disclaiming any such proposal. On the same day the annual meeting for the Sydney College had been held and the same matter discussed. The Sydney College members had the advantage in that they were discussing a proposal which they claimed had been made to them. Doctor Lang's past actions were again reviewed and all ideas of coalition were dropped. Dr. Bland had to admit that he was the

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27 Sydney Gazette, 26 January, 1832
28 Ibid., 26 January, 1832
29 Minutes of meetings, Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

"active member of the Sydney College" who had "repeatedly" visited Lang, but he claimed that he had made only two visits.

It seems clear enough that Lang had been manoeuvred into making another of his tactical errors. He had the advantage late in 1831 of having funds, workmen, and a good though limited public opinion behind him. He had nothing to gain at that stage by suggesting any kind of coalition with the Sydney College. That College was still struggling with its building programme and had little to show for its efforts. If he had been wise he would have taken the advice of his committee, which he says, at its meeting in December 1831, decided to do nothing in the matter of union. If the "very active member of the Sydney College Committee" had been in earnest, he could have been left to make the suggestion to the Australian College Committee. Lang claimed that the suggestion he did make was in the nature of a private suggestion and that it did not represent the feelings of the Australian College Committee. Nor did he make a suggestion for union, but merely for an arrangement concerning fields of education to be offered. But the fact remains that Lang was put in the position of suppliant, when really he had the stronger position and had no great benefit to gain from the union. If he thought to soothe the feelings of the Sydney College Committee by offering them the union, he certainly failed to judge men, and by making the suggestion, even a private one, he lost much of the sympathy of his own Committee, for they felt that the Doctor had almost cut the ground from under their feet. Far from bettering relationships between the two colleges Lang had widened the gulf, and weakened his own hand with his committee.

A much more serious difficulty in Lang's pathway came from another of his own tactless actions. Lang's letter to Lord Goderich when applying for help in establishing his College contained a list of accusations against the Church and School Corporation. It seems clear enough that much of this censure of Lang's arose from his own decided sectarianism. Lang's brushes with officialdom in the Colony and the lack of sympathy evinced towards the Presbyterian Church, had strengthened his opposition towards the domination of colonial affairs by the Church of England, which was really not the 'established' church in Australia. But the publication of this letter was foolish, to say the least.

Immediately he began to feel the results. The Colonial Press had given him a very fair treatment. His actions had been criticized as are the actions of any public figure. But his efforts to promote the settlement of the Colony with a good type of settler had been highly commended, as too had his work in establishing an institution for the education of the young. But on the publication of this letter there arose a feeling of opposition against him. The Sydney Gazette took up the cudgels on behalf of the Church of Englandand in its leaders during the latter part of December 1831, pointed out what it claimed were inconsistencies and inaccuracies in Lang's claims. Other papers, though not as often or as definitely as the Gazette, also expressed oppostion to Lang's viewpoint. The Doctor, by one ill-starred stroke, had lost the sympathy of the Press, a thing he could ill afford.

An instance of this press opposition came a few months later

in April, 1832. Lang's application to the Government for the use of a Government quarry and quarrymen has been noted previously. On April 26, 1832, the Sydney Gazette in its leader mentioned this as "no inconsiderable privilege" and then goes on with a claim "that stones from that quarry are sold to private individuals. Not in the name of Dr. Lang, nor in the name of the Australian College, but in that of Mr. Ferguson, Principal Superintendent of works connected with the institution." Many other veiled suggestions of malpractice are scattered through the article. Doctor Lang wrote in answer to this accusation, refuting any suggestion of wrongful use of the privilege given him by the Government. So too did Mr. Ferguson, his superintendent. From the minute book of the Australian College under date of 5th June, 1832, it is shown in itemized accounts that some stone to the value of £21:15:4 had been sold to Judge Stephen and some few others, but that the expense of cutting had been £9:10:0 and that it had been necessary for Mr. Ferguson to pay £62:3:0 for some special stone from another quarry. The transactions had been quite open and were really quite in order but the Gazette's suggestions, though refuted, did not help Lang's cause in the colony. Such pin pricking could well ruin all his plans for the Australian College.

This Press opposition was bad enough, but a greater blow came with more immediate effect from the reaction of the Archdeacon. Lang later claimed that "it never occurred to me that any remarks I had made relative to the character and tendency of the Church and School Corporation scheme, were likely to be construed into a personal attack on the persons who were accidentally, and, as I conceived, unfortunately

connected with that system of legalized folly, extravagance, and injustice. My letter however, gave prodigious offence to the Venerable the Archdeacon."[30] It would have been strange indeed had such a scathing attack on the Corporation not given offence to the Archdeacon. That gentelman at once wrote a long letter to Lord Goderich on the matter, refuting the criticisms made by Lang and protesting vigorously against the financial help given for the Australian College. The Archdeacon claimed that this help, given after the receipt of Lang's letter by Lord Goderich, suggested that Goderich agreed with the criticism contained therein. The fact that the Archdeacon's suggestions for the establishment of the King's Schools had been delayed in the Home Government offices through the period when Lang was in England successfully seeking financial aid did not soothe the Archdeacon's feelings. He forwarded his letter to Lord Goderich through Acting Governor Lindesay who added in his despatch that Dr. Lang's indiscretion (to apply to his conduct in publishing the letter in question the mildest term of which it is susceptible) appears to me so palpable that I refrain from further comment on it."[31]

Lindesay forwarded the despatch on November 18, 1831, but did not send a copy of the Archdeacon's letter to Lang "till four days after the vessel in which it was transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies had sailed for England."[32]

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30 J.D. Lang, Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.365 - 1834
31 Historical Records of Australia - Series 1, Vol.16, p.453
32 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.365 - 1834

On receipt of this letter Doctor Lang set about justifying his actions. But this does not mean he was on the defensive. He attacked the procedure of forwarding the Archdeacon's letter to England before he had seen it, and in his answering letter repeated his charges of inefficiency and unwarranted expense against the Corporation.

When Lord Goderich heard of Doctor Lang's publication of his letter he was very annoyed. In a despatch to the Colony he explained in detail the reason for the delay in answering Archdeacon Broughton's request for aid and claimed that the priority of decision of Lang's scheme was quite accidental. He assured the Archdeacon of his confidence in that gentleman's 'rectitude and propriety', and concludes with the request that the Governor will inform Dr. Lang that "cause of religious peace and the efficacy of religious feelings cannot ... be successfully promoted, if those whose duty it is to inculcate the former, and to cherish the latter, are unmindful of the sacred obligations which that duty imposes upon them of speaking charitably of their neighbours."[33]

Meantime the controversy had continued in the colony. Dr. Lang wrote to the papers, to justify both his accusations against the School Corporation and his action in publishing his letter to Lord Goderich. The Sydney Gazette on the other hand carried through many issues a detailed study of Lang's claims, refuting them all. Perhaps more important, and certainly as disastrous to Lang, was the vote of censure upon him passed by the Legislative Council. The Archdeacon was a member of the council and evidently decided to use its

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33 Goderich to Bourke, May 3 1832, Governors' Despatches, Mitchell Library.

influence on his behalf. He brought the whole matter before the Council, and on the 15th March, 1832 it was voted -

> "Resolved that His Excellency the Governor be requested to communicate the Right Honourable the Secretary of State the opinion of this Council, that the charges against the Protestant Episcopal clergy of the Colony, contained in the letter addressed by Dr. Lang to Viscount Goderich, were unfounded and unwarrantable; and that the publication of the same was a highly improper and censurable act." 34

The publication of this action in the press of the Colony was a great blow to Lang, and though he carried on a campaign to justify his own actions and to castigate the actions of the Archdeacon, he was quite unable to regain the approbation of many of his former supporters.

The changed attitude which naturally followed the lowering of Lang's prestige was clearly evidenced to him in the practical details of building the College. It was his responsibility to see that funds were available to pay the wages of the Scotch mechanics who were at work on the building. These funds were dependent on his own personal credit, and on the subscriptions paid in by the public, for the Government loan was only to be available according to the amount raised by Lang and his committee. As Lang said, "The opinion of the Legislative Council, and the vote of censure to which it led, were no dead letter to me." A friend who had endorsed bills of Lang's acceptance to the amount of £1,000 sent along a "pressing requisition ... for tangible security, as my name alone was no longer deemed sufficient." Lang accordingly gave this friend, Thomas Barker Esq., a security on his own house, but Mr. Barker immediately had the house advertised for sale. It was sold a few weeks later "with some building ground

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34 Sydney Gazette, March 17, 1832.

adjoining it, for £2,250."[35] The loss of this house was a great blow to Lang. He "had laid - account to live and die in it." (It was situated opposite the Scots Church, where Petty's Hotel now stands, and had a wonderful view of the Sydney Harbour.)

Further difficulty arose for the Doctor in the changed attitude of his Committee. As the tide of public opinion set in against him, so the attitude of the Committee hardened. Where before they had been willing followers they now asked for more concrete evidence of plans and procedures. At times this attitude almost crystallized into direct opposition to Lang's schemes. Lang's original plan had been to build four houses for the masters of the College, but the Committee seeing that funds were not coming in as anticipated, decided to cut it to two houses, at least for the start. At a meeting held on 16th February, 1832, they also asked that a check be made on the plans and specifications to see if a further saving could be made.[36] Lang wrote to the committee to remonstrate against their decisions but at the next meeting they re-affirmed their plan "to accomplish if possible the erection of two houses only, being satisfied that their funds do not admit of more extensive buildings and that there is even no present necessity for more buildings if there had been funds." Further they resolved "that no payment can be made on account of such buildings until the property in the ground has become legally vested in the Australian College."[37] It is evident that Lang had lost much of his

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35 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.373,4. 1834
36 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library
37 Ibid.,

support in the Committee, and his plans would receive searching criticism before they were adopted.

The question of the ownership of the land, which is referred to above, became a very vexed one. Lord Goderich had agreed to authorize the loan of £3,500 for the erection of a college "on a piece of ground belonging to the Scots Church."[38] Very soon after his return to the colony, Dr. Lang had written the Colonial Secretary asking that the "Acting Governor be pleased to sanction the transference of the part of the allotment of the Scots Church on which the proposed buildings are to be erected to such other trustees as the subscribers may approve of." Lang explained too, that "the vacant portion of the allotment of the Scots Church having been originally granted for the erection of a building, a building for education of youth," this transference was merely to facilitate the accomplishment of that purpose.[39] But Lang evidently decided that there might be an opportunity to get another piece of land for the Scots Church on the ground of their giving some over to the Australian College. Accordingly he wrote the College Committee offering to transfer the whole right to the land required "on condition that the Council should memorialize the Government to grant an allotment of equal value to the Scots Church in some other place."[40] Whether it was this attempt to

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38 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.350 - 1834

39 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library

40 Minutes of College Council Meeting, 3 February, 1832, Lang Papers, Mitchell Library.

gain another piece of land using the transference to the College as an excuse, or whether it was antagonism in the Legislative Council, it is hard to say, but it is evident that the Council was not anxious to help. All kinds of difficulties were found in the way.

The College Council had decided they must own the land before advancing their money, and they appointed a deputation to wait on the Attorney General to ascertain the steps necessary. In May 1832, the trustees of the Scots Church were asked to seek from the Government an act authorizing the transfer. But delays occurred and in August, 1832, Lang wrote to the Governor pleading for help. The church trustees had spent money on the College buildings, the College Committee would not advance money until they had the land, the Church could not grant a mortgage (according to the Crown Law officers) and things seemed to be at stalemate. Lang offered his personal land to overcome the difficulty. No doubt, much of the delay could have been avoided, but Lang had lost Government sympathy and was learning the power of Government apathy. It is no wonder that he wrote, "It almost drove me to my wits' end."

However, Lang pressed on with his objective. He was able to persuade the College Committee that he should be permitted to complete the original plan for the College buildings, and they "resolved that Dr. Lang be allowed to carry on the building of the four houses now erecting at his own risk, the Council not being bound to pay for more at present than for two houses."[41] It was therefore necessary for the Doctor to have money for this work, and he decided to realize on some of his property. On 2nd August, 1832, an auction sale was held of two building allotments at the rear of Dr. Lang's private residence

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41 Minutes of Australian College Committee. Lang Papers, Mitchell Library

in Clarence Street. In a letter to the Gazette in the next month, Lang stated that "within the last three months I have disposed of property of my own in the colony to the extent of £3,518."[42] The work went on as he had planned and in 1834 he said "the portion of the Australian College Buildings now erected contains a commodious residence for each of the four headmasters or professors of the institution with highly suitable accommodations for not fewer than from sixty to eighty boarders."[43] At that time he claimed that "the Australian College promises at no distant period to be the first and the most influential institution for the education of youth in the Southern Hemisphere."[44]

STAFF

Dr. Lang had planned originally that there should be four masters in the College, one for each of the Departments. He had procured three well-recommended men in Scotland - The Reverend Henry Carmichael, the Reverend William Pinkerton, and the Reverend John Anderson - on his visit there in 1831. The fourth master was to be the Reverend John McGarvie who had come to the Colony a few years previously. Each master was to receive a salary of £100 per annum with free house rent, and some fees for board from the pupils in his house. This arrangement was apparently quite satisfactory to the masters, for they wrote to the Committee setting out these terms.

However, this staff did not operate for very long. The Australian College began operations on November 15, 1831, in a hired

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42 Sydney Gazette, 22 September, 1832
43 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.381 - 1834
44 Ibid., p.385

building, and during January, 1832, advertisements appeared in the press announcing the four departments of work to be offered. But in a meeting held on 27th December, 1831, it was decided that in the early stages of establishing the College the services of the Reverend W. Pinkerton could be dispensed with, at least for 1832, and that he should be allowed to accept a situation at the Maitland Presbyterian Church. Because he had not taught in the College the committee were not prepared to pay his passage money out to the colony, and this responsibility fell back on Dr. Lang. The Doctor offered to bring out another master from Scotland to replace Pinkerton but even this offer did not produce from the College council the passage money requested. Towards the end of 1832, when discussing staffing plans for 1833, Lang suggested that Pinkerton remain at Maitland for the time being in spite of the fact that he was not ordained.[45] (In his book Lang said of his masters that "all were licentiates of the Church of Scotland.")[46] Lang planned to ordain Pinkerton for Maitland but the Rev. McGarvie refused to co-operate in this ordination and it became necessary for Pinkerton to come back to the College. Lang was planning another trip to England and he arranged that Pinkerton should officiate for him at the Scots Church. During Lang's absence in England, Pinkerton died. (1834)

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45 Letter to Committee, 22 November, 1832 - Lang Papers, Mitchell Library.

46 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.352 - 1834

During the year 1832 the Presbyterians of Van Dieman's Land decided to establish a church at Launceston and they wrote the College Council requesting them to permit the Rev. John Anderson to accept the ministry there. Lang mentioned that this work would be "more congenial to his (Anderson's) dispositions and views than those to which he is called ... in the Australian College."[47] The request was therefore granted and the Rev. Anderson left the College on 1st January, 1833. Lang was forced to re-arrange his staff for the coming year. He planned for Carmichael to carry the Classical plus the Mathematics, with the help of an assistant master - a Mr. Gordon, a free emigrant just arrived on the "Mountaineer." Another free emigrant, Mr. William Kerr, was to be an assistant to Dr. Lang, who himself was to take the English School. The wages of the assistants were to be fixed by the masters. However, on the 1st January, 1833, the Rev. McGarvie, who had been commended by the press in the previous year for his public lectures at the Australian College, decided to leave to take the ministry of a separate Presbyterian Church at St. Andrew's, Sydney. This secession must have weakened the staff very considerably for 1833, particularly as the Doctor himself left the colony for England in July of that year. He claimed that his main purpose was to get new masters for the College, for of his original group only Carmichael remained to carry on "with such assistance as he could procure either from his own more advanced pupils, or otherwise in the colony."[48] It would not be at all surprising if Lang at

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47 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.
48 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol. II, p.535 - 1852

this time were in the depths of despair about his beloved College. The outside attacks were enough to bear without having staffing difficulties. But in his "History", written during his journey 'home' in 1833 Lang speaks optimistically of the College, stating that "there were upwards of sixty pupils in the classical and elementary classes when I left the colony" and that "the cost of education in the colony has been greatly reduced by the establishment of the Australian College."[49] Perhaps a truer picture of the situation was given in an article in the "Colonist" some time later when Lang wrote "the Colonist press was brought out for the express purpose of reviving and re-establishing the Australian College."[50]

Lang returned to the colony towards the end of 1834, bringing with him two new masters, the Rev. David McKenzie and the Rev. Robert Wylde. But a new disappointment awaited him. The Rev. Carmichael, one of the original group of teachers, had been very careful to set down the conditions on which he took up the appointement to the College. He had given himself a wide 'escape' clause that "if at the expiration of three years ... the Institution should not correspond either in point of emolument or of respectability with the prospect which you have held out to me in both these respects and with my own reasonable expectations, then ... I shall be entitled to a free passage for myself and family to England, should I desire to return home."[51] He now decided to resign, and claimed £200 as his passage

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49 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.381 - 1834

51 Letter dated 25 January, 1831, Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

50 The Colonist, 11 February, 1836.

money to England. The College Council, guided no doubt by Lang, decided not to pay this on two grounds - one, that the College was proceeding quite satisfactorily and that Carmichael had no cause for complaint, and two, that the arrangement was that the passage home be paid, whereas Carmichael did not intend going to England.

Carmichael accordingly left at the end of 1834, but he managed to take a large number of students with him to his new venture, a Normal School, in Sydney. Lang's two new teachers had the opportunity of starting afresh but the episode did not end there. For some years there was waged a verbal battle through the Press between Carmichael and Lang, and this could not help either man overmuch, though Lang did seem to have the better cause. For the next three years the College was able to grow quite well and by the end of 1837 the enrolment had grown from 12 to 92. In 1836, the second year under Wylde and McKenzie, the fees collected amounted to £509, and each man received £162 in wages and commissions.[52] In 1838 the prospects were even better, for "such has been the success of the institution that it is now able, not only to pay all salaries and other current expenses from its ordinary revenue, and to afford a bounty of eight per cent to the shareholders, in a reduced rate of education, but to leave a considerable balance this year in the hands of the treasurer."[53] Early in 1836 an invitation had been sent home to the Rev. Thomas Aitken to come out to join the staff, and Mr. Noble, a parochial

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52 Australian College Account. Lang Papers, Mitchell Library
53 Maclehose - Picture of Sydney and Stranger's Guide in New South Wales. p.110

schoolmaster from Scotland had also been engaged. Special masters had been introduced in the persons of Mr. Evans, Drawing; and Monsieur Duvauchelle, French.[54] With this staff, and a growing enrolment, the success of the College seemed assured.

Nevertheless a new form of trouble came to the Australian College soon after. Dr. Lang had set out on his fifth journey home to England in January 1839, and included a visit to America. On his return in March, 1841, he found that the College had almost disintegrated. There had been a boom in squatting in the Colony during his absence and the three masters of the Australian College had fallen to the "sheep and cattle mania" of the time. They had invested their money in land and stock and had acquired quite extensive pastoral interests. The Rev. Mackenzie had managed to build up quite large holdings on the Namoi and Murray Rivers and Lang claimed that he had been "absent three months together, visiting his stations while the institution was left to take its chance."[55] One of the masters had even bought land in New Zealand. It is not surprising "when teams of bullocks, bringing down wool, hides, and horses from the remote interior, and taking up supplies of flour, tea and sugar, being regularly seen from time to time in front of the college buildings,"[56] that parents began to lose confidence in the institution. The school fell away considerably and Lang was forced to take drastic measures. However, the masters apparently

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54 The Colonist, 11 February, 1836
55 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, 1852 - Vol.II, p.541,2
56 Ibid.

had some agreement concerning notice of dismissal, for Lang, in order to get rid of them had to buy them out. Thomas Aitken was paid £200 by Lang and he agreed to leave the College by 12th February, 1842.[57] Later in that month at a meeting of the Trustees of the Scots Church it was decided that Wylde and Mackenzie should continue and that Dr. Lang should obtain another master. Evidently Lang thought the situation could be retrieved, but the two masters were too far involved with their squatting to return their minds to teaching, and in 1843 Lang was "obliged to pay them £400 to give up their connection with it altogether that the buildings might be completed and turned to account in some other way."[58] This ended the first period of the College activity.

REPAYMENT OF THE LOAN

The circumstances surrounding the granting of a loan to the Australian College have been detailed above, and some mention made of the difficulties encountered in getting the money from the New South Wales Government. There was some confusion over the ownership of the land on which the College was built, but it appears that the main difficulty was Lang's lack of influence to oil the machinery of the government. Lang had offered to transfer the Scots Church holding in the land of the College, but he had made the condition that an equivalent piece of land be given to the Scots Church somewhere else. This condition, or this request of Lang was evidently trying to get

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57 Lang Papers. Vol.16, Mitchell Library
58 Letter from J.D. Lang to Colonial Secretary on 17 November, 1859, Mitchell Library.

as much land out of the Government as possible. This idea was not original with Lang, but the opposition in government circles to his activities was able to use this application against him. When an alteration has been made in Jamieson Street, an exchange of land was arranged between Sir John Jamieson and the trustees of the Scots Church, but when the conveyance was drawn up it was made absolute to Lang. Rusden claims that "to make himself more completely master of the situation, Lang caused the buildings (Australian College) to be erected partly on land which was conveyed to him personally."[59] However, the Legislative Council, in the very meeting in which it had passed a vote on censure on Lang, passed an act making the £2,000 available as the promoters spent money on the building.[60] Most of this money had been paid out during 1832 and early in 1833 for in June, 1833, the Colonial Secretary requested that before the £500 necessary to complete the loan be paid, the Colonial Architect be allowed to inspect the buildings.

Lang continued with this request for equivalent land for the Scots Church fight up to 1837, changing it to the idea that the Scots Church should buy crown land and receive a rebate on the cost to the value of the land given to the Australian College. In June, 1835, the Australian College had petitioned the Council for a grant of £100 per annum for its two professors.[61] While in Scotland in 1837 Lang wrote

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59 G.W. Rusden - History of Australia, Vol.II, p.154
60 Sydney Gazette, 17 March, 1832.
61 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

to the Secretary of State for the Colonies concerning the request of land and also asked for a grant of £400 per annum for the College professors. The reply received by Lang from Downing Street stated that Lord Glenelg would "refer the application (re the £400) to the Governor of New South Wales with the recommendation that if it appears to him that the College will prove an effective instrument of diffusing among the colonists a liberal education ... your proposition should be submitted to the favourable consideration of the Council." Regarding the application for a grant of land, the reply stated that the original correspondence of 1831 had been studied and it was ascertained that the agreement then made had been that the Australian College should be built on land "ceded for that purpose by the Scots Church." The request therefore could not be allowed. "Lord Glenelg is, however, most anxious to extend, as far as possible, the means of useful instruction and education in the Colony, and, for this purpose, to give every proper encouragement to the efforts of private individuals to advance this important object. His Lordship will therefore be prepared to recommend to the council of New South Wales with the concurrence of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to sanction the remission of a portion of the loan advanced from the Colonial Treasury in 1831 for the Australian College, if on reference to the Governor of New South Wales it should appear that the College, is calculated to be of extensive public benefit to the Colony, and if no valied objection should be found to exist to such an indulgence. The amount to be remitted must also depend on the reference to the Governor."[62]

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62 Letter from Lord Glenelg to Lang, 30 January, 1837. Lang Papers, Mitchell Libraby.

The Doctor probably considered this but partial success, for the fulfilment rested on the Colonial authorities. When he applied to the Governor of New South Wales for the salaries for the masters the request was refused. And when the College loan was considered he was informed by the Secretary to the Council, Mr. Deas Thomson, that "Sir George Grey's letter ... holds out the hope of a portion of the loan alluded to being remitted ... but of a portion only and the amount of that portion is left to be fixed."[63] Lang must have been forced to realize what passive resistance by the government could do, and no doubt Lang's opponents in government circles gloated on their power. (Deas Thomson was a son-in-law of Governor Bourke whose educational scheme had been so strenuously opposed by Lang. He could not be expected to foster Lang's requests) A committee of the Legislative Council was formed to investigate the matter, and Lang was asked to appear before it for examination. Just previously Lang had mortgaged the land on which the two lower houses were built, Rusden claiming that this was done merely to confuse the situation concerning the ownership of the College buildings.

Lang evidently thought it would be wise to marshal his own supporters and he was able to have the Trustees of the Scots Church make a report on the pecuniary affairs of the Australian College. It seems likely that these trustees were conducting the affairs of the College. The report drawn up on September 29, 1841 was very favourable to Lang. It outlined the history of the College buildings, and estimated the

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63 Letter to Lang from Colonial Secretary, 30 April, 1841. Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

total cost to have been £10,067:18:0, made up by the

Government	£3,500
Shareholders	1,850
Surplus fees	240
Dr. Lang	4,477:18:0.

In view of this the report stated:

> "it is equitable and just that, as two of the four buildings have been erected entirely by Dr. Lang, and have cost him together with the grounds they occupy not less than £2,238:19:0 each, Dr. Lang should be confirmed in the possession of the two lower buildings in satisfaction of his claims, the Government and the shareholders having evidently no claim in equity to move the two of the buildings." 64

However, the Select Committee recommended that the loan of £520 due from the Scots Church under an agreement of 1833 should be remitted, and that steps should be taken to "secure to the Australian College the possession of the grounds and buildings which were originally intended to be appended to that institution."[65] Lang received notice that the Special Committee did not recommend the remission of the debt and he was asked for repayment of the loan of £3,500, plus interest at 8% since 1836. It was unfortunate for Lang that the Committee did their investigating at a time when the actions of the masters had caused the College to lose public favour and when the masters themselves had to be dismissed. Lang was told on the 23rd December, 1841, that "His Excellency has only one course to pursue - to foreclose - in 14 days."[66] Lang of course, had other ideas, and the case went to court. Lang claimed during the action that Sir George Grey had told him in 1837

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64 Report of Trustees. Lang Papers, Mitchell Library
65 G.W. Rusden - History of Australia, Vol.II, p.156
66 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

that the Government was willing to cancel the Australian College loan if Lang wished it, but Lang "deemed it so utterly inconceivable that the Local Government would ever act as they actually did in the matter that I took no action in the case and lost the opportunity." "The prosecution lasted for several years (until 1845) and cost me a large amount for the defence. But I succeeded at last in defeating Sir George and his myrmidons even in their own courts of Law."[67]

During this legal battle, which on the part of the defence was a process of finding flaws in the Government case, the College was almost out of action. After the dismissal of his "clerical drovers" his College must have been on an enforced vacation. From this period until 1850 it can be said that the College did not exist as an educational force. Apparently there were some classes being conducted by Francis Edmond and Robert Horniman, but they were but token classes and Lang had to make new plans for the future.

In 1843 Lang introduced into the Legislative Council a motion on education one clause of which suggested that academical institutions of a certain standard be given state support. He obviously had in mind the Australian College, but he was not able to press home his claim just then. He set out in 1846 on his sixth journey to England and one of his objects in doing so was "to obtain the requisite means of reviving it (the College)."[68] On his return in March 1850, he had with him two masters - Rev. William Ridley for the Classical Department, and Rev. Mattiah Goethe for Mathematics and Modern Languages. With

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67 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, 1875, Vol. II, p.378

68 Ibid., p.544 - 1852.

these two gentlemen, along with the Rev. Bazillai Quaife who was already in the Colony, Dr. Lang attempted to revive the Australian College, re-opening it for the third time on 1st April, 1850. Dr. Lang had brought out with him from Scotland a number of candidates for the ministry, who were in various stages of their education. With these as a nucleus the College grew to a limited extent, but as they finished their course they were ordained for service in ministerial work in the colony. By early 1851 Lang found that "the want of students on the one hand, in consequence of the general excitement of the period, and the want of funds on the other"[69] demanded that he reduce his staff. It was "suggested to him by his friend and brother Mr. Ridley that his services might be dispensed with ... and he might in the meantime occupy one or other of the stations open to ministers of their conviction in the interior."[70] Consequently on the 2nd April, 1851, Mr. Ridley was settled in the country to care for the flock at Dungog and Stroud.

Lang claimed in 1852 that "there is now no doubt of the institution maintaining an important position in the colony as an educational establishment of the highest order,"[71] but this prophecy was not fulfilled. The University Act of 1850 had made provision for the establishment of Affiliated Colleges, and Lang hoped to realise his old ambition of raising the status of the Australian College to a University Collge. But Lang's hopes were not to be realized. The College was not able to regain its old vigour and in 1854 Lang gave up the struggle and closed its doors.

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69 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales - 1852, Vol.II, p.544
70 The Press - 7 May, 1851.
71 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, - 1852, Vol.II, p.544

CHAPTER VI

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

There is no doubt that Dr. Lang's favourite educational scheme concerned the establishment of a College to give secondary, and later tertiary education. But this did not prevent him showing a strong practical interest in elementary education. He recognised the need of schools which would undertake the education and moral guidance of children from the age of 8 years on. The early records abound with references to the need for such schools to keep young children away from the moral degeneracy that came of running wild in the town without let or hindrance.

Dr. Lang's energies in the late twenties and early thirties were mainly directed to the establishment of the Australian College, but in 1828 he made a definite attempt for primary education. Lang had been successful in obtaining some government assistance for Presbyterian ministers brought out to the colony and he now wished to get help for education in connection with the Scots Churches. It is not surprising that Lang should base his ideas on his experience in the education of Scotland, and he decided that the parish schools of Scotland would serve as good models for schools in New South Wales. A petition from Lang and the Presbyterian Church was forwarded to the Governor asking for Government assistance to pay the salary of a schoolmaster of a school to be

established on the plan of the Parish schools of Scotland.[1] This request was referred to England but was rejected by the Home Government in the next year.[2]

Again in June, 1833, Lang with two other Presbyterians, John Cleland and Thomas Thomson wrote a memorial to Governor Bourke pointing out the weakness of elementary education in the colony and suggesting "that it would be highly desirable for the Presbyterians of the colony as well as generally beneficial if a school on the plan of the parish schools of Scotland could be formed in connection with every Presbyterian congregation throughout the territory."[3] The main purpose, of course, was to gain financial assistance in this project and the memorial asked that the proposed schools be supported "in part by a small salary for the schoolmaster from the Colonial Revenue, and partly by moderate fees from the pupils."[4] The 'small salary" recommended was £25 to £50 per annum. The request went home to Lord Stanley, who promised to consider the matter when he had had opportunity of consulting with Archdeacon Broughton, who at that time (1834) was in England. But apparently nothing had been done by the next year for in May, 1835 another memorial was written on the subject, this time from the Presbytery of New South Wales. This covered practically the same material, but used as an added argument for Government assistance "the liberality already evinced by Your Excellency and the Legislative Council in furtherance of a similar object towards the Episcopal and Roman Catholic communions of the Colony".[5]

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1 Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol.14, p.396
2 Ibid., p.707 Murray to Darling, April 1829.
3 Ibid., Vol.17, p.166.
4 Ibid.
5 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

The Government finally decided to give some help for these Presbyterian elementary schools, and even went so far as to provide passage money for teachers. Dr. Lang had managed to make arrangements with the great Scottish educationalist, David Stow, to choose from the Glasgow Educational Society suitable teachers who would be willing to come to the new colony. Lord Glenelg wrote Governor Bourke that

> "in order to prevent the delay which would necessarily be incurred by waiting a reply ... I have intimated my readiness to direct an allowance of £60 to be made to a limited number of Schoolmasters who have been carefully selected by the Glasgow Educational Society .... The number is at present 16 - who will proceed to New South Wales - with a due proportion to Van Dieman's Land." 6

This allowance was quite a generous one, for Lang found that "cabin passage for each could be procured for £35, leaving £25 to each of the unmarried Schoolmasters for his outfit."[7] Lang had given his guarantee to do all in his power to see that the undertaking should be carried out and it was agreed by the teachers that if the chosen men failed to take up positions as teachers they would repay the passage money. Dr. Lang was anxious to get as much help as possible for the new teachers and had ordered school apparatus for both Infant and Juvenile schools, to be sent out by the Glasgow Educational Society as specimens for the local teachers to copy.[8]

It was in 1836 that the great controversy concerning general education was raging because of Governor Bourke's plans to copy the

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6 Governors' Despatches. Mitchell Library, Glenelg to Bourke 4 July, 1837.
7 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.
8 Ibid.

Irish System. Lang was prominent in the opposition to this scheme, and used his paper with telling effect. At the same time he was endeavouring to foster education by obtaining aid for his "parish schools." When the teachers from Scotland arrived Lang allocated them to the various Presbyterian churches and arranged that a local board under the direction of the minister should raise funds for the teacher given them. There is a copy in Lang's papers of a subscription list showing an amount of £103: 1:6 in favour of Mr. Joseph Sproul. The amount gathered is certified by the Minister, C. Atchison. These subscription lists were to be drawn up every year and the Government payment was made when it was evident that the people were willing to help support the teacher.

Lang had succeeded in obtaining financial aid for his ministers, and now for teachers in Schools connected with the Presbyterian Churches. He had found the Government willing to grant land for the purpose of erecting churches and he now began applying for land for educational purposes. "I beg to add that the allotment solicited near the Corn Market in the Town of Sydney is intended for the erection of a normal and Infant School - in connection with the new Presbytery now forming in that part of the town."[9] He began the practice which was continued by all sections of the Presbyterian church, of applying for school land as separate from the church grant, and the records show that the Government was quite liberal in acceding to these requests.

After 1836 when it was decided to continue the denominational responsibility for schools and up to 1841 "there were 46 schools

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9 Lang Papers, Vol.II, p.13. Mitchell Library

established (6 Anglican, 17 Roman Catholic, 20 Presbyterian, 3 Methodist) upon the half-and-half principle."[10] In view of the comparatively low percentage of Presbyterians in the Colony (in 1851 it was approximately 10%) it is obvious that this group was exceedingly active in setting up schools. To Lang must be given much of the credit for this emphasis on education. It is interesting to note also, as an indication of Presbyterian educational activity, that in 1851 when the allocation of funds from the Denominational Board was considered two plans were suggested, one based on general population, one on scholars. In the former the Presbyterians would have received just over 10% of the £8,350 available, or £850, but on the basis of scholars, the amount would be closer to 20% or £1,543.[11] But when in 1848 a system of dual control was established in education, Lang, who had so strongly advocated the adoption of a national system, apparently advised the church schools in his synod to apply to be accepted by the National Board. There are several letters in his papers from the National Education Board in answer to his requests to have Presbyterian Church Schools accepted as non-vested schools under the Board.[12]

Another venture for elementary education in which Dr. Lang was interested was the Australian School Society. This Society has been mentioned earlier in this paper with reference to the religious training specified in its scheme of operations. It was really a branch of

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10 S.M. Smith - Brief History of Education in Australia. p.65
11 G.W. Rusden - National Education.
12 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

the British and Foreign Society formed in England in 1805 to foster the monitorial educational scheme introduced by Joseph Lancaster in London. "The schools of the British and Foreign School Society were religious but undenominational, the Bible was read regularly, but denominational catechisms were strictly excluded."[13] Dr. Lang was quite in harmony with the principles of religious education advocated by this society and right from the start he took a prominent part in its establishment. He was appointed a member of the committee formed to control the venture,[14] and through the pages of his paper he did his utmost to make it a success. The society set up both a boys' school and a girls' school and in June, 1836, applied to Governor Bourke for financial aid similar to that afforded to the Anglican parochial schools, "but Bourke appears to have regarded the new society as a political move by his opponents, and did not give the venture his support."[15] However, when Bourke decided to set up his general system of education in part, he planned to continue aid to the Denominational Schools, and he gave a grant to the Australian School Society.[16] An application for land in 1837 was also approved by the Governor,[17] and financial aid was continued until "the discontinuance of the school, 31st December, 1842."[18]

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13 S.M. Smith - Brief History of Australian Education, p.55
14 Colonist, 19 February, 1835
15 C.C. Linz - Establishment of a National System, p.22
16 Colonist, 14 July, 1836
17 Ibid., 12 January, 1837
18 S.M. Smith - Brief History of Australian Education, p.58.

Dr. Lang was also the instigator of an attempt to establish a Presbyterian Orphan School in Sydney. Lang made many references to the exclusive control of the Orphan School by the Established Church and evidently thought a Presbyterian Orphan School would be the best remedy for the situation. Late in 1841 it was decided to establish this new school and already there was a group of 78 children to be cared for. But the venture failed mainly because of the lack of financial support, and the children were disbanded.[19]

One other effort, apparently for primary education, was made by Lang at the same period. The Australian College had been neglected by its staff during Lang's absence from Australia, 1839-1841, and Lang visited in the South soliciting funds. He proposed establishing a Presbyterian Educational Society, apparently for primary education for its first aim was "to supply means of preliminary education in Preparatory School in Sydney of promising youths who may be candidates for Presbyterian ministry."[20] Evidently Lang planned to establish the school in connection with the Australian College, but the funds did not flow in as expected and the experiment was not tried.

There is sufficient evidence in these efforts of Lang to show that his interest in education was neither unbalanced nor impractical. His aim was to establish schools of all types to serve all sections of the community.

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19 Colonial Observer, 25 May, 1842
20 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

CHAPTER VII

THE NATIONAL SYSTEM

Although Governor Bourke had been able to have his proposals for general education accepted by eight votes to four in the Council, he did not feel justified, in view of the obvious public antagonism, to carry on with his plans.

> "The only steps taken by Richard Bourke towards carrying out his views were the entering into a contract for the erection of a schoolhouse at Wollongong, and the application of 17th June, 1837 to Lord Glenelg for persons to be sent out to the Colony, who might be capable of conducting a normal school for the instruction of teachers." 1

Governor Gipps took office on 24th February, 1838, and a few months later, when asking for the Council vote for school support, gave indication that he was not satisfied with the existing method of educational administration. In his opening speech to the Council in the next year, 1839, he gave chief place to Education. He surprised the colony by recommending, not the Irish System, but that of the British and Foreign Society. He explained that "the plan which was intended by my predecessor to comprehend all denominations being abandoned, I fall back upon the one which I consider next desirable, that which shall comprehend *the greatest number possible.*"[2]

In his elaboration of the scheme a few weeks later[2a] Gipps gave

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1 Governor Gipps to Lord Normanby, 9 December, 1839, Governors' Despatches, Mitchell Library.
2 Governor's Minute, Sydney Morning Herald, 26 July, 1839
2a Ibid., 27 August, 1839.

details of the suggested allocation of Government Aid. The Protestant groups were to be combined in schools of the British and Foreign Society type, the non-Roman Catholic denominational schools were to receive some support but with rigid conditions and limitations, while the Roman Catholics were to be given extended State support for their own schools. The Governor's speech was a particularly able one, but it did not sway the Council. Led by Bishop Broughton, a majority of the members spoke against theresolutions. The main objection was the special treatment which the Governor thought necessary for the Roman Catholics. Gipps did not allow the motion to go to a vote, because he felt that with such opposition, he could not hope for success in the scheme.

During this episode Doctor Lang was away from Australia on his fifth trip home to England. He did not return until March 1841, when he found that his College had suffered because of the masters' interest in pastoral pursuits. In that year Lang again decided to publish a newspaper, and soon "The Colonial Observer" was in action. Lang used the opportunity this medium afforded him to bring his views on education before the public. Lang had been one of the prime movers in the opposition to Governor Bourke's scheme, and with the aid of his paper had wielded great influence in moulding public opinion. But in 1837 he had visited Dublin and had examined the working of the Irish System for himself. This had resulted in "a complete change of opinion as to the propriety of the course I had taken on the question of general education in New South Wales."[3] On his return from that visit Lang had

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3 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, 1875 - Vol.II, p.358

published his changed viewpoint, and had again used his newspaper to spread his views. As the weaknesses of the Denominational system began to show in an increase of schools and expense without a corresponding spread of educational facilities, Lang continued to urge that the Irish System be tried. He admitted that it was not ideal, but it was, he claimed, the only system to use if a combined method was to be adopted. And he was certain of the weaknesses of the denominational system.

When Governor Gipps introduced his scheme, the Presbyterians did not join in with the opposition against it. Gipps claimed that this was attributable "to the fact of their having, since 1836, had the prospect opened to them of obtaining separate schools for themselves."[4] But Lang's various attacks on the denominational system both before and after that time show that Gipps had not gauged Presbyterian opinion aright. Lang was ever a fighter for his own church in competition with others, but it cannot be said,with any justice that he would sacrifice the national good for the advancement of his church. When Lang had been planning to help establish a College he had joined heartily with the Sydney Grammar School group whose plan stated that "the institution be available to all parties, of whatever religious persuasion, and that no religious book be used, by authority, except the Old and New Testament without note or comment." And it was this scheme, the British and Foreign Society Scheme, which Lang advocated when opposing Sir Richard Bourke's proposals, but he had changed his view after visiting Dublin, and was man enough to admit it.

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4 Gipps to Lord Normanby, 9 December, 1839, Governors' Despatches, Mitchell Library.

On Lang's return from abroad in March, 1841, he was confronted with many difficulties in his own College. His masters had become interested in other pursuits, the enrolment had fallen and the College was certainly not developing as Lang had every reason to hope it would.[5] Many men would have been so discouraged at these personal problems that they would have been glad to leave education very much alone. But Lang was too zealous to be discouraged by his own difficulties and in the first edition of his newspaper he gave much of the space to an article on education. For the next few years "The Colonial Observer" under Lang's hand, often featured the educational problems in New South Wales.

In an attempt to improve the educational situation, regulations were issued late in 1841 limiting the aid to be given to schools, yet introducing a scale whereby head-money in towns of small population was increased. Inspectors were appointed to "watch over the financial and not the educational business of the school - but they will report generally on the way in which each school may appear to them to be managed."[6] These regulations did effect economies in school support, but did not solve any of the problems in the system.

This halfhearted attack on the educational problem was attacked by Lang in an article headed "The Penny Education". He criticized the amount of the aid given, "one penny per day for each child of poor parents in towns of which the population exceeds 2,000 souls. In towns

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5 Government Gazette, September, 1842

6 Ibid.

and villages of a smaller population the allowance is to be 1¼d. per day, and if there should be no other school receiving Government aid within 5 miles that allowance is to be extended to 1½d.,[7]" and rates it as a "niggardly arrangement utterly unworthy of a generous Government."[8] Lang particularly objected to the authority given to Police Magistrates or their constables, "to declare whether such and such parents are entitled to have their children educated in any respect at the expense of the state",[9] claiming that such an arrangement was far too liable to abuses. However, Lang admitted that Gipps was well disposed towards the establishment of some general system of education, and he suggested that perhaps the Governor was "gradually curtailing and stopping the supplies" to bring all the antagonists of a general system to their senses. He recommended to the Governor the Educational System of Van Diemen's Land, where the British and Foreign System had been introduced.

Throughout 1842 Lang referred again and again to the need for a general system of education in Australia, attacking those who opposed it as being guilty of "too much sectarianism, of a peculiarly narrow-minded and exclusive character."[10] He claimed that the only hope of the introduction of such a general system lay in a reform of the Legislative Council so that the established Church authorities could be

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7 Colonial Observer, 13 January, 1842
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid., 20 April, 1842.

divested of some of their influence.

The year 1843 was an important one in Australian history for in that year the Legislative Council was given a new status, long desired by the people. It was to be two-thirds elected by the people, and it was to formulate Government policy, subject to a kind of Governor's veto. Doctor Lang was chosen a member for Port Phillip in this first elected Council. In the month after its first meeting he gave notice of motion of a series of resolutions designed to set up a uniform system of education in the Colony. These resolutions were quite comprehensive and practical, and represented an honest attempt to set up a system which would be for the general good of the colony. The notice in the Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 28th September 1843, shows Dr. Lang to move -

1. "That it is the duty of Government to make suitable and adequate provision for the general education of the people"
2. "That the Education System at present in operation in this Colony, in the form of denominational schools, supported in part from the Public Treasury, is totally inadequate to meet the wants of the colony - and likely to entail a heavy and intolerable burden on the community"
3. "That all assistance from State to these schools should cease "and that all schools to be supported by the Treasury, should henceforth be established on a comprehensive model, and be placed under immediate supervision of the Government."
4. "That in all schools to be supported by the State, the Holy Scriptures, in the authorized version, shall be read daily, but

without note or comment, and that the business of each day shall be commenced and concluded with the reading of a form of prayer to be agreed on beforehand by a Committee of this Council but that no creed or catechism of any description shall be allowed."

5. The children of Roman Catholics, and the children of Jews, "shall on no account be required to read the authorized version or the New Testament respectively."

6. That District Councils (already formed) should establish primary schools on this basis, and recognise existing schools conforming thereto, each schoolmaster to have house and a maximum of £50, with permission to charge fees, not exceeding 5/- per quarter.

7. In both Sydney and Melbourne there should be established a model or training school.

8. The District Council "may establish one or more Grammar Schools in any town or city having a population of not fewer than 2,000 souls", the masters to have house, £100 and fees up to 10/- per quarter.

9. That it is essential to make provision "for the intellectual training of the future schoolmasters of the Colony" as well as for youths who want academical training.

10. That in establishment of Academical institutions "for this purpose wherever any religious or other body shall establish such a College or institution, provided such College or institution shall comprise not fewer than three Professors, and make

provision to the satisfaction of this council for a curriculum or course of education extending over not less than three years, in the Languages, Philosophy, and Arts, a salary of £ - per annum shall be allowed to each professor, provided the whole allowance to any such College or institution shall not exceed £ - per annum."

11. That the Orphan Schools should be conducted on the above principles and should no longer be maintained or regarded as sectarian and denominational establishments.

12. That until some other machinery be set up, all this be handled by a Committee of this Council.

Lang's criticism of the denominational system was similar to that by the Governor who had written to Lord Russell in early 1841 that "in respect to schools it is beyond doubt, that the rapid increase of them is hurtful to the community. They are founded in opposition to each other and bitter animosities are unhappily engendered by them."[11] In fact the main support for the denominational system came from the Church Of England groups who were receiving most of the aid.

Lang's suggestion that the schools should be established on the basis of "the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment," on the British and Foreign Society system, was no new idea to him. He had advocated this method from his earliest connection with education in the Sydney College venture. In his own Australian College he had stated very

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11 Transcripts of Missing Despatches, Mitchell Library MSS.

clearly that the Scriptures were to be the basis of instruction and that no attempt would ever be made to teach the beliefs of the Presbyterian Church.[12] After a visit to Ireland in 1837 he had changed his ideas on the value of the Irish system, but in view of strong opposition to this system by the Church of England he claimed that the British and Foreign was the more practical in Australia. No creed or catechism was to be allowed, and specific provision was to be made for the children of Roman Catholics and Jews.

Lang planned that the District Councils which had been provided for in the constitution of 1843 should have power to establish primary schools where they were needed, and grammar schools in towns with "a population of not fewer than 2,000 souls." He was, as usual, anxious to get the work started, and evidently thought that the existing organizations of government should be used where possible. To obviate the delays necessary in the formation of a distinct 'Board of Education' Lang suggested that a Committee of the Council handle the work until "some other machinery be set up." Here again is evidence of Lang's practical approach to the educational problem. Although an attempt was being made to delegate some authority to the District Committees, it was almost foredoomed to failure. The topography of the colony with its narrow coastal fringe, the one well developed town with its all-sufficient harbour, and the very type of government necessary in the early stages had practically decided that any system of education would have to be a centralized one. Lang was wise enough to say in effect,

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12 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

"Let us proceed with the machinery we have at hand and not wait for the doubtful success of any District Committees." One of the later criticisms made particularly of the Denominational Board with reference to the 1855 Select Committee's Report was that "local supervision and assistance are entirely neglected."[13]

One of Doctor Lang's recommendations received quite a deal of criticism. It was that which suggested the setting up of academical institutions for higher learning to be supported by the State though established by "any religious or any other body". And Lang had never made any secret of the fact that he hoped his Australian College would one day develop into a University College, and it was evident that he considered this an opportunity to gain state support for the idea. However, the unsatisfactory condition of the Australian College at that particular time, coupled with the opposition that Lang had in several ways engendered towards his educational venture, caused many to think that Lang had his own ends too much in mind in the recommendation.

Much of the opposition to the National System was expected to come from the Church of England, and Lang did nothing to appease this opposition in his recommendations. His particular reference to the control of the Orphan Schools made it clear that he considered sectarian control of these establishments should be discontinued. Even Governor Bourke in his attempts to establish national education on the Irish System had left the Orphan Schools to the Church of England,[14] but

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13 Thomas Holt - "Speeches on Education", p.14

14 Bourke to Stanley, 30 September, 1833, Governors' Despatches, Mitchell Library.

Lang considered that a national system demanded the inclusion of all schools.

On the day after Lang had given notice of his motion in the Council, the Sydney Morning Herald carried a leader on general education in which the new proposals were attacked. The article claimed

> "it is hardly to be supposed that the Council would agree to any proposition which would have the effect of depriving one half of the population of a system of education to be called general, and the exclusion of "creeds and catechisms" would have the effect of preventing the members of the Church of England from deriving any benefit from the proposed system, and as the Roman Catholics are to be specially provided for it follows, that not above one quarter of the population would avail itself of the so-called General System". 15

The writer went on to say that he considered that it was impossible to find a system of education applicable to all classes of the community. And, no doubt, this article was indicative of the opinions of many in the colony.

The groups from whom would come opposition to any suggestion of diminishing support to denominational schools may be judged to some extent from the figures given for educational grants in 1842. Money for education had been allocated thus -

Church of England	£8,601	15	9
Presbyterian	967	1	5¼
Wesleyan	280	2	6
Independent	22	7	6
British and Foreign Soc.	300	0	0
Roman Catholic	2,500	9	9¼
Total	£12,671	9	9¼

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15 Sydney Morning Herald, 29 September, 1843

Several petitions were received by the Council concerning the recommendations, some asking that they be dropped, others suggesting that further time be allowed for their consideration. Lang was forced to postpone the introduction of his motion several times, and the end of the session was fast approaching. Finally on 11th October, 1843, Lang withdrew the series of Resolutions, stating however that he understood other members were concerned with the matter, and the next session would see something definite done concerning education. Lang felt that were he to be the prime mover in agitation for a general system of education, much sectarian opposition would automatically be aroused, and he was willing to let others lead out to avoid this if possible.

In the following year Mr. Robert Lowe, who was a nominee member of the Legislative Council, moved that a Select Committee be appointed to study the question of Education in the Colony and bring a report to the Council. This was done and Mr. Lowe was appointed chairman, Dr. Lang being appointed a member of the Committee. (He did not miss a meeting.)[16] The Committee, with a vigorous and able chairman, went ahead rapidly. Many witnesses were examined, and many viewpoints aired, with the majority favouring some type of National System. Most of the opposition came from the Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops, whose followers were very satisfied with the existing system. Two months after its appointment the Committee was read to report, and on 28th August, Mr. Lowe brought the report forward and moved that it be printed.

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16 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, 1844.

Having finished this work Mr. Lowe resigned because of friction with the Governor. Lowe was a nominee member of the Council, and the Governor considered that as such he should support the Government. Lowe thought otherwise, and having finished his work as Chairman of the Education Committee, he decided to resign. He asked Dr. Lang to act in his stead, and carry the report through the Council.

The report had much in common with the resolutions proposed in 1843 by Dr. Lang, with this difference, - the Committee strongly recommended Lord Stanley's System as preferable to the British and Foreign System to make the scheme sufficiently comprehensive. They outlined the very liberal arrangement to be made for religious instruction and claimed "that it will be manifest that the National System is not fairly open to the charge of neglecting religious instruction". [17] "Forthwith the table of the Council groaned with petitions against the system recommended. Its friends presented petitions in its favour".[18]

The educational question became the "talk of the town". Many public meetings were held and many vigorous speeches made. Feelings ran hot and tempers were often frayed. Naturally Dr. Lang was in the thick of the battle, and he used his paper, the 'Colonial Observer', to good effect in spreading his views. During the sitting of the Special Committee Lang had published his views on education, pointing out the

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17 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, 1844.
18 G.W. Rusken - History of Australia, Vol.II, p.349.

advantages of the British and Foreign System for Australian conditions. His paper must have had a very decided influence on public opinion for he made education its main topic right through the year. His articles set out the history of the dispute from 1835 on, and though occasionally his attacks were sharp, he did give a clear outline of the case for national education. Lang claimed that Governor Bourke's suggestions for the Irish System had not been understood, and that the System had been opposed mainly because of existing sectarian differences. One of the witnesses called before the Committee, Rev. J. Saunders, had expressed the same view, that "the impression was that the Governor had been biased in his views by the party associations".[19] Lang pointed out that Lord Stanley, who introduced the system in Ireland, was a Protestant, a member of the Church of England, who could not be accused of bias to the Roman Catholic faith.

Lang asserted that many Protestants had opposed the Irish System because they thought that when that idea was dropped, all the Protestants would unite in a system which used "the common ground of the Holy Scriptures. But no sooner had Bishop Broughton been enabled with the help of the other Protestant communions of the Colony, to get Lord Stanley's system thrown overboard, than he instantly turned round upon his former allies, and refused to accompany them a single step farther".[20] Lang drew attention to many of the defects of the existing system, defects which were never refuted by any of the opposition, and claimed

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19 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, 1844
20 Colonial Observer, 25 July, 1844.

that the Protestants desired a new system for the national welfare. "Convinced of the impracticability of carrying out the present Denominational System, they (the Protestants) will go much farther now than they thought it necessary to do eight years ago."[21] In other words, as he wrote in the next month,

> "liberal Protestants of all communions throughout the Colony, finding that they cannot get all they wish, viz., 'the unrestricted use of the Holy Scriptures in the Authorized Version without or note or comment', are willing to take all they can get, viz., 'the use of a series of selections from the Holy Scriptures, containing all the great facts and fundamental principles of our Holy Religion, and prepared for the purpose under the joint superintendence of a Board of Protestants and Roman Catholics combined". 22

In practically every issue of his paper during 1844 the main topic was education. The influence on public opinion of such a consistent advocacy must have been great. To refute the opposition's claim that the Irish System was a godless education, Lang several times published extracts from the Reading Books of the Irish National Board and endeavoured to prove his point. More important, he did much to bring the system out into the open so that the people could really know something of its material. In a September issue he published a petition which had been sent in favour of a National System, by the Town Council of Melbourne.[23] Two weeks later he made a telling point when he stated that Bishop Broughton was not representing the true viewpoint of the Church of England, for many great bishops of that

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21 Colonial Observer, 25 July, 1844
22 Ibid., 15 August, 1844.
23 Ibid., 12 September, 1844.

Church - of Dublin, of Calcutta and others, - were very much in favour of the Irish System. He claimed that Broughton had a narrow and personal view which did not fit in with the views of informed Church of England leaders.

Lang's influence was not limited to his paper. In the Council he was an important figure as a Church representative who was not in favour of the denominational system. He very ably led the group who favoured the introduction of the national system and quite frequently spoke in favour of its adoption.

After quite long and bitter debates, it was moved that the report be adopted and a National Board be established, but two important amendments were added. The first limited the system to those districts which could not provide separate schools for at least 50 children. The second, moved by Mr. Wentworth, provided that, rather than have the clergy visit the schools to give religious instruction, the children should "be allowed to be absent from school one day in every week exclusive of Sunday, for the purpose of receiving such instruction elsewhere." Those denominational schools already established or established in the following 12 months and having an average attendance of fifty (50) children were to be entitled to aid from the Board. On October 10 these actions were finally passed by a 13-12 vote.[24]

Speculation concerning the re-action of the Governor to this close division began at once. Evidently the opponents of the measure rested their hopes on the Governor, for on October 24 Lang, in his paper

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24 Votes and Prodeedings, Legislative Council, 10 October, 1844

assailed those doubters who were saying that the Governor would not carry out the resolution of the Council. Bishop Broughton and his followers did not consider the battle lost, for more meetings were called to discuss the position. Further evidence of Lang's outstanding importance in this struggle is found in the record of a public meeting held on October 31. Bishop Broughton presided and most of the time was taken in an attack on Doctor Lang. Lang's actions right back in 1829 and 1830 were reviewed and bitterly assailed. Lang was not present, of course, but he answered through the pages of his paper. Those who favoured the general system were also active and a public meeting of their General Education Committee met to consider drawing up rules for the "Government of National Schools' Society." Both Dr. Lang and Mr. Lowe were chosen members of this committee.

On 27th November, Governor Gipps announced to the Council that while he still felt that a national system was desirable, he doubted that the time to introduce such a scheme was opportune. He felt that the opposition expressed by the clergy, or a large section of the clergy, meant that the scheme could not operate. He added further that a constitutional difficulty existed in the lack of development of the District Councils which should exercise supervision of the Schools.25 This announcement was a blow to the 'nationalists' and they reacted strongly. Dr. Lang made a very strong speech in the Coucil on December 4th, classifying the Governor's reasons for refusal as very weak, and next day in his paper, reviewed the whole matter again. Of the Governor

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25 Votes and Prodeedings, Legislative Council, 1844.

he said, "his Excellency, forgetting his proper duty as the Representative of Majesty under a representative system of Government - puts his veto on the whole proceeding and bids the Council defiance."[26]

The matter was raised again on 17th December when the Council passed a resolution that the Governor provide £2,000 to set up the proposed general system, but the Governor pleaded the poverty of the Government at that time and would not accede to the resolution. He reminded the Council "that a measure was adopted in 1836 very similar to that which is now proposed, but that it failed to be productive of any good".[27] In 1846 the same thing happened. Mr. Lowe, now an elected member of the Council, moved for the same amount to be allotted and a board favourable to the system to be appointed. Dr. Lang again ably supported this motion and it was carried by 12 votes to 10. But the new Governor, Fitzroy, declined to accede to the request, claiming that "he would not feel justified in adopting any measures of such vital importance to its present and future interests",[28] without personally investigating its advisability. It was not until the discussion of the estimates for 1848, that it was decided to include £2,000 for schools upon Lord Stanley's National System. The clamour to be expected of the opponents to the national scheme was then silenced by Fitzroy's act in setting up a Denominational Board, without the authority of an Act of

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26 Colonial Observer, 5 December, 1844
27 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, 1844
28 Year Book of Australia 1885, p.445.

Council, on the day after the National Education Board was incorporated. The two systems were to be in action together.

Dr. Lang did not see this important act in the struggle as he had left for abroad on his sixth visit. Lang had done excellent work in his advocacy of the new system. He occupied a unique position in the struggle. He was a clergyman who represented a group that was, in the main, non-clerical. Most of the opposition to the national system came from a clerical group, the Church of England group, and it is hardly to be wondered at, that much of their attack should be directed at the opposing clergyman - who ought to know better. Again Lang, a minister of the Presbyterian Church, was an elected member of the Council, and as such was likely to be regarded as a member of the Opposition by the nominated group in the Council. His possession of a newspaper, with all the influence that could be wielded by that means, singled him out still further. His particularly able and sometimes vitriolic pen did not tend to assuage the bitterness felt against him. And finally, Lang by his energetic advocacy of the cause of education for many years, and the conflict he had had with the Bishop in 1829-30, had shown that he was a force to be reckoned with. The comparative success of his educational venture had not endeared him to his opponents, even though his College at that particular time was not operating very effectively. Lang became the butt of almost all the personal attacks made by the group opposing national schools. Old history was raked over, old faults reviewed, and every effort made to discredit him. But Lang went right ahead. He used his pen to telling advantage, and came out of the disputes very favourably. Most of the

other papers of the day were inclined to be "fence-sitters", and seldom did they indicate a clear and definite line of policy. But they did indicate their opposition to Lang, very likely because he owned a paper and so was their competitior. "The Australian", while it remained as neutral and indefinite as possible, says of Lang that "this uncompromising hostility to the Denominational System will prove one of the most fatal obstacles to the favourable consideration of a general one".[29] The Sydney Morning Herald was very careful to give no indications of a clear policy, but it did manage to disagree with the report of the 1844 Committee, that "it is quite clear that they have come to a decision not only not justified by the evidence, but in direct opposition to it".[30] Lang's 'Colonial Observer' certainly gave much more attention to the question of education than any other paper. Not only did it make its own policy clear, and advocate the cause of national education very strongly, it also set out in its pages a clear outline of the whole position. It probably represented the best work of Dr. Lang and the greatest influence on public opinion he ever wielded. The existing system was discussed in some detail, figures were quoted from Government sources to show expenditure and population served, and the public given an over-all view of the position not given anywhere else. Lang developed his arguments by introducing points from the educational systems of other countries, and showing how a national system would be an advantage in the peculiar circumstances

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29 The Australian, 6 September, 1844
30 Sydney Morning Herald, 7 September, 1844

of the new colony. He could well regard the introduction of the national system in 1848 as a personal triumph and he lived to see the vindication of his advocacy of the system.

Although one optimist, or pessimist perhaps, claimed that "in less than three years they will get rid of the denominational system altogether",[31] the rival systems continued to operate side by side for the next twenty years.

> "For twenty years thereafter, or until the year 1864, there were two Education Boards for the management of education and distribution of the funds allotted for its support - a National Board on the one hand, on the basis of Lord Stanley's or the Irish System, and a Denominational Board on no proper system on the other" 32.

The National Board was fortunate to have a particularly able chairman, John Hubert Plunkett, and to gain the services of William Wilkins, a teacher trained in England. Though there were many difficulties in the way of this newly established Board, progress was rapid, and its 'educational' leadership led to a more far-sighted policy than was possible with the rival Board.

The attitude of the two Boards to their responsibilities is evidenced to a degree by the respective reactions to the Select Committee's Report in 1855. This report criticized the school buildings, the choice of sites, the equipment and many of the teachers.[33] While the National Board set about rectifying, as far as possible, the conditions complained of, the Denominational Board did not "consider that any responsibility attaches to them for the mismanagement of the schools"

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31 Rev. R. Allwood 5/12/50, Hassell Correspondence Mss, Vol.2 p985

32 J.D. Lang - Historical & Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.2, p.378

33 Report of the Select Committee on Education, 1856

because their "duties are entirely ministerial."[34] But these attitudes were probably to be expected from the respective constitutions. The National Board was a centralized control, the Denominational a decentralized. In fact, so much was the latter decentralized, that the local clergyman had absolute control over the teacher, who was often no better than a personal servant of the clergyman. With the geographical and economic factors mentioned previously, the Denominational Board was fighting a losing battle.

The educational problem, far from being solved in 1848, grew in importance with the years. Not only did it come before the people, who watched the rival systems at work, but it was one of the great political issues of the day. Several attempts were made to introduce legislation concerning the organization of the systems, particularly after the Report of the Select Committee, in 1856. Most of these attempts aimed at the establishment of one Board of Control. Mr. Charles Cowper several times introduced Educational Bills but none was accepted. Of his 1862 Bill he wrote to Dr. Lang pointing out the decided advantages of the measure. He mentioned particularly the Central Board, the four hours daily secular instruction, and the definite Government supervision of the schools.[35] Lang favoured the measure in principle but the Bill lapsed after a first reading. Public opinion was being analysed and tested in the presentation of these various bills, and in 1866 there came a bill that apparently accurately judged the mind of the country concerning education.

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34 Thomas Holt - Speeches on Education, 1856, p.16
35 Lang Papers, Vol.7, p.283, Mitchell Library.

The 1866 Bill, "A Bill to make better provision for Public Education", was introduced by Henry Parkes. He had been something of a protege of Dr. Lang in his early years, and had often come to the older man for advice. His paper, "The Empire" often had started up almost at the same time as had Lang's third press venture - "The Press", and Lang had taken care to publicly disclaim any disagreement or rivalry because of that fact.[36] Lang's paper had not survived very long, (Lang was off to England again in early 1852), and the Doctor later used "The Empire" as the outlet for many of his public statements. The educational policies of the two men were indeed very similar, and from 1854 on, "The Empire" took over the work which Lang had so ably carried in "The Colonial Observer" during the forties.

Parkes' Bill was undoubtedly based on the report of the Select Committee of 1856. Parkes had been a member of that Committee and had evidently accepted its findings. The experience of the work of the rival Boards had yielded nothing that that would warrant a change of opinion. Accordingly the Bill abolished the dual system of control and gave the control of education in New South Wales to a Council of Education of five members, which was to have the administration of all the funds set aside by Government for primary education. Public Schools were to be set up wherever a group of twentyfive pupils would attend, but provision was also made for Denominational Schools be "certified" provided they were subject to the same supervision in secular instruction as the Public Schools. The religious instruction in the Public Schools was to be given by visiting clergymen, who could

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36 The Press, 8 January, 1851.

take up to one hour per day, but the act included in the secular curriculum "general religious instruction as distinguished from dogmatical or polemical theology".[37] Fees were still to be charged to supplement the teachers' salaries but inability of the parents to pay would not debar children from attendance. One other important clause was that concerning the establishment of a training institution for teachers.[38]

This Bill, although it represented the public opinion of the time with fair accuracy, did not have an untroubled passage. It drew the fire of all groups who had opposed the 1844 report, and the same methods were employed. Petitions were lodged, meetings called, and denouncing sermons preached, but with this difference, the personal attack was on Mr. Parkes and not on Dr. Lang. Lang supported the 1866 Bill as strongly as ever, but the lack of a newspaper to command limited his work. He made a strong speech in the House in favour of the Bill, reviewing something of the history of the struggle till 1848, and claiming that twenty years of the dual Boards had proved the necessity of just such a "National" System as the Bill proposed.[39] Though Lang's influence was limited at this time because he did not have his own paper, his support of the Bill in Parliament immediately rallied all those whom he had influenced in the earlier struggle and they showed their support by petitions and public meetings. The Bill received the Vice-Regal assent on 22nd December, 1866, to operate from January 1, 1867.

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37 Henry Parkes - Fifty Years of Australian History, p.324
38 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly 1866.
39 The Empire, 4 October, 1866.

The passing of the Act did not stifle opposition. Particularly did opposition come from the Roman Catholic section of the community, and this soon drew a reply from Lang. He spoke at several meetings and had one of his public addresses printed in pamphlet form for distribution. Lang's mainargument lay in the support given by Dr. Ullathorne to Bourke's attempt to introduce the Irish National System "as being in every respect admirably suited for all classes of our community".[40] Lang argued that since that time "The Romish authorities of this colony were altogether and strongly in favour of the Irish National System, which it is scarcely necessary to state, is simply identical with that of the Public Schools Act of 1866, the school books under both being precisely the same".[41] It was absurd to say now that the new Act made it a matter of conscience for the Roman Catholics to denounce national education. Lang reviewed his own opposition to Bourke's ideas in 1836 but told of his visit of investigation to Dublin after which he was very willing to change his views concerning the Irish System. He passed on to attack the sectarianism of the books which the Roman Catholics had been using in their schools, and claimed that the Irish System books were far superior.

This publication by Dr. Lang very ably sets out the case for the National System and from the history of the struggle undermines the Catholic opposition. But unfortunately Lang goes too far. He descends to personalities, and this must have weakened his case. Of the Roman Catholic leader he says "I have characterised Archbishop

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40 J.D. Lang - The Public Schools Act, p.5
41 J.D. Lang - Ibid.

Polding as a 'weak Brother' intellectually and therefore no hand at all at an argument".[42] It may have been fashionable to use such methods, and undoubtedly Lang himself had suffered many personal attacks, but it was scarcely calculated to make the opposition see the justice of Lang's case.

Gradually, and as the merits of the new system proved so obvious, the opposition diminished and education was in a much better position to advance as the country needed it. The struggle for a national system had been a protracted one, and, probably because of its religious associations, a rather bitter one. "Sir Richard Bourke had first raised the torch of liberalism in education and it had been nobly received and carried forward by Dr. Lang, Robert Lowe, and John Hubert Plunkett".[43] Parkes gave to it a finishing touch in 1866, and again later in 1880.

Dr. Lang's work and importance in the introduction of this national system of education in Australia has not been given the rank due to it. Perhaps this is due to the influence and power of the opposition to the scheme, and to the fact that Lang in his urgency to get things done as he thought best was inclined to tread rather heavily on official toes. Perhaps it was because of the religious associations involved and the unfortunate bitterness of much of the controversy. But Lang was, throughout, the most consistent and effective advocate of National Education in Australia, and to this continued advocacy of the scheme, must be attributed much of its final success.. Lang had been ready to accept Government aid for the Presbyterian schools but he did not allow even this

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42 J.D. Lang - Public Schools Act, p.9
43 C.C. Linz - The Establishment of a National System in New South Wales, p.39

advantage to interfere with the honesty of his own thinking and the advocacy of a system which he considered would be for the national good.

CHAPTER VIII

SYDNEY UNIVERSITY

A. The University Bill

It is perhaps strange that Dr. Lang, who had so consistently advocated the cause of higher education, should not be one of the prime actors in any move towards the establishment of a University. He had always hoped that his Australian College would in due course reach university status[1] but it had not yet done so, though his friend, the Principal of Edinburgh University had hailed it as "the incipient germ of a future Australian University."[2] In the resolutions concerning National Education which Lang had introduced to the Council in 1843 one clause suggested state support for Colleges which provided a "course of education extending over not less than three years in the Languages, Philosophy, and Arts."[3] He was accused of self-seeking, of course, but his real aim was to foster education in the colony up to and including a University level. When the 1844 Committee on Education had rendered their report they stated inter alia that "the foundation of a Normal or Model School for the training of school masters appears to your committee

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1 Historical Records of Australia, Series, Vol.XVI, p.23
2 J.D. Lang - Account of Steps Taken for Establishment of an Academical Institution, p.19
3 Votes and Proceedures Legislative Council, 1843

to be an indispensable step".[4] Most of the witnesses examined by the Committee had favoured this idea and under Dr. Lang's questions many of them had agreed that some such institution as the University would form an invaluable part of the training of teachers. But the University suggestion was omitted from the final report of the committee. Lang clearly had not been unmindful of the value of a University but the first steps of the move that led to the University Act of 1850 actually came from another direction, and while Lang was absent from Australia organizing his own immigration scheme.

On September 6th, 1849, Mr. W.C. Wentworth presented to the Legislative Council a petition from a majority of the proprietors of the Sydney College praying that the Government would take steps to convert that institution into a University. These proprietors were willing to hand the College over to any body with the means of doing this, "reserving to themselves the right of presentation or some corresponding advantage."[5] The Sydney College, like all the institutions for secondary education, had found the way very hard, and during the latter forties it had sunk very low. In fact Mr. Cowper during the discussion of the petition suggested that they would be taking over "an ill-managed institution which had never yet been able to keep its head above water".[6]

A Select Committee was appointed under the leadership of Mr. Wentworth with powers wide enough to enable them to suggest whatever steps seemed to them best for the furtherance of higher education in the Colony.

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4 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, 1844
5 Ibid., 1849
6 Ibid., 6 September, 1849

Under Wentworth's vigorous chairmanship the Committee drew up some very definite and detailed suggestions without bothering to examine witnesses at all. Wentworth was determined not "to court inquiry which might possibly excite sectarian controversies and interpose further delays".[7] The report went on to state that "your committee consider that it (the University) must belong to no religious denomination, and require no religious test", . . . "its visitor must be a layman - its governing body laymen - its professors laymen".[8] The Committee even went so far as to specify the staff requirements and the salaries to be paid to staff members.

Wentworth followed up this report by introducing a week later a "Bill to incorporate and endow the University of Sydney", and in moving the second reading on October 4th, he made a very eloquent speech in its support. He made a strong point of the necessity to exclude clergymen from all share in the management of the institution, and referred to the clause which allowed the establishment of affiliated colleges to care for the teaching of "peculiar religious views." Perhaps the Council members were glad to welcome a scheme of education which was able to avoid the difficulty of sectarian differences, for the second reading was carried without a dissentient voice. The Bill moved to the committee stage and most of the clauses were adopted with good spirit, but discussions on the Senate, its personnel and the method of its selection lasted long enough to prevent the Bill passing into law during that session.

The delay in the passing of the Bill gave opportunity to some of the religious groups to express their points of view concerning the

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7 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, 21 September, 1849
8 Ibid.

religious question. In particular it enabled Dr. Lang to take part in the discussions. Lang had returned to Australia in March 1850, determined to again set up his Australian College, and to that end he had brought out two new Professors and had one already in the Colony. In view of his avowed intention to develop the Australian College to the status of a University College he must have been rather disconcerted to find a movement on foot to establish the Sydney University. His first move came in the presentation of a petition signed by the three newly appointed Professors of the Australian College. They pointed out that their College planned to give "a course of education somewhat similar to what is given in the Faculty of Arts, Language, Mathematics, and Philosophy classes, in the Scotch Universities",[9] and that it was again in "vigorous operation". They viewed with alarm the suggestion that the University should "combine and incorporate with a particular College or Educational Institution", and urged that the University be modelled closely on the London University, and be a Board of general supervision over subsidiary or affiliated Colleges. They pointed out that the Church of England and Roman Catholic groups would soon set up a Colleges, and that the Australian College was ready waiting. Other petitions were received, in connection with the Bill, and several of them favoured the London University system. The Roman Catholic petition gave as a reason that they considered "the imagined neutrality in religion of a body of Professors is an impossible thing."[10] Another petition objected to the exclusion of clergy from the Senate, claiming that the University would

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9 Votes and Proceedings Legislative Council 1850, Vol.II, p.571
10 Ibid., p.573

thus be deprived of the counsel of well educated and experienced leaders.

The second reading of the Bill came on 11th August, 1850, and Mr. Wentworth, in a fluent speech dealt in detail with the petitions and objections. In particular he stressed the necessity of avoiding all sectarian strife, and he urged that the original clause excluding ministers from the Senate be adopted. Dr. Lang took this, his first opportunity, to speak to the Bill (Dr. Lang had been elected a member for Sydney, and admitted to the Council on 30th July 1850). He claimed that this Bill "was one of the noblest and important measures which had ever been brought before any legislature."[11] He described how the young colonies of America had proceeded to establish universities for higher learning within a very few years of their settlement, and he claimed that New South Wales was wise in planning such an institution. He then gave a detailed account of the system of organization of the University of London, and he made this the basis for the main point of his speech. He claimed that "if the University they proposed were allowed to grant honours to colleges in Arts, each having at least four professors and one hundred students, establishing a curriculum of four years, and prescribing a course of study, far more good would be done and much greater encouragement afforded to education".[12] With the clause excluding ministers from the Senate he was, surprisingly, in agreement. Such a clause, limiting the rights of a group of people, particularly the group to which he belonged, could be calculated to draw from him cutting denunciation.

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11 Sydney Morning Herald, 12 September, 1850

12 Ibid.

Perhaps the extent of his support for the development of institutions for higher learning may be judged from his acceptance of the clause. He felt sure that if the ministers were kept off the Senate, there would be complete confidence that the University was to be quite free from all disagreement on sectarian principles.

Lang's stress on the importance of the affiliated Colleges seems rather unnecessary, for it was expressly stated in the Bill that

> "Whereas it is expedient to extend the benefit of Colleges and educational establishments already instituted - by connecting them with the said University, be it enacted that all persons shall be admitted as candidates for the respective degrees - on presenting to the said Provost - certificates from any such colleges or educational establishment - that such candidate has completed the course of instruction which the said Provost ... determine." 13

The danger, however, as it seemed to Lang and others, was expressed in the Roman Catholic petition mentioned above, namely that in the University College which it was proposed to establish it would be impossible to exclude sectarian bias. Wentworth had proposed that a College should be formed in connection with the University, in which the Professors of the University should teach. Otherwise, he claimed, the professors, for a long time, would have nothing to do but conduct annual examinations. There was a general feeling that this college would in effect be a College for the Established Church.

In this case Lang's very leadership in matters educational caused opposition to his ideas. He had long wished to make his Australian College something akin to a University, but it had not been as successful as he had hoped. Just at this time he was attempting to revive it, for

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13 Sydney Morning Herald, 12 September, 1850

it had been in abeyance for some years, and to the Council members and even the general public, his suggestions savoured too much of a desire for a personal gain. Mr. Wentworth remarked in his speech that no doubt a part of the endowment would be very useful to Dr. Lang and his professors but he did not think such an application of it would prove of any use to the country.

Lang's suggestion was that the arts should be taught in the affiliated Colleges, but "that the faculties of law, medicine and the physical sciences should be taken under the immediate superintendence of the University".[14] He was led to this decision from the premise that practically all those taking the Arts course would be applicants for the ministry. History was to show the weakness of this premise. One other point made by Dr. Lang was to acclaim the fact that no religious test of any kind was to be made on students, either in the Affiliated Colleges or in the University itself. In this he was following up the broad principles he had developed in his advocacy of the National System, and no doubt his support was well worthwhile in the debate. He concluded his speech by claiming that it was his interest in this Bill, and in the immigration Bill that led him to accept a seat in the Council.

The University Act received the assent of the Governor, Sir Charles FitzRoy on October 1st, 1850, and the first Senate, which had been amended to be comprised of 16 members, four of whom should be clergymen, was appointed in December of that year. But meantime, Dr. Lang had decided to carry his views to the people in an ExtraCouncil paper published on October 14th, 1850. In this he set out again the

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14 J.D. Lang - The Union Bill, 20 page pamphlet, Mitchell Library.

material he had presented in the Council. He stressed the importance of establishing affiliated Colleges with a grant, suggesting £750 per annum for three years certain, and then dependent on the enrolment. It was still claimed by his opponents that Lang was merely anxious to get money for his Australian College. But it appears just as likely that Lang was anxious to get something practical established. The University Act suggested that some Colleges and educational establishments would be able to teach the University curriculum but there was no suggestion concerning their establishment, their support, or their staff. Dr. Lang was certainly at an advantage over the other churches in that he already had buildings he could use, but his recommendation was a very practical one, and one that would have led to at least one College being started right away.

Unfortunately Lang included in this paper a short history of the Australian College and its varied success. He told of the present efforts to revive it, but most unfortunate of all, he concluded with an appeal for funds to help pay the salaries of the three professors as he could not continue to do so. That was a very tactless act - a real blunder, and his opponents at once claimed that his only interest in the University was to get some kind of endowment for his College.

Up till this stage Lang had done good work for the University Act. His general support had been useful, his acceptance of, nay his stress on, the religious freedom that must be a part of the University had been of real help, and his ideas concerning the Colleges, while not accepted then, were listened to within a year or two. But it is to be regretted that he could not take the refusal of his ideas with a better grace. The

University Act received the Governor's assent on October 1, 1850, and in December the first Senate was announced. The ministerial representative chosen for the Presbyterian group was the Rev. William Purves, and apparently Lang considered that he (Lang) had been purposely overlooked. In the first issue of his third newspaper venture, "The Press", January 1, 1851, he greeted the Fellows of the University with derision, claiming that scarcely one of them was a fit person to occupy such a position. Two months later in an article on education he stressed the great work being done by the Australian College, but had this to say to the University Fellows, "This is now the third month of their existence, and what have they done, or what are they doing for the promotion of education in the Colony. They have rented the buildings of the defunct Sydney College, it seems, for two years, and they have doubtless been brooding over their £5,000 a year".[15] This was quite characteristic of Lang. Accustomed himself, to act quickly, almost precipitately, he could not understand how the Fellows, appointed on 24th December 1850, could have their first meeting as late as 3rd February 1851, and plan to open the University College as far off as October 1851.

Lang continued to advocate the support and endowment of affiliated Colleges. He was glad to be able to announce in his paper that the recently established Irish University, to be called Queen's University, was established very definitely on the London Plan.[16] The University itself was to be a co-ordinating and examining body to care for the work in the three University Colleges under its care - Belfast, Cork and

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15 The Press, 12 March, 1851
16 Ibid., 1 January, 1851

Galway. He noted, too, that the Senate consisted of 17 members, chosen from different denominations. Lang asks why this scheme, still considered very suitable at home, could not have been adopted in Sydney.

Meanwhile the University Senate proceeded with its task. In 1853 it purchased the Sydney College, where classes were being held, but in the same year an Act was passed providing a substantial building fund for the University[17] and a very liberal grant of land was made at Grose Farm. In 1854 the main building, which cost £80,000 to complete, was commenced, and the University began a slow but steady advance.

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17 Act of 24 October, 1853.

B. The Affiliated Colleges Act

In his criticism of the organization of the Sydney University Dr. Lang had particularly noted the establishment of an endowed College, which was to have no religious affiliations, but which would receive special financial help. Lang claimed that it was unjust to have this endowed college monopolizing the government aid, for, as the Roman Catholic claim, previously mentioned, had also stated it would be difficult to keep out all sectarian influence from this College, which would tend to become a College of the Church of England. Other worthy colleges were to have nothing, though the Act provided that if their work was approved by the Provost of the University their students could be admitted as candidates for degrees. Lang's point was well taken for it would indeed have been a strange position. It meant in effect that if any parents desired to have children given moral and religious guidance they must patronise a college yet to be formed, for the existing Colleges did not reach the standard, which could depend for its existence on fees and private endowments only. As Lang pointed out, institutions of secondary education in the Colony which had no Government aid on which to depend found it practically impossible to carry on.

However, the organization of the University was established not only by the principles of the Act but also by the exigencies of practice, and this experience led to the present arrangement whereby all students attend compulsory lectures by the University professors while receiving tutorial help in their Colleges.

> "It was the evident intention of the Senate that all examinations should be conducted by the University, and that all instruction should be given by the College, the

> first Professors being distinctly appointed 'Professors of the Sydney University College'. Provision was made in the original by-laws for annual College examinations, and the Secretary of the University as required to act as Registrar of the College, the College accounts being kept quite distinct from those of the University." 1

The Professors chosen in England arrived during July, 1852, and soon afterwards they wrote the University Senate concerning their status. They pointed out that the existing arrangement made their lectures compulsory only to those students who did not belong to some affiliated institution and that these 'un-attached' students were formed into a nominal College, which had no other entity apart from the fact that it was planned to use some of the annual £5,000 with which to endow it. It was this organization that had caused so much criticism, and they suggested that all matriculated students should attend the lectures of the Professors, while being helped by tutors in the affiliated colleges which, they were sure, the religious bodies would presently establish. They claimed that this present arrangement would confine "the advantage provided by your endowed chairs, . . . to the sons of residents of Sydney, No sensible guardian will entrust his ward to a boarding house, if a College in connection with his own church exists."[2]

This latter was basically the same argument as used by Dr. Lang, but it was used for a different immediate purpose. The argument by the professors, was admitted by the University Senate and the desired change was made in their style. The University took on its present form as a central teaching institution and the Professors were Professors of Sydney University. This immediate result led almost inevitably to the

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1 H.E. Barff - Short Historical Account of the University of Sydney, p.15

2 Ibid., p.19

establishment of affiliated Colleges. Though the Sydney College building was used for a time its limitations were soon realised and a better site was granted by the Government. Further, in October 1853, the Government decided to grant to the University as a building fund the sum of £45,000. Thus the University was to be well endowed for its buildings, but it yet lacked affiliated Colleges where moral guidance could be given to the resident students.

During some of this period Dr. Lang was again in Great Britain on his seventh trip, but he returned to the Colony in November, 1853. He was therefore not in Parliament when the Affiliated Colleges Bill was first introduced in 1853. However, the publicity which he had given the matter in the discussion of the University Act must have left its mark. During 1853 the promoters of the projected Anglican College asked the Government several questions concerning the University plans, namely, would the College have land granted it, would there be monetary help for building, and would there be an endowment. They received a favourable reply,[3] but nothing definite was done until the next year. The action of the Professors in asking for a change of status had contributed also, and the Affiliated Colleges Bill came in with quite a deal of general support.

The Affiliated Colleges Bill came to the House as a draft in a message from Governor FitzRoy and was introduced by the Solicitor General for the Government in October 1854. The Colleges were each to be subsidised by the Government on a £1 for £1 basis on the provision that each College raised £10,000 from its supporters, and each Principal was to

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3 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly, 1853

receive a salary of £500 per annum from the State. The Principal was to be a Minister of his Church, students were to matriculate in the University, and only on the production of a religious certificate from his College could a student receive a degree.

The Bill had a rapid progress through its stages and was passed on December 4, 1854. Dr. Lang, who had been elected as a member for Stanley on August, 17, 1854, was naturally in favour of the Bill, although it did not follow his own ideas. He claimed in 1875 that he "disapproved of it in the main, and preferred the American principle, but I thought it might be utilized for the establishment of a Divinity School for the Presbyterian Church".[4] Only a few weeks before, in speaking to the Sydney Grammar School Bill, he had again taken the opportunity to advocate strongly the American System of endowing Colleges providing their status be approved.[5] At the second reading he pointed the attention of the House to the fact that thepreamble clearly limited the proposed aid to "the religious denominations now ordinarily receiving pecuniary aid from the legislature",[6] and the first clause distinctly listed them as Church Of England, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Wesleyan. In so doing, the Bill would deprive any other group, including his own Synod of New South Wales from gaining any benefit and he asked for a rewording to rectify this. He was assured by the Colonial Treasurer that this would be done in the Committee stages. A further suggestion of Lang's was that the £500 mooted as a salary for the Principal should be allowed to go to the Headmaster and staff if that was thought a better arrangement. No doubt Lang, with the experience of his

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4 J.D. Lang - Historical & Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol.II (1875) p.391
5 The Empire, 7 October, 1854
6 Votes and Proceedings Legislative Assembly, 1854.

own College behind him, thought that it should be possible to get a Principal for less than £500, particularly a Scotchman, but the motion was defeated.

In the further discussion of the bill an amendment was moved to the clause stating that the Principal must be a minister of the Church establishing the College. Lang, with a broad view of education, supported the amendment vigorously. He claimed that there may be occasions when no suitable minister would be available and that it was unwise to limit this choice to ministers for all time. If necessary, each religious group could make its decision about the matter. This amendment was defeated in a close discussion, 15-14, but in the final vote the clause was changed to agree with Lang's views.[7] One writer claims that "the Doctor, in spite of great opposition, effected the passing of the Affiliated Colleges Act which is an academic highway to the University of Sydney".[8] This is rather an extravagant claim but it probably rests on Lang's success in changing the Bill so that there was absolutely no limit apart from the finance on the groups who could claim Government assistance.

Two other points are worthy of note, one minor, the other a major. The first is seen in the preamble of the Bill where it is specified that no College is to receive the endowment from the Government "unless the whole of the said £10,000 shall be devoted exclusively to the erection of College buildings on land to be granted for that purpose".[9]

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7 The Empire, 29 November, 1854
8 Presbyterian Church Publication, Dr. Lang - An Appreciation, p.5
9 Affiliated Colleges Act, 1854

It would appear that this point was introduced particularly to prevent any attempt by Doctor Lang to use some of they money which may be collected either to re-establish his Australian College, or to add more buildings to it. Lang made no reference to the point directly, but must have realised its significance. Earlier in the year, Lang had petitioned Council for permission to sell some of the Scots Church land used for College purposes for a three-fold plan, - to liquidate certain debts on the property, to erect a manse for the two ministers of Scots Church, and to establish a new College in a better and less crowded area. There had been several petitions against this move, and Lang withdrew it after the Select Committee appointed to it had begun its work. He did so in anticipation of a healing of the divisions in the Presbyterian Church, after which the plan, he thought, would have a better reception, for he still hoped "that it (the Australian College) should form one of the affiliated Colleges for the Presbyterian communion".[10]

The other point is that contained in the last clause of the Bill - "no honour or degree to be conferred on any student who shall not produce from the Principal of his College (or someone else accredited) a certificate that he is of competent religious attainments."[11] This had come in to the Assembly because of a by-law of the Senate of the University that no degree should be given without testimonials concerning these "competent religious attainments". The by-law had been passed by the University Senate on 5th September 1853, and approval by the Governor General and Council on 28th September, 1853. The clause in the Act was to "give legal permanency to such resolutions".[12] In view of the

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10 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly 1854
11 Sydney University Calendar 1863
12 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly 1854

emphasis placed by several speakers on the Bill in 1850 concerning the necessity of ensuring that religious differences did not interfere with the establishment of the University it is strange that this religious limitation should have been accepted. The University Act of 1850 stated that "no religious test shall be administered to any person in order to entitle him to be admitted as a student of the said University", and certainly it was meant to include obtaining a degree from the University.

Doctor Lang had always advocated that education should not be exclusive either because of birth or religion. In his own College, students of all religions could attend without an attempt being made to convert them to Presbyterianism. His support of the early Sydney College was for a system of giving religious help on the reading of the Bible - "without note or comment." This was also the basis of his advocacy of a National System in 1843 and 1844. During his campaign concerning the University Bill and his suggestions of adopting the American system he had mentioned particularly that the University in approving various affiliated Colleges should see "that no religious tests shall be imposed in any such College on any student attending its classes."[13] In a published letter to the Colonial Secretary, 1850, he had repeated this view. Even during the same Session, 1854, in speaking to the Sydney Grammar School Bill he had advocated a system of education "that did not interfere with the prejudices of any particular creed although it recognised religion as the basis of the social compact".[14]

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13 J.D. Lang - Extra Council Paper, October, 1850
14 The Empire, 29 November, 1854.

It is therefore exceedingly strange that he should have allowed the clause to pass without hindrance at least. He had been particular to notice in thepreamble the phrase "systematic religious instruction" as this could easily bring in to the Presbyterian ranks differences concerning state support, but to the religious test he apparently said nothing. The resolution apparently provoked no discussion at all. However, in 1858, when an amendment bill was introduced and passed, Mr. Dalley claimed that the 1853 clause "had taken the house by surprise".[15] It is the only way, though scarcely a satisfactory one, to explain Dr. Lang's silence.

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15 Sydney Morning Herald, 15 May, 1858

CHAPTER IX

ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE

It was some years before the Presbyterians of the Colony were able to take advantage of the affiliated Colleges Act of 1854 and establish a College for their denomination. Much of this delay was caused by the divisions that existed in the Presbyterian Church, some of it by the clash of personalities of the leaders of these divisions. But it was not because of the want of effort in that direction, for there were many public meetings held on the matter, much money was collected, and several bills introduced into Parliament to establish such a College.

It is hard to decide who was first in the field in the work of fostering a Presbyterian College but evidently efforts had been made in 1856 by the Synod of Australia. In a conference of that Synod with the Synod of Eastern Australia, a joint committee had been formed to foster the project, and this committee had drawn up a prospectus for the proposed College. However, the Free Church group had subsequently withdrawn because its members did not agree with the principles expressed in the Affiliated Colleges Act, although individual members of that group had remained on the Committee.[1]

But perhaps it would be an advantage, at this point, to clarify the distinctions of groups within the Presbyterian Church. Dr. Lang as the first Presbyterian Minister in Australia, had set up the Synod

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1 Sydney Morning Herald. 6 April, 1858

of Australia as soon as he had enough co-workers to do so. But in 1842, and consequent to criticism by some ministers of his absence from his church on business concerned with the Australian College, he had taken the opportunity to crystallize his views concerning State support of the Church by setting up his own group, the Synod of New South Wales, pledged to voluntary support.[2] Following on the disruption of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland in 1843 over similar matters, a Free Church group had grown up in the Colony. The fourth group was that of the United Presbyterians, consisting of but one church congregation, at Balmain. The only point of difference was really concerning the connection between Church and State, for they agreed in doctrine, discipline, and worship. But the differences, like most differences of a religious nature, were often accentuated, and allowed to bias the judgment on other than religious questions. No doubt the establishment of a Presbyterian College would have been hastened by a resolution of these differences, but the divided nature of the Presbyterian Church did not preclude its establishment had the various groups been willing to co-operate.

In the formation of this 1856 Committee, Dr. Lang had been studiously ignored and his Synod of New South Wales not invited to participate in any way. Lang with his forthrightness, and strong adherence to and advocacy of his own ideas, had made many enemies within the ranks of ministers of the Presbyterian Church. He had been strongly censured by some of his fellow ministers in 1842 and had broken away to

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2 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly, 1858

form the Synod of New South Wales. He had thereupon been deposed from the Synod of Australia and on the latter's recommendation, the Presbytery of Irvine had withdrawn his original credentials. Lang had been called upon to relinquish control of the Scots Church on Church Hill and to give up the property connected with it, but he had refused to do so, and had set up his own Synod. The details of this personal conflict need not concern us here, suffice it to say that Lang with characteristic stubbornness, fought the matter right through to the Scotch courts where he virtually won his cause and was re-instated. But this did not take place till 20 years after the dispute began. It explains why Lang and his Synod were not invited to join with the original committee, even though he had been such a consistent advocate for the cause of higher education.

This first Committee decided to hold a public meeting on April 5, 1858, to bring the matter to public attention and move further toward the establishment of the proposed College. The public announcement called for a meeting "of all those favourable to the erection of a Presbyterian College within the Sydney University".[3] But on the same day Dr. Lang inserted a long advertisement claiming that the conveners of this meeting had no authority, and he proposed to move an amendment that all resolutions should remain on the table for one week. His amendment was planned as a refutation of the authority of the Committee, and while it may have been good strategy, it did not do anything to heal the breach between the groups. The advertisement set out the principles on which a

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3 Sydney Morning Herald, 5 April, 1858

Presbyterian College should be "re-established", by which we may judge that Lang had in mind a resurrection of the Australian College. It also set out a suggested scheme to ensure equal representation from the four groups of Presbyterians. In short, it was a typical Lang production, with good practical suggestions for the furtherance of this new educational scheme, with loyal adherence to his own early efforts in the Australian College, and all presented in a blunt fighting spirit which could not do other than rouse antagonism in the opposing group.

The meeting was held as planned under the chairmanship of Sir William Denison, and proceeded quietly until the first resolution was presented - that a Presbyterian College should be established. At this point Dr. Lang attempted to move his amendment but the Governor General, after a short exchange and much uproar, ruled him out of order, and the meeting proceeded with its business. It was urged that all Presbyterians ought to unite in this task, and that the College should have a Theological faculty based on the Westminster standard. Finally a Committee of 31 members was presented and accepted, the claim being made that they represented all classes of Presbyterians. Dr. Lang's name did not appear in this committee list.[4]

Lang, claiming that the principles of a public meeting had been abrogated by the chairman of this meeting, decided to have a public meeting of his own, and did so in the next week. It was quite well attended, 250 being present, and Lang was given a good hearing. His amendment was presented and passed, and another set of resolutions accepted. These had been prepared by Lang and were quite sound and practical

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4 Sydney Morning Herald, 6 April, 1858.

Important among them and differing from those of the previous meeting were the following, - firstly, that while the establishment of a Theological faculty was highly desirable, it was not really necessary nor was it practicable with the existing divisions in the Presbyterian believers, secondly, the Provisional Committee was to have one minister, one layman, and one Member of Parliament from each of the four divisions of the church, thirdly, that it was suggested that at least three fifths of the necessary £10,000 be subscribed by small donators in order to give the College as popular a foundation as possible.[5] However, though Lang's proposals were very sound and practical they did not convert the first group, and in the following week Lang reported to another meeting that it had been difficult to find members of the Synod of Australia and the Free Church, to act on the Committee.[6]

The two committees went on with their separate plans. But Lang's Committee, if we may call it that for convenience, did try to effect a compromise with the first Committee. A letter was written setting out their objections to some points in the first Committee's programme, namely, to the establishment of a Theological faculty, because impracticable, to the £10 share suggested, because the lower classes would be precluded, and to the name, St. Andrew's, because it was sectarian. The first Committee received these objections but decided to refuse a conference because they were definite about their resolutions. They went right ahead with their plans and soon published their prospectus for St. Andrew's College, including in it the principles mentioned above.

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5 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library
6 Ibid.

Subscriptions were invited and the voting powers outlined as £10 - one vote, £25 - two votes, £50 - three votes and for every additional £50 - one more vote.[7]

Meanwhile Lang's Committee had reported to its followers the attempts at reconciliation with the First Committee, and had added other plans to its programme. Most important was the suggestion that as some strong secondary work was necessary to prepare students for the University, it would be advisable to re-open the Australian College for the purpose. But the confusion that followed on having two Committees, both ostensibly for the same project, and both collecting subscriptions, decided Lang's group to appeal for a clarification of the matter. Accordingly Lang presented a Petition to Parliament in June, 1858, setting out the situation as it had developed and asking that the whole matter be investigated and submitted to another full public meeting.

Lang's petition led to the formation of a Select Committee made up from members of both College Committees with several other disinterested persons. In their report made after examination of the principal actors, they were "unanimously of opinion that the statement and allegations of the petitioner are in the main satisfactorily proved". They agreed with Lang's view that his proposed amendment in the public meeting should have been accepted by the chairman (Sir William Denison), and they drew attention to the apparent oversight of the draftsman who in drawing up the deed of grant to the Senate of the University, had limited the privilege of land for a College to the Church of Scotland rather than to the Presbyterians in general. Their final recommendation was

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7 Sydney Morning Herald, 5 June, 1858.

that Parliament should refuse the grant for a Presbyterian College until the parties start from the beginning and adjust their differences.

Soon after this report had been presented the Moderator of the Synod of New South Wales, the Rev. John Reid, wrote the Moderator of the Synod of Australia with a view to follow the suggestions of the Parliamentary Committee, that the various groups of Presbyterians should unite in the efforts to establish a College. He suggested the appointment of a minister, a Member of Parliament, and a layman from each group to form a Committee. This was Lang's original idea, but evidently it was not favourably received for I can find no record of the establishment of such a committee.

It is quite possible that Lang's group did proceed with the formation of a Committee on the suggested basis, for in the 1859-1860 session, Lang introduced into Parliament a bill called the "St. Andrew's College Bill". Several petitions against the Bill were received, among them one from the leaders of his own Synod. The objections were based mainly on the omission of provision in the bill for systematic religious instruction. A Select Committee did work on the Bill, and spent some time deliberating over the preamble which concerned the purpose of the College. Lang had done quite an amount of preparatory work for the Bills. He had written many letters to ask for opinions and help, sending copies of the draft bill that had been prepared. Doctor Woolley, of the Sydney University, agreed in the main with Dr. Lang's suggestions, and pointed out that with the existing division in the Presbyterian Church, the Principal must be unbiassed. Professor Smith expressed very similar ideas, and gave his opinion that any attempt to have a Board

of visitors composed of ministers would end in disaster. However, Lang evidently decided that the time was not opportune for the establishment of the College, and he decided not to proceed with the Bill.

Dr. Lang made his eighth trip home late in 1860, returning toward the end of the next year. He was in time to witness the passing of the disestablishment bill in 1862. After long and spirited debates, the Bill, which stated that all future grants of money from the Treasury for the support of religion were prohibited, became law. The cessation of future grants, though existing grants were to continue, removed the main cause of difference between the various Presbyterian divisions. "There was now a general and strong desire that the different sections of the Church which had long been separated from each other solely on the question of Church and State, should be re-united and form one strong and vigorous body".[8] But even with such a "strong desire" it took three years for a union to be made and the impulsive Lang could not bear to wait any longer for the introduction of legislation for the proposed College. In 1862 he again introduced a bill for the establishment of a Presbyterian College and a Select Committee was appointed to discuss it. There were several points that caused discussion and at least three drafts were prepared as changes were made in the clauses. The main points of difference were the name, the purpose, the method of election of the Principal and the Board of Management, and the voting powers based on subscription.

The name suggested by Dr. Lang was simply "The Presbyterian College", but objections were raised that this would limit the usefulness of the

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8 J.D. Lang - Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, 1875.

institution, which, it was hoped would serve many of the lesser known religious groups as well as Presbyterian. A strongly supported name given as an alternative was "St. Andrew's College". The two Colleges already established had 'Saint' names, the Church of England having St. Paul, the Roman Catholic, St. John. Lang and others objected to St. Andrew's because the Church of England cathedral was known as St. Andrews, and they claimed their College would be connected in the minds of many, with the church of the same name. The name may not seem to be of vital importance but it took much of the time of the Committee in every presentation of the Bill.

The preamble, which really set out the purpose of the establishment of the College, was hotly debated. Lang had stated merely that it would be a College "wherein provision shall be made for the residence and domestic supervision of Presbyterian and other students". Other groups desired the inclusion of a clause concerning "the systematic religious instruction in accordance with Westminster standards". Lang had decided not to include such a clause because of the dis-united state of the Presbyterian Church, and not because he disagreed with such an aim.

The election of Fellows, the constitution of the Board of Management, and the voting power of the subscribers were further points of difference. Most important of this section was the voting power as determined by the amount of the subscription. Dr. Lang claimed that the College, to be successful in development and purpose, should rest on a broad base of Presbyterian support, and he proposed to have a system whereby £1 gave one vote, £5 - two votes, £10 - three votes, £50 or more - four votes. As opposed to this there was the suggestion that

£5 give one vote, £10 - two votes, £20 - three votes, £50 - four votes, and an extra vote for every further £50. A large donation, on this system, would give one donor quite an influence in the voting. Lang's scheme was probably the most practical of those suggested, and it was the one adopted by the Select Committee.

In its report, the Committee gave its opinion that it would be quite possible to establish the proposed Presbyterian College, even though there were divisions in the church. The report in the main, supported Lang's ideas, but in one particular at least, it negatived his suggestions. Lang had claimed that in order to prepare for the higher level University work, it would be necessary to establish a secondary school. He had in mind reviving his Australian College. But the committee found that there was a very definite opposition to this idea among the witnesses examined. This report was brought in on 18th November, 1862, and a motion made for the second reading of the bill, but the debate was adjourned and the bill lost because of the ending of the session.[9]

During the 1863 Parliamentary Sessions, Lang again introduced the bill. He was a tireless worker, and this project of education was dear to his heart. He had again written to some of the important educationalists of the day for advice on the bill, and among others Professor Smith had written him. Dr. Smith gave several suggestions for the bill but also stated,

> "I hope and believe that union among Presbyterians is not now far distant, and I rather think it would be more satisfactory to have union first and a College Bill afterwards. The united body would naturally prefer doing an important thing like this themselves,

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9 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly, 1862

> instead of having it done for them - not that they would be likely (so far as I can see) to produce a better bill." 10

The introduction of the bill again produced several petitions, most of which were in favour of its principles. One of the main reasons claimed as an objection in the petitions opposing the bill was the expectation of an early union among the Presbyterians. The Select Committee considered all of these petitions but on October 6, 1863, brought back the bill without any amendment. The Bill "had been read a second time, and had passed the Committee of the whole House, when the Ministry of the day was thrown out, and the Parliament was suddenly dissolved."[11]

Again in 1864 Lang presented the College Bill and it proceeded to the second reading. Lang claims that it had been purposely deferred from time to time because of the expected union of the Presbyterian church, and that in this 1864 Bill, a special proviso was introduced. "Provided that the six Presbyterian ministers or clerical fellows - shall be elected - by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales".[12] But again the Bill was lost because of circumstances beyond Lang's control, and its passing put as far off as ever.

Union of the sections of the Presbyterian Church seemed imminent so Lang decided to defer "submitting the Bill to Parliament till after the consummation of the Union and the meeting of General Assembly", because he "wished to conciliate the brethren generally".[13] But in the meantime he wrote to several ministers of the Synod of Australia

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10 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library
11 J.D. Lang - St. Andrew's or the Presbyterian College, p.4
12 The Empire, 23 July, 1866
13 Ibid.

who had not given evidence in the matter and he included copies of the 1863 Bill. Of the three answers included in the Lang Papers in the Mitchell Library, all oppose the bill on the ground of its introduction at the time when the General Assembly was about to convene. Only one of these was opposed to the Bill itself. One minister, the Rev. James White said, "I have no doubt but that when submitted to the United Church it will, in the main, meet with general approval".[14]

The Presbyterian Church was at last united in September, 1865, and Lang lost no time in introducing the matter of the Presbyterian College. He suggested that they examine the Bill as so far produced by the several Select Comittees of Parliament, clause by clause, and agree on the draft to be presented to the next session of Parliament. This seemed a very f air and profitable suggestion, but one of Lang's opponents moved that they should not proceed to consider the Bill because the University was not yet clear about some conditions for the granting of degrees and because the General Assembly must first decide the chairs to be established in the proposed College. Neither of these reasons seems to be valid and Lang in a letter to the public said that he could not "help regarding both of these alleged reasons as frivolous and futile in the extreme".[15] They indicate, however, the opposition that Lang could expect. Evidently some of the other Presbyterian divines were prepared to oppose anything at all introduced by Doctor Lang because of personal animosity, disregarding entirely the value of the proposal.

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14 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.
15 The Empire, 23 July, 1866.

These two suggestions were then referred to a Committee to report on the procedure to be adopted. It would appear that this action was a deliberate attempt to delay the whole matter, if not to shelve it altogether. Nothing was done by this 'College' Committee for six months and a favourable opportunity was thereby lost. When the Committee did consider the matter it decided that before proceeding with the establishment of the College it would be necessary to have the Affiliated Colleges Act of 1854 amended to allow students who had graduated to stay on longer and take further theological studies.

It is not surprising that Dr. Lang considered that an attempt was being made through this Committee to throw cold-water on the whole scheme. He therefore decided to introduce his own 1864 Bill to Parliament at once. He published his views on the proceedings and stated his intentions in "The Empire" of 23rd July, 1866. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church would not meet until October of that year and by the time a bill was prepared and introduced the Parliamentary session would end. Lang was not willing to waste another year, but he pointed out that if there were any objections to points in the 1864 Bill, they could be presented to the Select Committee. He wrote the convener of the General Assembly, the Reverend William Purves, with the suggestion that the Assembly should consider the whole matter when it met and decide on any amendments desirable in Lang's Bill. If these amendments were then introduced to the Select Committee they could be included and the Bill would, in effect, be that of the General Assembly.[16]

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16 Letter from Lang to Rev. Purves, Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

Accordingly Lang introduced his own Bill and it was before Parliament when the General Assembly met. It was discussed by the Assembly and "certain amendments on my measure, in the shape of a separate Bill, which was drawn up at the instance of the General Assembly, were therefore submitted to the Select Committee on the Bill, of which I was chairman".[17] Some of the Committee members objected to the procedure of introducing a new bill, as it were, into the Select Committee stage, but Lang saw the members privately and to overcome the difficulty Mr. Cowper moved that the Assembly's bill be accepted as a series of amendments on the original bill. This satisfied the observation of procedures and the Committee reported on the Bill. The Bill had been passed on to the Upper House when the 1866 session ended. Again Lang had been frustrated just as the goal was in sight.

Early in the 1867 session the bill again came before the House on the petition of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Apparently the House was quite willing to expedite the matter for the bill was taken for its three readings in one day and sent on at once to the Council.[18] Within a month it was back again with some amendments made by the Upper House, the main ones being the name, which was changed from Presbyterian to St. Andew's, and the voting powers. Several petitions were presented at this stage, one being from the General Assembly claiming that Lang had in 1866 introduced his own bill rather than that of the Assembly. Lang was obliged to defend himself and he

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17 J.D. Lang - "St. Andrew's or Presbyterian College", p.4

18 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly, 1867.

outlined the whole history of the Bill. He quoted the letter from the Reverend Purves agreeing to his suggestion to substitute the Bill by amendment. A majority in the House supported Lang at this stage.[19]

The Assembly decided to adhere to most of the original points of the Bill and again sent it to the Council. But a month later it was returned with the same suggestions for amendments. Lang stated that he would not oppose the name "St. Andrew's" at this stage but he didn't agree with it. He also pointed out that a franchise of £5 would eliminate many subscribers. Most of the speakers on the Bill were in agreement with Lang on these points.[20] It appeared that a deadlock had been reached, but a suggestion was made somewhere in the assembly that a free conference be held on the bill. "A message to the Legislative Council was agreed to concerning the amendments of the Council in the Presbyterian College Bill, and stating that the following members of the Legislative Assembly would confer with members of the Council in regard to the matter."[21]

The Assembly repeated the suggestion of the Conference a month later and the Council, though its usual conservatism made it very reluctant, finally agreed. The Conference was held on November 14, 1867, and caused much interest, not only because of the bill concerned but because it was "such an unusual parliamentary procedure".[22] In fact it was so unusual that several members of the Assembly not on the Committee were very anxious to attend, and finally had to be ejected. But it did have effective results for compromise was reached. Voting power was accepted as in Lang's original bill but the name accepted was St. Andrew's. The

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19 Sydney Morning Herald, 15 August, 1867
20 Ibid., 5 October, 1867.
21 Ibid., 10 October, 1867.
22 Ibid., 16 October, 1867.

bill was assented to on 12th December, 1867.[23]

Dr. Lang could be excused a feeling of pride and satisfaction that at last his ideas for a University College had reached such an advanced stage. He was now 68 years of age and could reasonably have retired from active participation in church affairs. Had he done so, his record concerning St. Andrew's College would have been nothing but praiseworthy. However his later activities in connection with the College did nothing to improve his reputation, and much to harm it. A letter from the Rev. J. Young stated, "there can be no doubt that had you not taken the matter up as you have done there would have been slender hopes of a Presbyterian College for a length of time", but adds, perhaps hopefully, "the establishment of the College is a fitting termination to your long and useful career in the College".[24]

But Dr. Lang had set his heart on becoming the first Principal of the new College. He had told his followers at the general election of 1865, "that would be the last time he would ever solicit their suffrages as a candidate. . . ." He then believed "that the College Bill would shortly be passed into law, and that I should be entrusted with the carrying out of the measure as Principal of the College."[25] Certainly he had been the mainspring of the activity to establish the College but he had not won many friends among his own church because of that. The new Union of the Presbyterians was rather in the letter than in the spirit, and many of the old animosities were still present. Lang's forthrightness

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23 Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly, 1867
24 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library
25 J.D. Lang - St. Andrew's or the Presbyterian College, p.4

and drive is more easily appreciated by those looking back on his work than it was by his contemporaries. Other difficulties were in the way of Lang's ambition, for other men were thinking of the Principalship. Chief among these were Dr. Steel and Rev. Thomson. "It so happens that these three, (Dr. Lang, Dr. Steel and Mr. Thomson) are doing their utmost to get the position of principal of the projected 'Presbyterian College'".[26] In this letter from the Rev. Dr. McGibbon, one of Lang's strongest opponents in the Presbyterian College affair, to Dr. Stenhouse, he charitably admits, "I suppose Dr. Lang will get the appointment as he has a right to it far beyond anything which the two others can submit."[27]

The first step taken by the Presbyterians to implement the St. Andrew's College Act was the setting up of a Provisional Committee of 19 members, elected by the General Assembly in 1868. The task of this Committee was to organize and conduct an appeal to the Presbyterians of the Colony in order to raise the £10,000 stipulated under the Affiliated Colleges Act. A letter setting out the aims, purposes and needs of the College was prepared and sent throughout the Colony under the signature and authority of Rev. Purves, leader of the Committee. The appeal was also published in the daily press. It was decided that each committee member would do his best to collect funds for the proposed College. But apparently no division of territory was made by the meeting, and it was left to the individual members to collect where they could.

The appeal began at once, and it soon became known that there was keen competition in this collecting. The reason was obvious. Each contributor, according to his donation, was given voting power, and since

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26 Stenhouse Papers, p.401, Mitchell Library
27 Ibid.

the election would take place at a meeting in Sydney, it was customary to give to the person collecting not only the money, but also a proxy for use of the votes. The man who collected most would have greatest voting power at the Council Elections.

Dr. Lang visited Melbourne and sent out an appeal for funds stating that he would accept proxies to use in the ballot. He planned to come back through the Riverina hoping for large donations from squatters. But the season was a bad one. In a letter from a friend he was warned that "in the present depressed condition of squatting pursuits, I fear you will not get so much for your College as you might have hoped to receive, yet it would be gratifying to have a general response to the call even though the amounts given were small".[28] As would be expected Lang was tireless in his efforts to raise funds. He did not allow his age, (he was 69) to interfere with his travelling, and he wrote many letters not only to settlers but to friends and associates in England and Scotland. Each letter had a personal touch, - Anthony Hordern was reminded of his early days at the Australian College, for he mentions "the pleasurable remembrances it raised up before me when alluding to my early days at your school".[29] With his brother Andrew, of Dunmore, he worked differently. He entered his brother's name on the list for £100 but when in 1870, Andrew was asked for the money, he wrote the Doctor, "You know in the first instance you put down my name without authority, and I only agreed to it when you promised to pay it out of the £117 that I paid for you to Mr. Crawford".[29a] With such efforts Dr. Lang managed to obtain, by the time of the meeting in 1870, enough cash to give

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28 Letter from Francis Longmore. Lang Papers, Vol.7, Mitchell Librar
29 Lang Papers, Vol.7, Mitchell Library
29a Ibid., Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

him 300 proxies.

The election of the College Council took place at a meeting in November, 1870, and Dr. Lang found that other members had also been very busy collecting proxies. Lang was elected a member of the College Council but his proxies were not sufficient to enable him to obtain the election of his nominees for the lay positions. From this time Lang realised that he did not have a predominating influence in the Committee or the newly elected College Council. One of the first items of business was to choose a Principal. Some Councillors thought they should obtain someone from abroad for the post, but Lang pointed out that the Act did not allow that. Legal opinion sought later agreed with Lang. Mr. John Richardson moved that Dr. Lang be elected Principal for one year, but Lang regarded that suggestion as an insult. The Rev. Mackray was then elected, but he declined the office. In a meeting of 18th July, 1871, Mr. S.D. Gordon moved that Dr. Lang be elected Principal, but an amendment was moved by Dr. Steel, one of Lang's more powerful opponents, that the Principal come from abroad. Both the amendment and motion were lost. No doubt there was some personal animosity at work against Lang but that was not all. He was an old man, and it could not be expected that his influence would be as strong on the younger members of the Presbyterian ministry as in former years.

> "We had before us the fact that the college which he had himself brought into existence had collapsed, and we knew very well that a capacity for administration was not among the great talents he possessed. Moreover, he was then over seventy years of age, and it was impossible not to see that the infirmities of age were already beginning to exhibit signs of their presence." 30

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30 Cameron - Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales, p.153

Perhaps some of this criticism could be considered harsh, but it was certainly realistic. Finally the Rev. Adam Thomson was elected Principal of the College.

Dr. Lang was very disappointed. He published a pamphlet setting out the history of the movement for the College and stressed the part he had played. The tenor of the pamphlet is unfortunate for Lang's reputation. He lists the qualifications he had for the office of Principal, including his work for the College Bill, his general services to education, the money he has spent in travel to stimulate interest, and even claims that his family's contribution of £11,140 made it "surely a matter of courtesy - if not of bounden duty, to have recognised my claim".[31] He accused many of the Committee members of "underhand" practices, particularly in visiting choice territories, which he had planned to visit, to solicit funds. "How," he asks, "can the divine blessing be expected on an Institution got up in such a way".[32] No one could deny Lang's indefatigable efforts on behalf of this educational institution, but it is to be regretted that he finished in this way.

In 1872 he wrote the Colonial Secretary asking for the opinion of the Attorney General on certain actions of the Council.[33] Later he took the case to court claiming that the Council was not 'duly elected'. During 1873 Dr. Lang was elected Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, surely honour enough, but he continued to press his claim to the Principal-ship. He wrote a long letter to the General Assembly setting out all the material again, and asking for a committee to investigate the whole matter.[34]

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31 J.D. Lang, St. Andrew's or the Presbyterian College, p.27
32 Ibid., p.18
33 Lang Papers, Volume 16, Mitchell Library.
34 Ibid.

So determined was he that he took the appeal to the English courts, visiting England in that connection on his ninth and last journey home in 1874. But the prospects of success evidently did not appear very bright for in 1875 he wrote to the Hon. S.D. Gordon, M.L.C., that if the appeal succeeded all the subscribers would be enabled to withdraw their subscriptions and he doubted whether this was worthwhile. He decided to allow the "mystery of iniquity to be developed without interference on my part and to forget the appeal provided the College Council pays all the expenses so far incurred".[35] There is no evidence that the College Council gave this financial help, but the appeal was apparently dropped.

The College applied for land on Missenden Road on 15th December, 1870, and on 10th July, 1871 the University Senate recommended that the block of land being reserved for the Wesleyans be granted to the Presbyterians. While the plans for the College were being drawn up teaching was carried on from 18th August, 1873, in Cypress Hall, a rented house on Newtown Road. The foundation stone for St. Andrew's College was laid on 9th May, 1874, and the College was officially opened on 22nd July, 1876.[36] From a small beginning it came by 1914 to have the largest enrolment of the Sydney University Colleges and was "the only College which had a Faculty of Theology, there being three Professorships established in subjects required for the training of candidates for the ministry."[37] Lang's dream of an institution to train a native ministry had at last been realised.

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35 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library
36 St. Andrew's College Magazine, November, 1908
37 Robert A. Dallen - The University of Sydney, Its History and Progress.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Dr. Lang brought to his work in Australia an expansive intellect, a covenanter's fervour, a ready tongue, a practical outlook, and the enthusiasm of youth. The new land gave opportunity for the exercise of all these qualities and the development of many others. To men of Lang's calibre the bareness of colonial life was a challenge, a call to arms, a chance to grow apace in a land of opportunity. Lang was a Churchman, and his patriotic zeal for the development of the Presbyterian Church in Australia never flagged for a moment. But he did not limit his activities to his church work. He was interested in everything that made for the growth of a democratic nation in the new land, and his interests were amazingly widespread. His achievements in any one line of endeavour could well be counted as success. Certainly, his work in education warrants him a place as one of the founders of our Australian educational system.

On the heels of his efforts to establish a Scots Church in Sydney in 1823 came his appeals to the Government for help in establishing elementary schools for the untutored masses. He did not give up those efforts until in 1866 he saw Parkes' Education Bill put elementary education on the road to success. The parish schools which he advocated first in 1828 were given Government aid in 1836 and on, and undoubtedly, in relation to population, the Presbyterians did more than any other religious group for

this type of work up till 1866. In 1835 one of the Sydney newspapers in an article about Dr. Lang and the education question made the criticism that the tendency in the colony was to establish too many high-class schools and not enough primary schools.[1] But, while the establishment of several Colleges may have suggested this tendency in educational development at that time, the criticism is not valid of Dr. Lang. He was vitally concerned with the work of the Australian College, but he had been doing his best even in 1835 to get assistance granted to help establish parish or primary schools. With several Colleges once established in the early thirties the general interest in education shifted to the primary work. When Governor Bourke found the Irish system unacceptable to the colony he gave financial aid to the denominational schools, and this system continued for many years. Dr. Lang, who had been asking for such aid since 1828, accepted it wherever he could, and encouraged every Presbyterian church to establish a small primary school.

Lang's first great school venture, the Australian College, had far-reaching educational influence in the Colony. When Dr. Lang arrived in the Colony in 1823 there were very few schools of any type and certainly none of the size or ambition to satisfy his concept of a College. Right at the outset of his work in New South Wales he had plans to establish a secondary school or college, and as early as 1826 he had published his intentions,[2] but the plans had never been put into practice. His efforts in conjunction with the Sydney College group did not satisfy him in that his efforts were too often negatived by the unwieldy committee organization

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1 Sydney Gazette, 23 May, 1835
2 The Australian, 28 June, 1826.

and his ideas were not always acceptable to other members of the group. His approach to the Archdeacon had convinced him that any College established under the Church of England banner would be based on exclusive lines and that religious education in such an institution would be built very definitely on the catechism of that church. He decided to take steps to establish a College of his own, a Presbyterian College which would follow his ideas of education as he adapted the system of Scotland to the needs of the new Colony.

There was an undoubted need for such a College in the Colony. Lang's final aim was for the Australian College to fill the place of a University, but until that aim was feasible he planned to provide both an elementary and a secondary education that would obviate the necessity of colonial youths proceeding to England at a comparatively tender age to further their education. His staff was generally well-chosen and capable, and of a standard of education that fitted them for carrying the work of the College. They were the first men of such calibre engaged in teaching work that the Colony had seen, and Lang must receive credit for the introduction of these men. The establishment of such an institution of culture and learning must have had a steadying and an uplifting effect on the new country. When schools of this nature are seen in a community there is suggested a feeling of solidity and assured development. Most of the upper class in the colonial society had either attended or knew of the work of similar colleges in the homeland, and the establishment of this school in their new home must have been a great satisfaction. It was certainly a great step forward in the educational development of the country.

It is undoubtedly true that Lang's badly timed secession from the influential Sydney College group interfered to a great extent with the development of his own College, but this was a burden his own nature had brought upon him. He was not only enthusiastic, he was bombastically domineering, and in the "wisdom" of youth he could admit no other ideas as better than his own. Apparently he could ~~not only~~ play second fiddle to anyone and his impulsive, impatient nature compelled him to leave the more conservative Sydney College group and proceed on his own way. This secession, or at least the manner of it, was an unfortunate step, but Lang's nature being what it was, the break was practically inevitable. Had it not come when it did, it would have come later. On the other hand, Lang's strongly developed loyalty to the Presbyterian Church prevented him from joining in with the Archdeacon's plan for he realised that no great help would come to his church from the establishment of the King's Schools. Broughton's letter of complaint notwithstanding, it appears evident enough that Lang's visit to the Archdeacon had been of an investigatory nature, and having discovered the former's exclusiveness, Lang had every reason to abstain from the Church of England scheme. The antagonism engendered was not warranted by this abstention, but was probably fostered by the initial success of the Australian College and by Lang's criticism of the Church and School Corporation. Lang's partisanship and the pompous self-satisfaction of the Archdeacon would probably have caused a breach at some time, but Lang in this instance was rather unfortunate than blameworthy to rouse the opposition of the established church.

But against the debits of these disagreements and antagonisms, important and long-standing though they proved, there must be placed the courage and the initiative that prompted Dr. Lang to proceed single handed to establish the Australian College. He had been in the colony only six years, and though he had been very successful in his work in that time and had been given every assistance by the Presbyterians, the responsibility which he so readily accepted in connection with the new college was a great one. Certainly he had been given no encouragement by his early attempt in 1826, and yet his zeal in pressing on alone in 1830 was undoubted. He planned to raise a loan in England, and had with him some deeds of property of his own and the power to mortgage some of the Scots Church land. His arrival in England at a time of distress, uncertainty, and economic depression could have discouraged a lesser man, but Lang had enough initiative and wit to see in the very situation an opportunity to gain his ends. His proposal to carry out a shipload of mechanics was a very happy one. It would give him the experienced workmen he needed, it helped his loan programme, and the British Government were benefiting both at home and abroad. It is not surprising that on the arrival of the 'Stirling Castle' in Sydney, Lang was everywhere eulogized for his patriotism, "certainly the boldest effort ever made by a single individual to 'advance Australia'."[3]

It has been claimed by some that Lang's College scheme was too ambitious, but that claim is not borne out by the facts. Granted, he did hope that his College would one day rank as a University College, but

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3 Sydney Gazette, 15 October, 1831.

there is no suggestion made anywhere that his College should be the University and that other Colleges should remain as secondary schools. And while aiming at a University College status, he was quite ready to offer courses in elementary and mercantile subjects alongside a course at grammar school level until such time as the University section was required. There were many circumstances operating against the success of the Australian College, but had it gone according to Lang's hopes it is certain that when the University was established in 1850 the College would have been ready to have fitted in as an affiliated College as in the London University plan, which Lang favoured. If "not failure but low aim is crime" Lang could never be convicted.

Another criticism that has been made of the Australian College is that its usefulness was limited because it was conducted on rigid sectarian principles. One of the original articles of the College stated that:

> "the Bible will be read daily in the English and Classical schools, the business of every day will commence with prayer, and the inculcation of moral and religious principles will form a leading object of the masters. At the same time the youth attending the Institution will be taught whatever Protestant catechism their parents or guardians may recommend, and no attempt will be made by the masters to proselytize them to the Presbyterian Church."[4]

Dr. Lang was a strong advocate in those early years of the British and Foreign system which allowed reading of the Scriptures "without note or comment", and it would be strange if, in his own college, he made the religious work exclusively Presbyterian. Contemporary opinion gives no ground for the criticism. "It was neither a theological institution nor confined in its advantage to any particular denomination, open to pupils of every creed, no catechism of any sort being taught."[5] It seems far

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4 The Australian, 20 May, 1826
5 J. Maclehose, Pictures of Sydney, 1838.

more likely that if religious opinions prevented any parents from patronising the Australian College it was because they were antagonised by the sectarianism of the Principal, who did not hesitate to uphold his church in all public questions and on all occasions.

The Australian College was probably at its peak of effectiveness during the years 1836-1839. Many of the early difficulties of housing and equipment had been overcome at least in part, and the staff was well capable of carrying on effective work. It was during this period that the College was visited by Sir William Burton who said,

> "Having visited the Australian College at the commencement of the years 1838 and 1839 the writer of these observations was highly impressed in favour of the course of instruction pursued at it, so far as it had proceeded, - questions were proposed on all the subjects of instruction, and answered with a quickness which proved both the knowledge and care of the teaching and the aptness of the scholars." 6

Lang claimed that up to the time in 1841 when staffing difficulties caused a temporary closing of the College more than five hundred students had been educated there.

One feature of the Australian College has not so far been mentioned - the library. Dr. Lang recognized the importance of a library in a college, and on his visit to England in 1830 he gave a deal of attention to procuring equipment for it. In order to raise the necessary funds he sent out a circular letter dated 21st March, 1831, to raise money in bills of £100 of £200 for 18 months at 5%. The letter explained that "as no part of the capital of the institution which will amount to £7,000 is available in this country (England), Dr. Lang is desirous of raising a loan of £1500 for these purposes."[7] The success of this

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6 The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, Burton, p.141.

7 Lang Papers, Vol.16, Mitchell Library.

appeal is unknown but Lang proceeded to buy some of the material which he thought necessary. He procured advice on the selection of books from those best qualified to give it, and was able to bring out with him in 1831 books "to the number of 1,700 volumes, together with a valuable and extensive philosophical apparatus and numerous specimens of minerals, etc., to illustrate lectures on mineralogy and zoology."[8] Mr. Carmichael, one of the new teachers, had been given authority to select some of the books, and he had spent £119:10:6. Invoices in Lang's Papers show that approximately £730 had been spent, and to this must be added the cost of carriage. The Doctor had evidently been able to gain the sympathy of some Government authorities for in 1834 His Majesty's Printing Office forwarded to him "a set of books presented by the Commissioners of Public Records to the Australian College, consisting of 75 folio and 9 octavo volumes, also a parcel of books from Mr. Cooper."[9] Lang was able to say in 1836, when outlining the state of the Australian College that the library was unequalled in the Colony. It was the first attempt to establish a library which was one for reference rather than for general reading, and it had in it an educational value of its own. That it was part of the Australian College must be added to the importance of that institution in the Colony. Its establishment in 1831 must be credited to the educational foresight of Dr. Lang.

Lang was possibly a hard man to work with. Carmichael apparently found it so and left the College to found his own Normal School, taking with him quite a percentage of the students, and the College, after a promising start, was back to beginnings again. But Carmichael's sub-

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8 J.D. Lang - History of New South Wales, Vol.II, p.352, 1834
9 The Colonist, 6 August, 1835

sequent history in the Colony does not suggest that he was the equal of Lang, and his dissatisfaction seems rather unwarranted. With other staff members Lang apparently worked quite amicably, for the defalcations of Wylde, McKenzie and Aitken could not be debited to a clash of personalities. In fact the claim that Lang was a difficult man to work with comes rather from his church associations than from his school work.

The Australian College had a troubled career. No sooner was one difficulty overcome than another cropped up. But its importance lies not only in its educational work but also in the fact that it was established when it was, just over forty years after the first settlement, when such an institution of education and culture was very necessary, and that its very history, its trials and vicissitudes, kept before the public the subject of education. While the Australian College existed no one was allowed to forget education, though often it was neglected. It is unfortunate that many of the difficulties that arose did so because of the traits of character of its founder, Dr. Lang. Lang's ability is undoubted, but his egotistical bearing antagonised people, his tactlessness and his vigorous language sometimes aroused a prejudice against him. His impulsiveness sometimes led him into errors of judgment. It was his impulsiveness that led him to join up with the Sydney College group in 1829, and later decide to leave it; it was his zeal for his church that led him to attack the Church and School Corporation. But it was his lack of judgment that led him to make such a badly timed exit from the Sydney College effort, and lack of judgment and of tact that led him to publish in Australia his letter to Lord Goderich about the Church and School Corporation. For these two acts, products of his own

character, Lang was forced to pay dearly. Without the opposition aroused by them his College would probably have been an outstanding success and have met all his hopes of it. But on the other hand, there were in his character other traits that were the basis of his success. Without his zeal and courage the College would never have been founded. Without his tenacity of purpose, his pugnacity, the enterprise would never have stood so long against the trials that it faced. Lang himself, his character, caused many of the difficulties, but his character enabled him to meet them as they came.

On this one venture Lang must have spent a fortune. The loss of support in the Colony meant a loss of credit, and Lang was forced to sell his fine home to carry on. There is but a faint tinge of regret when he says that he had hoped to live and die therein. On at least two other occasions he was forced to sell property to keep the institution afloat. The legal struggle on which he entered with the Government must have been very costly, and most of this he had to finance himself. Several journeys to England had as a primary object the affairs of the College, and much of this expense he had to meet. Rusden, in his account of Lang and the tangled nature of the land and loan question of the College gives the impression of a man seeking financial advancement, and some newspapers of the time suggest something similar. Nothing could be further from the truth. Lang was intensely earnest in his desire to foster education and though circumstances caused him to fight for what he considered his rights, his altruism and sincerity cannot be seriously questioned.

Though the Australian College was Lang's biggest personal venture in education, his influence in the struggle for National Education was

far more important to the nation. At the time when Lang first became interested in education in Australia, the current feeling in England was something of a smug complacency on the part of the rich who thought the social system to be a divinely appointed scheme. In that scheme the rich were to be the natural rulers for all time and the poor were to be happy in their poverty. It was so satisfactory a system that it took some minor riots, some near revolutions, a few electoral laws and perhaps a war to change it. The situation in Australia was somewhat different. The very nature of the settlement gave rise to many liberal and democratic ideas but the type of government in the early years vested so much authority in the Governor that much depended on his viewpoint. Fortunately Governor Bourke was a liberal in outlook and this directed his approach to the educational question. He was influenced, of course, by events in the homeland and his suggestions for public education followed the new plans for Ireland. Bishop Broughton, one of the influential Government appointees, was of quite different views. His English associations had been with the Tory group, indeed he had first received his appointment to Australia because of his association with the household of the Duke of Wellington. Apart from any other considerations Broughton's ideas on education would differ greatly from those of the Governor. Doctor Lang had no particular political associations. He was, however, liberal in outlook and in his later parliamentary activities he was accused of being a radical, even a revolutionary. It was to be expected that he would favour a policy that would extend educational facilities to all.

During the early thirties the educational question came somewhat under public attention. It became known in the Colony that the Governor

had written a report on the position and was waiting for advice from the Home Government. Meanwhile the support given to schools was on the basis of that given under the direction of the Church and School Corporation whose charter was officially revoked in 1833, though its operations had been suspended since 1829. Dr. Lang was concerned with the task of establishing his College, but in 1831 he had published an attack on the Church and School Corporation contained in his letter to Lord Goderich. This breach of confidence was quite unwarranted, for had Lang wished to attack the Corporation he should have kept Goderich's name out of the dispute. He succeeded in arousing strong opposition from the Archdeacon and the Established Church, and the Press dealt quite severely with him. The only good that came from this blunder was in the attention given to education. When in 1835 Lang began to publish his own paper, "The Colonist", he carried on the work of bringing education before the public. He described the Irish System, which rumour suggested the Governor would favour, and denounced it thoroughly. He urged the establishment of a Denominational Board, which would distribute the Government's educational funds to the various denominations. Much time and effort were expended in preparation of these articles on education and a wide field of discussion was covered.

When Governor Bourke introduced his plan for the Colony he was able to have it accepted by his Council but the people showed unmistakably in public meetings that they did not favour it at all. Lang led the attack in his paper, and spoke at many meetings. The new bishop, anxious to retain the Church of England's traditional hold on Education, led out in some meetings and rallied his church with him. Bourke was forced to admit that with such opposition the scheme could never work. We may

say of Lang's efforts at this time that they were misguided, wrongly directed, but we cannot say they were half-hearted. Lang had based his judgment too much on a sketchy knowledge of the Irish system and had been biassed by the name "Irish", and by the fact that the Catholic Church favoured the measure. But however much we regret the results of his work at this time we can never deny its influence. "The Colonist" was doing a work no other paper had attempted and its influence on public opinion was important. Dr. Lang visited Dublin soon after this, and from his investigations there came back convinced that he had been wrong about the Irish System. He was brave enough to admit this and publish in his paper his changed opinion. As the weaknesses of the Denominational System began to show he urged all the more that the Irish System be tried. He carried on his work in his new paper, "The Colonial Observer", doing all in his power to keep the matter before the public. He introduced a series of resolutions into the Legislative Council in 1843 which aimed at setting up a National System and only withdrew them when he realised that his sponsorship of such resolutions might hinder their acceptance. He gave Robert Lowe his cordial support in Committee and led in the debate when the report of Lowe's Committee was given. He continued his advocacy of the National System, using every means at his command, until he left for abroad in July, 1846. During the time when the two Boards operated, 1848-1866, Dr. Lang kept up the battle for National Education. He was not satisfied until Parkes had been able to have his "Bill to make better provision for Public Education" passed, and so abolish the dual system. And then Lang published a pamphlet specially directed against the Roman Catholic opposition to this Bill.

I consider that Lang's was without question the greatest single influence towards National Education in New South Wales. From 1837 when he changed his views concerning the Irish System he was the most consistent advocate of a unified system. He saw the value of both the Irish and the British and Foreign Systems but above all he wanted a National System. Perhaps his personal characteristics could lessen to a limited extent that influence, perhaps the enemies made back in the thirties would never listen to him, but he carried on his work until he saw it successful. He is seldom given the credit which should be his but "the persistence of the liberal ideal introduced by Bourke is attributable to the appreciation of its humanitarian significance by John Dunmore Lang, John Hubert Plunkett, and Henry Parkes." And further, "John Dunmore Lang and Plunkett defended the experiment in education from the onslaught of vested interests."[10]

Dr. Lang's last major educational interest lay in the Sydney University. He had for many years hoped that his own College would grow to University status and in 1850 he advocated that the new university should be modelled on the lines of London University, which was a governing rather than a teaching body. This would have allowed the Australian College to have been one of the affiliated Colleges receiving government support. Lang expressed his agreement with other sections of the University Bill and voted in its favour even though his own plan was not accepted. But his egotistical nature was offended when he was not chosen as the Presbyterian representative on the group of University Fellows.

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10 C.C. Linz - The Establishment of a National System of New South Wales, p.13

His criticism of the qualifications of the Fellows chosen may have been based on facts, but it was in very poor taste and certainly did not help Lang's influence. In 1854 the Affiliated Colleges Bill was introduced to authorize the institution of colleges of the University. Lang again suggested the London University method but finding this unacceptable he did his best to make the new bill as valuable as possible.

Under the provisions of this 1854 Bill it was possible for the various religious groups to establish colleges on certain conditions being met. Lang was anxious to have the Presbyterians establish a college and his work in this connection was very important. Back as far as 1856 the first efforts were made but the unfortunate divisions in the church hindered all efforts until 1865. Lang had done his best to get bills through Parliament in several sessions prior to this but the bill did not become law until 1867. Again it is due to Lang's persistence and tenacity of purpose that the venture reached fruition. The differences in the church were not of Lang's making, but as with most religious differences, small things become great and much bitterness is often aroused. Lang hoped to have a Presbyterian College established in spite of the divisions in the church, but was unable to do so. Had it not been for his efforts after 1865 when the divisions were healed, the college would not have been established for some time. Lang must be given most of the credit for carrying this venture through to sucess. But from this point on his work is coloured so much by personal desires that it loses importance. As in 1850 he showed personal spleen when omitted from the University Fellows, so now in 1870 he resented with bitterness

the fact that he was not chosen as Principal of the new St. Andrew's College. No doubt such an appointment would have made up for the fact that his Australian College had never realised the expectations he had of it. Lang did nothing to help his memory by appealing to the English authorities in an effort to gain his end. Perhaps it would be charitable to count this as a result of his age, for one of the reasons against choosing him as Principal was that "it was impossible not to see that the infirmities of age were already beginning to exhibit signs of their presence."[11] He remained a member of the Council of St. Andrew's College until his death.

When one considers that this interest in things educational is but one section of Lang's work in Australia, and that some of his other interests were equally as important, one is forced to admit that John Dunmore Lang was one of the great men of the 19th Century. In the traits of his character lay both his strength and his weakness, the source of his successes and his failures. But certainly Lang by his work must be reckoned as one of the founders of ~~the~~ Australian education.

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11 Cameron - Centennial History of the Presbyterian Church, p.154

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A P P E N D I X

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF JOHN DUNMORE LANG, INCLUDING ALSO EDUCATIONAL MATTERS WHICH INFLUENCED OR WERE INFLUENCED BY HIM

28 August,	1799	John Dunmore Lang born at Greenock, Scotland.
	1812	J.D. Lang entered Glasgow University.
	1819	J.D. Lang obtained Master's Degree.
14 October,	1822	J.D. Lang sailed for Australia in the "Andromeda".
23 May,	1823	J.D. Lang arrived in Sydney.
	1824	Scots' Church built and opened.
18 August, 6 January,	1824) 1826)	J.D. Lang visited England.
9 March,	1826	Church and School Corporation instituted.
20 May,	1826	J.D. Lang published in the "Australian", prospectus of a proposed Caledonian Academy.
28 August,	1828	J.D.Lang petitioned Government for salary assistance for schoolmaster at school to be established on plan of Parish school of Scotland.
3 December,	1829	Suspension of activities of the Church and School Corporation.
5 December,	1829	J.D. Lang published prospectus of South African College.
January,	1830	J.D. Lang drew up prospectus for the proposed Sydney College.
26 January,	1830	J.D. Lang helped in foundation-stone ceremony for Sydney College.
August, October,	1830) 1831)	J.D. Lang made second visit to England.

	1831	J.D. Lang married Wilhelmina Mackie at Capetown en route to Australia.
15 October,	1831	J.D. Lang arrived by "Stirling Castle" with Scotch mechanics.
21 October,	1831	Work started on Australian College.
15 November,	1831	First Classes of Australian College in hired buildings.
13 December,	1831	Sydney Gazette begins attack on Lang with refutation of his charges against Church and School Corporation.
26 December,	1831	J.D. Lang repeated accusations against Church and School Corporation.
27 December,	1831	First meeting of Australian College shareholders.
27 January,	1832	J.D. Lang asked to explain proposals for union with Sydney College.
17 March,	1832	Legislative Council Vote that Lang's publication of letter to Goderich re Church and School Corporation was "A highly improper and censurable act."
9 August,	1832	J.D. Lang auctioned two building blocks to gain finance for his College.
22 May,	1833	Church and School Corporation dissolved.
20 June,	1833	J.D. Lang memorialized Governor for salaries for schoolmasters in Presbyterian Schools.
July,	1833) 1834)	J.D. Lang made third visit to England.
30 September,	1833	Governor Bourke sent despatch to Home Government concerning education in Australia.
1 January,	1835	First Issue of "The Colonist."
2 February,	1835	Australian School Society founded.
19 February,	1835	J.D. Lang elected member of Committee of Australian School Society.

21 March,	1835	J.D. Lang applied to Government for land to make up for Australian College grant.
27 May,	1835	J.D. Lang memorialized Government for support of Presbyterian teachers in Presbyterian elementary schools.
May,	1836	J.D. Lang begins a strong campaign against the "Irish System."
2 June,	1836	Governor Bourke tabled Lord Glenelg's reply on Education and stated his plan to introduce the "Irish System".
25 July,	1836)	J.D. Lang on fourth visit to England.
4 December,	1837)	
5 January,	1837	In England, J.D. Lang wrote Secretary of State Colonies re grant of land for College.
	1837	In England, J.D. Lang told by Sir George Grey, Secretary of Colonies, that College debt would be cancelled on request.
January,	1839)	J.D. Lang visited Great Britain and America.
March,	1841)	
9 December,	1839	Governor Gipps attempted introduction of British and Foreign System, but abandoned scheme for National Education.
October,	1841	J.D. Lang attempted establishment of Presbyterian Orphan School.
October,	1841	J.D. Lang began publication of "The Colonial Observer."
December,	1841	J.D. Lang visited Southern Colonies to solicit funds for Presbyterian Education Society.
23 December,	1841	J.D. Lang told that Government would foreclose mortgage on Australian College.
8 June,	1842	J.D. Lang planned to start Ladies' Seminary in one building of Australian College.
	1842	J.D. Lang formed Synod of New South Wales.
	1842	J.D. Lang elected to first Legislative Council as member for Port Philip.

	1843	J.D. Lang paid off several College masters because of their interests in land, etc.
26 March,	1843	Lecture Hall of Australian College opened.
28 September,	1843	J.D. Lang introduced to Legislative Council a series of resolutions re National Education.
28 August,	1844	Report of Mr. Lowe's Select Committee on Education. Carried through by Dr. Lang. Favoured Irish System.
7 November,	1844	General Education Committee - to foster National Education. J.D. Lang a member.
27 November,	1844	Governor Gipps refused to carry out action of Council for National Education.
1 July, March,	1846) 1850)	J.D. Lang visited England to obtain means and men for reviving the Australian College.
4 January,	1848	National Schools' Board established.
5 January,	1848	Denominational Schools' Board established.
1 April,	1850	Australian College re-opened.
July,	1850	J.D. Lang elected member for Sydney.
	1850	Lecture room and College Hall erected for Australian College.
1 October,	1850	University Act passed.
14 October,	1850	J.D. Lang published paper criticizing the University Act.
October,	1851	J.D. Lang published "the Press".
November,	1852) 1853)	J.D. Lang's seventh trip to England.
August,	1854	J.D. Lang elected member for county of Stanley, Moreton Bay.
	1854	Australian College closed.
4 December,	1854	Affiliated Colleges Act.
5 April,	1858	Public meeting re Presbyterian College.

30 September,	1858	Lang upheld in Presbyterian College dispute.
	1859) 1869)	J.D. Lang member of Parliament for West Sydney.
24 April,	1860	J.D. Lang petitioned Parliament for Presbyterian College Bill.
22 December, October,	1860) 1861)	J.D. Lang visited England.
October,	1866	J.D. Lang strongly supported Parkes' Bill for National Education.
12 December,	1867	Presbyterian College Bill passed.
January,	1868	J.D. Lang Published lecture in support of Parkes' National Education.
	1873	J.D. Lang Moderator of Presbyterian Church.
February,	1874) 1875)	J.D. Lang's ninth and last trip to England.
8 August,	1879	Death of J.D. Lang at Sydney.