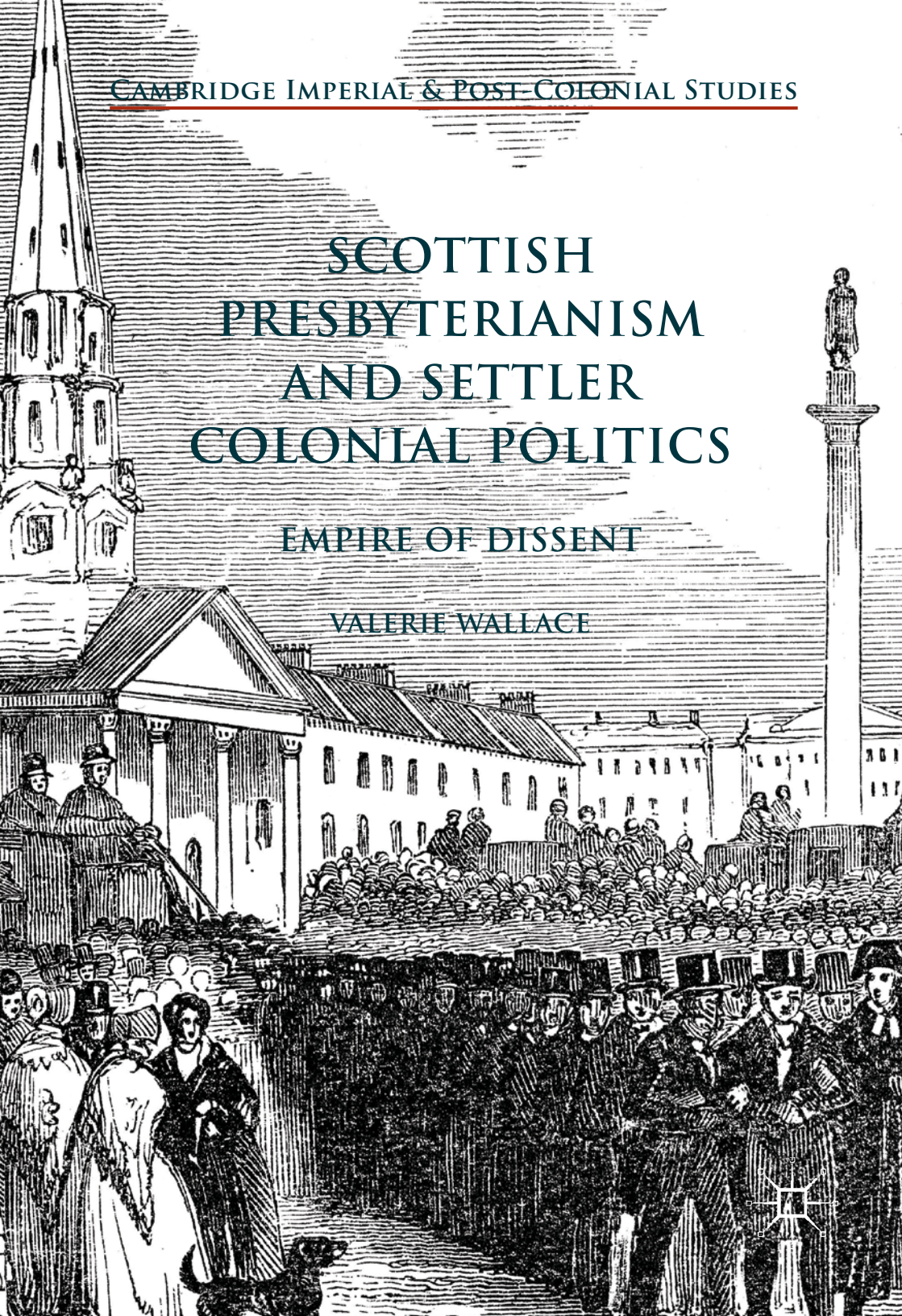


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# SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANISM AND SETTLER COLONIAL POLITICS

EMPIRE OF DISSENT

VALERIE WALLACE



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## Introduction: Empire of Dissent

In the nineteenth century around two million people left Scotland to begin new lives in the colonies of Britain's empire.<sup>1</sup> They left for many reasons. In the depression of the post-Napoleonic era, government-sponsored emigration schemes encouraged the dispossessed and disenfranchised to seek their fortunes abroad. Skilled tradesmen from the Scottish lowlands travelled to Canada; in 1820 around 4000 Britons, of which about ten percent were Scots, went to the Cape Colony in southern Africa; in later years thousands more would go to New South Wales and New Zealand.<sup>2</sup> Distinctive regions of Scottish settlement evolved where the exported customs of Scotland endured. In Scotland the dominant faith was Presbyterian, and in the Anglican world of Britain's empire communities of Scottish Presbyterians sought to institute their own churches and maintain their own forms of worship.<sup>3</sup> They sent requests home for religious ministers to come and join them. Hundreds of missionaries from the established Church of Scotland and the branches of the dissenting churches—the Secession, the Relief Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church and later the Free Church—answered these calls.<sup>4</sup>

Among those who left Scotland in the first decades of the nineteenth century were the five individuals with whom this book is chiefly concerned. The Rev. Thomas McCulloch (1776–1843), a missionary from the Secession church who was born near Paisley, settled in Pictou, Nova Scotia in 1803. Thomas Pringle (1789–1834), a lay member of

the Secession and a poet from the Borders, sailed for the Cape Colony in 1820. William Lyon Mackenzie (1795–1861), another member of the Secession and a journalist from Dundee, left for Upper Canada in the same year. The Rev. John Dunmore Lang (1799–1878), an evangelical Church of Scotland minister born near Greenock, arrived in Sydney in 1823. Samuel McDonald Martin (1805?–1848), a journalist from the Isle of Skye, admirer of the Free Church and the brother of a minister, went to Sydney in 1837. He later moved to Auckland in 1842.

Before their respective migrations, these five Scotsmen had never met. But their experiences as settlers in Britain's empire were strikingly similar and would bring their lives together. Inspired by ideas and rhetoric drawn from their Presbyterian heritage, McCulloch, Pringle, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin all complained about Anglican privilege in the colonies: the Church of England's official, or *de facto*, position as the established church in the empire, its control of land reserves, its grip on education and its monopoly of political power. These colonists all utilised the newspaper press to voice their grievances and they lobbied government to bring about political change. They became acquainted with each other's work and, in the case of a few, met each other in person. This book weaves together for the first time the stories of McCulloch, Pringle, Mackenzie, Lang and Martin, five demonstrably important but under-researched reformers, uncovering their connection to a Scottish *Empire of Dissent*. It describes how, though settled in far-flung territories of Britain's empire, the lives of these five migrants, and the reform campaigns they led, came to be intertwined.

This book considers the political role in early nineteenth-century colonial societies of some of the smaller and less well-known, but nevertheless influential, Scottish Presbyterian dissenting churches. It has less to say about the major Presbyterian denomination in Scotland—the national Church of Scotland. The established churches in Britain, particularly the United Church of England and Ireland, have received more attention from historians of colonialism than their dissenting rivals. *God's Empire* (2011) by Hilary Carey examines how the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, as well as some other religious institutions, promoted imperial loyalty in settler communities and helped to foster the idea of a globalised 'Greater Britain'.<sup>5</sup> The Church of England, other scholars have agreed, played an important role in forging an expanded and integrated Anglophone settler world.<sup>6</sup>

But the attempt to establish the Church of England as the church of the empire also generated an enormous amount of protest. Nonconformist and dissenting churches, as well as some troublesome elements within Anglicanism, sometimes acted as conductors of disruptive ideas and fostered only *conditional* loyalty in pluralist settler societies. Networks of religious dissenters and interaction between dissenters and reforming politicians—particularly on issues like slavery abolition and humanitarian ‘protection’ of indigenous peoples—facilitated challenges to colonial governance at ‘home’ and ‘abroad’.<sup>7</sup>

The Scottish Presbyterian dissenting churches with which McCulloch, Pringle, Mackenzie, Lang and Martin were all affiliated had a reputation for political subversion. These five migrants—two of whom were clergymen and three of whom were lay members—transmitted the disruptive ideas propagated by these churches and they were not the only ones to do so. Indeed, there were thousands of migrants who belonged to these churches—the Secession, the Relief and the Free Church—whose adherents constituted about one-third of the Scottish lowland population.<sup>8</sup> The Secession was one of the first churches in Scotland to send missionaries to colonial settlements in North America; these missionaries encountered little competition from other preachers and became culturally influential.<sup>9</sup> The Free Church, which propagated similar values as the Secession, would be similarly influential on a new generation of migrants in the years after the great schism of 1843.<sup>10</sup> Yet there are few histories of the Scottish dissenting churches in the British empire—the Secession and Relief churches were entirely omitted from Carey’s book—and there has been very little written about their influence on colonial politics.

### THE POLITICS OF DISSENT

What was the tradition of political subversion to which McCulloch, Pringle, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin were so indebted? Dissenters in Scotland—‘Conditional Britons’, to use Colin Kidd’s evocative label<sup>11</sup>—had a reputation for stirring up trouble. The revolution settlement of 1690 established Presbyterianism rather than episcopacy—rule by church courts rather than rule by bishops—as the church of the Scottish nation. The Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Act, which accompanied the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707, was designed to protect the Scottish Church’s independence within the new multi-confessional British state. This act, some believed, which was a ‘fundamentall and essentiall Condition’ of the Treaty,<sup>12</sup> guaranteed that the Church of Scotland would

be left to govern itself. It would exist harmoniously with its co-established sister, the Church of England.<sup>13</sup> It proved impossible, however, for the British government to stay out of Scottish religious affairs. Legislation passed in the aftermath of the Union alienated many Scottish Presbyterians. The Patronage Act of 1711/12 took the right of appointing ministers to vacant parishes away from congregations and restored it to lay patrons—local landowners, the burgh councils and, in some cases, the Crown. The Secession broke away from the established Church of Scotland in 1733 in protest at this act. The Relief Church was formed in 1761 for the same reason.

The Secession and the Relief adhered strictly to the two-kingdoms doctrine of Scottish Presbyterianism. The theory of Presbyterian polity, originally given shape in the Reformation era, stated that Jesus Christ alone was head of the church; the monarch, head of the temporal sphere only, could not interfere in the church's business. The British constitution, which recognised the monarch as head of the Church of England and which allowed Anglican bishops to sit in the House of Lords, flouted these principles. Seceders claimed kinship with the seventeenth-century Scottish Covenanters who had rebelled against the attempts of Charles I to bring Scottish worship in line with Anglican practice. The covenanting movement took root when much of the Scottish populace signed the National Covenant in 1638. During the turbulence of the civil war period the covenanting movement fragmented. The hard-line Covenanters of the Restoration, when episcopacy was again established in Scotland, declared war against the King and were hunted down by government troops. The Stuarts, it was claimed, had stolen Christ's crown and had declared themselves supreme in all matters spiritual and temporal; they had become despotic and had deprived the Scottish people of their liberties.

In the eighteenth century, the Seceders renewed the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant (1643) and bore testimony against the British Hanoverian state. They disliked the Church of Scotland for having tolerated the Patronage Act and resented the civil government's continued incursions into the Scottish spiritual realm. In 1747 they divided into 'Antiburghers' and 'Burghers' after a squabble over whether Seceders should swear the Burgess Oath, which asked subscribers to acknowledge the legitimacy of the established church. During the French Revolution era, a period of political instability and paranoia, some dissenting ministers were accused of sedition; in some cases these accusations were not unfounded. In Ireland covenanting values partly underpinned the agitation

which gave birth to the 1798 rebellion<sup>14</sup> while in Scotland George Lawson, professor of divinity in the Secession, defended political radicals against charges of sedition, championed the right of petition, and argued in favour of efforts to retain ‘redress of the grievances of our country’. He thought his students should read the works of Tom Paine.<sup>15</sup> As John Brims has noted, the Seceders’ beliefs—that congregations should vote for their ministers and that the monarch’s powers should be curbed—were likely to draw ‘them into supporting the sort of radical political reforms which would take power away from the hated nobility and place it in the hands of the common people’.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the Rev. Archibald Bruce, another Seceder divinity professor, explicitly defended freedom of the press and declared that he was ‘glad to see so many spirited advocates raised up to plead the cause of political freedom and the right of prosecuting a civil reform’.<sup>17</sup>

Dissenters tended to sympathise with the evolving liberalism of the post-Napoleonic period. As Maurizio Isabella has recently argued, the emergence of liberalism did not symbolise ‘a step towards the secularization of the political sphere’. Rather, political reformers of the 1820s aligned their traditional religious values with their commitment to liberal ideals. These ideals included: reducing the power of the established church and loosening the bond between church and state; guaranteeing religious tolerance; and securing freedom of expression which, in the defence of orthodoxy and in the name of stability, their conservative opponents sought to curtail. Everywhere religion was ‘contested territory’; liberals and conservatives keenly debated what kind of relationship the church should have with the state.<sup>18</sup> In Scotland many dissenting Presbyterians, inspired by the evangelical fervour of the period, supported the policies of the whigs—the opposition party from 1807 to 1830—to extend the franchise and secure press freedom hoping that these measures would undermine the Anglican establishment and lead to a revitalisation of religion. Many dissenters were encouraged by the liberal tory reforms of the 1820s, perceived to be the beginning of the end of the old regime: the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, which removed civil disabilities imposed on non-Anglicans, and the emancipation of Catholics, who, from 1829, could sit in parliament.<sup>19</sup>

What became known as ‘new light voluntarism’ underpinned the liberal politics of many Presbyterian dissenters. New light voluntaries, the bulk of whom were members of the Relief Church and the United Secession Church—a body formed in 1820 from a union of the two main groups of Antiburgher and Burgher Seceders—remained theologically



orthodox, but they became critical of the Westminster Confession of Faith. The Westminster Confession—the subordinate standard of the Presbyterian churches, to which all ministers subscribed—stipulated that the head of state should act as a ‘nursing father’—or mother—to the church. In 1829 following the emancipation of Catholics, the Rev. Andrew Marshall, a United Secession minister of Kirkintilloch, near Glasgow, preached a rousing sermon in which he denounced church establishments as illogical, unfair and unscriptural. The new lights in the Relief Church and in the Secession, who had always believed firmly in the two-kingdoms doctrine, now desired the complete separation of the spiritual and the temporal spheres and the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland and Church of England.<sup>20</sup> Ministers should be paid not by the state but by contributions offered voluntarily by congregations. In the eyes of voluntaryist dissenters the Erastian nature of the British constitution had caused the state to usurp the throne of Christ, the only true head of the church.<sup>21</sup> Despite the recent liberal reforms, they thought, the British state remained an oppressive church-state under which dissenters suffered. The clergy of the established churches conspired with the landed gentry to deprive the populace of cheap bread and a say in how they should be ruled both in the local parish and the national legislature. New light voluntaries, as we shall see later in this book in Chap. 7, tended to demand extensive political reform, even Chartism, to bring about their goal of disestablishment. Disestablishment and an expanded electorate, some thought, would boost the nation’s spirituality, heighten its morality and bring an end to social and religious inequality.

Some evangelicals in the established Church of Scotland argued along similar lines. In the first decades of the nineteenth century the Church of Scotland, also known as the Kirk, divided internally between ‘evangelicals’ who wanted to purify the Kirk by encouraging missions and bible circulation and by abolishing patronage—initiatives also supported by dissenters outside the Kirk—and ‘moderates’ who found missionising suspicious and vulgar and who acquiesced in some oversight by the civil powers. Some Kirk evangelicals supported whig-liberalism hoping that a reformed parliament with middle-class representation would rejuvenate the Kirk by abolishing patronage, the age-old grievance.<sup>22</sup> It was important, some thought, to secure popular election in church as well as in state. They expounded the doctrine of ‘non-intrusion’, a less extreme version of new light voluntaryism: the state, though it should fund the Church, should neither intrude unwanted ministers on Kirk parishes nor interfere with the Church’s business. The Church of Scotland’s *Claim of Right*

(1842), issued during the ‘ten years’ conflict’—a long-running dispute between Kirk and state over patronage—embodied the non-intrusionist constitutional thinking of evangelical Presbyterians. It declared that the Treaty of Union had protected the independence of the Church of Scotland. Non-intrusionists regarded the Treaty as a foundational document which checked the sovereignty of Crown-in-Parliament and safeguarded the autonomy of the Scottish Church—sovereign in its own spiritual sphere.<sup>23</sup> The *Claim of Right* declared that the Church of Scotland’s privileges had been reserved by the Treaty ‘from the cognizance and power of the federal legislature created by the said Treaty’—i.e. the newly united British parliament.<sup>24</sup> In 1843, over one-third of the Kirk’s ministers, mostly evangelicals, staged a revolt against the British state: the famous ‘Disruption’, featured on the cover of this book. They left to form the Free Church; free because it no longer had to endure violations of the Kirk’s spiritual independence. The populace had allegedly been liberated from the domination of the landed gentry—the custodians of ministerial patronage. In defence of their civil and religious liberties they took to the open air to preach in conventicles as their covenanting ancestors, so Free Church ministers proudly pointed out, had done two centuries before them.

## EMPIRE OF DISSENT

But what of dissenters outside of Scotland? How did the values of Scottish Presbyterian dissent impact on the politics of the wider British empire? How influential were the inflammatory tenets of dissenting Presbyterianism, transmitted from Scotland and transmuted through an imperial network? Were reform politics in the settler colonies—the campaign for press freedom, the assault on the Church of England’s established status and the demand for representative and responsible government—inspired by the values and traditions of Presbyterian dissent?

Focusing on the period roughly between 1820 and 1850, *Empire of Dissent* takes five colonial sites as case studies: Cape Town in southern Africa; Pictou in Nova Scotia; Sydney in New South Wales; Toronto in Upper Canada; and Auckland in New Zealand. It traces the movements of Thomas Pringle, Thomas McCulloch, John Dunmore Lang, William Lyon Mackenzie and Samuel McDonald Martin and examines the religious dimension to their politics. The personal stories of five colonists act as entry points to settler societies and dissenting culture more generally. Sometimes these figures operated on the fringes of colonial society, as

when Lang championed separatist republicanism, but at other times they spoke for the wider community, as when Mackenzie condemned the detested solicitor-general of Upper Canada, Christopher Hagerman. The similarity of their views suggests that the values motivating the politics of Pringle, McCulloch, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin enjoyed wide currency across the empire, beyond the localities in which these individuals lived.

The book focuses on these five colonies for several reasons. Nova Scotia, the Cape, Upper Canada, New South Wales and New Zealand were broadly similar in terms of their systems of governance, economies and demographics, and there were personal connections, through the denominational networks this book considers, between the colonists who lived across these regions. Ideas travelled via shipping, press and correspondence networks, and the movement of peoples. There were similarities and meaningful connections—particularly, as this book argues, in respect of the role of dissenting churches and the resonance of political language—between these particular colonies. Having said that, this book does not seek to claim that Scottish Presbyterian ideas were *only* relevant in the colonies discussed here nor does it seek necessarily to reinforce the idea that Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand constituted a distinctive ‘British World’ from which other colonies and non-white actors were excluded. As Katie Pickles has reminded us, the boundaries of the ‘British World’ were porous and ever-shifting.<sup>25</sup> The ‘Empire of Dissent’ may have, and probably did, include subjects living in other regions of the British empire and outside it. The constitutional position of the Church of Scotland was a controversial topic in Van Diemen’s Land where the Rev. John Lillie (1806–1866) was a formidable advocate for the Kirk;<sup>26</sup> it was also raised in India, a debate to which John Dunmore Lang referred. American Presbyterians transplanted and reinvented the covenanting tradition in America where it underpinned political agitation before and after the American War of Independence.<sup>27</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century, moreover, Presbyterians were politically active in the Caribbean, Malawi and elsewhere. Ireland had a different relationship with Britain than did the colonies of settlement, but here too, particularly in Ulster, Presbyterians were, to use David Miller’s label, ‘Queen’s rebels’.<sup>28</sup> Scotland’s politics of dissent were replicated in Ireland where the tradition of covenanting was strong.<sup>29</sup> To what extent were Ulster-Scots who migrated to Britain’s nineteenth-century settlements inspired by the Presbyterian values herein discussed? What contribution did Irish Presbyterians make to colonial reform politics? The present study could be extended and its arguments,

perhaps modified to take account of local context, applied to other Presbyterian communities or other time periods.

This book is, however, confined to five case studies in the first half of the nineteenth century. It aims to transform our understanding of the religious foundations of colonial reform politics in settler societies (and comments briefly on Scottish domestic politics in Chap. 7), a topic which, in some cases, scholars are only beginning to explore. Indeed, some historians have been too quick to assume that colonial politics were ideologically bankrupt.<sup>30</sup> In small settlements, some have argued, personal animosities rather than political ideas dictated political allegiances. Reformers' critiques of gubernatorial rule in New Zealand, Tony Ballantyne has suggested, did not represent the 'transplantation of any coherent British tradition of political philosophy'. Reformers were often 'pragmatic and reactive'.<sup>31</sup> On migrating to the colonies settlers jettisoned whig, tory and radical ideologies and adherence to the traditions of these parties was nominal at best.<sup>32</sup> According to Mark Francis, governors maintained order not by the application of policy founded on political values but by cultivating an image of authority. Francis's view of settler politics, Paul McHugh has argued, is anti-doctrinaire; some historians, he says, might even term it *Namierite*.<sup>33</sup> There is some merit to the argument that politics were personal—Governor Brisbane allegedly backtracked on his policy towards Lang's congregation after a rebuke from Lang's mother while Martin tried to resolve his dispute over press freedom by challenging the registrar of the Auckland Supreme Court to a duel. This book argues, nevertheless, that religious ideas—ideas which helped to form the basis of party allegiance back in Scotland—provided some of the theoretical basis to colonial reform politics. Politics were still personal but reformers were motivated by principle as well as by pettiness.

Michael Gauvreau has attributed political reformism in Upper Canada to the influence of Scottish dissenting traditions. Religious controversy contributed to the politicisation of public space and caused non-Anglicans to demand a government more accountable to their needs. The Church of England controlled King's College, the only higher education institution in the colony, and it attempted to appropriate all of the clergy reserves, the land grants assigned by the 1791 Constitutional Act for the maintenance of the 'Protestant clergy'. The Scottish Secession's commitment to church-state separation encouraged resistance in Upper Canada to an Anglican-dominated legislative council and underpinned demands for a government responsible to a pluralist settler population.<sup>34</sup> Upper Canada had a

representative assembly, elected by forty-shilling freeholders, and a legislative council, nominated by the Crown. The colony had a lieutenant-governor, accountable to the governor-general in Quebec, who was responsible for the nomination of officials and who headed the executive, a body composed of some members of the legislative council. Since the legislative council tended to defend the interests of the Church of England, the de facto established church in the colony, and could block all measures passed by a dissenter-supported assembly, reformers like William Lyon Mackenzie, a figure omitted from Gauvreau's study but who features prominently in this one, viewed the nature of colonial government as the root of inequality.

Michel Ducharme, a historian who would definitely insist that colonial politics had an ideological foundation, describes Mackenzie as a radical republican who sought to revolutionise the political system in Canada. Ducharme believes that an ideological split over the meaning of liberty divided the Canadian population in the pre-rebellion era. Republicans fought to entrench popular sovereignty and to secure a society of independent, virtuous and equal citizens while those who subscribed to 'modern liberty' sought to protect civil liberties—freedom of worship, press freedom, the right to have one's property protected—by upholding a balanced, mixed government within the British constitutional framework. Denominational equality was as important an issue to republicans like Mackenzie, who fought to free the populace from the tyranny of a state church, as it was to reforming liberals, who fought to preserve the rights of individuals to religious freedom. Ducharme did not have space, he admitted, to examine the attitudes of Canadian thinkers and politicians to the vexed question of church-state relations and consider how these intersected with their ideas on liberty.<sup>35</sup> This book makes a modest start by examining the views of Mackenzie. It will also consider the significance of denominational equality in the reform campaigns of other colonies with Scottish settlements: Nova Scotia, the Cape Colony, New South Wales and New Zealand.

### BRITISH BIRTHRIGHT AND THE COVENANTING IDIOM

Whether or not British reformers advocated republicanism—like William Lyon Mackenzie or John Dunmore Lang—or were committed to whig-liberalism—like Thomas Pringle, Thomas McCulloch and Samuel McDonald Martin—most couched their political demands in

the language of ‘British birthright’. The idea that Englishmen were free-born and inherited the right to consensual governance and the rule of law originated from a seventeenth-century jurisprudential tradition. This tradition emphasised the restraints placed by the ancient constitution on the English monarch.<sup>36</sup> That Englishmen carried their rights overseas was affirmed by a Privy Council judgment in 1722: ‘if there be new and uninhabited country found out by English subjects, as the law is the birth-right of every subject, so, wherever they go, they carry their laws with them’.<sup>37</sup> Lord Mansfield endorsed this principle in 1774 when he found in *Campbell vs Hall* that all British subjects of settler colonies were entitled, because of their birthright, to representation in government.<sup>38</sup> Colonists across the nineteenth-century settler world—Scots as well as English—declared themselves to be free-born Englishmen who, on emigrating, carried with them the rights ‘deeply implanted’ in the laws and constitution of England: the right to representative government, the right not to be taxed without consent, the right to petition and the right to trial by jury.<sup>39</sup> British birthright, however, was an exclusionary right; it applied only to property-owners and to Britons who were white and male.<sup>40</sup> Though New Zealand’s Treaty of Waitangi (1840) promised Māori all the rights and privileges of British subjects, in reality Māori were deprived of many of the privileges granted to European settlers, some of whom reinvented ‘Britishness’ as something distinct from indigenous ‘savagery’.<sup>41</sup> William Lyon Mackenzie, moreover, on the eve of his rebellion in Upper Canada, in a statement whose meaning would repay closer analysis, called on settlers to defy the British government’s First Nations allies.<sup>42</sup> Mackenzie’s liberal rhetoric also marginalised black Canadians.<sup>43</sup> Self-government, Ann Curthoys and others have argued, gave settlers the freedom to disenfranchise non-whites and assert their masculine strength.<sup>44</sup>

British birthright rhetoric was a colonial version of what some historians have called the ‘constitutional idiom’, or ‘popular constitutionalism’. Reformers in early nineteenth-century Britain, who, to validate their demands, drew parallels between past and present to construct a lineage for their ideas, celebrated both the whig tradition of challenging ‘old corruption’ and the balanced constitution secured by the 1688 revolution.<sup>45</sup> Into the Chartist period, as Josh Gibson has recently argued, reformers continued to point to Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights of 1688 and they imagined the constitution as written—by depriving the populace of their democratic rights, it was argued, parliament had contravened fixed principles of fundamental law.<sup>46</sup> According to Paul Pickering, just as constitutionalism was

the ‘master narrative’ of British politics until the second half of the nineteenth century, so it was the master narrative of settler politics in colonial New South Wales.<sup>47</sup> Whig-liberals in the colony, as in other regions, cherished the constitution as the guarantor of civil liberties but so too did republicans who sought to secure their right as free-born Englishmen to participate in government and root out corruption. Republicans emphasised freedom from domination but not necessarily freedom from the Crown (though William Lyon Mackenzie and John Dunmore Lang would both come to adopt that position).<sup>48</sup> They cherished the notion of a balanced constitution in which the third estate—represented in Britain by the House of Commons and in the colonies by popular assemblies—could bring the monarchy and aristocracy to account. According to Paul McHugh, British birthright was a robust political language—not empty rhetoric as Mark Francis claims—anchored to contemporary constitutional thinking on the ancient common law.<sup>49</sup> Colonists employed British birthright to challenge the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy, which had gained currency after the American Revolution when the imperial government sought to underline its authority over its colonial dependencies.<sup>50</sup> Whereas in the old colonial system representative assemblies, some Americans had argued, had been *coordinate with* the Westminster parliament, the colonial constitutions granted by Westminster after the American Revolution were *subordinate to* parliament. Australian reformers challenged this idea and they looked to English history for inspiration: Magna Carta, the struggles of the Civil War and the revolution of 1688. The ‘entitlement to parliamentary liberty’, says Peter Cochrane, ‘had become a defining characteristic of Britishness abroad’.<sup>51</sup> Political claims in Australia, Angela Woollacott has written recently, ‘were couched in terms of English liberties and rights’.<sup>52</sup> Historians of Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and elsewhere have made similar arguments, as exemplified by Jack. P. Greene’s volume: *Exclusionary Empire: English Liberty Overseas, 1600–1900*.<sup>53</sup>

British birthright rhetoric constitutes only one strand of the multifaceted constitutional discourse invoked by imperial subjects when they critiqued the legitimacy of colonial authority. To justify their claim-making, colonists drew on a range of sources from what Lauren Benton describes as a ‘cluttered constitutional field’.<sup>54</sup> Besides drawing on an English jurisprudential tradition, the settlers in this book also looked to Scottish history and couched their claims in terms of Scottish liberties and rights. As B.H. McPherson has pointed out, English common law, which provided the foundation for British birthright, did not apply in Scotland. According to Ian Holloway, the Privy Council judgment of 1722, cited above, and



Blackstone, who later reinforced the principle that English subjects transported their laws on migrating to *terra nullius*, relied on unjustified assumptions that English common law was the law of Britain's empire. Several migrants, Holloway noted, came from Scotland.<sup>55</sup> Could Scottish migrants have claimed distinctive rights as free-born Scotsmen? Did Scots carry their rights with them on migrating to a British colony governed by English law?<sup>56</sup>

Pringle, McCulloch, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin, along with many other Scottish settlers, employed what this book terms the 'covenanting idiom', a Scottish variant of British birthright rhetoric, which emphasised the contribution made by Scotland's Protestant heroes to the development of Britain's constitutional liberty. Scottish Presbyterian settlers, as Thomas Pringle's efforts show (discussed in Chap. 2), wrote their history *into* the narrative of British birthright. Scots Presbyterians drew inspiration not just from English history but from Scotland's historic battles against Catholicism and Anglicanism. Scottish colonial reformers looked to the covenanting rebellions which had supposedly paved the way for the 'Glorious Revolution' and to the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England in 1707, which protected the revolution settlement. They drew inspiration from the writings of the Rev. Thomas M'Crie (1772–1835), a minister of the Secession, who published histories of the Reformations in Italy, Spain and Scotland. M'Crie drew parallels between the historic battle against papal 'tyranny' and the contemporary struggle in Europe for liberal reform. In Romantic-era Europe, it was common for historians to rewrite the history of the Reformation to support political myth-making.<sup>57</sup> In his hugely popular and sanitised accounts of the lives of John Knox and Andrew Melville, M'Crie depicted Scotland's Protestant martyrs as national heroes who had resisted ecclesiastical supremacy and political despotism.<sup>58</sup> In a much-celebrated review of Walter Scott's *Old Mortality* (1816), moreover, M'Crie aimed to rehabilitate the reputation of the Restoration Covenanters who, he claimed, had died to secure civil and religious liberty for Scotland; to ensure that episcopalian rule was never again established in the country.<sup>59</sup> Episcopalian rule, it was argued by M'Crie and the Presbyterian historians who followed him, had been despotic in church and state and, by resisting its incursions, the Scottish Covenanters had hastened the evolution of political liberty for Scotland and for Britain, enshrined in the balanced constitution secured at the anti-Catholic revolution of 1688–89.<sup>60</sup>

M'Crie was a fringe theologian from the old light Antiburghers who was committed to maintaining traditional covenanting standards. Though

a dissenter, he rejected new light voluntaryism and hoped that his sect might one day rejoin a purified Kirk. M'Crie's fundamentalism did not appeal to moderate Presbyterians or to his new light voluntary colleagues in the Secession, who disagreed with his establishmentarian views. Nevertheless, M'Crie writings were terrifically popular and his historical narrative captivated everyone across the Presbyterian spectrum. Describing himself as an 'old whig', M'Crie located Scottish whig-liberalism within a long-standing tradition of Presbyterian dissent.<sup>61</sup> Reformers in Scotland could mobilise popular support by emphasising the country's distinctive contribution to the development of British constitutional liberty.<sup>62</sup> They equated demands for political reform with the historic defence of Presbyterian polity. Covenanting rhetoric infused political speeches and inspired local people. In 1815 a radical crowd marched to the scene of the Covenanters' Battle of Drumclog (1679) to celebrate the power of popular resistance.<sup>63</sup>

The covenanting idiom was influential in the colonies of Scottish settlement where, as will become clear, M'Crie's works were available in libraries and widely read. McCulloch, Pringle, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin employed the covenanting idiom in their reformist rhetoric which was dotted with references to Scotland's historic battles against Anglicanism. The British government's policy of establishing the Church of England in the colonies and allowing Anglican bishops seats on unrepresentative governing councils resembled too closely, it was thought, the aspirations of Scotland's Restoration regime to episcopalian supremacy. Because of the sacrifices of their covenanting ancestors, British subjects at home and abroad, it was argued, particularly if they were white and male, were entitled to the political liberties enshrined in Britain's constitution: to representative government, freedom of expression and even, William Lyon Mackenzie argued, the right to resist a despotic regime by force. Scottish Presbyterians were entitled to something else in addition: the protection of their church's spiritual independence. Scottish settlers argued that the Treaty of Union, as documents like the *Claim of Right* (1842) demonstrated, obliged the British government to protect Scottish Presbyterianism and, by implication, the Crown rights of Jesus who headed the church. The Treaty was a written document, like Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights, and it was binding on parliament. It obliged the British government to grant certain concessions to Scottish settlers.

Trevor Burnard has pointed out that Scottish Presbyterians and English Anglicans were not that different—both belonged to the empire's

hegemonic social group; nor were Presbyterians the only Scots who moved abroad. Scottish Episcopalian/Anglicans like John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, were easily integrated into colonial power structures as were some Presbyterians, like Lord Dalhousie, governor-general of British North America. Indeed, Scottish Presbyterians often worshipped alongside English Anglicans when there was no other option. According to Benjamin Jones, a sense of shared Britishness brought migrants together. 'The concept of the international British family', he says, 'as opposed to the native English, Scot, Irish, or Welsh, proved to be not only transportable but also central' to settler societies.<sup>64</sup> As Linda Colley has argued, a common Protestantism united Britons against the Catholic other.<sup>65</sup> Yet as Michael Gauvreau has shown, a 'common sense of Britishness was frequently qualified by, and subordinated to, older patriotisms...that centred particularly on the distinctions of church polity between Presbyterian and Anglican'.<sup>66</sup> Scottish Presbyterian settlers were often keenly aware that their version of Protestantism differed to that espoused by the Church of England, the dominant church in the British empire.<sup>67</sup> The British empire, as David Armitage has noted, had 'no unitary theological foundation'.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, as *conditional* Britons, Scottish Presbyterian dissenters in Scotland and in the British colonies of Scottish settlement believed that they were entitled to certain rights because of their distinctive faith. Their right as free-born Britons to civil liberty, they thought, was only guaranteed when their right as Scottish Presbyterians to religious liberty was protected.

What was meant by religious liberty? Just as the rights of Englishmen could be vague and imprecise in eighteenth-century American claim-making,<sup>69</sup> so Scottish Presbyterian birthrights were ill-defined. John Dunmore Lang, at least initially, believed that the Treaty of Union obliged the British government to distribute state aid to Presbyterian ministers and Anglican clergy equally. He also defended his right to spiritual autonomy—to the freedom to administer church business without interference from Anglican-influenced legislatures. The reformers in this book thought that they were entitled to live free from Anglican supremacy. They demanded liberal reform, even autonomy from the Westminster parliament, to loosen the connection between the Anglican church and the state. In the 1860s, as we shall see in Chap. 9, the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape Colony stated that the Scottish Presbyterian doctrine of non-intrusion had qualified the 'absolute supremacy of the Crown'. The governing principle of the British empire, 'that the Sovereign is the fountain of all authority', had received 'a most important limitation'.<sup>70</sup> The claim that 'this realm of

England is an empire...governed by one supreme head and king' was first asserted in the 1530s when Henry VIII broke with Rome and assumed the headship of the Church of England.<sup>71</sup> Three hundred years later some Anglicans contemporaries insisted that the doctrine of Anglican supremacy—that the monarch was head of the church and state in a spiritual and temporal sense—had been extended to and established within Britain's colonial territories. In response, Scottish colonists insisted that the Treaty of Union had guaranteed Scottish rights—rights for which their martyred forefathers had died—by protecting Scottish Presbyterianism and restricting the Church of England's authority to England (and Wales and Ireland) alone.<sup>72</sup> It was but a short step from the position that the Crown (and parliament) had no jurisdiction in the Scottish spiritual sphere to maintaining that Westminster had no jurisdiction in colonies at all. John Dunmore Lang's separatist republicanism, as we shall see in Chap. 10, partly evolved from his campaign to protect the spiritual autonomy of his church.

The settlers discussed herein often employed the covenanting idiom opportunistically (and in concert with other arguments) but their rhetoric was also anchored to their Presbyterian political and constitutional values. They were invested in the narrative of covenanting martyrdom made famous by writers like M'Crie and they believed in the Scottish Presbyterian doctrine of spiritual autonomy allegedly enshrined in Britain's constitution. Some believed in the Free Church principle of non-intrusion; others subscribed to the more extreme Secession tenet of disestablishment voluntarism.

Like British birthright rhetoric, the covenanting idiom was an exclusionary language.<sup>73</sup> It emphasised the rights acquired through battle with Catholics and Anglican/Episcopalians by Protestant—particularly Presbyterian—men. Despite the sacrifice of covenanting women, the covenanting idiom tended to emphasise the rights of men alone. While male Covenanters were celebrated for their valour, female Covenanters were described as having behaved 'beyond the bounds of moderation'; they tended to be defined according to their relationships with their husbands, brothers or sons.<sup>74</sup> John Dunmore Lang, as we shall see in Chap. 10, believed in excluding all women from politics and was not keen on involving any Irish Catholics either. Lang and his allies were intent on infusing Protestant virtue into Australia by encouraging the migration of Scottish tradesmen and their families and disapproved of the migration of single Catholic women. In Canada, discussed in Chap. 8, fear of the influence of Francophone Lower Canada where Catholicism was dominant, caused

Scottish Presbyterian settlers to resist the union of the Canadas in 1841. When the union passed, they demanded a wider franchise to bolster the Protestant electorate and marginalise Quebecois Catholics.

## OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

*Empire of Dissent* is divided into two parts. Part I traces the journeys of Pringle, McCulloch, Lang and Mackenzie to Cape Town, Pictou, Sydney and Toronto, charts their experiences there and unpacks the Presbyterian foundations of their political thought. Chapter 2 discusses Thomas Pringle's trials at the Cape. Born near Kelso in the first year of the French Revolution, Pringle was the son of a farmer with strong ties to the Secession. He studied at the University of Edinburgh and attended the church of the famous Secession historian, the Rev. Thomas M'Crie. In 1820 Pringle moved to the Cape Colony where he became a librarian. With his compatriot, John Fairbairn (1794–1864), he opened the Classical and Commercial Academy, a school for English-speaking children. Pringle and Fairbairn also edited the *South African Journal* and *South African Commercial Advertiser*. Governor Somerset denounced Pringle as an 'arrant dissenter' and closed down the press. Somerset, who ruled without a representative assembly, was, Pringle claimed, an autocrat; he persecuted dissenters and restricted their freedom of speech. This chapter demonstrates that Pringle's poetry actually inspired Thomas M'Crie's celebration of covenanting resistance and suggests that, in turn, M'Crie's narrative coloured Pringle's poetic reflections on colonial rule in southern Africa. Whig-liberal discourse imagined the Cape as a new site of conflict in Scotland's long battle for civil and religious liberty.

Chapter 3 discusses Thomas McCulloch's struggles in Nova Scotia. McCulloch, born during the American War of Independence, studied at the University of Glasgow and became a missionary for the Secession. In Pictou, where he settled in 1803, McCulloch established the Pictou Academy, a controversial college of higher learning for non-Anglicans. At the Academy McCulloch taught Jotham Blanchard (1800–1839), an integral figure in McCulloch's story. Together through the pages of the *Colonial Patriot* newspaper, McCulloch and Blanchard fought to secure permanent funding for their institution from the local legislature. Nova Scotia had a legislative assembly and a nominated 'council of twelve', which performed both legislative and executive functions. When their efforts were thwarted by an intransigent council, the two men campaigned

for an accountable system of colonial rule, arguing that the government resembled a tyrannical Anglican church-state.<sup>75</sup> This chapter examines McCulloch's connection to new light voluntarism and surveys his literary works, considering how he refashioned for a Nova Scotian audience, M'Crie's politicised narrative of Scotland's past.

In New South Wales, a crown colony until 1842, John Dunmore Lang couched his anti-establishment agitation in similar terms. As Chap. 4 explains, Lang was born near Greenock on the Clyde coast during Britain's war with Napoleonic France, and left Scotland two years after Pringle. He was educated at the University of Glasgow and trained as a Church of Scotland minister. He associated himself with the Kirk's evangelical wing but identified with its dissenting heritage. Lang settled in Sydney in 1823 where he became the first Presbyterian minister in the city and, later, one of the most controversial politicians in nineteenth-century Australia. Lang resented the Church and School Corporation established to provide instruction on Anglican principles. He keenly defended the rights of Presbyterians and lobbied the British government to secure funds for the erection of the Australian College, a college with a Presbyterian flavour. Lang invoked the covenanting idiom in an angry memorial to the governor, who, he believed, was failing to treat the Presbyterian community equitably.

William Lyon Mackenzie had similar concerns, as Chap. 5 explains. Mackenzie left Scotland for Upper Canada in 1820 after the shop that he kept went bust. He was a lay member of the Secession and his religious beliefs inspired him to challenge the structure of colonial government. He eventually settled in York (later called Toronto) where he worked as a journalist, having launched the *Colonial Advocate* newspaper in 1824. Mackenzie became Toronto's first mayor, a member of the legislative assembly and, in 1837, the leader of a rebellion against British rule in Upper Canada. This chapter charts, in the period before 1832, Mackenzie's journalistic efforts to critique the Anglican ascendancy in Toronto.

Part I of the book ends by describing in Chap. 6 the travels of Blanchard (as McCulloch's agent), Lang and Mackenzie to Britain during the reform crisis of the early 1830s when the whig government was attempting to get its bill for the reform of political representation in Britain through parliament. It considers the ways in which the colonists shaped this process, were inspired by reform culture in Britain and became known to each other. Blanchard was introduced to Pringle, now based in London, through the intervention of the United Secession Church. Pringle also met with

Lang and invited him to consult with John Fairbairn when Lang stopped off in Cape Town on his return journey to Sydney. With the help of their contacts—particularly, in Blanchard’s case, the Secession—the colonists lobbied government, visiting the office of Joseph Hume (1775–1855), a radical MP who had ties to the Scottish dissenting community and access to the Colonial Office. Without a direct communication channel to the colonial secretary, colonists used personal contacts from their own networks to pressurise the government.<sup>76</sup> This chapter draws attention to the significance of Scottish dissenting networks, whose role in colonial lobbying is too little known. As Miles Taylor has shown, Hume’s knowledge of Indian affairs strengthened his commitment to parliamentary reform at home.<sup>77</sup> His dealings with Lang, Pringle, McCulloch and Mackenzie, this book suggests, also shaped Hume’s politics. Tellingly, following successive meetings with his colonial visitors, Hume—described by Taylor as ‘the virtual member for the empire’<sup>78</sup>—introduced in July 1831 an amendment to the reform bill in the House of Commons, calling for greater representation for the colonies and an end to Anglican privilege in regions of Scottish settlement overseas.

Chapter 6 concludes by endorsing the view of Taylor: that the limits of the whigs’ reform agenda generated a backlash across the empire.<sup>79</sup> Part II of the book examines how this backlash unfolded. Blanchard and Mackenzie returned home disappointed; Pringle and Fairbairn thought Hume’s proposals did not go far enough. In Scotland, as described in Chap. 7, where dissenters were for the first time politically enfranchised, a reinvigorated campaign for the reform of the established Church culminated in Chartism and the Disruption of the Kirk; these events sent shockwaves across the British empire. It is difficult fully to understand the nature of colonial unrest after 1832 without first taking stock of the Scottish political climate. As Chap. 8 explains, Scottish church politics impacted on Upper Canada and Nova Scotia as demands there for reform intensified. A radicalised Mackenzie headed a rebellion in 1837. He hoped to establish a republic in Canada. Before he commenced his armed attack, Mackenzie employed the covenanting idiom in his newspaper, aiming to attract support from the Scottish Presbyterian community. Perhaps unsurprisingly, his uprising became known as the ‘Scotch rebellion’.

The collapse of Britain’s *ancien régime* also reverberated, Chap. 9 suggests, in Cape Town. Reformers here, who were still trying to secure representative government, and later responsible government, were stimulated by Disruption politics in Scotland and the church-state conflicts of Canada



and Australia. They sought to limit the governor's powers and free the churches from state control, both local and imperial. As one reformer remarked, the struggles of Thomas Pringle, who died in 1834 but whose memoir was well-read, demonstrated how important it was for colonists to resist tyrannical rule and acquire spiritual autonomy. Another pointed to John Dunmore Lang's spirited resistance in Australia.

Back in Sydney after a sojourn at the Cape with Pringle's friends, Lang, as outlined in Chap. 10, became increasingly embittered by the lack of support for his Presbyterian college and the council's interference in his church. He began corresponding with leading dissenters back in Scotland, an episode in Lang's career which has received too little attention, and became a convert to new light voluntarism. He advocated self-government for Australia, arguing that only an autonomous and democratic government would end Anglican supremacy. He hoped that the institution of voluntarism would thwart the rise of Catholicism in Australia. In later life Lang became an outspoken republican who demanded Australia's independence from Britain. He sought to sever ties with an imperial government which had usurped Christ's crown.

Samuel McDonald Martin's political vision for New Zealand, the last of the settler dominions to be colonised, was, the book concludes in Chap. 11, inevitably influenced by these events. Martin, who hailed from Skye, studied medicine at the University of Glasgow and migrated to New South Wales in 1837. He moved on to Auckland in 1842 where he edited the *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette* and the *Southern Cross*, the first independent newspaper in Auckland. News of the Scottish Disruption as well as the events unfolding in Canada and Australia encouraged Martin to resist in New Zealand what he regarded as 'spiritual despotism'. Martin knew Lang from his days in Sydney and he shared with the firebrand minister, whose republican manifesto was inspired by Martin's writings, a similar worldview. The non-intrusion campaign, which, Martin argued, could be compared to the covenanting rebellion of the seventeenth century, was a movement to overturn the unscriptural ecclesiastical supremacy asserted by the British Crown and secure for the Scottish people, their political rights. This supremacy was oppressive to New Zealand colonists too who were being threatened with Anglican monopoly and deprived of their political liberty, their religious equality and their freedom to buy and sell land. Martin arguably viewed the Crown's assertion of sovereignty in the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) as a usurpation of Jesus Christ's authority. By declaring itself supreme in all

matters of church and state, the Crown was, Martin contended, depriving settlers and Māori of their rights as British subjects. Māori should be granted their freedom of trade so that they could sell their lands to settlers and be incorporated into the British state as Protestantised labourers. Martin's denominational prejudices shaped his political liberalism.

*Empire of Dissent* explores dissenting culture in settler societies through the lens of biography to demonstrate that mobility and personal connections facilitated transcolonial exchange. It demarcates for the first time the similarities and relationships between Pringle, McCulloch, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin and their connection to a wider imperial network. The early nineteenth century, says C.A. Bayly, was an era of 'converging revolutions'—a globalised age of reform—when political and social changes across the world were interconnected and interdependent. For too long, Ballantyne argues, historians have ignored the 'comparative sensibility' of anti-colonial movements.<sup>80</sup> Recent historiography in Australia, Angela Woollacott has written, 'has overlooked the extent to which those who pushed self-government had imperial experience and connections elsewhere'.<sup>81</sup> Politicians in New South Wales, agrees Peter Cochrane, imagined themselves as part of an 'imperial drama. Their consciousness was comparative, their coordinates were global'.<sup>82</sup>

'While the turn to transnational history this century', Ann Curthoys has written recently, 'has encouraged a return to the study of networks and comparisons...this approach is only just beginning to influence the scholarship on responsible government.'<sup>83</sup> No one has yet explored how long-distance links between Presbyterians contributed to a culture of dissent and reform politics in the colonies (and in Britain itself). Lang, Pringle and Mackenzie have typically been considered only within a domestic context; the full extent of their influence has been underestimated. Mackenzie is regarded as a Canadian (anti)hero;<sup>84</sup> Lang once enjoyed a similar status in Australia, though he then disappeared from public memory.<sup>85</sup> 'A searching biography', Linda Colley has recently argued, 'that will situate Lang and his fellow Australian activists in transnational contexts is badly needed'.<sup>86</sup> Pringle, meanwhile, has been celebrated in secondary literature as the 'father of South African poetry';<sup>87</sup> his colonial connections and religious values have been underexplored; his ties to Lang and McCulloch are new discoveries. McCulloch has been described as the inventor of Canadian humour;<sup>88</sup> he and Blanchard, however, whose unsuccessful attempt to reform colonial government appeared to contribute nothing to the development of Canadian nationhood, have been mostly written out of

Canadian historiography.<sup>89</sup> The career of Samuel McDonald Martin, who spent only a few years in New Zealand, has been similarly ignored. There is no extant image of Martin, no scholarship on his writings and, except for a short entry in the online dictionary of New Zealand biography, no account of his life.<sup>90</sup> An analysis of these individuals and the horizontal links between them reveals the broader significance of their careers.

## NOTES

1. Harper 2003, p. 3; Devine 2011, p. 85.
2. MacKenzie with Dalziel 2007, p. 48; Cowan 1992; Vance 2012; Lenihan 2015.
3. MacKenzie 2017.
4. No one has yet attempted to count the number of missionaries dispatched from Scottish churches. For an overview of Scottish missions in the empire see Breitenbach 2011, pp. 186–226.
5. Carey 2011. See also, Carey 2008.
6. Gladwin 2015; Hardwick 2014; Strong 2007; Brown and Nockles 2012; Vaudry 2003.
7. See e.g., Porter 2004; Rutz 2006, 2008; Hall 2002; Elbourne 2002; Laidlaw 2004; Lester 2002.
8. Brown 1987, pp. 61–2.
9. McKerrow 1867; Scobie and Rawlyk 1977.
10. Balfour 1899.
11. Kidd 2002.
12. Rodger 2008, p. 5.
13. On the centrality of religious issues to the Union negotiations see Stephen 2007. For the act see <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aosp/1707/6>.
14. McBride 1998.
15. Macfarlane 1862, p. 396.
16. Brims 1980, pp. 52–3.
17. Brims 1980, p. 55.
18. Isabella 2015, p. 5.
19. See Wallace 2009, Chapter 1.
20. On the Scottish Presbyterian roots of voluntarism see Wallace 2009, p. 58, note 45.
21. McKerrow 1841.
22. Wallace 2009, Chapter 1.
23. See Rodger 2008, pp. 26–7.
24. The Church of Scotland 1842, pp. 1, 15.
25. Pickles 2011; Dubow 2009; Pietsch 2013.
26. Roe 1967. I am grateful to Tim Causer for this reference.

27. Clark 1994, pp. 264–5; Moore 2015.
28. Miller 2007.
29. See e.g., Holmes 2009.
30. Though not all, of course. See Ducharme 2014 for an examination of competing ideologies in Canada.
31. Ballantyne 2009, p. 109.
32. Francis 1992, pp. 2, 7. For the Nova Scotian context see Cuthbertson 1982.
33. McHugh 1995, p. 361.
34. Gauvreau 2003.
35. Ducharme 2014, p. 11.
36. Greene 2009, p. 1.
37. Holloway 1998, p. 84.
38. Francis 1992, pp. 14–15.
39. Greene 2009, p. 2.
40. Greene 2009, p. 24; McKenna 2012. On this theme see also Curthoys 2012a, b.
41. Lester 2002.
42. Stagg 1976, p. 76.
43. Wallace 2011, pp. 131–46.
44. Curthoys 2012a, b; Woollacott 2015; Mitchell 2009.
45. Political language was fluid and reformers also invoked the rhetoric of Tom Paine and the tradition of Jacobinism: Epstein 1990; Belchem 1981. See also Gurney 2014, who cautions against placing too much emphasis on popular constitutionalism to the exclusion of what he terms the ‘democratic idiom’.
46. Gibson 2017.
47. Pickering 2001, 2007.
48. Jones 2009. See also, McKenna 1996, pp. 7–10.
49. McHugh 1995, p. 364.
50. Francis 1992, pp. 13–14; Dorsett 2010.
51. Cochrane 2006, p. 10.
52. Woollacott 2015, p. 6.
53. Greene 2009. See also McLaren 2010. For Upper Canada see Wilton 2000. On New Zealand see Ward 2005, 2008. As Christopher Saunders has observed, the utilisation of British birthright rhetoric has yet to receive proper attention in the South African context: Saunders 2009, p. 285, but see McKenzie 1998/1999.
54. Benton 2011, p. 220.
55. Holloway 1998, pp. 85, 90.
56. McPherson 1995.
57. Altermatt and Metzger 2005, p. 331.
58. Wallace 2014a; Erskine 2014.

59. Murray 1992.
60. Kidd 1993, pp. 201–4; Forsyth 2004. For the Ulster Presbyterian take on M’Crie see Holmes 2009, pp. 625–8.
61. Wallace 2014a.
62. Pentland 2005.
63. Aiton 1821, pp. 9–10.
64. Jones 2014, p. 13.
65. Colley 1992.
66. Gauvreau 2008, p. 230.
67. Burnard 2014, p. 109.
68. Armitage 2000, p. 9.
69. Reid 1986, pp. 10–11.
70. M’Carter 1869, p. 64.
71. Mason 1987, p. 69.
72. Landsman 2011.
73. On the exclusionary nature of radical language in Britain see Belchem 2005.
74. Macdonald 2002, p. 227.
75. Wallace 2014b.
76. Laidlaw 2005.
77. Taylor 2007. For the influence of empire on the shaping of the Reform Acts see also Hall 2000.
78. Taylor 2007, p. 301.
79. Taylor 2003, pp. 310–11.
80. Ballantyne 2002, p. 11.
81. Woollacott 2015, p. 103.
82. Cochrane 2006, p. 7.
83. Curthoys 2016.
84. Armstrong 1971.
85. Jones and Pickering 2014.
86. Colley 2014, p. 266, n. 83.
87. Finkelstein 2009.
88. Bugey and Davies 2003.
89. Wallace 2014b.
90. Simpson 1990.

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PART I

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Journeys

## Thomas Pringle in Cape Town

*'But my heart must be calmer – colder yet – Ere Scotland  
and fair Freedom I forget!'*  
(Pringle 1828, p. 154)

Thomas Pringle, born near Kelso in 1789, sailed with twenty-three other Scots to the Cape Colony on 15 February 1820 on board the *Brilliant*. Pringle had studied at the University of Edinburgh and had become an aspiring man of letters in the capital, writing poetry and editing a succession of literary periodicals. Struggling financially, however, he opted to emigrate. He travelled with his extended family on an assisted emigration scheme. His party originally wished to be settled in the proposed 'New Edinburgh', where a community of Highland Scots and a Presbyterian minister were due to be established. Instead they formed 'Glen Lynden' in the interior of the Cape in the Baviaans River valley. Pringle recounted the care taken by his party of emigrants to observe the Sabbath during the early days of the settlement and to maintain the proper forms of worship until a minister could be settled among them. Pringle compared his party of settlers to the Old Testament Hebrew exiles in the wilderness. In 1821 he wrote to Col. C.C. Bird, the colonial secretary at the Cape, asking for

a Presbyterian minister to be appointed to the Scots settlement.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime Pringle took up the position of 'religious instructor', preaching in Dutch and English.<sup>2</sup> But Pringle did not last long on the farm. He needed crutches to walk and so he moved to Cape Town where he was appointed sub-librarian of the South African Public Library.

Pringle encouraged his friend John Fairbairn, born near Berwick in 1794, to join him in Cape Town.<sup>3</sup> Fairbairn, with whom Pringle had formed a literary society at Edinburgh, arrived in Cape Town in October 1823. Since there was no public institution of learning in Cape Town or 'any good school for English',<sup>4</sup> and only one private academy for Dutch-speaking children, Pringle and Fairbairn decided to open the Classical and Commercial Academy. It opened in 1823 and had fifty pupils within a month. Like McCulloch's Pictou Academy and Lang's Australian College, the institution was set up to provide a broad education.<sup>5</sup> A 'Philosophical Apparatus' was arranged in the 'Chemistry Room' on the second floor of the library.<sup>6</sup> Pringle asked Fairbairn to procure books for the school before he sailed, as well as an atlas and, if he could find them, a pair of small globes.<sup>7</sup> In 1824 Pringle and Fairbairn took over the editorship of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, the first independent newspaper in the colony launched by George Greig, an English settler. They also edited a literary periodical, the *South African Journal*, which, Pringle told Fairbairn, he hoped would 'enlighten' the colony and with which he would be assisted by the 'ablest clergy'.<sup>8</sup>

Governor Charles Somerset, who ruled the Cape as a crown colony without a representative assembly or, until 1825, an advisory council, was suspicious of the Academy and soon thwarted these plans. Denouncing Pringle as an 'arrant dissenter', Somerset took exception to some of the opinions espoused in Pringle's publications and tried to censor the press.<sup>9</sup> Seemingly because of Somerset's hostility to Pringle and Fairbairn, the Academy lost pupils. Pringle felt himself obliged to return to Britain where he became secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society. He died prematurely in 1834.

Pringle and Fairbairn's battle for freedom of the press and liberal political reform at the Cape has been documented many times<sup>10</sup> but the ideas which underpinned their demands have received less attention. The transmission of British liberal ideas to South Africa has been, according to Christopher Saunders, a neglected or contested subject. Some have condemned the British as illiberal; their intervention, it is claimed, laid the foundations in South Africa of racial segregation and capitalist exploitation.<sup>11</sup> Others celebrate the myth of the 1820 British settlers whose arrival allegedly heralded



the birth of liberty in the colony: freedom of the press, the abolition of slavery, the campaign for representative institutions and the colour-blind franchise. The enlightenment and the evangelical revival, Saunders suggests, were significant influences on British reformers, as was the rhetoric of popular constitutionalism. He points out, however, that no one has yet tracked the use in South Africa, as scholars have done for other colonies, of the “free-born Englishman” and the different meanings given to that term over time.<sup>12</sup>

Historians have debated, then, the extent and merit of British influence but the composite nature of Cape ‘Britishness’ has often gone unobserved.<sup>13</sup> The portfolio of ideas Pringle brought with him, claims John MacKenzie, was specifically Scottish in origin. Though a small band numerically, Scots like Pringle and Fairbairn brought to bear on the Cape ‘a distinctively Scots intellectual, cultural and religious experience.’<sup>14</sup> Attempting to ‘reclaim’ Pringle for Scotland, Angus Calder has attributed Pringle’s sympathy for indigenous Africans to his Scottish background; on account of his upbringing, Pringle supposedly identified Xhosa with ‘cattle-raiding Gaels’.<sup>15</sup> In 1970 John Robert Wahl suggested that ‘it was inevitable that Pringle, with his belief in freedom of expression and his Scottish independence of spirit, should have clashed with Lord Charles Somerset.’<sup>16</sup> Jane Meiring has argued along similar lines: because Pringle grew up in Scotland near the scene of the battle of Flodden Field, he was ‘imbued with a hatred of injustice’; it was ‘inevitable’, indeed, that Pringle should have been influenced by ‘the liberal and the radical’.<sup>17</sup>

Recognising that there is nothing intrinsically defiant, rebellious or compassionate about people who happen to have been born in Scotland, Saul Dubow, A. E. Voss and Matthew Shum have been more incisive on the influence of Pringle’s Scottish upbringing on his Cape politics. Dubow and Voss both suggest that the enlightenment philosophy of Adam Ferguson and Dugald Stewart, whose lectures Pringle may have attended at Edinburgh, shaped Pringle’s thinking.<sup>18</sup> Like the Edinburgh Reviewers whom they read and admired, Pringle and Fairbairn linked modernisation to commercial expansion and argued for the enfranchisement of the middle classes.<sup>19</sup> The elevation of the middling ranks would, they thought, lead to social progress, an idea embodied in their *South African Commercial Advertiser*.<sup>20</sup> Scottish Enlightenment stadialism, the notion that societies progress from barbarism to civilisation through the development of commerce, influenced Pringle’s views of indigenous Africans and the evolution of civic culture.<sup>21</sup> Pringle and Fairbairn both sought to replicate Edinburgh’s clubs and societies in Cape Town.<sup>22</sup>

Dubow and Voss also suggest that evangelicalism, with its emphasis on the regeneration of man through the diffusion of Christian knowledge, tempered Pringle's enlightened outlook. It was not unusual at the time to mix stadialist theory with a 'civilizational perspective'.<sup>23</sup> Pringle approved of missionary efforts to 'alleviate European oppression' by enabling native peoples to 'emerge from heathen darkness'.<sup>24</sup> Pringle's political views, says Dirk Klopper, 'represent a synthesis of liberal and Christian ideologies'.<sup>25</sup> Shum, meanwhile, locates the origins of Pringle's orientalism in his writings on Scottish gypsies. Shum agrees that stadialism was influential on Pringle but is less convinced that the moral ideals of Scottish evangelicalism shaped his thinking. 'For a start', says Shum, there is 'no evidence that Pringle was ever anything other than a staunch Scottish Presbyterian in his religious affiliation'.<sup>26</sup> Pringle's defence of the Scottish Covenanters and his alliance with the Rev. Thomas M'Crie (discussed below), argues Shum, suggest that Pringle would have disapproved of evangelicalism. For such 'strong feelings', he writes, 'about the Presbyterian past are unlikely to have been expressed by someone with evangelical leanings'.<sup>27</sup> Shum has misunderstood the nature of evangelicalism in Scottish society and has assumed that evangelicalism and Scottish Presbyterianism were somehow mutually exclusive. On the contrary, as the introduction to this book suggested, there was a widespread and influential evangelical movement within the Scottish Presbyterian community. Pringle was both a staunch Presbyterian and an evangelical, as was his mentor Thomas M'Crie.

As a product of dissenting culture, Pringle, this chapter suggests, could be regarded as a proponent of a Scottish evangelical brand of whig-liberalism. The narrative of Presbyterian oppression, which buttressed the rise of evangelicalism in Scotland and underpinned whig demands for the reform of Britain's *ancien regime*, seems to have been inspirational to colonial reformers at the Cape during the post-Napoleonic 'Reign of Terror'. Pringle had a close relationship with the Rev. Thomas M'Crie whose defence of covenanting principles helped to popularise the covenanting idiom: rhetoric which emphasised that the Scottish Covenanters had died to secure to future generations their religious freedom, constitutional liberties and their right to resist despotic rule. M'Crie was not a tory, as Shum has maintained.<sup>28</sup> Rather M'Crie propagated a whiggish discourse which underlined the contribution made by Scottish Presbyterian 'martyrs' to the development of British constitutional liberty, secured by the 1688–1689 revolution. Pringle's early poetry, this chapter reveals, actually inspired M'Crie's famous review of Walter Scott's novel *Old*

*Mortality*—one of the publications in which M'Crie expressed his politicised narrative of the Scottish past. M'Crie's review, in turn, influenced later editions of Pringle's African poetry. The Anglicanising and counter-revolutionary colonial regime, Pringle implied, was depriving colonists of their hard-won *Scottish* birthright.

### PRINGLE'S DISSENTING BACKGROUND

Pringle was by all accounts a devout child whose maternal grandfather had been an elder in a Seceder congregation. Pringle's parents belonged to the Secession; their minister gave them a letter of recommendation before they migrated to the Cape.<sup>29</sup> The Rev. Alexander Pringle (1752–1839), Antiburgher minister of Perth, who supported the creation of the United Secession in 1820, was Pringle's uncle.<sup>30</sup> On arriving at his settlement at the Cape, Pringle chose to read a discourse from a volume of Alexander Pringle's sermons, a parting gift from his uncle. The Rev. James Pringle, moreover, minister of the Secession church in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was his cousin. John Fairbairn lodged with James Pringle while he was teaching in Newcastle before his migration to the Cape. Thomas wrote to John that this stay would oblige him 'to be a regular church-going man'.<sup>31</sup> Pringle later asked for James Pringle's advice when recruiting a minister for the settlers at Baavians River.<sup>32</sup> Pringle was also friends with the Rev. Alexander Waugh (1754–1827), a minister in the United Secession active in the London Missionary Society, whose memoirs Pringle edited and to whom he composed a laudatory poem.<sup>33</sup> Waugh gave Pringle a letter of introduction to the Rev. John Philip (1775–1851), the superintendent of the London Missionary Society at the Cape. Thomas Underwood, bookseller and Pringle's literary agent, was Waugh's son-in-law.<sup>34</sup> Pringle was thus well-connected to Secession networks. In 1830 he visited the home of William Wilberforce and reflected that Wilberforce's family prayers—'so plain, appropriate and impressive'—reminded him of the prayers of his 'Scotch Seceder relations'.<sup>35</sup>

According to his first biographer, Josiah Conder, during his student years in Edinburgh, Pringle's 'devotional bias lost little of its power'. His bible was always on his table.<sup>36</sup> He conducted private worship in the accommodation he shared with his childhood friend Robert Story. Pringle and Story, who would become Church of Scotland minister of Rosneath, Dunbartonshire, met every Sunday evening with two friends, who were religious sceptics, to debate theology.<sup>37</sup> While based in Edinburgh, Pringle

regularly attended the church of the famous Secession historian, the Rev. Thomas M'Crie. M'Crie wrote of Pringle that he was 'much esteemed by literary men for the correctness and elegance of his taste, as he was beloved by all his friends for the amiableness of his disposition and his unassuming manners.'<sup>38</sup> M'Crie's son described Pringle as his father's 'amiable and lamented friend'.<sup>39</sup>

### PRINGLE AND THE COVENANTING IDIOM

As we shall see, Pringle took M'Crie's side in his battle with Walter Scott over the preservation of the Covenanters' memory. Scott's *Old Mortality* of 1816 derided the dogmatic fanaticism of the Restoration Covenanters. Scott was a high-profile Episcopalian, a minority church in Scotland, and a tory sympathiser. His apparent defence of the Restoration regime was regarded by his critics as a defence of the present-day Anglican establishment and a piece of conservative propaganda.<sup>40</sup> Thomas M'Crie was the chief critic of Scott's representation of Scotland's religious past and harshly reviewed *Old Mortality* in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, an evangelical periodical edited by M'Crie's friend, the Rev. Andrew Thomson. M'Crie criticised Scott's portrayal of the martyred Covenanters and was particularly severe on his heroic depiction of Viscount Claverhouse, the antagonist of the covenanting rebels. He offered an alternative narrative of history: he celebrated the sacrifices the Covenanters had made to secure to the Scottish people their religious and civil liberties. The Covenanters had continued a tradition of popular resistance, born during the Reformation, to the established order. M'Crie underlined the contribution of Scotland's Presbyterian worthies to the evolution of British constitutional liberty—to religious toleration, a balanced government and freedom of expression—secured in 1688–1689. John Gibson Lockhart, Scott's son-in-law, described M'Crie as a 'determined Whig in his politics'.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, M'Crie championed, in a qualified way—for he opposed Catholic emancipation—the liberalism of the post-Napoleonic age. He supported Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire and the restoration of the Spanish constitution of 1812. Monarchical despotism in Europe, he believed, had originated with the Roman Empire and the papal hierarchy which had evolved from it. Scottish Protestants had resisted this despotism at the Reformation and the Covenanters had continued the fight: 'Who will say', he asked in his review of *Old Mortality*, 'that the government of Turkey or Spain is

equally good as that of Great Britain, and that there is the same reason to expect national happiness under the former as under the latter?'<sup>42</sup> M'Crie was an evangelical whig who provided a Presbyterian lineage for the reformist ideas of the liberal age.

Pringle shared M'Crie's political outlook. Walter Scott admired Pringle's poetry and helped to procure for him his position as librarian in Cape Town. Scott also assisted with the Pringle family's migration to the colony; he was thanked accordingly with a dedication in Pringle's poetry collection.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, Pringle stated that Scott's 'political predilections were altogether different from his own'.<sup>44</sup> Pringle was engaged in editing *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* during its initial run but this was, Pringle stated, when the magazine was 'a liberal' journal.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, during Pringle's editorship, the *Magazine* featured an 'Account of the Highland Host', a report on the 'disorders' committed by troops brought down to stamp out the covenanting rebellion<sup>46</sup> and it criticised the reviews of *Old Mortality* which had appeared in the *Quarterly Review* and *Edinburgh Review*. The *Quarterly* was evidently trying to vindicate Scott 'from some objections, to which our profound veneration for the Sacred Writings, and our respect for the memory of our persecuted ancestors, must find it but too much exposed'.<sup>47</sup> The *Edinburgh* meanwhile was too quick to excuse Scott's mistakes, attributing these to his toryism.<sup>48</sup>

Pringle fell out with Blackwood and was released from his editorial duties after six issues. As a consequence he was vilified by John Gibson Lockhart. Lockhart mocked Pringle for his dispute with Blackwood in the infamous Chaldee manuscript—described by Randolph Vigne as 'a satirical pseudo-Biblical spoof'—which poked fun at the petty world of Edinburgh publishing.<sup>49</sup> Thomas M'Crie, who had contributed an article to the magazine detailing his discovery of Sir George Mackenzie's papers on the Restoration period,<sup>50</sup> also featured in the manuscript. M'Crie's contemporaries criticised him for having associated himself with what became a tory publication but his son explained that M'Crie had contributed only when Pringle had been editor.<sup>51</sup> Like Thomas McCulloch discussed in the next chapter, Pringle was offended by *Blackwood's Magazine* in its later years, describing its politics in a letter to David Moir as an 'abomination'.<sup>52</sup>

M'Crie and Pringle were aligned during M'Crie's battle with Scott over his representation of the Scottish Covenanters. M'Crie concluded part one of his review of Scott's *Old Mortality* with a quotation from Pringle's 'Autumnal Excursion', a poem first published in 1816 in the *Poetic Mirror*

and described by M'Crie as a 'beautiful little poem'. The poem was published anonymously and M'Crie remarked that owing to its style many had assumed that Walter Scott was the poem's author. This was evidently not the case, argued M'Crie, since 'some of [the poem's] most prominent sentiments' bore 'very little resemblance to [Scott's]'. Describing the virtues of the Borders landscape, Pringle wrote the following:

The bloody field, for many an age,  
Of rival nations' wasteful rage;  
In later times a refuge given  
To exiles in the cause of Heaven  
.....  
There, injur'd Scotland's patriot band  
For Faith and Freedom made their stand.

The extract selected by M'Crie described Viscount Claverhouse as 'the despots' champion' who had tyrannically deprived the Scottish peasantry of their rights:

Tyrants! could not misfortune teach  
That man has rights beyond your reach?  
Though ye the torture and the stake  
Could that intrepid spirit break,  
Which even in woman's breast withstood  
The terrors of the fire and flood!

M'Crie remarked that he hoped Scott would come to agree with the poem's judgement.<sup>53</sup>

The second part of M'Crie's review began with a further quote from the 'Autumnal Excursion'. Pringle's poem declared that the martyrs' memory, preserved by poets, would continue to inspire contemporary patriots:

[T]hough the sceptic's tongue deride  
Those martyrs who for conscience died;  
Though modish history blight their fame,  
And sneering courtiers hoot the name  
Of men who dared alone be free  
Amidst a nation's slavery;  
Yet long for them the poet's lyre

Shall breathe its notes of heavenly fire;  
 Their names shall nerve the patriot's hand  
 Uprais'd to save a sinking land.

According to M'Crie this was an apt quote with which to continue his review since the lines succinctly conveyed in a few words M'Crie's opinion of 'our persecuted ancestors'.<sup>54</sup>

The 'Autumnal Excursion' appeared again in 1819 two years after the *Old Mortality* controversy. Pringle used supplementary annotation in this edition to express his approval of M'Crie's position in the battle with Scott. In his notes, Pringle explained that since the poem's first publication in 1816, *Old Mortality* had caused Claverhouse to become the subject of controversy. Pringle chose to reproduce a lengthy extract of M'Crie's review, an endorsement of its sentiment, stating that M'Crie was one of the 'ablest and best informed authors of the present day'.<sup>55</sup> Pringle followed this extract with quotations from Leyden and Grahame, poets who he believed had expressed the 'dreadful sufferings and heroic spirit of the Scottish Presbyterians'.<sup>56</sup> In a later edition of Pringle's poems, the notes to 'Autumnal Excursion' state that 'very partial apologists', meaning Scott, had given a false impression of Claverhouse. His 'real character', however, had been sketched 'in the stern lines of truth and justice' by M'Crie, Pringle's 'old and reverend friend'.<sup>57</sup>

It has been suggested that Pringle's African poetry, which makes use of Scottish ethnic markers, acted as a cultural bridge between colony and metropole. In 'The Emigrant's Cabin', suggests Dirk Kloppe, Pringle represents the Cape as the ideal landscape onto which the 'cultural values and religious aspirations' of the metropole could be transplanted.<sup>58</sup> In the poem a fictional version of Pringle discusses liberal politicians—Fox, Mackintosh, Brougham, Canning and Grey—with Captain Fox (more on him in Chap. 6). Following Kloppe, Matthew Shum has argued that these references represent Pringle's view of the colony as a 'site for the investment of metropolitan values'. These politicians are, according to Shum, 'uncontroversial' members of the 'establishment', whose values were commutable across geographical divides. The poem, says Shum, rewrites 'the experience of frontier settlement as an exercise in the untroubled spread of colonial civility'.<sup>59</sup> It represents Pringle's conservatism and his concern, so common in Cape society, with cultivating a reputation for respectability.<sup>60</sup> Shum plays down Pringle's radicalism, pointing to the poet's connections with members of the tory elite. Though the 'Autumnal Excursion', in the passages cited above, celebrates the historic heroism of 'Border resistance to British militarism', as Shum puts it, it also

emphasises that this conflict belongs to the past; now ‘Peace broods upon the peasant’s cot’ and historic sufferings have departed. Thus, says Shum, the poem ‘functions both as living relic and a reminder, in the present tense, of the archaic absurdity of opposition to the Hanoverian regime’. Pringle ‘aestheticises’ historic political and military conflict, argues Shum, pointing to his ‘desire not to unsettle Scottish status in the British Empire’.<sup>61</sup>

Shum overstates Pringle’s conservatism. He has failed to notice that in these passages of the ‘Autumnal Excursion’ Pringle not only references historic cross-border warfare but also alludes to the heroic sacrifices made by the Covenanters in their struggle against episcopal tyranny. Pringle’s references to the ‘establishment’ figures in ‘The Emigrant’s Cabin’ and to the martyrs of the covenanting age in the ‘Autumnal Excursion’ could be interpreted as somewhat defiant celebrations of whig principles. Pringle invoked the covenanting idiom, a political discourse which, by emphasising Scottish Presbyterian contributions to the evolution of British liberty, sought to secure Scotland’s position within the union with England, but it also underlined the right of Scots to challenge despotic rule, even in the present. It has already been established that M’Crie was not a tory, as Shum maintains. It could be argued that Pringle adapted M’Crie’s whig discourse for a colonial setting. Elsewhere, indeed, Shum has pointed out that both ‘Autumnal Excursion’ and ‘Evening Rambles’—a poem on the eastern Cape landscape which Pringle began writing in 1822—feature descriptions of caves as havens transformed into tombs. Through this intertextual referencing, does Pringle suggest a parallel between the oppressed ‘Bushmen’ of the Cape and the martyred Covenanters of Scotland?<sup>62</sup>

In a similar vein to McCulloch’s morality tales for Nova Scotian settlers discussed in Chap. 3, Pringle’s ‘Autumnal Excursion’ insisted that Scottish migrants, who were compelled to leave the scene of the Covenanters’ martyrdom, would take with them the memories of the Covenanters’ sacrifice for their freedom:

–Oh, ne’er shall he, whose ardent prime  
Was foster’d in the freeman’s clime,  
Though doom’d to seek a distant strand,  
Forget his glorious native land—  
Forget – ’mid far Columbia’s groves  
Those sacred scenes of youthful loves!<sup>63</sup>



Pringle explained in his notes that on account of post-war depression, emigration from the Borders had increased to a 'deplorable extent'; in 1819 fifty people had gone from Jedburgh alone.<sup>64</sup> Pringle himself would leave in the following year. On board the *Brilliant* bound for the Cape in March 1820 he inscribed a copy of the 'Autumnal Excursion' to a friend. He scored out the reference to 'Columbia's' and scribbled 'Algoa's' over the top, a reference to Algoa Bay, the *Brilliant's* African destination.<sup>65</sup> The memories of the Covenanters, Pringle believed, would be as relevant at the Cape as in North America. A later poem—another salute to the Borders—started in 1824, published in 1829 as 'Glen-Lynden: a Tale of Teviotdale' and reworked as 'The Emigrants', echoes similar sentiments to the 'Autumnal Excursion':

Then she would tell – and in far other tone –  
Of evil times gone by and evil men –  
When they who worshipped God must meet alone  
At midnight, in the cleugh or quaking-fen,  
In peril and alarm, – for round them then  
Were ranging those who hunted for their blood:  
Ay! long shall we remember! – In this glen,  
From yon grim cavern where the screech-owls brood  
Our ancestor was dragged, like outlaw from the wood!

.....  
The battle-mound, the Border-tower,  
That Scotia's annals tell;  
The martyr's grave, the lover's bower –  
To each – to all – farewell!

Home of our hearts! our fathers' home!  
Land of the brave and free!  
The keel is flashing through the foam  
That bears us far from thee:

We seek a wild and distant shore  
Beyond the Atlantic main;  
We leave thee to return no more,  
Nor view thy cliffs again:

But may dishonour blight our fame,  
And quench our household fires,  
When we, or ours, forget thy name,  
Green Island of our Sires!<sup>66</sup>

## EVANGELICAL WHIGGISM AT THE CAPE

Pringle was an evangelical whig in a south African context. In a letter to David Moir he described himself as a 'staunch Whig'. He had been a whig before migrating to the Cape, he said, but his experience there had entrenched his views.<sup>67</sup> The *South African Journal*, the first issue of which appeared in January 1824, celebrated the ascent of Protestant evangelicalism and the overthrow of monarchical despotism. The magazine echoed M'Crie when it argued that the Reformation had undermined the civil supremacy of the church and the influence of an 'all-withering superstition', leading to the development of freedom of expression and the diffusion of knowledge, principles now under threat by the Holy Alliance, which had restored despotism and the inquisition in Europe.<sup>68</sup> Pringle expounded on this theme in his poem on the Holy Alliance, later renamed for his *Ephemerides* collection as 'Verses, On the Restoration of Despotism in Spain, in 1823'. These ideas found further expression in 'The Refugees' (1828) and 'Spaniards, Yield Not to Despair' (1829).

According to C.A. Bayly, conservatism in the British empire was revived in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars. Colonial regimes were 'pro-consular despotisms' which, like the metropolitan state, sought to curb the threat of republicanism and buttress the established institutions of church and state. Freedom of expression was regarded as a challenge to religious orthodoxy and political stability. Constitutional liberals, as Maurizio Isabella has argued, sought to secure religious toleration and a free press, hoping to revitalise their faith.<sup>69</sup> The Cape Colony, says Saul Dubow, was 'drawn into an empire that was vigorously rebuilding a cordon of anti-revolutionary conservatism'.<sup>70</sup> Governor Charles Somerset, a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars, was a tory and an Anglican; he strongly objected to Pringle's journalism, particularly the verses he composed for the *South African Journal* on the Holy Alliance and suppression of constitutional government in Spain, as well as to an article by Fairbairn on the diffusion of knowledge as a check to despotism. Just as Bishop Inglis would regard Pictou Academy as a threat to the establishment in Nova Scotia, discussed in Chap. 3, so Somerset regarded the efforts of Pringle and Fairbairn to erect a school and propagate political ideas as an assault on church and state at the Cape. He explained the situation in a letter to Lord Bathurst, secretary of state for the colonies:

At present there is no Grammar School but that kept by Pringle and Fairbairn, and it is shocking to reflect on the System that, I am told, they pursue to instil into the minds of the Youth under their charge the most

disgusting principles of Republicanism, forming debating Societies amongst the Pupils and learning by heart and writing out of Extracts tending to those dangerous Sentiments...I feel it my duty to make Your Lordship aware of our Situation and the evil that may be produced to the Established Church in particular, as well as to the State before it has actually exploded.<sup>71</sup>

According to Somerset, it was his first duty to defend the rites of the established church—by which he meant the Church of England and not the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>72</sup> He was concerned that Abraham Faure, Pringle's collaborator on the *Journal*, was a Calvinist while Pringle, Somerset proclaimed, was 'an *arrant Dissenter*'.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, as far as Somerset was concerned, there was a 'Torrent...rushing from all Quarters to trample down the Established Church here, and every Artifice is used to add to its destructive force.' In February 1823, he informed Robert Wilmot-Horton, under-secretary of state for war and the colonies, that he was using his influence and authority to support the colonial church establishment and welcomed the arrival of the Rev. George Hough as chaplain in Simonstown. Hough would go on to be master of Cape Town grammar school established to counter the influence of the Classical and Commercial Academy.<sup>74</sup> Somerset complained, however, that the opponents of the establishment were 'so numerous and so artful' that he and Hough were 'engaged in a very unequal Combat'.<sup>75</sup>

The governor reportedly declared Pringle and Fairbairn's Academy to be a 'seminary of sedition'.<sup>76</sup> 'There does not exist', Somerset wrote of Pringle to Lord Bathurst, 'a less well-affected man towards His Majesty's Government in all His Majesty's Dominions, unless it be perhaps his Co-adjutor Mr John Fairbairn'.<sup>77</sup> According to Pringle, Governor Somerset regarded him as a 'violent whig and formerly a supporter of the democratic press in Scotland'.<sup>78</sup> Though he would not recant his whiggery, Pringle observed that he was 'confronted in every corner of the world with a political brand, which proves detrimental to my success'.<sup>79</sup> Somerset disapproved of the meetings of the Literary and Scientific Society, of which Pringle was a member, citing a proclamation of 1800 for the banning of Jacobin clubs. Somerset was touchy after having been slandered, he thought, in reports of an infamous trial printed in the *Advertiser*. His reputation was also damaged after an adversary supposedly posted a placard accusing him of illicit relations with his medical adviser.<sup>80</sup> Somerset attempted to censor both the *Journal* and the *Advertiser*. When the editors resisted, Somerset issued a warrant for the press to be sealed up. George Greig, the publisher, was ordered to leave the colony. According

to Pringle, the spirit of the Holy Alliance prevailed at the ‘Court of our South African autocracy’. Somerset was ‘as determined a foe to free discussion, and as intolerant of any the slightest opposition to his own arbitrary will and narrow views, as if he had been bred up at the feet of the Holy Alliance’.<sup>81</sup> Fairbairn contended that the Cape government was a ‘little Despotism’, evidenced by its desire to prop up the Church of England whose chaplain was awarded an exorbitant salary.<sup>82</sup>

A group of Cape Town residents drew up a petition for freedom of the press. Pringle maintained suggestively that though some Dutch-speakers had refused to sign, ‘such abject dread of arbitrary power found little sympathy, of course, in our breasts’. Pringle and Fairbairn apparently proclaimed to Greig, printer of the *Advertiser*, that they could never ‘compromise our birthright as British subjects by editing any publication under censorship’.<sup>83</sup> ‘I was a free born British Subject,’ wrote Pringle, ‘sensible of my rights and conscious of my innocence... That in leaving my native Country for a Settlement in this, I never conceived that I had resigned the best rights and privileges of a free man.’<sup>84</sup> As Kirsten McKenzie reminds us, the granting of a free press in the colonies signalled the ‘dissemination of the rights of free-born Englishmen in the colonial world’.<sup>85</sup> Pringle’s British birthright, however, as he wrote in a sonnet in the following year, had been gained not in England but in Scotland:

My Country! When I think of all I’ve lost,  
In leaving thee to seek a foreign home,  
I find more cause the further that I roam  
To mourn the hour I left thy favoured coast:  
For each high privilege, which is the boast  
And birth-right of thy sons, by patriots gain’d,  
Dishonour’d dies, where Right and Truth are chain’d

.....

But my heart must be calmer – colder yet –  
Ere Scotland and fair Freedom I forget!<sup>86</sup>

The sonnet is entitled ‘My Country’ in Ritchie’s collection of Pringle’s poems published in 1838 but was named ‘To Scotland’ by Pringle in his *Ephemerides* collection of 1828. Pringle’s British birthright rhetoric thus had a Scottish twist. Just like the ‘patriot band’ of Covenanters in the ‘Autumnal Excursion’, the ‘patriots’ in ‘To Scotland’ had died to secure for the Scots their right to liberty, guaranteed by the British constitution.

In a paper entitled 'Beneficial effects of the labours of the missionaries in S. Africa', John Philip, the Congregationalist missionary from Kirkcaldy, Pringle's friend and ally and Fairbairn's father-in-law, argued along similar lines. All freedom experienced in the colony, Philip insisted, 'education, the vital religion, the literature, the press, and the civil and religious liberties of South Africa', originated in missions. 'Our own civil and religious liberties', wrote Philip, 'were gained for us in the same field in which the Martyrs obtained their crowns, and it is to the Missions that the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope owes every shred of its liberties.' In Reformation Britain, true religion had been nurtured by the peasantry who had overthrown papal power and at the Cape, Philip insisted, true religion had brought down what Pringle called the 'Cape Reign of Terror'.<sup>87</sup>

To a certain extent, indeed, M'Crie's narrative, to which Pringle's poetry provided a supplement, was a staple feature of the Cape's reading matter. The catalogue for the South African Public Library issued in 1825, just after Pringle's term of office there had ended, included M'Crie's *Life of Knox*. The copy had been gifted by the Rev. Andrew Murray, Scottish Dutch Reformed minister of Graaf Reinet, a friend of Pringle's and an evangelical whose parents had been 'auld licht' Seceders.<sup>88</sup> The *South African Commercial Advertiser* quoted from the volume in April 1824.<sup>89</sup> In 1828 Pringle wrote to M'Crie asking if the author could procure copies of his biographies of Knox and Melville to send to Glen Lynden for the library which the settlers had established there. Pringle told M'Crie that any copy would do, even slightly damaged ones not fit for sale, and suggested that, despite the quarrel between Blackwood and himself, Blackwood might send some from his stock.<sup>90</sup> Blackwood sent copies of M'Crie's works for Pictou Academy to Thomas McCulloch, with whom he also had a difficult relationship, so Pringle's hopes were not unwarranted.<sup>91</sup> By 1834 the Cape Town library also stocked M'Crie's histories of the Reformations in Italy and Spain as well as his biographies of Melville, Veitch and Brysson, together with two accounts of the sufferings of the Covenanters, issues of the *Presbyterian Review* and the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, as well as a volume of Andrew Thomson's sermons.<sup>92</sup>

Alexander Johnstone Jardine, Pringle's successor at the Cape Town library, owned a copy of M'Crie's review of *Old Mortality*, which he publicly offered to lend to interested Cape readers.<sup>93</sup> *Old Mortality*, wrote Jardine, originally a member of the Secession,<sup>94</sup> 'was read by everybody, and it was understood to contain the sentiments of ultra-toryism to the prejudice of the people'.<sup>95</sup> The Scots worthies had been ridiculed by 'infi-

del historians' but it was their doctrines which had 'foiled "a tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws"'. They had proclaimed to tyrants, Jardine argued, quoting Pringle's 'Autumnal Excursion', that man has 'rights beyond their reach'. It was these men, indeed, to whom the current generation were indebted for their civil and religious liberties.<sup>96</sup> Jardine referred to M'Crie's biographies of Knox and Melville as the 'Iliad and Odyssey' of the Scots Church in Cape Town, the fund-raising committee for which he joined in 1824.<sup>97</sup> Articles in the *Cape Literary Gazette*, edited by Jardine, championed M'Crie and the heroism of the Covenanters.<sup>98</sup>

Pringle wrote to Lord Brougham, whig politician, regarding the status of his Academy and his literary efforts. '[S]ince I came to this Colony,' he advised Brougham, 'I have fully felt and seen the necessity of Whig principles if England is to be preserved in any degree worthy of former times – or in any respect better than in the other countries subjected to the sway of the Holy Alliance'.<sup>99</sup> Brougham wished Pringle every success in his ventures which he thought would help to spread liberal opinions in the colony. Pringle also wrote to Joseph Hume, radical MP, about the state of colonial affairs; he received from Hume a long letter in response.<sup>100</sup> Joseph Hume spoke against Somerset in the House of Commons.<sup>101</sup> Despite this support, however, Pringle's reputation was tarnished, seemingly as a result of the governor's hostility. The Academy began to lose pupils and was eventually forced to close. Pringle blamed this on the negative influence of Somerset who, he believed, was pressurising Cape Town residents to ostracise Pringle. In fact, the commissioners of inquiry dispatched to the Cape in 1824 discovered that there was no evidence directly connecting Somerset to Pringle's perceived marginalisation.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, Pringle felt it necessary to leave Cape Town. He resigned his position as librarian and returned to Britain. He applied to Robert Hay, under-secretary at the Colonial Office, for compensation for his troubles. His application was denied. Fairbairn, meanwhile, managed to secure freedom for the press by representing his case in London. He later dedicated himself to campaigning for representative government at the Cape. The Academy remained closed but Fairbairn supported the establishment in 1829 of the South African College, an institution of higher learning open to all denominations. The College had been founded initially without any support from the government. It was, the *Advertiser* claimed, a 'popular institution altogether formed by the People'.<sup>103</sup> The Rev. James Adamson, a friend of John Dunmore Lang discussed in Chap. 4 and Presbyterian minister of the Scots Church in Cape Town, became one of its first professors.

## CONCLUSION

Pringle came up against a counter-revolutionary colonial government, threatened by the alleged subversive activities of religious dissenters. An Anglicanising establishment, which aimed to secure stability by buttressing established institutions, stymied his efforts to increase access to education and the press. Pringle legitimised his efforts by invoking the covenanting idiom, a political language—inspired by Pringle’s own poetry—which underlined the sacrifices the Covenanters had made to secure to future generations of Scots their birthright to civil and religious liberties. Scottish migrants, Pringle implied, on departing Scotland’s shores, transported this birthright with them. As we shall see in succeeding chapters, Pringle was not the only Scottish migrant to adapt M’Crie’s narrative to a colonial setting.

Pringle is known in South Africa as the ‘father of South African’ poetry, credited with inventing a distinctive South African register.<sup>104</sup> But he spent only six years of his short life at the Cape. He was a Scot and a South African, as well as a man of empire. As Matthew Shum has argued, Pringle’s poetry reflected his mobility. ‘The Emigrant’s Cabin’, one of his most famous poems, was composed during two different phases in Pringle’s life; he started it in 1822 at the Cape and finished it in London in the 1830s where he found himself at the centre of whig circles, serving as secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>105</sup> In London Pringle edited from 1829 the *Friendship’s Offering*, a literary annual, which featured in its first year Pringle’s ‘Glen-Lynden: a Tale of Teviotdale’ and a contribution by Robert Macnish on the Covenanters. Pringle sent a copy of this edition to Thomas M’Crie.<sup>106</sup> It was during this period that Pringle edited the memoirs of the Secession minister Alexander Waugh. Pringle was still closely connected to the imperial network of Presbyterian dissent and his influence, as we shall see, extended beyond the shores of Cape Town. In 1831, as Chap. 6 explains, the United Secession Church asked him to assist the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, missionary in Pictou, and Jotham Blanchard in their efforts to lobby the Colonial Office. The Secession appointed Pringle’s cousin, the Rev. James Pringle, Fairbairn’s former host, to help the Nova Scotians.<sup>107</sup> With some knowledge of Colonial Office operations and with a long list of contacts, Pringle was ideally positioned to facilitate their entry into the world of whig politics. The next chapter explores McCulloch and Blanchard’s battles with the counter-revolutionary government in Nova Scotia.

## NOTES

1. Vigne 2011a, p. 50.
2. Pringle 1840b, pp. 7, 12–17.
3. On Fairbairn see Botha 1984.
4. Vigne 2011a, p. 81.
5. Anon. 1824. For Pringle and Fairbairn's views on the benefits of Scottish education see 'Editorial', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 28 April 1824.
6. Vigne 2007, p. 17.
7. Vigne 2011a, p. 84.
8. Vigne 2011a, p. 82.
9. On Somerset see Millar 1965.
10. See e.g., Hall 1960; Trapido 1990.
11. Dubow 2014.
12. Saunders 2009, p. 285.
13. MacKenzie 2007; Dubow 2009.
14. MacKenzie with Dalziel 2007, pp. 56, 89.
15. Calder 1982, p. 9.
16. Wahl 1970, pp. ix–x.
17. Meiring 1968, p. 158.
18. Voss 1991.
19. Fontana 1985.
20. Dubow 2006, pp. 29–31, 35.
21. McKenzie 1998/1999, p. 92.
22. Voss 1982. See also Shum 2000. For the fusion of evangelicalism and enlightenment ideas see also Keegan 1996, pp. 75–82.
23. Hickford 2006, pp. 128–9.
24. Pringle 1840b, p. 6. Pringle expressed his admiration for local missionaries including John Philip and James Read in 'The Emigrant's Cabin', which he first began to compose in 1822.
25. Klopper 1990, p. 53.
26. Shum 2003, p. 1.
27. Shum 2008, p. 52.
28. Shum 2008, p. 53.
29. Vigne 2012, p. 47.
30. Pringle 1840a, p. 37. Alexander and Thomas corresponded before the latter died; see pp. 218–23.
31. National Library of South Africa (NLSA), Thomas Pringle Collection MS13 393, 1 (5), letters to Fairbairn, letter 2.
32. NLSA, Uncatalogued Thomas Pringle Letters, 28, 26 May 1828.



33. Hay and Belfrage 1839. The editors thank Pringle in the preface for his editorial oversight. See also *Lines to the Memory of the Rev. Dr. Waugh* (1827) in Ritchie 1838, pp. 208–9.
34. Vigne 2012, p. 58.
35. Meiring 1968, p. 142. Meiring has reproduced the quote as ‘Scotch Seeders’ but this is clearly an error. For the original letter see Vigne 2011b, p. 15.
36. Conder 1835, pp. 10, 23.
37. Ritchie 1838, pp. xxvii–xxviii. See also Story n.d.
38. Ritchie 1838, p. cxlv.
39. M’Crie Jr 1840, p. 228.
40. Mack 2006, pp. 141–6.
41. ‘M’Crie’s Life of Knox’, *Quarterly Review*, July 1813.
42. M’Crie Jr 1857, p. 110.
43. Ritchie 1838.
44. Pringle 1840b, p. 2. The first biography of Pringle was written by Josiah Conder, who championed M’Crie in the *Eclectic Review* during the *Old Mortality* debate.
45. Pringle 1840b, p. 2.
46. ‘Account of the Highland Host’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, April 1817.
47. ‘Analytical Notices. – Quarterly Review’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, June 1817.
48. ‘Analytical Notices. – Edinburgh Review’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, June 1817.
49. Vigne 2012, p. 33.
50. ‘Account of a MS. History of Scotland; By Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, June 1817.
51. M’Crie Jr 1840, p. 288.
52. National Library of Scotland [NLS] ACC 9856/ 53, Letters from Pringle to David Moir, f.8.
53. M’Crie Jr 1841, p. 320. See also Pringle 1819, pp. 10–12.
54. M’Crie Jr 1841, p. 321; Pringle 1819, p. 12.
55. Pringle 1819, p. 117.
56. Pringle 1819, pp. 122–7.
57. Ritchie 1838, p. 214.
58. Klopper 1990, p. 36. See also Rudy 2016.
59. Shum 2008, p. 240.
60. Shum 2011, pp. 35–58.
61. Shum 2008, pp. 29–35.
62. Shum 2006, pp. 35–6.
63. Pringle 1819, p. 13.
64. Pringle 1819, pp. 128–9.

65. Voss [1991](#), p. 87. This copy of the poem is held in the Cory Library at Rhodes University in Grahamstown.
66. Ritchie 1838, pp. 104, 112–13.
67. NLS, ACC 9856/ 53, Letters from Pringle to David Moir, f.8.
68. ‘On Literary and Scientific Societies’, *South African Journal*, Jan-Feb 1824. See also ‘Review of the Political State of Europe’, *South African Journal*, March–April 1824; ‘General Introduction’, *South African Journal*, Jan–Feb 1824.
69. Bayly [1989](#), pp. 194–5. See also Isabella [2015](#).
70. Dubow [2006](#), p. 1.
71. ‘Letter from Somerset to Bathurst Oct 11th 1824’, in McCall Theal [1903b](#), pp. 346–7.
72. Botha [1984](#), p. 15.
73. John MacKenzie states that Somerset was wrong in this regard; that Pringle was raised in the established church, though he cites no evidence to support this. As has been shown, however, Pringle belonged to the world of Presbyterian dissent. MacKenzie with Dalziel [2007](#), p. 71.
74. Dubow [2006](#), p. 23.
75. McCall Theal [1903a](#), pp. 266–7.
76. Pringle [1840b](#), p. 67.
77. McCall Theal [1903b](#), pp. 56–7.
78. Vigne [2011a](#), p. 77.
79. Vigne [2011a](#), p. 87.
80. McKenzie [2013](#).
81. Pringle [1840b](#), p. 63.
82. ‘Editorial’, *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 16 March 1831.
83. Pringle [1840b](#), p. 65.
84. Vigne [2011a](#), pp. 97–8.
85. McKenzie [1998/99](#), p. 102.
86. Pringle 1828, p. 154.
87. School of Oriental and African Studies, John Philip Papers, Box 3, Folder 5, File 4.
88. See the inscription in the original volume held by the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town. On Murray see Sass [1956](#), pp. 21–6.
89. ‘Practice v. Principle’, *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 28 April 1824.
90. Vigne [2011b](#), p. 10. Vigne incorrectly identifies the recipient as Rev. Dr James McCrie.
91. See Chap. [3](#).
92. Anon. [1825](#), [1834](#).
93. ‘On the Radical Tendency of Sir Walter Scott’s Writings’, *Cape Literary Gazette*, July 1835.

94. Anon. 1929, p. 14.
95. 'Books for the People', *Cape Literary Gazette*, August 1835.
96. Jardine 1827, pp. 20–1.
97. Jardine 1827, p. 31.
98. See e.g., 'On the Radical Tendency of Sir Walter Scott's Writings', *Cape Literary Gazette*, July 1835; 'Sermon at the Grave of a Martyr', *Cape Literary Gazette*, Dec 1835. See also Robinson 1962, p. 206.
99. Vigne 2011a, p. 152.
100. Vigne 2011a, p. 278. For Hume's interest in the fate of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, see The National Archives, CO48/96, Hume to Huskisson 14 March 1828.
101. 'Editorial', *South African Chronicle*, 23 May 1826.
102. Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry to Bathurst upon the case of Mr Thomas Pringle, 26th Nov 1825 in McCall Theal 1904, p. 18.
103. 'Editorial', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 14 October 1829; Dubow 2006, p. 39.
104. Finkelstein 2009.
105. Shum 2011, 35–58.
106. Pringle 1829, pp. 19–35, 113–42; Vigne 2011a, p. 10. For Pringle's comments on Macnish's contribution see letters from Pringle to David Moir on 9 August 1828 and 5 December 1828 in NLS ACC 9856/ 53.
107. National Records of Scotland, CH3/298/3, Minutes of the United Associate Synod 1820–40.

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## Thomas McCulloch in Pictou

*‘in the mass of the community, there is a souring of spirit, which the conduct of his Majesty’s Council in general, and of our Lord Bishop in particular, is urging into dissatisfaction to existing rule...Loyalty once influenced Nova Scotians to forsake the States: oppression is now exciting in them feelings which loyalty cannot always resist.’*  
(*Colonial Patriot*, 26 August 1829)

The Rev. Thomas McCulloch, a missionary from the Antiburgher wing of the Secession church, arrived at Pictou harbour in the northwest of Nova Scotia in 1803. He was supposed to travel on to Prince Edward Island (PEI) but ice on the Northumberland Strait forced him to disembark at Pictou. Legend has it that as he stepped off the boat, the two globes he carried with him—globes which Thomas Pringle would have coveted for his Cape Town Academy—were spotted by bystanders. McCulloch was immediately identified as a man of learning who could meaningfully contribute to the local community. Town residents urged him to forget his original plan to travel on to P.E.I. and settle permanently in Pictou. He did so.

McCulloch became minister of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia (PCNS) along with his mentor, the Rev. James MacGregor (1759–1830), an Antiburgher missionary who had settled in the colony in 1786.

McCulloch also established the Pictou Academy which aimed to cater to the non-Anglican residents of the colony who could not graduate from King's College, the only other college operational in Nova Scotia before 1838. At the Academy, McCulloch instructed Jotham Blanchard, a student born in New Hampshire whose father and grandfather hailed from Nova Scotia. Blanchard grew up to be a lawyer, an assemblyman and a forceful champion of McCulloch's Academy. McCulloch and Blanchard campaigned to secure permanent funding and degree-granting status for their institution but the dominant political faction in the colony's 'council of twelve' thwarted their efforts. Nova Scotia had a representative assembly but it was essentially powerless against an intransigent council nominated by the lieutenant-governor and accountable to the Crown. Incensed by the Academy's unfair treatment, Blanchard and McCulloch pressed for political reform in Nova Scotia, where dissenters, they argued, were a marginalised sub-class unfairly treated by an Anglican state.<sup>1</sup>

The story of Blanchard and McCulloch is barely known, even in the province of Nova Scotia.<sup>2</sup> The Maritime provinces are considered to have 'carried on their affairs in a comparatively calm and peaceful manner' until Joseph Howe (1804–1873) became a reformer in the mid-1830s.<sup>3</sup> Blanchard died in 1839, ten years before Nova Scotia achieved responsible government, and he was buried in an unmarked grave. Nova Scotian historiography has credited Joseph Howe with winning legislative autonomy for the colony and Blanchard and McCulloch, whose attempts to lobby the Colonial Office literally ended in tears, were written out of a nationalist and teleological narrative.<sup>4</sup> In 2010, Clarrie McKinnon, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Pictou, recommended that the provincial legislature reflect on the contribution Jotham Blanchard—the 'Forgotten Patriot of Pictou'—had made to the development of Nova Scotia's political institutions.<sup>5</sup> The label 'Forgotten Patriot' comes from the title of one of only two biographies of Blanchard, written by a local Pictou historian.<sup>6</sup> One of the very few published biographies of McCulloch was written by his son.<sup>7</sup> Other attempts have been made to commemorate the contributions of Blanchard and McCulloch. A museum dedicated to McCulloch and Pictou Academy was refurbished in 2006. In 2012 the organising committee of the Academy's 200th anniversary made what seems to have been an unsuccessful bid to have the Academy commemorated on a Canadian postage stamp.<sup>8</sup>

By locating McCulloch and Blanchard's story within a transcolonial framework, this book resurrects their campaign and points to its broader significance within the British world. McCulloch and Blanchard belonged



to a network of Presbyterian dissent which stretched across the empire. The new light voluntarism of the Scottish Secession inspired McCulloch's assault on the Anglican establishment in Nova Scotia.<sup>9</sup> Nova Scotia's politics were not as ideologically bankrupt as some scholars have assumed.<sup>10</sup> McCulloch and Blanchard visited Britain to drum up support for their campaign where they were aided by the United Secession Church, which, as will be outlined in Chap. 6, helped them to lobby the Colonial Office. Through the Church's intercession, in London Blanchard met with Thomas Pringle, the well-connected Cape colonist discussed in Chap. 2, who had endured a similar ordeal to the Nova Scotians. Like Pringle, McCulloch knew Thomas M'Crie, the famous Secession historian, and, as an author of fiction and non-fiction, McCulloch reworked M'Crie's narrative for a colonial audience. McCulloch depicted the Nova Scotian government as a despotic Anglican church-state which deprived settlers of their political rights. The Covenanters, he proclaimed, had died to secure to colonists their birthright, protected by the British constitution, to challenge the government. The campaign of the Pictou reformers sheds light on the nature of reform politics in Nova Scotia and on the workings of a politicised Presbyterian network. It also demonstrates the extent to which the Nova Scotian reform movement was affected by, and shaped, broader political currents.

### MCCULLOCH AND THE COVENANTING IDIOM

Thomas McCulloch, the son of a master block-printer, was born near Paisley in 1776. He claimed to be the direct descendant of a Covenanter who had fallen at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679. He attended the University of Glasgow and then entered the Antiburgher Secession divinity hall in 1792—one year after Thomas M'Crie had studied there. He was tutored by the redoubtable Rev. Archibald Bruce, the political reformer discussed in this book's introduction, whose niece was married to James MacGregor, McCulloch's colleague in Nova Scotia.<sup>11</sup> Bruce glorified the Covenanters and advocated religious and political liberty for Protestants. His work was a model for McCulloch, who, through Bruce's teaching, became 'thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the British Constitution, especially in their bearing upon the rapidly rising questions of the civil and religious rights of citizenship'.<sup>12</sup> Bruce's influence is evident in two anti-Catholic pamphlets McCulloch wrote soon after his arrival in Nova Scotia.<sup>13</sup> McCulloch argued that papal supremacy continued

to threaten temporal power and the independence and freedom of the church, describing Protestant Britain as a ‘bulwark of liberty, and the refuge of oppressed nations’.<sup>14</sup>

McCulloch also echoed the work of Thomas M’Crie by depicting the Restoration Covenanters as martyrs to the cause of civil and religious liberty. Dominant episcopacy was, in McCulloch’s eyes, almost as much of a threat to freedom as Catholicism. The ‘history of the church’, he wrote, ‘has amply shown that diocesan episcopacy instead of counteracting disorders which might have been rectified by scriptural means vastly increased their amount’.<sup>15</sup> In an unpublished history of the Restoration, McCulloch represented the episcopal establishment as an arm of an aggressive, persecuting government. He vindicated the Covenanters and justified, to a degree, the murder by covenanting fanatics in 1679 of Archbishop Sharp. Sharp had ‘sacrificed the religion of Scotland’, McCulloch wrote, ‘and to the altar of his vengeance, he had dragged its liberties’.<sup>16</sup>

In the same vein as Thomas Pringle, discussed in Chap. 2, McCulloch wrote works of fiction which consciously tried to rebutt Walter Scott’s portrayal of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality*. He remarked to the Rev. James Mitchell, a United Secession minister in Glasgow, that if he ‘could write anything which would procure additional regard for Scotch worthies and their general principles it would be well spent labour’.<sup>17</sup> According to McCulloch’s son, the minister undertook his literary work at the request of Scottish friends who encouraged him to challenge the historical misrepresentations found in *Old Mortality*. ‘Sir Walter’, wrote the younger McCulloch, ‘entertained toward the Covenanters so little sympathy that he did not hesitate, if not to do them injustice, yet to withhold from them that meed of gratitude which his native land owes for their resistance to the will of a despot’.<sup>18</sup> The publisher William Blackwood rejected two of McCulloch’s submissions—*Auld Eppie’s Tales* and *The Mephibosheth Stepsure Letters*—explaining that as McCulloch’s work ‘penetrated as it were into Scott’s field’, it was required ‘to be done with exquisite skill’.<sup>19</sup> McCulloch was offended and insisted that he had ‘never intended to be an imitator of Sir Walter’. ‘I have’, he said, ‘neither his knowledge nor talents. But on the other hand I conceived that the kind of information and humour which I possess would have enabled me to vindicate where he has misrepresented and also to render contemptible and ludicrous what he has laboured to dignify’.<sup>20</sup> In an effort to appease McCulloch, Blackwood offered McCulloch the chance to resubmit work to *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*. McCulloch declined. He had submitted to Blackwood because

the publisher had kindly donated books—including a copy of M'Crie's *Life of Melville*—to Pictou Academy, but he could not bring himself to write for the magazine.<sup>21</sup> Like Pringle, McCulloch viewed *Blackwood's* as a mouthpiece of political conservatism: 'I regard it as a very bad book', wrote McCulloch, 'and except in the expectation to render its texture more moral I could not do it'.<sup>22</sup>

*Colonial Gleanings: William and Melville*, another of McCulloch's creative outputs, was published instead by William Oliphant, also an Edinburgh-based publisher, while from 1821 to 1822, the *Acadian Recorder*, a Nova Scotian newspaper, serialised *The Mephibosheth Stepsure Letters*. The *Edinburgh Theological Magazine*, a Secession periodical, warmly reviewed *Colonial Gleanings*, and identified McCulloch as the author.<sup>23</sup> Both books, as well as an unpublished story entitled *Robert and Morton*, were morality tales written for the benefit of a colonial audience and prospective migrants. In these stories settlers in Nova Scotia thrive when they remain pious and mindful of the sacrifices made by their covenanting forebears. Those who forget the covenanting legacy end up ruined.<sup>24</sup> An example from *Robert and Morton* will suffice:<sup>25</sup> Morton is a Scottish emigrant to Nova Scotia, who neglects his bible study in the face of pressure from his dissipated Halifax peers. Morton goes to Pictou for lumber work where he meets Robert, a staunch Presbyterian. Robert takes Morton to a communion meeting where the Rev. James MacGregor—a fictional representation of McCulloch's real-life mentor—is preaching.<sup>26</sup> Morton's reaction is described as follows: 'as he...surveyed the scene it was with feelings which an acquaintance with Halifax had estranged from his mind. He remembered the land of his fathers... It was a Covenanters' scene and reminded Morton of those times when the intrusions of cruelty interrupted the outpourings of mercy. But there was neither the sound of the trumpet or the alarm of war: there was no Claverhouse to stain the beauty of holiness with the blood of the saints.' Unlike Henry Morton who is rescued by Claverhouse in *Old Mortality*, McCulloch's Morton is affected by MacGregor's preaching and encouraged to return to the holy path.<sup>27</sup>

In the same vein as Pringle then, McCulloch rebutted Walter Scott's misunderstood representation of Scotland's past, and warned his readers not to forget, on migrating to Britain's colonies, the Covenanters' resistance to Anglican supremacy. McCulloch originally intended to submit a version of *Colonial Gleanings* to M'Crie's friend the Rev. Andrew Thomson for publication in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*. 'By including the

following little narrative in your valuable paper', McCulloch wrote to Thomson, 'you will afford useful information to parents who feel inclined to send their children abroad.'<sup>28</sup>

### PICTOU ACADEMY AND THE POLITICS OF DISSENT

The covenanting legacy was still relevant, McCulloch believed, in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia. The dominance of the Church of England, established in the colony in 1758, offended him. According to John Moir, unlike in Upper Canada where settlers argued over Anglican dominance of the clergy reserves, discussed in Chap. 5, there was no 'serious church-state controversy' in the Maritime provinces.<sup>29</sup> In 1826, Bishop John Inglis and Governor James Kempt rejected the plan of Lord Bathurst, the secretary of state for the colonies, to establish clergy reserves in the region. It was felt that the scheme would excite controversy in a colony where dissenters made up four-fifths of the population. The Nova Scotian branch of the Church of Scotland, meanwhile, was a bastion of conservative loyalty.<sup>30</sup>

Thomas McCulloch, however, still found many reasons to complain. As at the Cape, the British government in Nova Scotia was Anglicanising and counter-revolutionary.<sup>31</sup> In 1787 Charles Inglis, a loyalist pastor from New York, was appointed first colonial bishop in the British empire with a jurisdiction which covered Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Bermuda and, until the appointment of Jacob Mountain as Bishop of the Canadas, Quebec.<sup>32</sup> Only Anglican ministers were permitted to obtain marriage licences and conduct ceremonies according to the Book of Common Prayer. Charles Inglis resisted Governor Wentworth's plan to grant licences to all, regarding the measure as an assault on the establishment and as tending to 'increase the levelling spirit which is already too prevalent'.<sup>33</sup>

In 1818 McCulloch presented a petition to the legislative assembly signed by clergymen from a variety of denominations seeking the right for dissenters to marry by licence. In the *Acadian Recorder* he insisted that the Church of England in England had no spiritual jurisdiction in the colonies—an argument later articulated in New South Wales—where the Anglican Church had corporate existence by an act of the colonial legislature and not by the British parliament. There would be 'no lack of petitions from every part of the province', McCulloch threatened, until this issue was resolved.<sup>34</sup> In 1825 there were plans to establish an interdenomi-

national board—a pressure group to defend the interests of dissenters. The legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick finally granted right to marry by licence to all denominations in 1834.

Anglican control of education was, in McCulloch's eyes, even more problematic than the issue of marriage. To prevent colonists from educating their children in the United States, where they might imbibe disloyal principles, an institution of higher learning, King's College, was established in Nova Scotia at Windsor. The college had an exclusive charter. Two professorships and the office of president were confined to members of the Church of England. It was important to prevent the college from being converted into a seminary for dissenters, the bishop declared: 'a seminary of Jacobinism for disseminating the most pernicious principles'. Students were forbidden from attending dissenting places of worship and seditious and rebellious meetings; thus, the charter equated religious dissent with political radicalism.<sup>35</sup> Students were also required to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of Anglican faith before they could graduate.

McCulloch sought to establish an institution for the portion of the community excluded from King's.<sup>36</sup> His efforts were thwarted from the beginning. In 1814 arsonists burnt down his school house and he received a threatening letter advising him to leave the colony. McCulloch wrote to the lieutenant-governor insisting that his status as a Seceder did not incline him to disloyalty.<sup>37</sup> While the assembly happily granted academy status to McCulloch's rebuilt school in 1815, the council insisted that all trustees of the Pictou Academy should swear an oath of adherence to the Church of England or the Church of Scotland. McCulloch accepted this measure which, when he later claimed to support non-denominational education, exposed him to criticism. Though it was not operational until 1838, another obstacle to the Academy's success was the foundation of Dalhousie College by Lord Dalhousie, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia from 1816 until 1820 and a member of the Church of Scotland. Some Kirkmen believed that the Church of Scotland should have its established status recognised in the colony and sought the amalgamation of Dalhousie, the cornerstone of which was laid in May 1820, with King's College.<sup>38</sup> The Seceder origins of the Academy, McCulloch suspected, were distasteful to some Kirkmen who hankered after a position of eminence. A battle over the Academy's future ensued between the assembly, elected by forty-shilling freeholders, many of whom were dissenters or liberal Anglicans, and the council, on which sat John Inglis, the third Bishop of Nova Scotia. The assembly tried repeatedly to award the Academy a permanent grant, a

non-denominational constitution and degree-granting status. From 1819 until 1825 the legislature awarded the Academy a £400 annual grant but the council thwarted efforts to achieve anything further.

Supporters of the Academy sent in sixteen petitions to the legislature and raised £5000.<sup>39</sup> The Presbyterian congregation at New Annan declared that ‘any attempt to destroy [the Academy’s] constitution or to exclude it from the patronage of Government is an injury to the rights of the free-holders and other inhabitants of this country’. The congregations of Tatamagouche and Musquodoboit passed similar resolutions.<sup>40</sup> In 1827 the trustees published the New Year’s Resolutions, which demanded that Pictou be treated as an equal to King’s. The council, however, rejected seven bills for a permanent grant sent up by the assembly between 1825 and 1830. On one occasion at least the Bishop, it was discovered, had cast the deciding vote against the Academy.

McCulloch was outraged. He denounced the government as an Anglican tyranny.<sup>41</sup> He and his former pupil, Jotham Blanchard, utilised the *Colonial Patriot*, the first oppositional newspaper outside of Halifax, to campaign on the Academy’s behalf. With Blanchard as editor and McCulloch as contributor,<sup>42</sup> the paper attacked the Bishop and his allies in no uncertain terms. It began publication by invoking the covenanting idiom—rhetoric which emphasised the Covenanters’ sacrifice for British constitutional liberty—to defend its right to oppose the government: ‘we are sure no Scotsman acquainted with the sufferings of the noble army of martyrs, who resisted unto death the tyrannical attempts of Charles II to establish Episcopacy in Scotland, will dare to hold up his voice against a constitutional opposition’.<sup>43</sup> It condemned the Kirk in Nova Scotia for its slavish support of the ‘domination of the Church of England’.<sup>44</sup> The paper printed the pastoral letter issued by indignant Presbyterians in Montreal, discussed in Chap. 5, which defended the resistance shown by Presbyterians in the past.<sup>45</sup>

### McCULLOCH’S NEW LIGHT VOLUNTARYISM

McCulloch’s new light voluntarism underpinned the *Patriot’s* critique of Nova Scotia’s system of governance. As we saw in the introduction to this book, at the end of the eighteenth century new light Seceders in Scotland grew critical of the Westminster Confession of Faith—the subordinate standard of the Presbyterian churches—and its stipulation that the civil powers should act as a nursing father or mother to the church. Strict

believers in Scottish Presbyterianism's two-kingdoms doctrine, they believed that the alliance of church and state was too close. Around 1829 they began to argue in favour of voluntarism, or the complete disestablishment of the national churches. New light ideas were influential in Nova Scotia where the new light-inspired Antiburgher and Burgher Seceders had united in 1817 to form the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. This union, which would inspire the United Secession union in Scotland in 1820,<sup>46</sup> allowed for considerable latitude regarding interpretation of the Westminster Confession of Faith. There was some doubt over whether the civil powers should have the authority to suppress heresy or be present at church synods—rights ascribed to the Crown by the Confession. Only in 1846 did the PCNS require formal subscription to the Confession.<sup>47</sup> McCulloch had been educated by the old light Archibald Bruce whose Antiburgher brethren in Scotland declared that they had 'some serious difficulties' with the wording of the Nova Scotia formula.<sup>48</sup> McCulloch, however, was veering towards the new light, to those who believed that there should be an entire separation of church and state, and complained that the old light Antiburghers 'exemplified a deficiency of catholic charity'.<sup>49</sup>

McCulloch, indeed, was well connected to the new light Seceder community. His best friends in Scotland and chief correspondents were father and son James and John Mitchell, ministers in the United Secession Church.<sup>50</sup> In 1825 he visited Scotland and procured the signatures of Seceder ministers on a memorial written in support of the Academy.<sup>51</sup> In April 1826 the United Secession formed a committee on which sat one of the Mitchells, the Rev. Hugh Heugh and the Rev. John Ritchie, two of the most prominent new light voluntaries, to discuss how the church might support Pictou. Students of the United Secession Church also formed a society to promote the institution. The struggle of the Pictou Seceders, the Secession students declared, 'against the whole influence of the Colonial Hierarchy...have very strong claims on our sympathy, our prayers, and our support'.<sup>52</sup> The Pictou struggle was also reported in the Scottish press.<sup>53</sup> An article in the *Scots Times* drew parallels between the Scottish and Nova Scotian campaign for reform: '[Scotland] ought not to forget', proclaimed the piece, 'and she does not forget, how narrowly she escaped from Episcopalian ascendancy, how much she owes to the struggles of the Reformers, and how well therefore, it becomes her to sympathise with her fellow subjects who are subjected in a certain degree to similar oppressions'.<sup>54</sup> In December 1828, Blanchard and Robert McKay, an Academy trustee, visited Scotland where the United Secession Church

received them with the ‘warmest affection’. The church formed two further committees to help Blanchard lobby the British government.<sup>55</sup> The church also agreed to petition the king and appointed the Rev. James Pringle in Newcastle and the Rev. William Broadfoot in London to cooperate with Blanchard in his campaign to lobby the Colonial Office, discussed in Chap. 6.

During this visit to Scotland in 1828–1829, Blanchard went to hear the Rev. Andrew Marshall preach what would become an infamous sermon. Marshall’s sermon, delivered in Greyfriars Church in Glasgow on 9 April 1829 (and published in May as *Ecclesiastical Establishments Considered*) helped to launch the new light-voluntaryist crusade to overthrow the established churches in Britain and bring about the complete separation of church and state. Marshall believed that the union of church and state rendered the governing powers more authoritarian and led to the persecution of religious minorities. Blanchard was evidently inspired by Marshall’s sermon. The time was not far distant, he remarked afterwards, when the whole world would unite in saying ‘the church and state that long have held unholy intercourse, are now divorced’.<sup>56</sup> The *Colonial Patriot* proceeded to endorse Marshall’s ideas.<sup>57</sup> In April 1831, the editor announced that the paper would be pleased to receive articles discussing the nature of ecclesiastical establishments; the *Patriot* then declared establishments to be persecuting, inequitable and impolitic: ‘Where the law forces the subject to give either countenance or support to a church with which he cannot unite, there is as direct persecution, as if he himself were consigned to the flames. The only difference is, that the law seizes in the one case the property, in the other the person.’ The paper condemned church establishments as unscriptural institutions whose existence flouted the two-kingdoms doctrine of Scottish Presbyterianism: ‘a church supported by legal sanctions, has admitted into its constitution an authority which religion declaims: and wherever it uses this authority either to enforce its principles or to ensure its support, it acts in direct opposition to the injunction of Christ’.<sup>58</sup>

### NEW LIGHT VOLUNTARYISM AND PICTOU LIBERALISM

McCulloch and Blanchard’s commitment to new light voluntaryism coloured their political liberalism. Though a minority of Anglican council members supported the Academy,<sup>59</sup> McCulloch viewed his campaign as a struggle for religious and civil liberty against a domineering Anglican



establishment. 'The miserable system of exclusion and misrepresentation', the *Patriot* warned, which has 'been so long practised by cunning and designing Churchmen on their inoffensive dissenting brethren, and which has rendered the words dissenter and disloyalty nearly synonymous terms, will not long be borne with by his Majesty's subjects in these colonies, while so large a majority of them are of the latter description'.<sup>60</sup> The paper proclaimed established hierarchies to be the 'natural enemies of liberty all the world over' and declared its support for the efforts of Upper Canadian reformers, discussed in Chap. 5, to secularise the reserves and institute voluntarism.<sup>61</sup> The paper charted the progress of the successive Academy money bills in the legislature and denounced the Anglican and Kirk-influenced council for its unconstitutional obstruction of the assembly's wishes.<sup>62</sup> Increasingly the *Patriot* advocated far-reaching reform of the council in order to achieve a more accountable and balanced government within the framework of Britain's constitution. The 'whole power', the paper declared, 'temporal and spiritual of the province, is concentrated into one focus, for the suppression of every particle of freedom, of thought and conduct'.<sup>63</sup>

The Kirk in Nova Scotia, whose missionaries were dispatched by the Kirk-sponsored Glasgow Colonial Society and who competed with McCulloch's church for listeners, denounced the principles of the Seceders as seditious.<sup>64</sup> The Rev. John McKerrow, Scottish minister of the United Secession, claimed that the Kirk in Nova Scotia contended for the 'honour of Establishment' while the PCNS fought for the 'free operation of the voluntary principle'.<sup>65</sup> During a debate in the legislative assembly, Kirk layman John Young, member for Sydney in Cape Breton, underlined the differences between the Church of Scotland and the Secession. Seceders, Young pointed out, objected to the presence of the King's Commissioner in the General Assembly, and insisted that the 'Lord of the universe is head of the church'. Alexander Stewart, member for Cumberland, made the following response:

Mr Stewart said he knew nothing of the republican nature of the system of the Seceders from the Kirk of Scotland as it was depicted by the hon. Member from Sydney. But there were certainly some very singular coincidences. From the place where they flourished proceeded doctrines subversive of our constitution. In the Pictou Patriot, a paper recently established there, amongst other pernicious doctrines, it had been proposed that the President should be elected by the people... he would not say that those

who were connected with the Academy were the authors of those libels and democratical sentiments, because he would not assert what he did not know, but that was it not true that the Friends of the Seminary were invariably lauded and its opposers vilified by that paper?

Young agreed. He pointed out that the Kirk's ministers were chosen by royal and aristocratic patrons, and the 'steadfast friends of tranquillity and order'. The Secession, however, which objected to the law of patronage, passed, as we saw in this book's introduction, in 1712, had adopted a 'republican' system of government; its ministers were chosen by its congregations. The Secession was thus more 'liable to catch any popular contagion of sentiments or opinion, than the established clergy, who feel and acknowledge the ascendancy of the civil power'. Moreover, Scottish dissenters acknowledged 'no earthly head' and stood 'totally disconnected from the State'.<sup>66</sup> If McCulloch's Seceders were indeed 'a class of persons who disclaimed all ecclesiastical and civil supremacy', Richard John Uniacke proclaimed, the government should monitor them.<sup>67</sup> The *Patriot's* opponents thus attributed the paper's political dissent to the influence of Secession values.

Frustrated at the unceasing debates on the Academy, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, a liberal Anglican and long-time supporter of the institution, recommended that the legislature convene a committee on the general state of the province and compose an address to the King, asking for a reform of the system of government. Haliburton desired either the removal from the council of public officers or the establishment of a legislative council independent of the executive. He stated that the council's continued hostility to Pictou Academy, and the influence of the bishop as a member of it, required a reform of the colony's institutions.<sup>68</sup> The *Patriot* went further than Haliburton. With the British constitution as its model, the *Patriot* claimed that the council, like its counterpart the House of Lords, had no right to alter money bills.<sup>69</sup> Council members, the paper insisted, who, unlike the Lords, possessed the elective franchise, were represented in the assembly; thus, their role was simply to assent to legislation. The council was originally 'instituted by the source of all authority, namely, the people, with the full intent that its assent should not be withheld'.<sup>70</sup>

Brenton Halliburton, the Chief Justice, countered these attacks by maintaining that the council remained ultimately responsible to the Crown. The powers of the council in Nova Scotia might be slightly different to those of the House of Lords but this was essential, Halliburton maintained, to preserve the balance

of power.<sup>71</sup> The *Patriot*, however, suggested that the council should be independent of the lieutenant-governor, and composed of Nova Scotians acquainted with the province from ‘actual experience’. Declaring the council’s actions illegal, the paper proclaimed that the attempt to aggrandise a particular church had irritated the populace.<sup>72</sup> The ‘community’, it was declared, ‘will not be put down: it has passed the days in which loyalty claiming its rights, quailed in the presence of prelacy and arbitrary power’.<sup>73</sup> Without reform, indeed, Nova Scotia was likely to secede from the empire, as the United States had done not long before: ‘in the mass of the community, there is a souring of spirit, which the conduct of his Majesty’s Council in general, and of our Lord Bishop in particular, is urging into dissatisfaction to existing rule...Loyalty once influenced Nova Scotians to forsake the States: oppression is now exciting in them feelings which loyalty cannot always resist’.<sup>74</sup>

### THE BRANDY ELECTION

The Pictou Academy debate increasingly brought the two branches of the legislature into conflict. The brandy affair exacerbated tensions. In 1826 the assembly revised the revenue laws and imposed 1s 4d on foreign brandy on top of the 1s already applied. As an imperial statute already imposed an additional 1s on foreign spirits, customs collectors proceeded to ignore the assembly’s revised law. In April 1830 the assembly decided that the extra 4d should be collected but the council disagreed. S.G.W. Archibald, a trustee of Pictou Academy, descended from his speaker’s chair to declare that by the British constitution and Nova Scotian practice, only the people’s representatives in the assembly had the right to originate money bills. The *Patriot* now demanded the complete abolition of the present council and the institution of an elected chamber.<sup>75</sup> The *Patriot* claimed that the populace—poorer and more pious than the councillors—rarely drank brandy, the chief consumers of which were the councillors themselves. The community at large would have preferred a reduction of tax on a necessary article. Moreover, the reduction of the brandy duty would be unpopular in Britain where parliament continued to fund Nova Scotia’s Anglican clergy and civil list.<sup>76</sup> The Academy controversy had, the *Patriot* claimed, driven the province to agitate *against* the reduction of taxes: ‘from what we know of the Presbyterian nerve, we rather suspect that the Academy Question may produce results, which the Governor of this province will contemplate with just as little satisfaction,

as the effects of Council's speculation in brandy...we have not like the Boston folks, shown an abhorrence of tea: we have made a beginning only with brandy. But when a whole Province, as one man, are in a mood to quarrel with a Council for letting them purchase their brandy too cheaply, there is no saying where or what may be the ending'.<sup>77</sup>

The 1830 session of the assembly was prorogued and then dissolved after the death of George IV. The Academy dominated the debate in the general election which followed. In Halifax County, John Leander Starr, Lawrence Hartshorne, John Barry and Henry Blackadder were opposed by S.G.W. Archibald, William Lawson, George Smith and, standing for the first time, Jotham Blanchard. Starr, who denounced the council but refused to support Pictou, received only a few votes. At Truro, Hartshorne asserted he would vote for a permanent grant for the Academy only if it was brought under the control of the executive. Barry proclaimed that he was opposed to permanent grants and the type of education which placed 'the dregs of the people on a level with the highest in the land'. Archibald declared that the Pictou Academy debate had drawn attention to the nature of constitutional rights and privileges of Englishmen in Nova Scotia; while Blanchard gained the support of the crowd by highlighting that he was one of the dregs to which Barry alluded. Indeed, Blanchard declared, 'that I now stand before you is owing to the instructions received at the Pictou Academy; and while I breathe, it shall be my strongest wish to bring the same advantages within the reach of all'.<sup>78</sup>

There was a riot in Pictou every night during the election. 'Kill the old Antiburgher!', McCulloch's opponents allegedly cried through the streets.<sup>79</sup> A party of sailors marched to the Blanchard supporters' open house, where they broke the windows and vandalised a flag with Blanchard's name on it. In the commotion, a man was killed.<sup>80</sup> In the end the four reformers were voted in. Hartshorne was the most successful of the council candidates, but he remained 200 votes behind Blanchard, a newcomer, and less well known outside Pictou, who polled the lowest number of votes of the four reformers. Overall, the election was an endorsement for the Pictou cause.<sup>81</sup> The liberal press in Scotland celebrated Blanchard's election.<sup>82</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Despite the support in Scotland, Blanchard was burnt in effigy by his Pictou opponents.<sup>83</sup> But he and McCulloch were encouraged by the elevation in 1830 of the whigs to power in London, the first time the whigs had formed a government since 1807. In March 1831 Blanchard travelled

again to Britain on behalf of the Pictou Academy trustees, armed with a memorial to the King.<sup>84</sup> ‘I have for years been proclaiming’, he wrote to the whig politician Charles Richard Fox, ‘that it was only necessary for [whig] principles to get uppermost in England in order to secure redress of Colonial grievances. Heaven preserve me from the mortification of returning to Nova Scotia with the confession on my lips that Whig principles have grown too narrow to embrace transatlantic children.’<sup>85</sup> Blanchard went first to Glasgow where, as Chap. 6 will explain, he continued to receive support from the United Secession Church, whose new light tenets regarding church-state separation had underpinned McCulloch’s demands for an end to Anglican privilege and the institution of accountable government in Nova Scotia. The Secession arranged for Blanchard to meet with Thomas Pringle, the influential lobbyist discussed in Chap. 2, who had returned from Cape Town after his own Academy had lost pupils. To a certain extent, Pringle and McCulloch had endured similar struggles against post-revolutionary Anglicanising establishments which viewed dissenters as potentially seditious subjects. Like Pringle, McCulloch was inspired by Thomas M’Crie’s narrative of covenanting martyrdom. Both invoked the covenanting idiom—rhetoric which underlined the Presbyterian contribution to the evolution of constitutional liberty—to justify their liberal critique of the colonial establishment.

As we shall see in Chap. 6, in London Blanchard met with Joseph Hume, a radical politician and the ‘virtual member for the empire’<sup>86</sup> who had been sympathetic to Thomas Pringle. A few months before Blanchard’s second visit, Hume received a knock on his door from the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, another disgruntled colonist. Lang had travelled from Sydney to ask for Hume’s help in acquiring funds for a Presbyterian college of learning. Hume’s knowledge of Pictou affairs and the plight of Pringle no doubt inclined him to listen sympathetically to Lang. The next chapter will recount Lang’s story.

## NOTES

1. This chapter is derived in part from an article published in the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* in 2014, available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03086534.2014.894708> and a book chapter, ‘Fictions of History, Evangelical Whiggism and the Debate over *Old Mortality* in Scotland and Nova Scotia’, published in *Historical Writing in Britain 1688–1830: Visions of History*, ed. Ben Dew and Fiona Price (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 182–99.

2. Boileau 2008, a publication printed to mark the 250th anniversary of responsible government, fleetingly mentions the little-studied agitation of Blanchard and McCulloch. See also Hamilton 1970; Cuthbertson 1994; Harvey 1967. Elsewhere, Blanchard has been sidelined in favour of Joseph Howe. On Howe see Friesen 2000; Beck 1982, 1985, 1972.
3. Jones 2014, pp. 103–4.
4. See e.g., Livingston 1930. For attempts to emphasise the role of British statesmen see Burroughs 1972; Buckner 1985.
5. [http://nslegislature.ca/index.php/proceedings/hansard/C46/house\\_10dec08/#H](http://nslegislature.ca/index.php/proceedings/hansard/C46/house_10dec08/#H)[Page 4809].
6. Sherwood 1982. Blanchard also has an entry in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/blanchard\\_jotham\\_7E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/blanchard_jotham_7E.html).
7. McCulloch 1920. See also Whitelaw 1985; McMullin 1975; Buggey 1981.
8. Graham 2012.
9. Most of the findings in this chapter have been published elsewhere: Wallace 2014a, b.
10. See e.g. Cuthbertson 1982. Girard corrects this notion in Girard 2001.
11. On McCulloch's background see Whitelaw 1985, pp. 4–5; McCulloch 1920, pp. 8–9. For the MacGregor-Bruce connection see United Church of Canada Maritime Conference Archives, James MacGregor papers, AO173/17, Bruce to MacGregor, March 1815.
12. McCulloch 1920, p. 9.
13. McCulloch 1808, 1810.
14. McCulloch 1882.
15. Nova Scotia Archives [NSA], Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 555, File 31, a section on religious education and a criticism of episcopacy.
16. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 557, Files 1–2, an account of the religious affairs in Restoration Scotland.
17. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol 553, File 37, McCulloch to James Mitchell Dec 29 1828 and File 33, McCulloch to James Mitchell June 24 1828. See also MG 1 Vol. 556, Files 1–16, Auld Eppie's Tales.
18. McCulloch 1920, p. 142.
19. William Blackwood quoted in McCulloch 1990, pp. xli–xlii.
20. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 553, File 40, McCulloch to James Mitchell 18 May 1829.
21. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1, Vol. 555, File 47, Letter from Mr Blackwood to McCulloch containing a list of books to be donated to 'the Literary Institute of Pictou' 22 February 1826.
22. McCulloch 1990, p. xliii.
23. The review stated that 'we know of no work of the kind fitted to make a more useful and lasting impression, especially on young and aspiring minds'. *Edinburgh Theological Magazine*, February 1826.
24. McCulloch 1990, p. 58.
25. For more on McCulloch's writings see Wallace 2014a.

26. Davies 1997.
27. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 555, Files 78–81, Robert and Morton.
28. ‘Page of Manuscript of “William”’, in McCulloch 1990, p. 195.
29. Moir 1967, p. 35. But see Fingard 1972; Story 1947.
30. Clark 1959, p. 120.
31. In neighbouring New Brunswick sermons by members of the established Church, which extolled the virtues of the British constitution, were often printed. Dissenting ministers were obliged to swear oaths of allegiance which were, according to Ross Hebb, designed as a check on republicanism: Hebb 2004, pp. 60, 70.
32. See Inglis’ sermon: Inglis 1793.
33. Moir 1967, p. 61.
34. ‘To editor’, *Acadian Recorder*, 20 January 1821.
35. Robertson 1847, pp. 220–1.
36. See McCulloch 1819.
37. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 554, File 3, Letters to Lieutenant-Governor; McCulloch 1920, p. 33.
38. Hamilton 1970, pp. 115–23, 228–41.
39. See e.g., NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 554, File 81, 12 Feb 1829 Petition of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Township of Onslow regarding Pictou Academy. See also Hamilton 1970, pp. 137, 171–2.
40. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 554, File 82, Minutes of congregation meeting at New Annan and Files 84–5, Minutes of the congregations of Tatamagouche and Musquodoboit.
41. Though Anglicans were not necessarily establishment figures: MacKinnon 1995.
42. Morison 1954, p. 164. J. Murray Beck claims that McCulloch’s influence was negligible: Beck 1982, p. 48. The tone of the publication caused many to assume that McCulloch was its anonymous editor, which he vociferously denied. However, in a private letter he admitted that for almost a year he had ‘written a weekly editorial in the Colonial Patriot which our Council anticipated with dread’: ‘Extract from Dr McCulloch’s Letter to the Editor of the Nova Scotian in the Acadian Recorder’, *Colonial Patriot*, 8 February 1828; NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 553, File 45, McCulloch to James Mitchell 21 November 1829.
43. ‘Editorial’, *Colonial Patriot*, 14 December 1827.
44. ‘To editors’, *Colonial Patriot*, 29 February 1828.
45. ‘The Canadian Miscellany’, *Colonial Patriot*, 2 July 1828.
46. Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia 1819. The union of the Secession in Scotland was reported in the *Acadian Recorder* on 10 March 1821.
47. Robertson 1847, pp. 208, 213.
48. McKerrow 1867, p. 77.

49. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 553, File 7, McCulloch to John Mitchell 29 May 1819.
50. However, a broad church, the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia was not uniformly voluntaristic. The Rev. John Sprott, originally from Wigtownshire, was an adherent of the establishment principle. He insisted to the Rev. Robert Burns that his church 'was firmly attached to the British crown' and implied that the PCNS did not rest on a voluntarist bottom. He frequently prayed for Great Britain and 'our National Zion'. His son and biographer, George W. Sprott, remarked that while he had always believed that his father had prayed for the Kirk, a friend had suggested that Sprott referred to the Church of England, established by the legislature in Nova Scotia. 'Considering his ecclesiastical views', George wrote, 'this is quite probable'. See Sprott 1906, pp. xv–xvi.
51. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 554, File 29, Memorial on behalf of the literary and philosophic institute at Pictou, Nova Scotia (1825).
52. *Colonial Patriot*, 21 January 1829.
53. 'Nova Scotia', *The Scotsman*, 24 June 1829; 'British North American Colonies', *The Scotsman*, 10 June 1829.
54. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 23 January 1830; see also 'To "a Pictonian"', *Colonial Patriot*, 23 April 1828.
55. National Records of Scotland, CH3/298/3, Minutes of the United Associate Synod 1820–40.
56. *Colonial Patriot*, 9 September 1829.
57. 'On the Use and Abuse of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments by Thomas Chalmers [*The Scotsman*]', *Colonial Patriot*, 21 May 1828; 'Ecclesiastical Establishments [*Scots Times*]', *Colonial Patriot*, 9 September 1829; 'Oppression of Dissenters in Nova Scotia [*Scots Times*]', *Colonial Patriot*, 24 April 1830; 'Ecclesiastical Establishments [*Scots Times*]', *Colonial Patriot*, 19 June 1830.
58. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 16 April 1831. See also 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 30 April 1831.
59. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 553, File 40, McCulloch to James Mitchell 18 May 1829.
60. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 9 July 1828.
61. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 9 January 1830; 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 7 October 1829.
62. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 25 February 1829.
63. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 3 September 1829.
64. 'To editor', *Colonial Patriot*, 4 March 1829. On the debate and friction between the Glasgow Colonial Society and the PCNS, see McCulloch 1826; Anon. 1826. This debate was also reported in the *Edinburgh Star*, the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* and the *United Secession Magazine*.
65. McKerrow 1867, p. 87.



66. 'House of Assembly', *Colonial Patriot*, 25 March 1829.
67. 'Pictou Academy', *Colonial Patriot*, 28 January 1829.
68. 'House of Assembly', *Colonial Patriot*, 1 April 1829.
69. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 8 February 1828. See 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 17 June 1829; 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 24 June 1829.
70. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 15 February 1828.
71. Halliburton 1828. Though Halliburton had supported the Academy in its early days, he was wary of extremism and condemned some of the resolutions passed by its trustees. See Hill 1864, pp. 110, 120.
72. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 1 April 1829; 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 3 June 1829; 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 16 February 1828.
73. On the *Patriot's* belief in popular sovereignty as opposed to 'divine right' and 'holy alliances', see also 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 21 May 1831.
74. *Colonial Patriot*, 26 August 1829.
75. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 17 April 1830; 'Legislative Council', *Colonial Patriot*, 12 June 1830.
76. 'To all the Representatives of the Province, now at Halifax, except messrs Uniacke, Hartshorne and Barry', *Colonial Patriot*, 17 April 1830.
77. 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 19 June 1830.
78. 'Election Speeches at Truro', *The Novascotian*, 30 September 1830. See also 'Election Speeches', *Colonial Patriot*, 2 October 1830.
79. McCulloch 1920, p. 123. Some Antiburghers were actually more committed to a national church than McCulloch and most new light Seceders but 'Antiburgher' was a term applied indiscriminately in Nova Scotia to McCulloch and his supporters.
80. 'The County Elections', *The Novascotian*, 7 October 1830.
81. Cuthbertson 1994, p. 59.
82. 'Reform', *The Scotsman*, 15 December 1830.
83. 'Effigy Burning', *Colonial Patriot*, 19 February 1831.
84. For the petition see NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 554, File 93, 1831 Petition to the King of the Trustees of Pictou Academy.
85. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 553, File 92, Copy of a letter to Col Fox.
86. Taylor 2007, p. 301.

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## John Dunmore Lang in Sydney

*'Scotchmen are freeborn. Their civil & religious liberties were won for them by the swords of their forefathers and they are a degenerate race if they do not vindicate their right to both.'*

(National Library of Australia [NLA], Lang papers, MS3267, Box 4, copy of a letter to his Ex. Major General Sir Thomas Brisbane)

John Dunmore Lang was born near Greenock on Scotland's Clyde coast in 1799. He attended the University of Glasgow from 1811 and trained as a minister in the Church of Scotland, identifying strongly with its evangelical wing. In 1821 Lang's brother, George Lang, decided to migrate to New South Wales. George had originally favoured St Lucia but the job he thought he had secured there, as superintendent of a sugar plantation, fell through when the owner died. Instead George went to Sydney where he obtained a position in the commissariat, possibly owing to the Lang family's connection with Sir Thomas Brisbane, governor of the colony and on whose estate in Scotland the Lang family lived. George encouraged his brother to migrate to Sydney stating that many Scots were doing well there and that Brisbane approved of the idea that John Dunmore Lang might become a Presbyterian minister in the colony. Lang sailed for New

South Wales on 14 October 1822, two years after Pringle left for the Cape, and arrived in Sydney in May 1823. His parents followed him soon after.

In Sydney Lang became the first Presbyterian minister in the city and helped to build the Scots Church. Despite Brisbane's early encouragement, however, Lang found it difficult to establish himself. He became critical of the dominant position of Anglicans in colonial society and the lack of support available for Scottish Presbyterians. He resented, like Thomas McCulloch, the Anglican monopoly of marriage licences and education. He was particularly disparaging of the Royal Charter granted in 1824 which established a Church and School Corporation to fund instruction on Anglican principles. Critical of Archdeacon (Bishop from 1836) Broughton's plans to establish an Anglican institution of learning, as well as an alternative plan to establish a secular college in imitation of the University of London, Lang developed his own plan to erect the Australian College, an institution with a Scots Presbyterian flavour. He criticised the exclusive nature of crown colony rule in Australia, calling for the institution of a more accountable government. Later, as we will see in Chap. 10, he became an outspoken republican.

Lang was once very well-known to Australians. In Canberra's parliamentary zone, a grassy field is named John Dunmore Lang Place—a 'lasting tribute' to Lang's contribution to Australia's constitutional and political development as an independent nation-state. D.W.A. Baker wrote a valuable and substantial biography of the minister in 1985.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, in the twentieth century Lang largely dropped out of view, on account perhaps of his distasteful anti-Catholic polemic. Lang was also, despite his popularity during his lifetime, something of a fringe politician. John Gascoigne has described Lang as 'politically irrelevant'.<sup>2</sup> He became a separatist republican in later life but, as Paul Pickering and others have shown, anti-monarchical republicanism was only ever supported by a minority of nineteenth-century Australians; the dominant political language in the colony was that of popular constitutionalism. Even those who were inspired, Benjamin T. Jones argues, by the tradition of civic republicanism, which emphasised freedom from domination but not necessarily freedom from the Crown,<sup>3</sup> sought to secure their right as freeborn Englishmen to participate in government and root out corruption. They cherished the notion of a balanced constitution in which the third estate could bring the monarchy and aristocracy to account. Australians looked to English history for inspiration: Magna Carta, the struggles of the Civil War and the revolution of 1688.<sup>4</sup> The 'entitlement to parliamentary liberty', says Peter Cochrane, 'had become a defining characteristic of

Britishness abroad'.<sup>5</sup> Political claims in Australia, Angela Woollacott has written, 'were couched in terms of English liberties and rights'.<sup>6</sup>

Pickering, Jones, Angus Edmonds and others have attempted to rescue Lang from the 'footnote of Australian history'.<sup>7</sup> Though a republican, he 'clothed' his separatist tendencies in 'the familiar trope of the rights of the freeborn Britons'.<sup>8</sup> Though anti-Catholic, his ideas on religion shaped his political worldview and need to be taken seriously. As Hilary Carey has pointed out, clerics have been too often dismissed in Australian historiography as vacuous bigots. We need to appreciate the context which gave shape to the religious views of clerical activists.<sup>9</sup> Lang's reformist ideals were inspired, says Jones, by his 'Nonconformist Christianity'. Like William Lyon Mackenzie discussed in the next chapter, Jones contends, Lang was a civic republican who envisaged New South Wales as a community of virtuous and politically active citizens free from domination. In preparation for a new millennium, he hoped to overthrow the too-powerful Church of England.<sup>10</sup>

Nonconformist Christianity is an umbrella term which, this book suggests, obscures the influence on colonial politics of particular denominational traditions. Lang was not technically a nonconformist, a label usually applied to Protestant dissenters in England and Wales. Lang was actually a member of the Scottish Kirk's evangelical wing, though he also celebrated Scotland's dissenting traditions. His own ancestors, so he claimed, had sought asylum in Holland during the 'tyranny of that worthless profligate Charles the Second'.<sup>11</sup> His other forebears had been members of the Antiburgher Secession. Lang's critique of clerical morality in Australia, which caused him to fall out with some of his colleagues, was, David Stoneman observes, rooted in his sympathy for the evangelical/dissenting strain of Scottish Presbyterianism.<sup>12</sup>

Lang's politics, this book will argue, were shaped by his commitment to Scottish Presbyterian ecclesiology. His evangelical Presbyterianism caused Lang to protect the Presbyterian community from the domination of Anglicanism and to champion Britain's providential mission to people the colony with virtuous Protestants.<sup>13</sup> Like many evangelicals in the Kirk, he was committed to open governance and active participation—tenets of his republicanism—in church as well as in state. He deliberately tried to avoid introducing lay patronage, which he viewed as an unscriptural imposition on the Kirk, into the constitution of the Scots Church in Sydney, as William Lyon Mackenzie, discussed in Chap. 5, was later to do for St Andrews Church in Toronto.

Lang was also inspired by a reading of the Scottish past which interpreted Anglicanism and Catholicism as tyrannising faiths. Liberty in Scotland had, according to Lang, been won by Presbyterians who had resisted Anglican and Catholic oppression. In his political protest, Lang, like Pringle and McCulloch, discussed in preceding chapters, made use of the covenanting idiom, the Scottish variant of British birthright rhetoric. According to Jones, a sense of Britishness brought migrants together. 'The concept of the international British family', he says, 'as opposed to the native English, Scot, Irish, or Welsh, proved to be not only transportable but also central' to settler societies.<sup>14</sup> But Lang was very sensitive to the ecclesiastical distinctions between Scots and English settlers. Like Thomas M'Crie and other evangelical whigs who endorsed M'Crie's historical narrative, Lang emphasised the contribution the Scottish Covenanters had made to the development of British constitutional liberty. He conflated the constitutional and covenanting idiom. Just like the Canadian Kirk in the 1830s and non-intrusionists in the Scottish Kirk in the early 1840s—discussed later in this book in Chaps. 7 and 8—Lang maintained that the Treaty of Union had guaranteed to Scots in perpetuity the religious and civil liberties secured to them by the sacrifices of the Covenanters. The Treaty, regarded as fundamental law, ensured that the British parliament would respect the independence of the Scottish Church. The British government could never again assert ecclesiastical supremacy over the Scottish people and deprive them of their right to worship freely. Lang initially argued that he was constitutionally entitled to pecuniary support. The tendency of the government to impinge on the rights of Scottish Presbyterians caused many to embrace non-intrusion—the idea that the state should stay out of Kirk business—and, what was regarded by some as the logical extension of this principle, fully-fledged voluntarism—the complete separation of church and state. As we shall see in Chap. 10, Lang abandoned his establishment roots and moved towards the new light voluntarism of the Scottish Secession. In depriving colonists of their religious liberty, Lang believed that the British government had overextended its powers and impinged on the spiritual autonomy of his church. He campaigned for an independent and republican Australia in which the voluntary system could be established.

Lang had much in common with the other figures discussed in this book, some of whom he knew personally. After his migration to Sydney, Lang travelled back to Britain nine times and his political outlook was



indebted to the contacts he made there. Lang, in turn, made an impact on those he met. The Scots Church in Cape Town, where Lang stopped on his return journeys back to Sydney from Britain, was allegedly founded because of Lang's influence. 'A searching biography', says Linda Colley, 'that will situate Lang and his fellow Australian activists in transnational contexts is badly needed'.<sup>15</sup> This chapter and the ones that follow outline the religious background to Lang's political views and point to his position within a transcolonial denominational community.

### SCOTTISH BIRTHRIGHT IN NEW SOUTH WALES

When Lang arrived in Sydney in 1823 he went to stay with William Wemyss, who ran the commissariat department at which Lang's brother worked. Wemyss, who was a Seceder, was keen to establish a Presbyterian church in the colony. Lang hoped to become the church's first minister and agreed with Wemyss' plan but he later disagreed with Wemyss over the nature of the church's constitution. Wemyss thought that the church should install as minister any suitable Presbyterian but Lang was satisfied only with a minister trained in the Church of Scotland. Lang was happy to admit Presbyterian dissenters as church members and he favoured vesting the right of patronage in the entire congregation. Indeed, he commented later in life that he had developed an aversion to patronage while a student at Glasgow. It was humiliating, he said, for licentiates to be kept 'waiting at the footstool of some nobleman'. The system of clerical appointments depressed him so thoroughly that it contributed to his desire to emigrate.<sup>16</sup> But Wemyss was still insulted and some local Seceders were encouraged to boycott the church. Later, as we shall see in Chap. 10, Lang would develop much closer relationships with his Secession brethren for whom he usually had much respect. According to D.W.A. Baker, the contempt the Rev. John McGarvie—a colleague of Lang's—felt for Lang developed partially because Lang was willing to engage with Seceder ministers. McGarvie was a moderate Kirkman while Lang was an evangelical with a strong connection to Scotland's dissenting heritage.<sup>17</sup>

In any event, Wemyss asked Governor Thomas Brisbane, also a Scot, for government assistance with building the Scots Church. The Church of England was essentially established in New South Wales; Anglican military chaplains during the colony's infancy as a penal colony were paid by the state and in 1824 an archdeaconry was established.<sup>18</sup> But the colonial government had shown itself willing to support other denominations,

having granted land to the Catholic community to build a church. Brisbane agreed to grant land for a Presbyterian church but appeared less willing to augment the public subscriptions for the church building which Lang had helped to raise. Major Frederick Goulburn, the colonial secretary, who, Lang quipped, was the 'real governor',<sup>19</sup> wrote a reply to the Presbyterian community's request for funds which was printed in the *Sydney Gazette*. It stated that as toleration was a principle of the Church of England, Presbyterians in Sydney had been granted land. They could, however, expect no other form of support until, like the Catholics in the colony, they had proved that they could live peaceably and loyally. Goulburn instructed the community to 'fear God, and honour the King'.<sup>20</sup> The letter implied that Scots Presbyterians had a reputation for stirring up trouble.

Lang was incensed. He insisted that unlike Catholics, many of whom had been transported to New South Wales as convicts, Presbyterians there were freemen and loyal. The Presbyterians of Portland Head, he pointed out, 'were the only people in the colony who refused to submit to the Rebel Government after the arrest of Governor Bligh'.<sup>21</sup> He wrote a reply to Brisbane stating that toleration was not a principle of the Anglican Church but of the British constitution, which Scottish Presbyterians, in their struggle at the Restoration for civil and religious liberty, had helped to secure. Lang had a similar outlook to that of Thomas M'Crie, who Lang knew personally.<sup>22</sup> Lang's newspaper described M'Crie as 'that great pillar and zealous reformer of the church, whose writings, both in a literary and theological point of view, placed him among the most dignified and profound ecclesiastical authors of modern days'.<sup>23</sup> Following M'Crie, whose sanitised histories championed the Covenanters as martyrs for freedom, Lang emphasised the contribution made by the Covenanters to the evolution of British constitutional liberty. He employed the Scots Presbyterian version of the constitutional idiom. 'Sir', said he, 'Scotchmen are freeborn. Their civil & religious liberties were won for them by the swords of their forefathers and they are a degenerate race if they do not vindicate their right to both.' Anticipating the arguments of Upper Canadian Scots in the 1830s (discussed in Chap. 8) he further insisted that the Treaty of Union had guaranteed to Scots in perpetuity their right to worship in the church of their forefathers. The British government was obliged, Lang thought, to protect the Church of Scotland, co-established in Britain, and to provide the same protection to Scottish churches and Scottish migrants in the colonies of Britain's empire, most of which had

been settled after the Treaty of Union had been agreed: 'by the articles of Union the same privileges & the same rights were secured to the Scottish nation in all the British colonies as to the English. And in the other colonies of the British Empire this provision has been understood to secure not merely the Toleration but the encouragement & support also of ministers of the Scottish National Church'.<sup>24</sup> Lang expanded on the theme of Scottish birthright in his *Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales*, first published in 1834. According to one reviewer the 'enthusiastic spirit of an old Scottish covenanter' breathed in many of this publication's passages.<sup>25</sup>

The Scottish nation, it is well known, rejected the yoke of Episcopacy, even after it had been violently forced upon it by the military executions and the *autos-da-fe* of Charles the Second; and if the moral and spiritual health of the Scottish people continued to improve in succeeding generations, they are still persuaded it was owing chiefly to that happy event. Was it just or right, therefore, that Scotsmen and Presbyterians, emigrating to recently established British colonies, in which the natives of any one of the three united kingdoms had an equal right with the natives of either of the other two to the same civil and religious immunities as they respectively enjoyed at home, should be subjected to a yoke which their forefathers had cast off and broken?

After traversing half the globe, the Scottish migrant, Lang argued, discovered that he had been deceived—he had left his birthright behind him.<sup>26</sup>

Lang applied the same argument in his defence of the right of Presbyterian ministers, as well as Anglican clergy, to perform marriage services. He argued that New South Wales came within the jurisdiction of the Anglican diocese of Calcutta; thus, the 1818 Act (58 Geo. 3, c. 84), which legalised marriages performed by Church of Scotland chaplains in India, was valid also in Australia. He wrote on this point to Brisbane and to George Arthur, governor of Van Diemen's Land. In Hobart, Joseph Gellibrand, the attorney-general, considered the merits of Lang's argument. He examined article four of the Treaty of Union which granted to all subjects of the new state of Britain freedom of trade throughout Britain and its colonies. The article also granted the 'Communication of all other Rights' belonging to subjects of either Scotland or England. Gellibrand gave this clause a 'liberal Construction', but still he found that it referred

to trading rights only. Gellibrand did not dispute that emigrants brought their rights and privileges with them when they travelled to Britain's colonies but still he insisted that the Church of Scotland was established in Scotland alone. Gellibrand might have referred, as others did, to clause seven of article twenty-five of the Treaty which, by referencing the separate act passed to preserve the Church of England, obliged the Crown to maintain the Church of England in England, Wales and Ireland and 'the territories thereunto belonging'.<sup>27</sup> According to Scots law, marriage in Scotland was a civil contract—a notion 'at variance', said Gellibrand, with the law of England which, since Hardwicke's Marriage Act in 1753, had confirmed that marriages had to be performed in an Anglican church. That the 1818 act had been necessary in the first place confirmed that residents of Britain's colonies were 'considered as having an English domicile'; Church of Scotland ministers were not recognised in English law as being in holy orders and thus doubts had arisen as to whether Scottish marriages in India met the terms of the 1753 act.<sup>28</sup> Thus, Gellibrand concluded, Lang could not perform in the colony a marriage according to the principles of Scots law. For, if Lang's claim was allowed, might it not be argued that 'other Laws peculiar to Scotland' should be put into operation?<sup>29</sup> Saxe Bannister, attorney-general in Sydney, similarly concluded that Lang could marry by the grant, at the governor's pleasure, of a government licence but he could only perform the service to those of his own faith.<sup>30</sup>

Insecure about his position, Lang travelled to London at the end of 1824 to visit the Colonial Office. He asked the Office to confirm that Church of Scotland ministers in the colonies could expect the same privileges as Church of England clergy. Robert Wilmot-Horton, under-secretary at the Office, reassured Lang that Brisbane had been rebuked for the language used in Goulburn's letter. Brisbane had recommended in response that Lang be awarded a stipend of £300 a year. The Colonial Office agreed. Lord Bathurst was keen to placate Lang and the Presbyterian population but still he was unsure about the legal status of Church of Scotland ministers in the empire. He asked the Crown's law officers for their opinion. The law officers concluded in 1827 that the Treaty of Union did not oblige the Crown to provide state aid to Church of Scotland ministers in New South Wales proportionate to the amount applied to the support of the Church of England. Kirk ministers, they believed, were no different to other dissenters in the colony, as no act of parliament or Crown charter had placed them on a footing equal to that of the Anglican Church.<sup>31</sup>

## BATTLING ANGLICAN SUPREMACY

During his absence Lang's family suffered what they considered to be a further insult, though Brisbane was quick to appease them. George Lang died unexpectedly in 1825. At this time the Church of England managed the colony's graveyards where the deceased were interred according to the Anglican service. Lang's mother, who knew Brisbane personally after having inherited property on the Brisbane estate in Scotland, asked Brisbane if George could be buried instead in the grounds of the Scots Church. Brisbane agreed to the senior Lang's request. Lang hinted that Brisbane was afraid of his mother; she had already told Brisbane off for his behaviour regarding the Scots Church. Brisbane also granted an allotment for a graveyard for Presbyterians. In later years Lang protested in favour of a public and non-denominational cemetery; in his opinion the sectarian nature of burial grounds could be attributed to the government's short-sighted decision to allow one sect exclusive control.<sup>32</sup>

Brisbane was recalled in 1825 and Ralph Darling was installed in his place. On Lang's return, he was unable to acquire a marriage licence from the new governor. Thomas Hobbes Scott had also arrived in the colony as Archdeacon of the Anglican Church and Lang blamed him for this change in policy. Scott was appointed to Darling's legislative council—an entirely nominated body—which passed during Lang's absence in London an act for the better regulation of births, baptisms, marriages and burials. Henceforth non-Anglican ministers who performed the services relating to these rites would be obliged to submit certificates to their local Anglican priests. If they failed to submit these certificates they would be fined. In case Lang had missed this news, his local Anglican clergyman, the Rev. William Cowper, knocked on his door and presented the minister with a copy of the act and a blank register for him to begin to fill out.

Lang ignored Cowper and the new regulations. As far as he was concerned, a Church of Scotland minister enjoyed co-established status in New South Wales.<sup>33</sup> His position as a minister of the Kirk entitled him to ignore the new act. He would send his returns directly to the colonial secretary as, according to the 1818 act, Church of Scotland ministers were instructed to do in India. He advertised in the press that he would dispense with the Anglican practice of marrying by licence and would instead marry by the proclamation of banns, the custom in Scotland.

In Lang's view, the colonial government had begun to conspire against Presbyterians, and was targeting Lang in particular. He claimed that he was

almost forced out of the colony. Darling, he insisted, was in league with the intolerant and High-Church Archdeacon Scott, who, remarked Lang, operated according to the following maxim: 'Let Episcopacy reign alone in the Australian colonies, and let no Presbyterian dog be permitted to bark within her ample domain.'<sup>34</sup> Darling dispensed patronage to an exclusive group who sought to deprive the rest of the population of their political rights and of their access to land. Darling's favourites were also, Lang insisted, 'exclusionists in religion' who rode roughshod over other sects.<sup>35</sup> Lang accused Darling—who strenuously denied Lang's accusations<sup>36</sup>—of bestowing favours—the assignment of convict servants—only to those Presbyterians who were willing to 'episcopalianize'.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, according to Lang, colonists suffered from a 'jealous, exclusive, and intolerant system of Episcopal domination'.<sup>38</sup> Scottish Presbyterians in New South Wales and elsewhere were encouraged to abandon the faith of their forefathers in order to obtain government appointments and advance their careers. Lang was contemptuous of those men who 'sell their birthright for a mess of pottage'. Could these men really 'be esteemed the worthy descendants of those patriotic men who purchased the civil and religious liberties of Scotland with the best blood in their veins?'<sup>39</sup> Lang thought not. The legislative council was corrupt, slavish and accountable to the governor and not to the people. Lang later argued in favour of the institution of a representative branch of government: 'the Tory device', he said, 'of a Governor and a Legislative Council, appointed, like that of New South Wales, by the Crown, is utterly unworthy of a Whig administration; inasmuch as it is nothing more nor less than an ingenious device for investing a Governor, or perhaps the mere agent of a Secretary of State, with absolute power'.<sup>40</sup>

Lang was particularly annoyed by the Church and School Corporation established in 1824 to fund religious instruction and education in the colony. The Corporation was allotted one-seventh of all Crown lands to support an Anglican establishment. Until the land became valuable through settlement, however, the salaries of an Anglican bishop and subordinate clergy, as well as several Church-of-England schools were to be funded from the public purse. Lang compared the Corporation's land to the clergy reserves in Upper Canada—one-seventh of all land grants set aside for the use of the 'Protestant clergy'. But whereas the wording of the legislation on the clergy reserves was ambiguous, the provisions for the Corporation made it very clear that Anglicans in Australia were to be elevated by the government above every other sect.<sup>41</sup> Lang urged Lord Goderich, who replaced Lord Bathurst at the Colonial Office, to auction

off the Corporation's land and allocate the funds accrued from the sale to an emigration fund.<sup>42</sup> He hoped to populate Australia with Scottish Presbyterian tradesmen and their families, who he thought were morally superior to everyone else.<sup>43</sup> Lang was resentful that he had to beg the Colonial Office for the salaries of Church of Scotland ministers while the Archdeacon had a salary of £2000 a year. During Darling's first five years, he claimed, Presbyterians had received only one-fiftieth of the amount spent on the Anglican establishment.<sup>44</sup> Scotsmen, Lang claimed, unless they were prepared to deliver their children 'into the hands of proselytising Episcopalians', received 'no benefit from the liberal provision which the Government professed to make for the religious instruction of the colonists and for the education of their youth'.<sup>45</sup>

The Corporation cost £400 a year to run—twice as much, Lang pointed out, as the Scottish General Assembly<sup>46</sup>—and yet the body was dilatory in establishing educational institutions. Archdeacon William Broughton, who replaced Thomas Hobbes Scott in 1829, was more assertive in the cause of education and began to draw up plans for a school of which he would be the overseer. He invited other clergymen to join the board of management. Lang was encouraging to Broughton's face<sup>47</sup> but he later claimed that he had had no faith that Broughton's institution would 'be one in which Presbyterians would be allowed to unite with Episcopalians on equal terms'.<sup>48</sup> The plans Broughton then developed, and published in the *Sydney Gazette*, for the 'King's Schools' to be established in Sydney and Parramatta were similarly discouraging. All teachers were to be members of the Church of England and students were to be subjected every Sunday to the Anglican service.<sup>49</sup> Much to Broughton's annoyance, Lang gave his support instead to the scheme to revive the Free Grammar School, a non-denominational institution originally established in 1825 but which was reborn as the Sydney College. But, inspired by the prospectus of the South African College, sent to him by his friend James Adamson, the minister of the Scots Church in Cape Town, Lang was privately developing an idea to establish a Presbyterian institution of his own. When he inherited some property after the death of his father, Lang abandoned both Broughton's project and the Free Grammar to pursue his own plan.

Lang had from an early stage harboured a desire to establish an institution founded on the 'liberal and economical principles of the Schools and Colleges of Scotland'.<sup>50</sup> He tried to set up the Caledonian Academy which, on the face of it, was non-sectarian but Catholics and non-Christians would have found its prospectus discouraging. Lessons were to open and close

with prayer and the bible was to be read daily; parents could choose which Protestant catechism their child would be instructed upon. Lang originally envisaged that the ministers of the Scots Church would be perpetual trustees of the institution.<sup>51</sup> Lang's new institution, which he wanted to call the 'Scotch College' but which was named instead the Australian College, was similar in nature to the Caledonian Academy. It was to be modelled on the Belfast Academical Institution and was not dissimilar to the Pictou Academy in Nova Scotia. The college's first teachers were all licentiates of the Church of Scotland chosen on the recommendation of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers and the college was built on land adjacent to Lang's Scots Church.

## CONCLUSION

Lang travelled to London in 1830, arriving in December, hoping to acquire funds for the Australian College. He went first to see Joseph Hume, the Scottish radical MP, with whom he was a little acquainted. He arrived at Hume's door in between Jotham Blanchard's first visit to the politician in 1829 and his second visit in 1831. After hearing Blanchard's story about the trials of Pictou Academy in Nova Scotia, Hume, as we shall see in Chap. 6, was ideally primed to support Lang's plans for the Australian College. Lang's story was strikingly like that of Thomas McCulloch as well as that of Thomas Pringle, who Lang also met in London. All three believed that they and the rest of the dissenting communities in their settlements were being discriminated against by overbearing Anglican establishments. Just like Pringle and McCulloch, Lang invoked what might be termed Scottish birthright rhetoric to demand that the Presbyterian community in New South Wales be treated fairly. He implied that Scotland's Presbyterian martyrs had died to secure constitutional liberty for Britain. Scotland's civil and religious liberties had been later guaranteed by the Treaty of Union in 1707, a binding agreement which—by implication—obliged the British government to support Presbyterian ministers in colonial settlements. The tendency of the government to privilege Anglicanism encouraged Lang to critique the unaccountable nature of colonial rule. As we shall see in Chap. 10, Lang would soon come to advocate outright disestablishment and separatist republicanism. William Lyon Mackenzie, a Scottish reformer from Upper Canada, who came knocking on Hume's door in 1832, had a similar tale to tell. The next chapter traces Mackenzie's journey from a Seceder community in Dundee to the radical dissenting circles of Toronto.



## NOTES

1. Baker 1985.
2. Gascoigne 2002, p. 60.
3. McKenna 1996, pp. 7–10; Pickering 2007, p. 140; Pickering 2001.
4. Jones 2009.
5. Cochrane 2006, p. 10.
6. Woollacott 2015, p. 6.
7. Edmonds 2001. Older works on Lang include: Linder 1992. See also Elford 1968; Baker 1994.
8. Jones and Pickering 2014, p. 128.
9. Carey 2012, p. 243. See also Gladwin 2015, pp. 14–15.
10. Jones 2014.
11. Gilchrist 1951, p. 1.
12. Stoneman 2013, p. 194. On Lang's evangelical politics see also Linder 1992.
13. On Lang's biblically inspired immigration schemes see Lake 2008, pp. 264–96; Carey 2011.
14. Jones 2014, p. 13.
15. Colley 2014, p. 266, n. 83. On this theme see also Pickering 2008.
16. Lang 1972, p. 28.
17. Lang 1972, p. 9.
18. Fletcher 2002.
19. Lang 1972, p. 36.
20. Lang 1972, p. 38.
21. Mitchell Library, Sydney [ML], Lang papers, A2232 CY 2187, Address on behalf of the Scots Presbyterians of Portland Head New South Wales & of Hobart Town Van Diemen's Land, respectfully presented To Scotchmen & Presbyterians in Calcutta & throughout the Presidency of Bengal.
22. See a letter to Lang from Janet Robertson: ML, Lang papers, MSS 268/1 CY3349. Robertson had been informed by M'Crie of Lang's whereabouts. Robertson suggested that Lang might want to communicate news of her son who had migrated to Sydney either directly to her or through M'Crie. See also letter from A Mackay in Thurso who invited Lang to visit him in 1825 while M'Crie's son was staying and suggested they travel back together: NLA, Lang papers, A2226 [CY 893], A. Mackay to Lang, 23 June 1825.
23. 'Death of John M'Crie', *The Colonist*, 11 February 1838.
24. NLA, Lang papers, MS3267, Box 4, copy of a letter to his Ex. Major General Sir Thomas Brisbane.
25. 'Review', *The Colonist*, 22 January 1835.
26. Lang 1837, II, p. 238.

27. Grose 1988, p. 115. For the controversy surrounding this clause in pre-revolutionary America see Landsman 2011.
28. Shelford 1841, p. 54.
29. ML, Lang papers, A2230 CY 809, Joseph Gellibrand to George Arthur, 20 December 1825; ML, Lang papers, MSS 3016 [CY 3738], George Arthur to Lang, 21 December 1825.
30. NLA, Lang papers, A2226 [CY 893], Saxe Bannister to Lang, 2 May 1824[?].
31. Grose 1988, p. 119.
32. Lang 1972, pp. 43–4.
33. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 1, 158/3, letter from Colonial Secretary, 14 November 1826.
34. Lang 1837, II, p. 245.
35. Lang 1837, I, pp. 236–7.
36. NLA, Lang papers, A2226 [CY 893], Darling to Lang, 23 May 1834.
37. Lang 1972, p. 63.
38. Lang 1837, II, p. 237.
39. Lang 1837, I, p. 257.
40. Lang 1837, I, p. 335.
41. Lang 1972, p. 66.
42. Lang 1831a, p. 26.
43. See e.g., Lang 1831b, pp. 24, 31.
44. Lang 1837, II, p. 270.
45. Lang 1837, II, p. 238.
46. Lang 1837, II, p. 269.
47. See ML, Lang papers, A2236 CY 1487, Broughton to Lang, 16 January 1830.
48. Lang 1837, II, p. 324.
49. Baker 1963, p. 226.
50. Lang 1831a, p. 3.
51. ML, Lang papers, A2236 CY 1487, Prospectus of an Institution proposed to be formed in Sydney under the designation of the Caledonian Academy.

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## William Lyon Mackenzie in Toronto

*'If we move now as one man to crush the tyrant's power, to establish free institutions, founded on God's law, we will prosper, for he who commands the winds and the waves will be with us.'*  
(*'Independence for Canada!'*, *Mackenzie's Gazette*, 18 August 1838)

Born in 1795 in Dundee, William Lyon Mackenzie travelled to Upper Canada in 1820—the same year that Thomas Pringle left for southern Africa—after the shop that he kept went bankrupt. He worked with friends in a general store in Dundas but soon moved to Queenston and then to York (later called Toronto) where he edited his own newspaper, the *Colonial Advocate*. Mackenzie very quickly began to press for reform of the colonial government—his commitment reinforced by the destruction of his printing press by a group of tories in 1826. Mackenzie was irritated by the colonial regime on several counts, including its partiality towards Anglicans. As in Nova Scotia, King's College in Toronto, the only higher education institution in the colony, had an Anglican constitution. The Church of England also claimed sole proprietorship over the clergy reserves—one-seventh of all land grants which were allotted by the 1791 Constitutional Act to the support and maintenance of the Protestant clergy. The Anglican-dominated legislative council consistently thwarted the attempts of the representative assembly, elected by forty-shilling

freeholders, to have the clergy reserves secularised or divided between the various churches in Upper Canada. As in Nova Scotia, the lieutenant-governor nominated the council, which enjoyed a certain amount of financial autonomy. Mackenzie became leader of a petitioning campaign and member of the colonial assembly. He vehemently attacked the Archdeacon (later Bishop) of Toronto, John Strachan, who sat on the council.

Historians used to attribute the development of reformist politics in Upper Canada to the influence of American migrants who transported to the colony their ideas on republicanism and Jacksonian democracy. The British population, it was thought, were inherently loyal and conservative; they were also determined to preserve the integrity of the established church. The rebellion of 1837–1838 was a minor radical blip but it was extinguished easily because of the overwhelmingly conservative nature of the Upper Canadian population. The founding fathers of the colony were, after all, loyalist exiles from revolutionary America.<sup>1</sup>

More recently historians have pointed to the circumatlantic flow of political ideas during the age of revolutions. Reformers in the Canadas were influenced by the republican currents which gave rise to the revolutions in France, America and Haiti. The rebellions of 1837–1838 were, in fact, the ‘last chapter’ of an Atlantic Revolution.<sup>2</sup> Carol Wilton, meanwhile, has examined the impact on Canada of Britain’s age of reform. She discusses the tendency of reformers in Britain and Upper Canada to appeal to notions of an ancient constitution and employ British birthright rhetoric.<sup>3</sup> Michael Gauvreau has emphasised instead the importance of Scottish Presbyterian ideas, articulated in particular by Seceder missionaries who were influential in the colony’s early years.<sup>4</sup> The dominance of the Church of England, its monopoly of the clergy reserves and its exclusive charter for King’s College, were, for Gauvreau, the most significant and stirring political issues in the province in the pre-Confederation era. According to Gauvreau, by the 1830s, ‘a long popular tradition that viewed church establishment, aristocracy, and an episcopal polity as a single menace had turned many of the backwoods settlements of Upper Canada into querulous religious cockpits’. Gauvreau argues that what he terms ‘Covenanter democracy’ would ‘play a prominent part in shaping the constitutional reform movement in Upper Canada and the drift towards the rebellion in the 1830s’. Canadian historians, he claims, have focused too much on the socio-economic grievances which lay at the root of reform politics and have overlooked the significance of religious tensions inherent in British

Canadian society.<sup>5</sup> As Jeffrey L. McNairn has highlighted, emphasis on denominational equality, the use of the printed word and the organisation of voluntary associations—some of which had a religious basis—promoted the development of a politicised public sphere.<sup>6</sup>

In a recent book, Albert Schrauwers has shown how the economic, religious and political grievances of Upper Canadian settlers were interrelated. The Anglican elite had control over government and education as well as the colony's incorporated institutions: the Bank of Upper Canada; the Clergy Corporation, established to administer the clergy reserves; and the Canada Company, which administered Crown reserves to generate government revenue beyond the control of the representative assembly. Strachan and his friends were associated with all of these institutions. Schrauwers uncovers the role of unincorporated and self-governing joint stock companies in the development of deliberative democracy. The Bank of the People, which funded Mackenzie's newspaper, and the Farmers' Storehouse Company were sponsored by another co-operative venture: the Children of Peace dissenting church. In a colony which ran on a credit system and where 'unrespectable' or 'immoral' male settlers could be imprisoned for debt and lose their vote, joint stock companies strived to give religious dissenters economic, religious and political freedom.<sup>7</sup>

William Lyon Mackenzie, the leader of the popular reform movement, supported communitarian joint stock companies, an expression, says Schrauwers, of civic humanist country party values, which emphasised the importance of public virtue and open, accountable government.<sup>8</sup> Over the years the interest in Mackenzie—the John Wilkes-like figure suspended from the assembly six times and returned seven—has been huge.<sup>9</sup> Michel Ducharme has described Mackenzie as 'the Upper Canadian who best articulated the discourse of republican liberty in the province'. He advocated an agriculture-based economy and fought to secure a society of equal citizens whose will was to be expressed in a sovereign legislative assembly. In time Mackenzie came to demand separation from Britain and the institution of an American-style system of government. He attacked the British constitution whose mixed government Mackenzie's opponents sought to protect.<sup>10</sup> Carol Wilton agrees that Mackenzie's criticism of the British state—its lords spiritual, state religions, national debt and rotten boroughs—was a 'kind of rough-hewn version of British country-party ideology'.<sup>11</sup> William Kilbourn depicts Mackenzie almost as a Jacobite rebel, genetically predisposed to radicalism on account of his highland lineage.<sup>12</sup> This image reappears in Benjamin Jones's book where

the Mackenzie clan is inaccurately described as being once again ‘at war with England’.<sup>13</sup> In a similar vein to Schrauwers, Wilton and Ducharme, Jones further maintains that Mackenzie, like John Dunmore Lang, articulated ‘Christian civic republicanism’; he drew inspiration from the bible and placed emphasis on public morality.<sup>14</sup>

This chapter will add nuance to these arguments by suggesting that new light voluntaryism inspired Mackenzie’s commitment to church-state separation and reform of the Upper Canadian government. Little has been written on the Presbyterian dimension to Mackenzie’s political thought.<sup>15</sup> Mackenzie, a Scottish Seceder, was a vocal proponent of Gauvreau’s ‘Covenanter democracy’ yet Gauvreau reduces discussion of Mackenzie’s religious beliefs to a footnote.<sup>16</sup> Like his Seceder co-religionists in Upper Canada, Mackenzie thought John Strachan’s defence of the establishment was reminiscent of Strachan’s Episcopalian ancestors’ attempts to enforce Anglican despotism on Scotland. Mackenzie may have been a civic humanist who supported joint stock companies and open governance, but he was also a Presbyterian dissenter, who, inspired by the values of his faith, favoured open government in his church, recommending—as Lang did for Sydney—a patronage-free constitution for St Andrews Church in Toronto. Denominational equality—freedom from the tyranny of a state church—was central to Mackenzie’s civic republican vision (as it was for Lang’s), just as new light voluntaryism was constitutive of the post-Napoleonic whig-liberalism articulated by Thomas McCulloch and, as we shall see in Chap. 11, Samuel McDonald Martin. In his journalism, as will be discussed further in Chap. 8, Mackenzie employed the covenanting idiom. The rights the Presbyterian community in Upper Canada were trying to protect from Strachan’s assault had been won by the Restoration martyrs of the covenanting era and secured to future generations of Scots by the Treaty of Union. In a similar vein to Thomas McCulloch, whose work he admired, Mackenzie equated the colonial government of Upper Canada with the episcopalian despotism of the Restoration era. Like the other reformers discussed in this book, he drew inspiration from the writings of the Rev. Thomas M’Crie.

### THE CLERGY RESERVES CONTROVERSY

The 1791 Constitutional Act, which established systems of governance for Upper and Lower Canada, set aside one-seventh of all land grants—in time every seventh lot of 200 acres—for the support and maintenance of



a Protestant clergy'. Who exactly the words 'Protestant clergy' denoted was not clear, but at the turn of the century many assumed that the Church of England was to be the sole beneficiary.<sup>17</sup> The economic drawback of undeveloped land was a constant grievance. In time non-Anglican denominations, desperately lacking funds with which to consolidate their institutions, began to question the terms of the act. The first to request funds from the reserves were Presbyterians from Niagara, whose church had been destroyed in the War of 1812. By 1830, the clergy reserves had become a hotly debated topic in the public press, in the legislature and among the various dissenting groups in Upper Canada. In his famous Report, Lord Durham named the clergy reserves a primary cause of the rebellion in 1837.<sup>18</sup> In 1840, when lieutenant-governor Charles Poulett Thompson (later Lord Sydenham) was negotiating a settlement of the reserves, not permanently achieved until 1854, he described the issue to Lord John Russell in the following terms: 'no one who has not had the opportunity of examining on the spot the working of this question can correctly estimate its importance. It has been, for many years, the source of all the troubles in the province; the never-failing watchword at the hustings; the perpetual spring of discord, strife and hatred'.<sup>19</sup>

Lord Dalhousie, appointed governor-general in 1819, and patron of the Glasgow Colonial Society—the Kirk's missionary body—used his influence to support the Church of Scotland's claim to a significant share of the reserves based on its co-established status in Britain. The Kirk claimed that as Upper Canada had been founded after 1707 it could only be regarded as a *British* colony where the Church of Scotland deserved establishment status. The colonial assembly recognised this claim in 1823 but it was quickly countered by Anglican opposition. Defenders of the Church of England's exclusive right argued that the Treaty of Union had guaranteed the establishment of the Kirk only in Scotland while Anglicanism had been established in the territories belonging to the Crown. Henry Esson, Kirk minister in Montreal, edited the *Canadian Miscellany*, a periodical which attacked the principle of Anglican exclusivity and pressed for the Kirk's right to government support. In April 1828, the *Miscellany* printed a pastoral letter which defended the idea of dual establishment by pointing to the ecclesiastical settlement achieved in Britain at the Union of 1707. Thomas McCulloch and Jotham Blanchard, as we saw in Chap. 3, endorsed the spirit of this letter in their Nova Scotian newspaper, the *Colonial Patriot*. Alluding to the covenanting past and to the alleged domineering and persecuting spirit of an Anglican establishment, the

Canadian Kirk declared that Anglican dominance threatened the civil as well as religious liberties of colonists.<sup>20</sup> The 1828 Canada Committee of the British parliament acknowledged the claims of the Church of Scotland which, until such times as the question was settled by the colonial government, was given a £700 annual endowment in place of a share in the reserves.<sup>21</sup>

Egerton Ryerson, the leader of the Episcopal Methodists, initially advocated through his Methodist organ, the *Christian Guardian*, the appropriation of the reserves for the purposes of education and other secular improvements. The Missionary Synod, led by the Rev. William Proudfoot, a missionary from the United Secession Church in Scotland, supported this move, advocating the entire separation of church and state. The United Synod of Seceders, another group of Seceders, likewise initially supported the secularisation of the reserves, as did other smaller groups including the Baptists and Congregationalists, as well as the Church of Rome. All churches were infuriated at the attempts of Archdeacon John Strachan to misrepresent the status of their denominations in his statistical ecclesiastical chart, described by one contemporary as a 'ridiculous' document, which claimed that dissenters made up a smaller proportion of the population than Church of England adherents.<sup>22</sup> John Strachan's bold and ruthless campaign to defend the rights of the Church of England won him few dissenter friends. Originally a member of the Church of Scotland, he was represented as having been lured to the Church of England by the thought of worldly gain.<sup>23</sup> The dominance of Anglicanism was the issue around which a discontented population with mixed ethnic and religious backgrounds could rally.

Strachan and his allies wielded much influence owing to their non-elected seats in the executive and the legislative councils and so dissenters turned to the exclusive nature of colonial government as the source of civil and religious inequality in the colony. A letter written from Montreal in December 1827, which appeared in the *Glasgow Chronicle*, described Strachan as the 'Vice-Roy over the Governor'.<sup>24</sup> Although Upper Canadians were, to a degree, politically enfranchised, the representative assembly was effectively powerless if the governor-appointed legislative council, which included most members of the executive, chose to be antagonistic.<sup>25</sup> When in 1834 a reformist majority in the elected assembly passed a bill secularising the reserves it was defeated in the legislative council. The practice of the council in killing all attempts at legislation on

this issue became, according to John Moir, an annual ritual.<sup>26</sup> Lord Durham reported on the exclusive rule of the infamous 'Family Compact', a term first coined by Marshall Spring Bidwell, who monopolised the councils, the high public offices, the legal profession, the chartered banks and the senior positions in the Anglican Church. Indeed, the members of the 'Compact' mostly belonged to the Church of England, and, Durham later wrote, 'the maintenance of the claims of that church has always been one of its distinguishing characteristics'.<sup>27</sup>

The discontented drafted petitions, held public meetings and formed societies to achieve political and ecclesiastical reform. Reformers hailed from a variety of disgruntled denominations including, as Shrauwers has pointed out, the co-operative Children of Peace church. In early days especially, Methodists, who had denominational links with the United States, were regarded as republicans and targeted by Strachan.<sup>28</sup> Seceders were also dominant in reform groups and conspicuous as a result.<sup>29</sup> The Secession clergy mixed with members of the assembly, such as Jesse Ketchum, who financed the first Presbyterian church in York. Ketchum and Marshall Spring Bidwell, a religious Independent and leader of the reformers in the assembly, often attended the services of the church's incumbent, Ketchum's father-in-law, United Synod minister James Harris.<sup>30</sup> In December 1830 one reform meeting took place in the York Presbyterian Church and its proceedings were recorded in the *Canadian Watchman*, the organ of the United Synod which had been funded by Bidwell and his father. Present there were Robert and William Warren Baldwin, the celebrated reformers credited with formulating the concept of 'responsible government'; Ketchum, Egerton Ryerson, and William Lyon Mackenzie, while the Rev. William Jenkins, Presbyterian minister at Markham, was secretary. They drew up a petition, later transmitted to the British parliament by their agent Joseph Hume, which advocated voluntary support of religious denominations, the secularisation of the reserves, equal rights regarding marriage licences and the removal of clergy from civil government. The establishment of a non-denominational college or reform of the exclusive Anglican King's College, was also high on the reform agenda.<sup>31</sup> By the mid-1830s, reformist politicians and dissenting ministers were united in a formidable coalition which sought the establishment of responsible government: in other words, government executed by a cabinet holding the confidence of a majority of the people's representatives and accountable to them.

## VOLUNTARIISM IN UPPER CANADA

Voluntaryism became the orthodox position of political reformers since its application provided the best way of settling the reserves debate and ending Anglican monopoly. In 1839 Lord Durham commented in his Report on the prevalence of the voluntary principle in British North America. The institution of an established church in the new world, he maintained, where the immigrant population was varied and fluctuating, was impracticable and inequitable. He believed that the example set by the United States exerted influence on Canadian minds.<sup>32</sup> Some immigrants, however, arrived in the colony already ideologically committed to the separation of church and state. The Rev. William Proudfoot, a United Seceder trained by George Lawson, the radical Secession divinity professor, and who knew Thomas McCulloch in Nova Scotia, was a notable reformer after his arrival in the province in 1832. On 23 January 1833 he spent the day reading the Rev. Andrew Marshall, the great voluntary champion so influential to Blanchard and McCulloch, on ecclesiastical establishments. The 'more frequently I look into the subject', he said, 'the more thoroughly I am persuaded that the ground he occupies is safe and solid'.<sup>33</sup> In the journal he edited Proudfoot expressed his suspicions of monarchical authority and its invasion of the religious sphere<sup>34</sup> and he maintained that the separation of church and state would result in an improved civil government since it would then be impossible to buy the allegiance of religious denominations.<sup>35</sup> Disestablishment would also remove the influence of the conservative bishops from the House of Lords.<sup>36</sup> Proudfoot believed that a potentially authoritarian church-state, which had persecuted the revered Covenanters so violently, retained the same impulse to persecute even in contemporary Canada:

With the exception of the persecution of the Protestants in France during the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, no persecution for religion has ever exceeded, in virulence and cruelty, that of the Covenanters in Scotland, by the Episcopalian Church of England. This Church has not now the all-powerful influence in the civil government of the nation that she once had; but judging from the writings of her defenders at the present time, and from her newspaper organs – even in Canada, she would persecute all who dissent from her, as fiercely as ever she has done, were she not restrained by the strong arm of the civil government – her creator.<sup>37</sup>

Proudfoot chastised George Ryerson, brother of Egerton, for his half-baked commitment to voluntaryism, declaring that his own position rested

on scriptural convictions. In 1838 he complained that the Methodists had injured the voluntary cause when they had advocated the division of the reserves amongst four denominations. Such a division was worse than Anglican supremacy, Proudfoot argued, since 'it was corrupting almost every church in the country'.<sup>38</sup> Proudfoot's body believed that it was 'manifestly preposterous' to create religious establishments in the British American colonies where 'dissenters' were numerous and where, unlike the old world, institutions were not 'interwoven with the whole fabric of the social system'.<sup>39</sup> Proudfoot reported to the United Secession Church in Scotland that the Canadian government was at a loss to understand 'what sort of men we are, who refuse money when it is offered, while all other denominations are begging it'.<sup>40</sup> This ideological commitment to voluntarism meant that though the Ryersons may have been tempted by state aid to adopt a moderate political position, Proudfoot and the Seceders were steadfastly dedicated to the reformers' goal of secularising the reserves and establishing a more responsible government.<sup>41</sup>

### MACKENZIE'S NEW LIGHT VOLUNTARYISM

Proudfoot drafted an article attacking Strachan and church establishments for William Lyon Mackenzie's radical newspaper, the *Colonial Advocate*.<sup>42</sup> Proudfoot described Mackenzie, leader of the popular petitioning movement who advocated responsible government and later separatist republicanism, in the following terms: 'he advocates those measures which are for the good of the community in opposition to the selfish measures of the aristocracy. He is popular and he deserves to be so.'<sup>43</sup> Mackenzie agreed with Proudfoot's ideas on disestablishment. After winning his seat in the assembly in 1828, Mackenzie protested against the existence of an Anglican chaplain in the House; in 1832 the assembly resolved to do without a chaplain entirely.<sup>44</sup> Mackenzie petitioned the British government in 1831 as a member of the 'Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty',<sup>45</sup> and was, perhaps, Strachan's severest critic: almost every issue of his newspapers denounced the Archdeacon as corrupt, unprincipled and ruthless. Mackenzie was strongly committed to the end of Anglican dominance, citing the following as his reason for starting the *Advocate*:

the Church of England, the adherents of which were few, monopolized as much of the lands of the colony as all the religious houses and dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church had had the control of in Scotland at the era of

the Reformation; other sects were treated with contempt and scarcely tolerated; a sordid band of land-jobbers grasped the soil as their patrimony, and with a few leading officials, who divided the public revenue among themselves, formed 'the family compact,' and were the avowed enemies of common schools, of civil and religious liberty, of all legislative or other checks to their own will.<sup>46</sup>

According to Charles Lindsey, Mackenzie's son-in-law, in early days Mackenzie was 'no advocate of the voluntary principle'. He initially supported the government's policy of financing religious instruction through the clergy reserves.<sup>47</sup> S.D. Gill, in his biography of William Proudfoot, remarks that Mackenzie was only a nominal voluntary; though he bore the marks of a Seceder, his admiration of the voluntary system stemmed from his experience of its utility in the United States, rather than from 'any deeply held theological convictions'.<sup>48</sup> Mackenzie certainly regarded the U.S. system as a model, particularly the voluntary system in Vermont; nevertheless, on account of his religious background in Scotland, this chapter argues, Mackenzie was predisposed to admire voluntarism.

Mackenzie had grown up in Dundee—a manufacturing centre and hub of political dissent—which, as Michael Vance, Mark Stephen, and John Sewell suggest, was a good breeding ground for political reformers.<sup>49</sup> Dundee was also a centre of religious dissent and Mackenzie's family were members there of the Secession. According to Lindsey, Mackenzie's mother was an ardent reader of the Scriptures and of 'such religious books as were current among the Seceders'.<sup>50</sup> Mackenzie's parents were married on 8 May 1794 in the church of the Rev. James McEwen, presumably their regular minister, who preached to the Antiburgher congregation of Bell Street in Dundee. McEwen was sympathetic to new light principles—the loosening of the church-state connection—and was attacked by a section of his congregation for 'accommodating his doctrine to men of corrupt minds, and the humours of the age'. This faction left McEwen's congregation to attend the church of the Rev. James Aitken, an old light who railed against new light notions sixteen miles away in Kirriemuir.<sup>51</sup> As John Brims has pointed out, several dissenters—including new light Seceders—were politically active during the era of the French Revolution, their dissenting beliefs drawing them into reform circles in the secular sphere. The new lights regarded with suspicion the Crown's role as moral superintendent of the nation and sought to curb its authority over the church. The Rev. William Porteous of the Kirk implied that by denying

the civil powers certain rights, the Seceders had thrown off their allegiance to the government. The Rev. James Peddie, a new light Seceder, wrote an explanatory letter to William Pitt, the prime minister, insisting that his denomination remained loyal.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, some were not so conservative. McEwen was a prominent political radical during the revolutionary era and was elected by the Dundee Friends of Liberty as their delegate to a proposed British convention. In London in April 1794, one month before he married Mackenzie's parents, McEwen attended a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information, the reform society started by Major Cartwright.<sup>53</sup>

Thirty-eight years later, in 1832, Mackenzie attended a dinner in London to commemorate Major Cartwright's achievements.<sup>54</sup> To what extent were Mackenzie's reform ideas indebted to his early grounding in a Scottish radical dissenting community? There is no reason to suppose that Mackenzie's mother stopped attending McEwen's services—and those of his successor (McEwen died in 1813)—after Mackenzie's birth in 1795 or that she left Mackenzie at home. McEwen, indeed, baptised Mackenzie on 29 March 1795, a couple of weeks after he was born.<sup>55</sup> Mackenzie's mother apparently drilled her son on the Secession texts she read as well as on the Catechism and Confession of Faith. Lindsey believes that Mackenzie never forgot what he learnt. According to an appendix of the many books Mackenzie devoured, he read the works of Ebenezer Erskine, founder of the Secession, when he was twelve or thirteen. Besides Erskine's works, he read covenanting martyrologies and the writings of Thomas M'Crie. Mackenzie noted that as a teenager he had 'read often' a collection of sermons by the Rev. John Brown, a professor of divinity in the Secession. Before he left for Canada he also read a work by the Rev. John Glas, minister of Tealing near Dundee, founder of the Glassite denomination and one of the earliest advocates of church-state separation. Glas maintained that the New Testament provided no justification for church establishments and his writings were to influence the voluntarist Relief Church, which was closely aligned with the Secession.<sup>56</sup>

According to Chris Raible, Mackenzie was evidently 'deeply immersed' in Scottish Presbyterian culture, particularly its Secessionist strand.<sup>57</sup> As a teenager Mackenzie lived briefly in Alyth, near Dundee, where, for reasons we cannot know, he chose to attend the Kirk rather than the Secession congregation which was active in the community.<sup>58</sup> He also spoke fondly of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers—'no ordinary man, but truly great and good'—whom he encountered in Kilmany in Fife, Chalmers's parish in

his early years, when on an errand working as a clerk to a wood merchant.<sup>59</sup> Mackenzie later sent Chalmers copies of the *Colonial Advocate*.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, while Mackenzie clearly admired the evangelical strain of Scottish Presbyterianism represented by Chalmers, he also revered Scotland's dissenting traditions. Chalmers' evangelicalism was, in any case, similar to the values propagated by Presbyterian dissent. While on a visit to New York in 1832, Mackenzie made a point of attending the church service of the Covenanter minister Alexander McLeod, whom he described as 'a steadfast Presbyterian of the old school; the genuine Cameronian, and a good preacher'. He admitted to feeling more comfortable there than he did in the elegant churches in Upper Canada.<sup>61</sup> In 1833, as we shall see in the next chapter, he paid a visit to Dundee where he attended both the Kirk and the Secession churches—the churches of his youth—and revelled in feelings of nostalgia.

### THE SECEDER INFLUENCE ON MACKENZIE'S POLITICS

It seems likely that Mackenzie's politics were influenced by the new light ideas taking root in McEwen's Secession church in Dundee, ideas which flowered into fully-fledged voluntarism, after Marshall preached his sermon, in 1829.<sup>62</sup> Mackenzie began the *Colonial Advocate* on 18 May 1824 by announcing his attachment to Presbyterian doctrine but also his desire by avoiding sectarianism to appeal to a broad base.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, on many occasions, Mackenzie's behaviour suggests that he was more than just a nominal Seceder. An article in the *Colonial Advocate* insisted that Christ's headship of his church was not of this world, a common trope of the new light Secession.<sup>64</sup> He reported on the Edinburgh annuity tax controversy (discussed in detail in this book in Chap. 7), an episode of Seceder voluntarist civil disobedience, and was outraged at the apostasy of Egerton Ryerson, who had apparently become more conservative in his politics after receiving a government endowment.<sup>65</sup> He condemned Ryerson for preaching the tenets of divine right, passive obedience and non-resistance. In Mackenzie's eyes, however, the behaviour of the United Synod, which had also quietly applied for state aid, was worse. The United Synod, he believed, was guilty of treachery. Mackenzie felt utterly betrayed by his fellow Seceders, proclaiming that they brought shame to the denomination and were not worthy of the name. They were denounced as 'government spies in black coats, a disgrace to the noble and patriotic country of their birth, a clog upon human freedom'.<sup>66</sup>



Mackenzie also vocalised his support for the Rev. Thomas McCulloch and his campaign in Nova Scotia, described in Chap. 3, to defend Pictou Academy and reform the local government. Mackenzie described the *Colonial Patriot's* journalism as the 'spirited conduct of the Presbyterians of Nova Scotia'.<sup>67</sup> Historians regularly study Canadian provinces in isolation and have often overlooked the parallels between Pictou reformism and Mackenzie's protest. Mackenzie compared John Strachan with Bishop John Inglis<sup>68</sup> and, taking Joseph Hume's advice, he recommended that the Nova Scotians follow the Upper Canadian example and petition the British government.<sup>69</sup> He also printed the *Patriot's* condemnation of the United Synod in Upper Canada, who had abandoned the voluntarist principles of the new light Seceders.<sup>70</sup>

As Carol Wilton has argued, Mackenzie utilised the constitutional idiom in his criticism of a disloyal tory party who, he argued, sought to subvert the British constitution.<sup>71</sup> Benjamin Jones sees Mackenzie as another proponent, like John Dunmore Lang, of 'Christian civic republicanism' who invoked biblical imagery and believed that the Christian religion would provide the basis of public virtue.<sup>72</sup> Schrauwers insists on Mackenzie's country party vision which underpinned his belief in communitarian democracy. Ducharme has described Mackenzie as a proponent of republican liberty who envisaged an egalitarian society of virtuous small farmers.<sup>73</sup> But Mackenzie was also specifically inspired by Presbyterian ideas and mythology which emphasised to him the importance of securing freedom from the tyranny of a dominant hierarchy. In common with the Secession churches, Mackenzie opposed lay patronage on principle. He declared that the Scots had been betrayed by the imposition of the Patronage Act—the 'death blow to the independence of Scottish ministers'—by which episcopalian and unbelieving patrons 'put high aristocrats and parasites in churches'.<sup>74</sup> His belief in the democratic right of the entire congregation to nominate its minister is evident from his proposals for the new constitution of St Andrews Presbyterian Church in Toronto. One proposal suggested that ministers should sit for life and awarded several votes to one individual according to the number of seats purchased by him in the church. Mackenzie objected to this plan and forwarded his own suggestion. His proposal stated that a minister should be elected by a majority of all classes of persons, each holding only one vote. He advocated vote by ballot and declared that ministers should remain only as long as the congregation was satisfied. When the former constitution won the approval of the majority at the

meeting, Mackenzie rose and, as reported in the *Colonial Advocate*, declared that ‘as there could now be no expectation of anything liberal or fair towards the congregation coming from such a system, he, Mr M. would give up his seat and leave the church’. Mackenzie claimed that Episcopalians and Roman Catholics had attended the meeting and had voted against his motion.<sup>75</sup>

Mackenzie also invoked the covenanting idiom, emphasising the contribution Presbyterian reformers had made to the development of liberty in Britain. Mackenzie quoted Thomas M’Crie’s *Life of Melville* in the *Colonial Advocate* in 1831: “Despotism has rarely been established in any country without the subserviency of the ministers of religion. And it nearly concerns the cause of public liberty, that those who ought to be the common instructors, and the faithful and fearless monitors of all classes, should not be converted into the trained sycophants of a corrupt, or the trembling slaves of a tyrannical administration”.<sup>76</sup> He echoed this argument in a lengthy article of *Mackenzie’s Gazette*, printed during his exile in New York. This anti-clerical article, entitled ‘Democracy of Christianity’, charged religious ministers with having abandoned their political role as the advocates of the equality of all people: the proper doctrine of Christ. According to the journalist, democracy was naturally associated with Christianity: ‘does [Christianity] teach us that the many were created to be used by the few? Was Jesus the prophet of kings, hierarchies, nobilities, the rich, the great, the powerful; or was he the prophet of the democracy, sent from God to teach glad tidings to the poor?’ The article further condemned the attempts of European governments, aided by state churches, to perpetuate absolutism. According to Mackenzie, civil and ecclesiastical establishments would fall together if the church failed to teach the doctrine of liberty; people would rather turn to atheism, preferring its teachings to the doctrine of social distinctions. Mackenzie urged clergymen to preach ‘the kindling doctrine of...the natural equality of man with man, the equal rights of all men, and remind their congregations that all social conditions, social practices, and governmental measures, which strike against the doctrine of equal rights, are as repugnant to Christianity, as they are to Democratic liberty and the true interests of mankind’. According to Mackenzie, preachers spent too much time considering the fate of man in the afterlife instead of focusing on social progress. He asked the church to ‘baptize liberty in the font of holiness’.<sup>77</sup>

Elsewhere he sang the praises of Presbyterianism and the inspiration it gave to republican government in the civil sphere: 'Presbyterianism is exceedingly well suited to a republican system, being itself distinguished by a democratic form of church government, and which well accounts for the detestation in which it was always held by the Stuart family when on the throne of England'.<sup>78</sup> He claimed that the rebels of 1798 in Ireland had been Ulster-Scots, who, 'inheriting the spirit and tenets of their ancestors the Covenanters, were mostly republicans from principle'.<sup>79</sup> Mackenzie was partly right about this; the covenanting tradition did inspire resistance in the north of Ireland in 1798.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps inaccurately, he praised John Knox for his foresight in eradicating hierarchy during the Scottish Reformation. Knox had 'destroyed the nests, lest, if they remained, the rooks and foul birds might return and take possession'.<sup>81</sup> In later years he expressed his admiration for the Free Church and for the heroes, martyrs and leaders of the Scottish Kirk, discussed in Chap. 7, who had, because of the patronage law, abandoned the state church and courageously upheld the cause of liberty.<sup>82</sup>

The *Declaration of the Reformers of the City of Toronto to the People of Upper Canada*, penned in part by Mackenzie in August 1837, argued that colonists had a natural, god-given right to resist tyrannical rulers,<sup>83</sup> an idea supported by seventeenth-century covenanting resistance theorists.<sup>84</sup> The Upper Canadian government had broken its 'solemn covenant' with the people.<sup>85</sup> He interpreted the American Revolution as a struggle for religious liberty: 'The British colonists of '76', he said, had sought 'the freedom of interpreting the Bible for themselves, and following its precepts'.<sup>86</sup> In 1837, Mackenzie believed that Upper Canadians had a similar battle before them. In a handbill circulated prior to the rebellion he urged citizens to ignore the doctrine of passive obedience preached by 'reverend sinners' and fight for 'a government founded upon the eternal heaven-born principle of the Lord Jesus Christ, a government bound to enforce the law to do to each other as you would be done by'. To his fellow Canadians he made the following final appeal: 'Put them down in the name of that God who goes forth with the armies of his people, and whose Bible shows us that...you must put down...those governments which...trample on the law and destroy its usefulness...If we move now as one man to crush the tyrant's power, to establish free institutions, founded on God's law, we will prosper, for he who commands the winds and the waves will be with us.'<sup>87</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Mackenzie made these statements in 1837 when he was desperate. He felt let down by the British government and was turning increasingly towards separatist and anti-monarchical republicanism. In 1830, however, when the whigs assumed control of government after several years out of office, Mackenzie, like Blanchard at the same moment, felt hopeful that the metropolitan powers would reform the colonial regime. Mackenzie criticised the system of governance in Upper Canada for the same reasons that his fellow colonists elsewhere in the empire—Pringle, McCulloch and Lang—challenged the ruling elite in their own territories: Anglican preferment and religious inequality. Mackenzie resented the Anglican monopoly in Upper Canada of higher education, land, and financial and political power. As with Thomas McCulloch, whose work Mackenzie found inspiring, his grounding in Secession beliefs and his exposure to Scottish Presbyterian mythology arguably shaped Mackenzie's reformist discourse and underpinned his sceptical critique of the church-state connection. He articulated 'Covenanter democracy' in the same vein as did William Proudfoot and the other Seceders identified by Michael Gauvreau. To aid the reform process he travelled to London in 1832 where he met his friend and long-time ally of the Canadian reformers: Joseph Hume. Hume's counsel and the reform agitation Mackenzie witnessed in Britain inspired him but, as we shall see in succeeding chapters, Mackenzie's optimism quickly gave way to despair.

## NOTES

1. Dunham 1963; Wise 1993. See also Noel 1998, p. 173, which argues that the radical Clear Grit movement exemplified an American-inspired outlook which contrasted with British loyalist and monarchical values.
2. Ducharme 2007, 2014.
3. Wilton 2000, p. 66.
4. Gauvreau 2001, 2003.
5. Gauvreau 2003, pp. 68, 73.
6. McNairn rightly acknowledges that religion could as easily hinder this development; appeals to God to legitimate action were, as McNairn says, 'an attempt to supersede or short-circuit conversation; an attempt to trump or ignore the arguments of others by appealing to an ultimate, if contested, source of authority outside the public sphere itself'. See McNairn 2000, pp. 14–15.

7. Schrauwers 2008, pp. 3–34.
8. Schrauwers 2008, pp. 213–214. See also Gates 1959, which points to Mackenzie’s suspicion of chartered banks and limited liability.
9. Rea 1972; Mackay 1937; Armstrong 1971; Flint 1971; LeSeur 1979; Rasporich 1972; Gates 1988; Sewell 2002.
10. Ducharme 2014 pp. 88–9.
11. Wilton 2000, p. 64.
12. Kilbourn 1977, p. 11.
13. Jones 2014, p. 53.
14. Jones 2014, p. 67.
15. Chris Raible has drawn attention to Mackenzie’s Seceder background but has never fully expanded on this theme: Raible 2003, pp. 99–100; 2016. John Garner has hinted that Mackenzie’s demands for popular sovereignty can be attributed to his Presbyterian background but this point has not received adequate scholarly attention. Garner 1969, p. 9. John MacKenzie has also recently pointed to the significance of Mackenzie’s Seceder background: MacKenzie 2017, p. 100, note 47.
16. Gauvreau 2003, p. 75.
17. On the reserves see Wilson 1968.
18. Coupland 1945, p. 96.
19. Moir 1967, pp. 190–1.
20. ‘A Pastoral Letter from the Clergy of the Church of Scotland in the Canadas to their Presbyterian brethren’, *Canadian Miscellany*, April 1828.
21. ‘Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Civil Government of the Canadas, 22 July 1828’, in Moir 1967, pp. 176–7.
22. McGregor 1828, p. 111. The chart was reprinted in the *Colonial Advocate*, 20 September 1827. For the response to the chart see ‘Report of a Select Committee of the Assembly of Upper Canada on Dr. Strachan’s Ecclesiastical Chart, 15 March 1828’, in Moir 1967, pp. 173–5.
23. Osmond 1974, pp. 46–7.
24. ‘Extracts from a letter in the Glasgow Chronicle of January 30 1828’, *Canadian Miscellany*, April 1828.
25. The electoral qualification was a forty-shilling freehold in the country, or a five-pound freehold or ten-pound copyhold in towns. On the nature of colonial government see Dunham 1963, pp. 29–46.
26. Moir 1967, pp. 181–2.
27. Coupland 1945, pp. 81–2.
28. Strachan 1826, p. 15; Wilton 2000, pp. 7, 12, 18–19, 45–6, 128–29; Curtis Fahey has shown how the Archdeacon regarded his struggle for the Church as a battle against revolution and republicanism: Fahey 1991, pp. 89–97.

29. See e.g., United Church Archives [UCA], William Smart papers, F3195, Files 1–6, Biography 1811–1849, entry for 1820; Queen’s University Archives, William Bell papers, Life, Vol 2, mfm reel 585, Oct 1821.
30. Gill 1991, pp. 75–6.
31. ‘Religious Liberty’, *Canadian Watchman*, Dec 24 1830; Wilton 2000, pp. 46, 51–2.
32. Coupland 1945, pp. 98–100.
33. University of Western Ontario Archives [UWO], William Proudfoot papers, Series 1, File 2 – journals 5–11, 1833, Journal 6.
34. ‘What Connexion has the Church with the World?’, *Presbyterian Magazine*, May 1843.
35. ‘Reasons for publishing’, *Presbyterian Magazine*, January 1843.
36. ‘What Connexion has the Church with the World?’, *Presbyterian Magazine*, July 1843.
37. ‘What Connexion has the Church with the World?’, *Presbyterian Magazine*, December 1843.
38. UWO, William Proudfoot papers, Series 1, File 5, Journal 29, Oct 29 1838; Gill 1991, p. 90.
39. ‘The Church Question in the Canadas’, *United Secession Magazine*, January 1837.
40. ‘Letter from Proudfoot’, *United Secession Magazine*, June 1835. On the commitment of the missionary Seceders to voluntarism see also ‘Excerpt of Letter from Rev. Alexander McKenzie’, *United Secession Magazine*, March 1837. William Fraser, a voluntary Seceder from Pictou, Nova Scotia, who assisted Proudfoot in London, recorded his surprise after reading an Antiburgher pamphlet on establishments. He wondered how ‘men of understanding...who may have every day before their eyes the evils of an establishment do not have more correct views of the constitution of the church. That declaration of our Lord my kingdom is not of this world should be sufficient to let the matter forever at rest’. UCA, William Fraser Fonds, 3100, File 1, Diary 1834–1835, entry for 28 March 1835.
41. Gauvreau 2003, p. 70.
42. UWO, William Proudfoot papers, Series 1, File 1, Journal 3, 27 December 1832. On 24 July 1837 Mackenzie wrote to Proudfoot informing him that his letter of subscription to the *Constitution* had been lost. Mackenzie forwarded the latest issue regardless. See Presbyterian Church of Canada Archives, William Proudfoot Family Fonds, 1973–5010, Box 2 – Correspondence, File Mc 1834–1890, Letter from William Lyon Mackenzie.
43. UWO, William Proudfoot papers, Series 1, File 1, Journal 2, 26 November 1832.
44. Mackenzie 1833, pp. 149, 161–70; Moir 1967, pp. 155–8.

45. Wilton 2000, p. 60.
46. Lindsey 2009, pp. 40–1.
47. Lindsey 2009, pp. 44–5.
48. Gill 1991, p. 90. Rea attributes Mackenzie's support of voluntarism to the influence of Andrew Jackson's views on the separation of church and state. See Rea 1972, p. 342.
49. Sewell attempts to prove that Mackenzie was associated with the 1820 insurrection in west central Scotland, something first hinted at by P. Berresford Ellis and S. Mac A' Ghobhainn in their nationalist account of the rising, but there is no concrete evidence to support this assertion. Sewell 2002, pp. 13–37; Berresford Ellis and Mac A' Ghobhainn 1970, p. 293. On his Dundee upbringing see also Vance and Stephen 2001; Stephen 1999; Donnelly 1987, pp. 61–73.
50. Lindsey 1912, p. 17.
51. Small 1904, pp. 289–90.
52. Peddie 1846, pp. 70–6.
53. Brims 1983, pp. 106–7.
54. Lindsey 2009, p. 259.
55. Lindsey 2009, p. 15, footnote 3.
56. Murray 1984–1986.
57. Raible 2016, pp. 9, 18, 24, 41, 43, 46, 48, 50, 54, 62. The appendix with Mackenzie's reading list appears in Lindsey's biography. I would like to thank Chris Raible for supplying me with his helpful expanded appendix and introduction.
58. The Kirk minister gave Mackenzie a certificate testifying to his good character before he migrated to Canada.
59. Lindsey 2009, pp. 29–30.
60. Donnelly 1987, p. 68.
61. Mackenzie 1833, p. 8.
62. Lindsey 2009, pp. 35, 40, 94.
63. On the need of participants in the public sphere to avoid sectarianism, see McNairn 2000, p. 15.
64. 'Church and State', *Colonial Advocate*, 1 November 1832.
65. Ryerson was accused of becoming less vehement for reform after he visited Britain in order to facilitate union between the Wesleyan and Episcopal Methodists, which brought the latter a share in the Wesleyans' endowment.
66. 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing', *The Constitution*, 28 September 1836.
67. *Colonial Advocate*, 29 July 1830.
68. 'Dr Strachan', *Colonial Advocate*, 9 December 1830.
69. 'Nova Scotia. The Spirit of British Freedom', *Colonial Advocate*, 14 April 1831.

70. 'Clerical Apostasy', *Colonial Advocate*, 26 September 1833.
71. Wilton 2000, pp. 90–3.
72. Jones 2014, p. 67.
73. Ducharme 2014, p. 88.
74. 'Patronage in Scotland', *Mackenzie's Gazette*, 26 October 1839.
75. 'The Scotch Kirk', *Colonial Advocate*, 12 July 1834.
76. 'The Presbyterians and the Kirk', *Colonial Advocate*, 18 August 1831.
77. 'Democracy of Christianity', *Mackenzie's Gazette*, 13 October 1838.
78. Mackenzie 1833, p. 3.
79. 'Some Passages in the History of Ireland', *The Constitution*, 29 November 1837.
80. See McBride 1998.
81. *Correspondent & Advocate*, 6 August 1835. In 1572, the final year of his life, Knox had actually accepted the revival of episcopacy in the Church of Scotland.
82. 'Free General Assembly', *Toronto Weekly Message*, 26 June 1857.
83. 'The Declaration of the Reformers of the City of Toronto to their Fellow-reformers in Upper Canada', *Correspondent & Advocate*, 2 August 1837.
84. See Smart 1980.
85. 'To the Convention of farmers, mechanics, labourers and other inhabitants of Toronto, met at the Royal Oak Hotel, to consider of and take measures for the effectually maintaining in this colony a free constitution and democratic form of government', *The Constitution*, 15 November 1837.
86. Mackenzie 1833, pp. 14–15.
87. 'Independence for Canada!', *Mackenzie's Gazette*, 18 August 1838.

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## London Lobbying, 1829–1834

*‘[Is a] British subject forever to be traversing the Atlantic, to complain of reiterated injuries on the part of a colonial and subordinate government?’*  
(George Greig to Earl Bathurst, McCall Theal 1904, p. 19)

In the first half of the nineteenth century, colonists from across the globe travelled to London to lobby the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office, based at Downing Street, was administered from 1825 by only a few individuals. The secretary of state for war and the colonies (the government minister) was assisted by a parliamentary under-secretary (a junior minister), a permanent under-secretary (a civil servant), a legal counsel and a few clerks. Colonial Office governance in the 1820s and early 1830s was far from bureaucratic. As Zoë Laidlaw has argued, in this period of personal rule the Colonial Office exerted control over its territories through the cultivation of correspondence networks.<sup>1</sup> Colonial governors were expected to communicate regularly with the secretary of state, who, governors could be assured, would receive and consider all gubernatorial despatches. All correspondence from settlers to the Colonial Office—petitions, memorials, letters of complaint etc.—passed through the governor’s hands; cover letters attached to submissions often challenged or undermined the contents of settlers’ communications.

Unsure that their complaints were being attended to properly, colonial reformers often felt compelled to travel to London to visit the Office in person. But Robert Hay, permanent under-secretary from 1825 to 1836, had the power to block the access of visitors to the secretary of state. If Hay did not like you, you did not get in. George Greig, controversial printer at the Cape, experienced a frosty reception when he visited the Colonial Office in 1828. In a letter to John Fairbairn Greig complained that Robert Hay was being 'difficult' and refusing to meet him in person.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Pringle tried to see Hay in 1826 about his Cape Town troubles. 'When I have called at Downing Street,' he wrote in frustration to Hay, 'you have not been there.'<sup>3</sup> A correspondent of John Dunmore Lang commented that Hay was 'very cold'; another friend advised Lang to ingratiate himself with the Bishop of Rochester who was related to Hay by marriage.<sup>4</sup> Barred from the Colonial Office, lobbyists were forced to resort to other methods; they used contacts from their networks to liaise with sympathetic politicians who might use their influence to pressurise the government to modify policy.

Jotham Blanchard, John Dunmore Lang and William Lyon Mackenzie did just this when they visited Britain between 1829 and 1834. A whig government had come to power in 1830 for the first time since 1807 and, aiming to enfranchise the middling ranks, had introduced into parliament a bill for the reform of political representation. Colonial reformers were encouraged by this turn of events. They hoped that as the new government was committed to political reform in the domestic sphere, so it would be more inclined to listen to the grievances of colonists in its empire. The elevation of the whigs would, Pringle wrote in a letter to the Rev. John Philip, see religion and freedom advance hand in hand.<sup>5</sup> Blanchard and Lang, as we have seen, hoped to gain support from the Colonial Office for their respective educational institutions; if need be Blanchard was determined to raise awareness of the nature of colonial rule in Nova Scotia. Mackenzie went as a representative of Upper Canadian petitioners and hoped to effect a change in the political system in Toronto. He too was concerned about Anglican control of higher education. But although the whigs had come to power, the civil servants at the Colonial Office remained unchanged. Like others before him Blanchard found it difficult to deal with Robert Hay, who obstructed his admittance to the secretary of state.

The colonists looked elsewhere for help. They all travelled to Scotland where they encouraged their friends and contacts—often in ecclesiastical

circles—to lend support to their schemes. As Laidlaw has commented, the significance of ecclesiastical networks to colonial lobbying requires ‘greater scholarly attention’.<sup>6</sup> We know too little in particular about the connection of Scottish dissenters, whose churches were administered in Glasgow and Edinburgh, to political circles in London. The United Secession Church, it turns out, was particularly helpful to Blanchard. It appointed a committee to support the Pictou cause and facilitated his introduction to several politicians and leading public figures. One of these was Thomas Pringle, who was attached to the interconnected worlds of Presbyterian dissent and whig activism. Joseph Hume (1777–1855), a radical MP, was a critical ally to colonial reformers. Hume, described by Miles Taylor as ‘the virtual member for the empire’,<sup>7</sup> positioned himself as mediator between colonists and the Colonial Office. One Australian colonist observed Hume’s machinations when he visited the Office in 1825:

at a moment when I was engaged with the under secretary in his room, the door was opened by some unannounced person, but one whom I had seen in Downing-street several times before, generally busied in some of the clerk’s rooms: a few words passed, in the course of which Sir Wilmot Horton addressed the very familiar gentleman by his name, who was evidently either belonging to the office, or one who was possessed of the pass key of the closet, or the privilege of the back stairs; and who do you suppose he was? No other than that arch radical, Joseph Hume, who baited the ministry every night in the house, and kept the most perfect good terms with them every day; I never saw a man who possessed so completely the privilege of the back stairs or made so good use of it.<sup>8</sup>

Hume corresponded with Pringle and, perhaps through Pringle’s intercession, received visits from Blanchard in 1829 and 1831. Lang, who knew Hume a little after having helped out his friend who had emigrated to Australia, visited Hume in 1830. Mackenzie was in constant contact with Hume and visited him in 1832. Hume was a well-known radical and lobbyist and it is thus unsurprising that colonial reformers should have sought him out. But Hume was also a Scot from Montrose who was sympathetic to the dissenting community in Scotland.<sup>9</sup> It was doubtless easier on account of their background for the reformers in this book to attract Hume’s attention.

Each colonist told Hume a similar tale about the discrimination he had allegedly suffered at the hands of an Anglican establishment. These

successive visits doubtless reinforced Hume's commitment to colonial reform and to disestablishment across the empire, issues which he raised in parliament.<sup>10</sup> Taylor has pointed to Hume's imperial entanglements in India and the extent to which his determination to reform the House of Commons was influenced by his desire for reform in India, something the East India Company and existing parliament had failed to accomplish. MPs debated the renewal of the East India Company charter at the same time as they were debating the merits of the reform bill. Parliamentary reform, Taylor comments, had become intertwined 'with the whole question of the government of India', just as it had become connected to the slavery abolition campaign and the government of Ireland.<sup>11</sup> Hume's engagement with the settler colonies, this chapter argues, was similarly important and encouraged him to table an amendment to the reform bill, which called for colonial representation in the Canadian and Crown colonies. As we shall see, Hume also encouraged his colonial visitors to show solidarity with each other. Because of their lobbying and their connection to the pan-imperial Presbyterian community, Hume's visitors developed a greater awareness of conditions in other regions of the empire. In the post-1832 period, after Hume's amendment was thrown out, reform campaigns became somewhat mutually reinforcing. Local conditions definitely remained at the forefront of reformers' minds but they also pointed to the significance of events happening beyond their localities. As Angela Woollacott has pointed out, those who demanded 'self-government had imperial experience and connections elsewhere'.<sup>12</sup>

### JOTHAM BLANCHARD'S FIRST MISSION

Jotham Blanchard, an agent for Thomas McCulloch and the Pictou Academy in Nova Scotia, was the first to call on Joseph Hume.<sup>13</sup> Blanchard visited Hume in 1829 after a spell in Glasgow where, as we saw in Chap. 3, he had listened to the sermon of the Rev. Andrew Marshall. Blanchard and McCulloch's campaign to reform the Nova Scotian government was inspired by Marshall's new light voluntarism. Marshall preached against church establishments, which he thought rendered the state oppressive and persecuting. McCulloch and Blanchard applied his ideas to their critique of the Nova Scotian council which, they thought, was unfairly persecuting the non-Anglican population. Blanchard and McCulloch secured the United Secession Church's support for Pictou Academy. The 'Pictou People', remarked Brenton Halliburton, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, had

somehow or other ‘made a strong impression’ on the ‘Glasgow Seceders’.<sup>14</sup> The United Secession, indeed, had been helping Pictou for years. In 1826 the church formed a committee whose purpose was to recommend measures to support the Academy. Students in the church’s divinity hall also formed a society to drum up support for the institution.

Now, in 1828, the Secession’s synod received Blanchard and Robert McKay, another trustee, with the ‘warmest affection’. The synod appointed the Rev. William Broadfoot of the Secession congregation in Oxenden Street, London and the Rev. James Pringle in Newcastle, with whom John Fairbairn had boarded before his migration to the Cape, to co-operate with Blanchard in his campaign to lobby the Colonial Office.<sup>15</sup> James Pringle had worked as a missionary in Gibraltar during which time Thomas McCulloch’s friend, the Rev. James Mitchell of Glasgow, supplied Pringle’s pulpit, as did the Rev. McGilchrist, another vocal voluntary.<sup>16</sup> James Pringle acted as secretary to the voluntary church association in Newcastle and battled with the arch-establishmentarian, the Rev. John Lockhart; Lockhart penned some of the most vicious anti-voluntary pamphlets.<sup>17</sup> On account of his anti-establishment views then, and his missionary experience, James Pringle would have offered Blanchard a sympathetic ear.

During his visit to Glasgow, Blanchard spoke on the Academy’s behalf at a meeting in the crowded Trades Hall.<sup>18</sup> The Pictou cause was described as ‘deserving of the warmest sympathy of Scotsmen’. The ‘maternal Government’, it was declared, ‘will not suffer the affection of her colonial children to be alienated by the fantastic tricks of a few pampered minions of a dominant Hierarchy’.<sup>19</sup> Stories like Blanchard’s of alleged colonial oppression encouraged Scottish dissenters to demand church disestablishment and political reform at home and abroad. In December 1830, the Rev. Hugh Heugh railed against the Nova Scotian bishop at a public meeting. Heugh wished that Bishop Inglis could observe the reform campaign in Britain and witness the determination of the people to secure liberal reform. Inglis would be cowed by what he saw, Heugh declared.<sup>20</sup>

After his sojourn in Glasgow Blanchard visited Hume in London where he recounted the tale of Pictou’s woes. He gave Hume a document on the Academy’s history which, as Blanchard discovered during his second meeting with the politician two years later in 1831, Hume ‘filed carefully away’.<sup>21</sup> Blanchard explained that Nova Scotians suffered from similar grievances as settlers in Canada. Hume berated Blanchard for not having lobbied the metropolitan government more strenuously. Blanchard explained that the Nova Scotian population was scattered and hard to organise. He



also stressed that the population was too poor to pay an agent 'to carry their opinions to England, and there was a suspicion that remonstrances unaccompanied by a living messenger, seldom reach their ultimate destination'. 'Thirdly,' he said, 'a general notion had prevailed, that a letter from our Lord Bishop to the Archbishop of Canterbury, stating, that any desired measure might endanger the church, would have more influence than a representation from the Council and the Assembly and the whole population to boot.' Blanchard was, however, encouraged by the success of Upper Canadians in battling the dominance of Archdeacon Strachan whose 'reputation and influence', he said, 'was a living example, that ecclesiastical cunning, might overreach itself'.<sup>22</sup>

### JOHN DUNMORE LANG VISITS HUME

Having carefully considered in 1829 McCulloch's version of Pictou Academy's history, Hume would have been ideally primed to receive John Dunmore Lang in December 1830. Lang, who knew Hume a little, turned up looking for advice on how to acquire funds for his Australian College. Lang, as we saw in Chap. 4, was sceptical that Archdeacon Broughton's new King's Schools would treat Anglicans and Presbyterians in New South Wales equally and he developed a plan to establish his own institution with a Presbyterian flavour. Hume was sympathetic to Lang's mission and suggested that he seek out Lord Goderich, the colonial secretary, with whom Lang met on 13 January 1831. Lang felt particularly confident about his visit after receiving a blessing for his mission from the Rev. Edward Irving, who Lang bumped into on his way to see Goderich. Irving was a Presbyterian minister in London and acolyte of Thomas Chalmers, the great evangelical Kirkman.

Lang explained to Goderich that he wished the Australian College to have four teachers chosen in consultation with the clergy of the Church of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh and asked for £6000. Goderich responded positively. It may be significant that Broughton's plans for the King's Schools were yet unknown to the Colonial Office when Lang arrived there.<sup>23</sup> Goderich agreed to provide a loan for five years, not of £6000 but of £3500, on condition that Lang and his backers put forward an equal amount. Goderich also agreed to support Lang's scheme to transport Scottish tradesmen to help build the institution.

Lang was ecstatic. He next travelled to Scotland where he visited the Rev. Thomas Chalmers.<sup>24</sup> Lang asked for Chalmers' advice on recruitment

for the college. Lang procured teachers for the institution, tradesmen willing to migrate, scientific apparatus from Dr Andrew Ure, professor of natural philosophy at the Andersonian Institute in Glasgow, and hundreds of books. Lang took a full corpus of Jeremy Bentham's works;<sup>25</sup> he would later draw on Bentham's thinking in his republican manifesto for Australia. Hume also sent Lang journals of the houses of parliament and various parliamentary papers for the college library. Hume hoped 'that those who may be disposed to improve the institutions of the Colony, may have the advantage by reference to these documents, of the experience of the Parent State, to enable them the better to avoid her errors, which have been many'.<sup>26</sup>

### BLANCHARD'S SECOND MISSION

Lang was in Glasgow in April 1831 and sailed from Greenock on 1 June. If he and Blanchard, who travelled to Scotland in April, had overlapped, they would have had lots to talk about. Blanchard visited Britain in the aftermath of the brandy election when, as we have seen, he was burnt in effigy. He came armed with a memorial signed by Pictou supporters. During this second visit to Britain Blanchard again went quickly to Glasgow where he reconnected with the United Secession Church. Blanchard was disappointed that the Secession clergy were not more active in his behalf<sup>27</sup> but, nevertheless, the church did provide assistance. Blanchard attended the meeting of synod on 26 April where a brief statement on the status of the Academy was heard. On the next day, the Pictou Academy committee recommended that the synod should address the King and presented a draft for the synod's approval. The synod authorised the committee to correspond with friends in London who 'may give [Blanchard] countenance and cooperation in his application to Government'.<sup>28</sup> As he had done during his first visit, Blanchard delivered a speech at a public meeting where he championed the cause of Pictou Academy and political reform and denounced the adverse influence of church establishments.<sup>29</sup> Lord Goderich, when he finally met him, blamed Blanchard for violent language appearing in the Scottish press.<sup>30</sup>

While in Glasgow Blanchard consulted with McCulloch's friend the Rev. James Mitchell and acquired from the Rev. Andrew Marshall, fifty copies of *Ecclesiastical Establishments Considered*, the printed version of the inflammatory sermon Blanchard had heard Marshall preach in 1829. Blanchard aimed to deposit these in the Nova Scotian itinerating library.<sup>31</sup>

The Rev. Thomas M'Crie, the renowned Seceder author, so influential to the colonists in this book, read Blanchard's petition and resolved to write a letter of introduction to Lord Brougham, whig politician, in London.<sup>32</sup> M'Crie was an old light Seceder and disagreed with the voluntarist agenda of Marshall, Mitchell and their new light brethren, but he was well-respected by everyone in the Presbyterian community and resolved to help McCulloch. M'Crie was too busy with his sick daughter to write the letter before Blanchard departed Scotland so the Rev. Renton—probably Henry Renton, the voluntary and anti-Corn Law activist—arranged to pick it up and send it on to London. M'Crie advised Blanchard to revise the Pictou trustees' petition, which was too harsh towards the Bishop of Nova Scotia: '[I]f Brougham smells the Clergy in the petition', M'Crie warned, 'it will prejudice him.' M'Crie reassured Brougham that he had 'long been personally acquainted' with Thomas McCulloch, who, as we have seen, was so inspired by M'Crie's writings, and 'from correspondence and personal intercourse' he understood Pictou Academy to be 'extremely useful in diffusing knowledge through the Colony'. The Academy's 'suppression and degradation to a grammar school', he warned, would 'produce both injury and discontent'. Financial assistance would 'gratify a large proportion of the inhabitants and strengthen their attachment' to the government.<sup>33</sup> M'Crie also gave Blanchard a letter to Sir James Mackintosh. M'Crie's letters, Blanchard wrote to McCulloch, 'will go further with the Ministry than all the power of the Bishop'.<sup>34</sup> Blanchard also met with Lord Cockburn, solicitor-general and author of the Scottish reform bill, who gave Blanchard a letter for Francis Jeffrey, the Lord Advocate, who had in 1825 signed McCulloch's memorial in defence of the Pictou Academy.<sup>35</sup>

Once in London at the beginning of May the Secession arranged for Blanchard to liaise with the cousin of the Rev. James Pringle, the Newcastle-based minister appointed to assist Blanchard in 1828. James's cousin was none other than Thomas Pringle who was back from the Cape and serving in London as secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society. Pringle was well-connected to leading whig politicians and ideally placed to help Blanchard. Blanchard met with Pringle, whom he described as 'the Synod's agent', the day after he arrived in London and met him several times after that. On first meeting they were no doubt surprised to learn how much they had in common. Both Pringle and Blanchard had suffered injuries as children which left them permanently disabled. Blanchard walked with a limp while Pringle walked with crutches. After some conversation, they would

have realised that their connection went much deeper than this shared personal affliction. The Classical and Commercial Academy had allegedly failed in Cape Town because of Governor Somerset's hostility; Pictou Academy, it may have seemed, was destined to suffer the same fate. Pringle's own frustrations at the Cape no doubt inclined him to view Blanchard's cause sympathetically.

In London Blanchard spent months attempting to lobby the Colonial Office. He met with Goderich briefly, as he reported in a letter to the Rev. James Mitchell,<sup>36</sup> who Blanchard hoped would travel from Glasgow to assist him,<sup>37</sup> and delivered a revised petition and statement from the Secession synod. He refrained, however, from delivering the inflammatory memorial from the Academy trustees. He then waited for weeks for a response. Blanchard also saw the Office's counsel, the influential James Stephen, who he thought sympathetic to his cause,<sup>38</sup> and Robert Hay, the permanent under-secretary, who was less receptive. Blanchard was frustrated when Hay seemed reluctant to reveal the contents of communications between the governor and Goderich. Brenton Halliburton had also travelled to London and, together with the Bishop of Nova Scotia, he met with Hay to counter the efforts, he reported, of 'persons at work to induce the Government here to interfere in such a way as to give them a triumph over their opponents in Nova Scotia'.<sup>39</sup> Blanchard claimed that he was essentially kicked out of the Colonial Office for asking 'too many questions'. This treatment, the colonist exclaimed, was a 'sample of colonial management...A million and a quarter of rational beings in North America under the control of Mr Hay...Not even a Lord to rule us!!!'<sup>40</sup>

Pringle had also been snubbed by Hay, who had rejected Pringle's application for compensation for his Cape Town failures. But due to his whig connections, Pringle may have had better luck than Blanchard at gaining access to influential politicians. In 1824 George Greig had written to John Fairbairn informing him that all the Cape merchants in London were acquainted with their cases and 'warmly favourable'. 'Mr Pringle', he wrote, 'is much lauded here for his manly and spirited conduct.'<sup>41</sup> Pringle may have been instrumental in gaining Blanchard access to the liberal politicians with whom he was connected.

Blanchard met with Sir James Mackintosh, M'Crie's correspondent, who also worked intensively with Pringle to prepare for a House of Commons debate on indigenous policy at the Cape. Blanchard was accompanied to meet Mackintosh by another of the Secession's agents: Dr John Morison, a Scottish Congregationalist in London and member of the

committee of the London Missionary Society who knew Pringle's idol, the Rev. Alexander Waugh.<sup>42</sup> Blanchard also consulted with Charles Richard Fox, whig MP and the son of Lord Holland, the whig magnate. Fox appeared in Pringle's poem, 'The Emigrant's Cabin', discussed in Chap. 2, described as the 'gay-humoured Captain Fox' who converses on whig politicians with a fictional version of Pringle. Pringle started composing this poem at the Cape but finished it in London in the early 1830s when he was immersed in whig circles. Because of his former military career Fox had met Pringle in the early 1820s when he had been travelling in the Cape Colony, but he had also met Blanchard in 1829 when he had been posted to Halifax in Nova Scotia. Recalled after the whigs came to power, Fox, who admired Blanchard and McCulloch's newspaper, the *Colonial Patriot*, was now able to help Blanchard during his mission in London. Pringle may have helped to facilitate their reintroduction.

Blanchard explained the colonial situation to Fox: 'It would be more easy', he said, to satisfy the Duke of Newcastle—an ultra-tory establishmentarian—'with a Reform Bill than to satisfy the Lord Bishop and the Council that there should be any education or political power beyond the pale of the Church, made still narrower by that of their own families and connexions. Nothing short of measures exalting the Lord Bishop and [his Majesty's] Council to rule the one, the Consciences, and the other the purses of the people will satisfy them.' Like Thomas M'Crie, Fox advised Blanchard to tone down the hostile language in his memorial. Blanchard agreed and, for fear of appearing too inflammatory, declined an invitation from John Bowring, another of Pringle's contacts, to write for the radical *Westminster Review*.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, Blanchard revealed his intention to hold public meetings in Britain if the petition to Lord Goderich should fall on deaf ears.<sup>44</sup> In desperation Blanchard wrote to James Losh, a radical reformer in Newcastle who belonged to the Literary and Philosophical Society, an organisation John Fairbairn, when he lodged with James Pringle, had once belonged to. Blanchard reported that he had written the following to Losh: 'if the Whig Government continued the Tory system in the colonies nothing remained for me but to go home and spend the rest of my life in preaching disaffection and as far as I could, lay the foundation for independence in some succeeding generation'. Losh passed this information on to Lord Brougham who, Blanchard thought, had forwarded it on to Lord Goderich. Blanchard hoped Goderich would not take offence as the information had come through a private letter. Indeed, he hoped Goderich would be more encouraged by this news to take his cause seriously.<sup>45</sup>

Another of Blanchard's key allies was Joseph Hume, one of Pringle's correspondents. Hume, who had met Blanchard two years before and consulted with Lang, was by this time well versed on the plight of dissenters in the settler colonies of Britain's empire. Hume encouraged Blanchard to speak to him in confidence about the mismanagement of colonial affairs so that he could pressurise government for reform.<sup>46</sup> Blanchard was conscious that his priority was to secure the future of Pictou Academy and was wary of revealing too much. Still, as time marched on Blanchard asked McCulloch for permission to 'abuse the Bishop and the Council and the Government and everybody in the papers'.<sup>47</sup> Blanchard told McCulloch that in Worcester people were 'uniting in a holy league to pay no taxes nor obey the Government if the Whigs go out'. He gleefully reported on the violent reaction against the spiritual lords who had obstructed the reform bill's passing. He wrote to McCulloch that Hume, when chairing a meeting at Regent's Park in London, had held aloft a placard bearing the words 'Englishmen – remember it was the Bishops only whose votes decided the fate of the Reform Bill'. The political days of the bishops, Blanchard predicted, were numbered. Blanchard was convinced that on hearing of developments in Britain, the Nova Scotian public would soon 'wipe from their Statute books even the name of the Establishment'.<sup>48</sup>

### WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE VISITS HUME

William Lyon Mackenzie, whose *Colonial Advocate* reprinted Blanchard's reports from Britain,<sup>49</sup> was similarly affected by the reform meetings which he witnessed when he visited Britain in the following year. Mackenzie, who came with petitions purportedly bearing about 20,000 signatures, believed it was an apt time to lobby the metropolitan government, though the Rev. William Proudfoot, Seceder minister, regretted his departure from Toronto: 'the country is suffering', he said, 'from the absence of Mr McKenzie'.<sup>50</sup> Mackenzie, as we have seen, was infuriated at the Anglican monopoly in Upper Canada of education, land and financial and political power. In London, Mackenzie wrote to the *Morning Chronicle* criticising the land monopolies in Canada which he believed were buttressed by the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>51</sup> Like Lang he encountered the Rev. Edward Irving whose sermons he went regularly to hear. Mackenzie admired the 'power and energy in his discourses'.<sup>52</sup> Mackenzie also travelled round the country and was greeted most enthusiastically in his hometown of Dundee where, the *St Thomas Liberal* reported, the trades of Forfar 'went in a

body unanimously dressed, to meet him, with their colours flying, drums beating, and the bag-pipes playing “Scots wha hae wae Wallace bled.”<sup>53</sup>

As we saw in Chap. 5, Mackenzie was inspired by Scotland’s covenanting heritage. His visit to Britain gave him the opportunity to reflect on the contemporary significance of the covenanting legacy. While in Dundee, Mackenzie went regularly to churches he had attended in his youth: the Kirk and the Secession. Though the ministers had changed since he had been there last his old recollections made his visits ‘deeply interesting’.<sup>54</sup> In June 1832 Mackenzie’s *Colonial Advocate*, which printed reports from Mackenzie during his absence, recorded the speeches at mass meetings in Liverpool and Manchester held after the House of Lords had refused its assent to the reform bill. It was reported that in Manchester, ‘Mr Prentice, in a very animated speech, which was repeatedly cheered, reminded the meeting of what the Scottish Covenanters had done, and he hoped Englishmen would not be behind in following their example...the Scottish Covenanters had contrived to do without bishops, and he thought that the English Reformers might consistently follow their example’.<sup>55</sup> A few weeks later the *Advocate* printed Mackenzie’s own thoughts on a similar meeting in Birmingham:

The reform meeting at Birmingham must have been a solemn and affecting scene...the speaker gave out the solemn covenant...and all the people...repeated after him – “with unbroken faith, through every peril and privation, we here devote ourselves and our children to our country’s cause.” This extraordinary scene reminds me of the Scottish Solemn League and Covenant, into which, in a less enlightened age, the northern part of the island entered. The powerful effects of this measure are on historical record; and had reform failed here, some similar bond might have become essential to the liberal cause in Upper Canada.

Mackenzie still believed that the whig government would remedy Canada’s problems and that Upper Canadians would be inspired to protest in a similar vein to the British populace. The ‘example’, he said, ‘of the reformers in England, and their brilliant success should teach the Upper Canadians to be united as one man in defence of their rights as British freemen’.<sup>56</sup>

Mackenzie sought Hume’s advice on how to champion these rights. Hume had been a constant correspondent of Upper Canadian reformers throughout the 1820s and had delivered their petitions to parliament. In 1830 Hume denounced Archdeacon John Strachan for forcing an

established church on Upper Canada and jeopardising the colony's peace.<sup>57</sup> At the time of his negotiations with Blanchard in 1831, a town meeting in York, Upper Canada, thanked Hume—a 'friend to civil and religious liberty'—for his efforts.<sup>58</sup> In London in July 1832 Mackenzie attended a dinner honouring Major Cartwright. Hume was chairman and gave a toast to 'Reform in the Colonies' to which Mackenzie gave a reply.<sup>59</sup> Mackenzie had received a frosty reception on his first application to the Colonial Office, which told him that to engage with Mackenzie on the nature of colonial rule would be 'to divert the official correspondence of this department from its proper channel'.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, on 2 July, accompanied by Hume, together with Denis-Benjamin Viger of Lower Canada, Mackenzie met with Lord Goderich for two to three hours. On 3 August, Hume, Mackenzie and Viger met Goderich again, this time for an hour and a half. Mackenzie addressed a memorial to Goderich who replied in November using a sympathetic tone.<sup>61</sup> Mackenzie named his child, born in Britain during this period, Joseph Hume Mackenzie in honour of the assistance provided by his radical friend.

### HUME'S FAILED AMENDMENT

Hume's commitment to disestablishment and political reform was doubtless strengthened by his successive meetings with disgruntled colonial reformers. Hume's connection to India shaped his politics, as Taylor has shown, but his relationship with the settler colonies was similarly important. In July 1831 after his second meeting with Blanchard, Hume and Henry Warburton warned the House of Commons that the establishment of Anglicanism and the exclusive nature of the King's Colleges in Nova Scotia and Upper Canada were alienating colonists.<sup>62</sup> George Robinson later agreed that distinctions on account of religious belief were impolitic in colonies peopled by immigrants from Scotland and Ireland.<sup>63</sup> In August 1831 Hume brought forward an amendment to the reform bill, proposing the addition of nineteen MPs for the British colonies in the reformed parliament, including eight representatives for the Crown colonies and three for the Maritime and Canadian colonies.<sup>64</sup> Hume's effort was partly to counter the arguments of anti-reformers who maintained that by virtue of the current system the colonies were virtually represented through the existence of small boroughs. John Fairbairn denounced the argument of the anti-reformers in the *South African Commercial Advertiser*. He argued that to the colonies the fruits of this system had been poisonous, leading



to the institution of incapable and despotic governors.<sup>65</sup> Following Mackenzie's visit, Hume continued to champion colonial reform in parliament.

Hume saw the grievances of each colonist as part of the larger problem of systematic colonial misrule. In his eyes the colonists shared a common cause and he encouraged them to show solidarity with each other. Hume strongly advised Blanchard to follow the Canadian example and petition for redress.<sup>66</sup> In 1831 Hume advised George Ryerson, agent for the Canadian Methodist community, to look Blanchard up so that they could all talk together. Hume gave Ryerson, who came in part to complain about the exclusive nature of King's College in Toronto, a copy of McCulloch's history of Pictou Academy, which Hume had 'filed carefully away' after Blanchard's first visit in 1829.<sup>67</sup> Because of their lobbying missions, colonists came to learn more about the conditions in other regions of the empire and they took Hume's advice on board. After his encounter with Ryerson, Blanchard as well as Hume acted as agents for the Canadian Alliance Society in 1835, an organisation with which Mackenzie was deeply involved. Hume told Fairbairn that 'the inhabitants of N[ew] S[outh] Wales are stirring for a representative Body, and so should all the Crown Colonies'.<sup>68</sup> 'We want what Canada has!', Fairbairn exclaimed in an editorial of 1831.

At the Cape, Alexander Johnstone Jardine, Pringle's successor at the Cape Town library, worried that Fairbairn's plea for the institution of a government like Canada's would lead to the creation of a family compact at the Cape, thus perpetuating tyranny.<sup>69</sup> Jardine would have learned about Canada's affairs from the reports in Fairbairn's *Advertiser*, which reprinted news from the press in Halifax.<sup>70</sup> But Jardine also read and recommended *Sketches of Canada and the United States* by Mackenzie, published in London in 1833, following Mackenzie's visit.<sup>71</sup> Jardine also warmly reviewed Pringle's *African Sketches* and Lang's history of New South Wales, both of which he acquired for the library. Pringle had thrown light on the sufferings of the settlers at the Cape while Lang had revealed the true nature of despotic rulers. The writings of these colonists influenced Jardine's views on civil and ecclesiastical politics at the Cape, discussed in Chap. 9.

Lang was well-known at the Cape partly owing to his connection to Pringle, with whom Lang met in London during his lobbying mission. Lang and Pringle evidently got on for Pringle's wife gave Lang a book to pass on to his mother as a gift. Just as Pringle would have sympathised

with Blanchard and McCulloch on account of their troubles in Nova Scotia, so Pringle would doubtless have encouraged Lang in his mission to defy Anglican domination. Lang was due to stop in Cape Town on his voyage back to Sydney. ‘I shall be pleased’, Pringle wrote to Fairbairn, ‘if you can show any attention to Dr Lang.’<sup>72</sup> Pringle told Lang that he would ‘find my friends Philip & Fairbairn at the Cape men with whom you can have cordial communion’.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately Philip was away from home when Lang visited but Philip later devoured the copies of Lang’s writings which Lang left behind him.<sup>74</sup> Pringle asked Lang to disseminate in Australia news of the Cape: ‘I know not whether the Cape excites much interest at Sydney – but I take the liberty to inclose a few notices which my publisher has printed, & which if you see fit you may distribute among the book-reading folks at New South Wales.’<sup>75</sup> Lang evidently did so. He frequently printed extracts from Pringle’s poetry in his newspapers, including sections from Pringle’s *African Sketches*, which were printed alongside extracts from Lang’s own *Historical Account of New South Wales* in his new newspaper, *The Colonist*, in January 1835.<sup>76</sup> In December 1835 a student at Lang’s Australian College completed an essay on current affairs at the Cape.<sup>77</sup> While at the Cape, Lang was married to his cousin by the Rev. James Adamson, minister of the Scots Church in Cape Town. Adamson was a regular correspondent and advisor to Lang on his return to Sydney. Both men, as we shall see in Chaps. 9 and 10, articulated similar arguments. Colonial settlers then, though they lived in disparate places, became closely interconnected through denominational, ethnic and political ties. Reform campaigns across the empire became somewhat mutually reinforcing.

### BACKLASH

Lang and Mackenzie—and Blanchard to a lesser extent—were initially galvanised by their mission to Britain. Hume’s amendment was thrown out however, and the positivity of the colonists soon turned to despair. Fairbairn and Pringle were disappointed with the slow progress of colonial reform. In an editorial in March 1831 Fairbairn expressed his frustration at the failed attempts of individuals to lobby the Colonial Office through the medium of petitioning. The replies to memorials were often ‘mean and irritating, unjust and petulant’.<sup>78</sup> It was ridiculous, an editorial of the *Advertiser* exclaimed, that the colonial secretary should have to manage around thirty colonies.<sup>79</sup> Fairbairn praised Joseph Hume for his defence of

the colonies but remained sceptical that his amendment to the reform bill would be enough. The colonies, he insisted, needed something more substantial than this 'shadow of representation'; the Cape should demand the 'Right of Self-Government'.<sup>80</sup> In 1830 Pringle had been energised by the elevation of the whigs to power; by 1834, however, the year of his death and despite the abolition of slavery, he was despondent about the nature of colonial rule. That the whigs had come to power was irrelevant, he claimed, 'so long as the under-secretaries and clerks are still the persons who determine most of the Colonial appointments, who were put in office by Lord Bathurst, and who, to this day, act as far as they can on the wretched system of his administration'.<sup>81</sup> Thomas Spring Rice, who headed the Colonial Office for a short spell in 1834, was 'too much in the hands of Hay'.<sup>82</sup> '[F]or my part', Mackenzie wrote in a letter to the *Morning Chronicle*, 'I think that it makes little difference to the Colonists who is Secretary here, for they all pull one way.'<sup>83</sup>

Mackenzie had been heard sympathetically by Lord Goderich, who wrote in November 1832 to Sir John Colborne, the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, recommending that the government pay attention to Mackenzie's grievances. Goderich then dismissed Henry Boulton, the attorney-general, and Christopher Hagerman, the solicitor-general, when the colonial government refused to countenance Mackenzie after he was suspended yet again from his assembly seat. Edward Stanley, however, who was sympathetic to the claims of the Church of England, though sensitive too to the needs of non-Anglicans in Canada,<sup>84</sup> replaced Goderich in April 1833 (before Spring Rice's brief appointment). Stanley reinstated Hagerman, who, as we shall see in Chap. 8, would become the nemesis of Scots Presbyterians in Upper Canada. Hagerman travelled to London in May 1833 to plead his case and as he entered the Colonial Office he bumped into Mackenzie who was on his way out.<sup>85</sup> It must have been an awkward encounter. The reinstatement of Hagerman and the posting of Boulton to Newfoundland depressed Mackenzie. 'I am disappointed', he said, 'the prospect before us is indeed dark and gloomy.'<sup>86</sup> Hume was incensed. He wrote to Mackenzie that Stanley was encouraging the 'misgovernment on the part of the public officers of that Province which Lord Goderich's late proceedings were calculated to prevent'. Boulton's posting was 'an insult to the people of Upper Canada, and to every lover of good government'.<sup>87</sup>

Lang had a similarly rough time with Stanley. After his return to Sydney, Lang found it difficult to get the Australian College up and running. Archdeacon Broughton took offence at Lang's depiction of the Anglican

clergy and the Church and School Corporation in an account Lang printed in 1831 of his meeting with Goderich. Broughton wrote to the Colonial Office to complain about Lang and recommended to the Sydney council that Lang should be censured. This vote, which passed on 15 March 1832, damaged Lang's reputation in the colony and affected his ability to secure credit. As Albert Schrauwers and Kirsten McKenzie have shown, settler colonies were often cash poor; their economies operated by means of a credit system, and settlers could only secure credit if they had reputations for being morally virtuous, respectable citizens.<sup>88</sup> Lang, who later ended up imprisoned for mismanaging his finances, was criticised in the Sydney press—supporters, Lang thought, of his rivals—for misappropriating college funds.<sup>89</sup> 'It seems to have been', Lang's newspaper declared in a statement with which Thomas McCulloch and Thomas Pringle would doubtless have agreed, 'the fate of all the Academical Institutions of which the establishment has recently been attempted, whether in Great Britain or in the colonies, to experience great difficulties at their outset, and to have their very existence endangered, either by dissension from within, or by opposition from without... The ordeal through which the Australian College has had to pass has been almost unparalleled for severity since the days of the Inquisition.'<sup>90</sup> After reading the *Scots Worthies*, a martyrology of Scottish Covenanters, Lang drew a parallel between himself and Samuel Rutherford, who had experienced difficulties in connection with the divinity college in St Andrews.<sup>91</sup>

Lang returned to Britain in November 1833 and had a meeting with Stanley who had been dealing with Mackenzie and Hagerman just a few months before. Lang asked Stanley for additional support for the Scots Church. He also asked Stanley to confirm the status of Church of Scotland clergy in the colony by offering an endowment for Presbyterian ministers. Whenever Presbyterian settlers raised at least forty pounds for a minister, Lang suggested, the government should grant at least sixty. The government had a duty, Lang informed the Colonial Office, invoking Scottish birthright rhetoric, to respect the rights of Scotsmen and fund the 'hallowed institutions of their forefathers'. Presbyterians in the colony had become victims of 'proselytising Episcopalians'.<sup>92</sup> Stanley was unimpressed. Despite Lang having cultivated the support for his schemes, so he claimed, of thirty-three Scottish MPs, Stanley rejected his pleas.<sup>93</sup> He informed Lang that Broughton was on his way to London. It was the Archdeacon with whom Stanley would confer about the proper way to support religious instruction in New South Wales.<sup>94</sup> Lang's troubles, as we shall see in

Chap. 10, encouraged him to demand self-government for the Cape. Joseph Hume's proposal that the colonies should be represented in the imperial legislature was inadequate, Lang believed. New South Wales needed its own assembly independent of parliament's jurisdiction.<sup>95</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Despite Stanley's frosty treatment of Lang, the post-1832 period saw a shift in colonial ecclesiastical policy. State aid to churches in New South Wales was dispensed in a more equitable fashion from 1836 while the government was reluctant fully to establish the Church of England in New Zealand, when it was colonised by Britain in 1840. The 'time has gone by,' Lang warned the Colonial Office in 1839, 'in which the British Government could even attempt to set up an exclusive ecclesiastical establishment in any new Colony of the Empire.'<sup>96</sup> The 'state of the world,' agreed James Stephen, Colonial Office counsel, 'is very unfavourable to the maintenance of exclusive Ecclesiastical pretensions.'<sup>97</sup> The troubles experienced by Pringle, McCulloch, Lang and Mackenzie, who complained that their Anglicanising governments were persecuting dissenters, were brought in part to the attention of the well-connected United Secession Church, whose commitment to disestablishment and reform was strengthened by what it heard, and raised by Hume in parliament. In Blanchard's case, the Secession church helped to facilitate political lobbying in London. The Colonial Office came to believe that its policy of Anglicanisation was no longer prudent.

Nevertheless, as we shall see in Part II of this book, the failure of the metropolitan government adequately to solve the problems of the colonies generated a backlash throughout the British world. If 'after thrusting the monster Toryism from this Country', Blanchard prophesied, 'the Ministry fosters it in the Colonies, increased irritation and turbulence will be the result. God alone knows what will be the end of it if the Colonists obtain no redress from this Ministry'.<sup>98</sup> Hume's amendment to the reform bill was thrown out, though colonial reformers regarded it as insufficient anyway. Blanchard, Mackenzie and Lang had been inspired by what they saw in Britain but they went home aggrieved, belligerent and better informed on the similar injustices experienced by non-Anglicans beyond their own localities. As Miles Taylor has argued, temporary stability at the heart of empire was bought at the expense of considerable unrest at its periphery.<sup>99</sup> In Scotland, discussed in the next chapter, many dissenters were enfranchised

by the Reform Act for the first time. The voluntaryist assault on the established churches, which the colonists had helped to galvanise by bringing home their tales of alleged Anglican dominance, intensified. Newly enfranchised dissenters now had a political voice and demanded the overthrow of the Kirk. The campaign for disestablishment culminated in the Disruption when around one-third of the Church of Scotland's ministers seceded from the Kirk to preserve its spiritual independence.

The fragmentation of Scotland's national Church sent shockwaves across the globe, rocking Canada, the Cape, Australia and New Zealand. 'Everything in the empire', Henry Cockburn wrote ominously in 1837, 'is tinged for the present with the Church.'<sup>100</sup> In order to understand the nature of colonial unrest in the post-1832 settler world, Chap. 7 argues, it is first necessary to take stock of Scotland's domestic turbulence. Scottish migrants, also frustrated at the slow pace of change in Britain's colonies, took up the arguments of Scottish dissenters and reworked them to argue for disestablishment and political reform, including self-government, in their own settlements. The Cape almost experienced a mini-Disruption. John Dunmore Lang converted to voluntaryism and advocated democratic republicanism for Australia. Samuel McDonald Martin, a Scottish migrant from Skye, heard about the Disruption while living in Auckland. In his opposition to the colonial government there, he sought to emulate Scotland's Disruption martyrs. Jotham Blanchard, Thomas McCulloch and William Lyon Mackenzie, meanwhile, kept their reform campaigns going, stimulated by what they heard about the voluntary controversy in Scotland. When the colonial government threatened to introduce Anglican rectories in Upper Canada, an increasingly radicalised Mackenzie led a 'Scotch rebellion'. If only 'the representations you then made of the great discontent of the Canadians...had been listened to', Joseph Hume later wrote to Mackenzie of his 1832 visit, 'the misfortunes and rebellion of Canada would have been avoided'.<sup>101</sup>

## NOTES

1. Laidlaw 2005.
2. National Library of South Africa [NLSA], Thomas Pringle Collection, MSB 393, 2, Pringle and Fairbairn Letters, Greig to Fairbairn 11th July 1828 and Greig to Fairbairn 30th Aug 1828.
3. Vigne 2011, p. 302.
4. Mitchell Library, Sydney [ML], Lang papers, MSS 268/1 CY3349; ML MSS 5488.

5. Pringle to Philip, 16 November 1830, Vigne 2011, p. 329.
6. Laidlaw 2005, p. 21.
7. Taylor 2007, p. 301.
8. 'Mr Curr's Letter, To the Editor of the Port Phillip Herald', *Australasian Chronicle*, 6 July 1843. For Hume's involvement in Colonial Office business see also Hume's correspondence in the British Library, ADD MS 89039.
9. In 1831 Hume represented the United Secession in the House of Commons, endorsing the whig government's plans for Irish education on the Secession's behalf. See Gray 1832. Hume also received pamphlets from voluntaryist activists, part of the Hume Tracts, a trove of pamphlets collected by Hume, held by University College London. See e.g., McLaren 1841, sent to Hume by the author: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/60210951>. Hume shared with Scottish voluntaryists an anti-clerical position though parted company with them on issues of theology.
10. For Hume's attitudes to disestablishment in the empire see Huch and Ziegler 1985, p. 58. See also the Hume Tracts, many on church reform.
11. On Hume's involvement in Indian affairs and the relationship between the campaign for Indian reform and the Reform Act, see Taylor 2007, pp. 285–308, quote at p. 285.
12. Woollacott 2015, p. 103.
13. I have documented Blanchard's expedition elsewhere; see Wallace 2014, available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03086534.2014.894708>. This chapter draws on that analysis but clarifies some detail and adds new material.
14. Fergusson 1959, pp. 28–34.
15. National Records of Scotland, CH3/298/3, Minutes of the United Associate Synod 1820–40.
16. Anon. 1826, p. 10.
17. Lockhart 1834.
18. *Colonial Patriot*, 21 January 1829; *Colonial Patriot*, 17 December 1828.
19. *Colonial Patriot*, 17 December 1828.
20. 'Affairs of Nova Scotia', *The Scotsman*, 26 January 1831.
21. Nova Scotia Archives [NSA], Thomas McCulloch papers, MG1 553/98, Blanchard to McCulloch.
22. 'Extract from a Traveller's Journal', *Colonial Patriot*, 9 January 1830.
23. Baker 1985, p. 75.
24. During this meeting Lang told Chalmers that he thought Chalmers was wrong to contend that moral restraint would check Britain's surplus population. One of the fundamental axioms of political economy, Lang believed, could be found in the book of Genesis: be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth. Lang 1833, p. 3.

25. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, box 5.
26. ML, Lang papers, A2236 CY 1487, Hume to Council of the Australian College, 2 June 1834.
27. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG1 553/90, Blanchard to McCulloch, 9 May 1831.
28. Anon [1837](#).
29. *Colonial Patriot*, 21 January 1832.
30. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG1 553/96, Blanchard to James Mitchell, 18 June 1831.
31. *Colonial Patriot*, 11 August 1832.
32. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 Vol. 553/89, Blanchard to McCulloch, 29 April 1831.
33. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers MG 1 553/93, Copy of Dr M'Crie's letter to Brougham, 28 April 1831.
34. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG1 553/89, Blanchard to McCulloch, 29 April 1831.
35. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 554/36, Lord Jeffrey to McCulloch 1826.
36. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 553/91, Blanchard to James Mitchell, 23 May 1831.
37. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 553/99, Blanchard to James Mitchell, 5 July 1831.
38. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 553/91, Blanchard to James Mitchell, 23 May 1831.
39. Fergusson [1959](#), pp. 28–34.
40. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1, 553/100, Blanchard to McCulloch, 27 July 1831.
41. NLSA, Thomas Pringle Collection, MSB 393, 2, Pringle and Fairbairn letters, Greig to Fairbairn, October 1824.
42. After consulting with Blanchard Morison travelled to Scotland and stopped in Glasgow to convene with the Rev. John Mitchell: NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 553/91, Blanchard to James Mitchell, 23 May 1831. For Morison's connection to Waugh see Morison [1844](#).
43. In a letter to David Moir on 5 August 1830, Pringle wrote that Bowring was a pleasant, intelligent fellow. Pringle contributed to the *Westminster Review* on occasion: National Library of Scotland, ACC 9856/53.
44. Blanchard to McCulloch, 29 April 1831, Copy of a letter to Col. Fox, Blanchard to McCulloch, 27 May 1831, Blanchard to McCulloch, 28 May 1831, and Blanchard to McCulloch, 6 July 1831, NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1, 553/89; 553/92; 553/94; 553/95; 553/97.
45. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG1 553/95, Blanchard to McCulloch 28 May 1831.



46. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1, 553/98, Blanchard to McCulloch.
47. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG1 553/101, August 1831.
48. Blanchard to McCulloch, July 6th 1831 and Blanchard to McCulloch, 12 October 1831, NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 553/97; 553/106. On the *Patriot's* support of the Reform Bill in Britain, the defeat of High Tory principles and the consequent cleansing of the Church, see *Colonial Patriot*, 11 June 1831; *Colonial Patriot*, 20 August 1831.
49. 'Nova Scotia', *Colonial Advocate*, 25 August 1831.
50. University of Western Ontario, William Proudfoot papers, Series 1, File 1, Journal 3, 22 December 1832.
51. 'Canada Land Companies', *Morning Chronicle*, 19 September 1832.
52. Lindsey 2009, p. 259.
53. *St Thomas Liberal*, 29 November 1832.
54. Lindsey 2009, p. 285.
55. *Colonial Advocate*, 28 June 1832.
56. *Colonial Advocate*, 19 July 1832.
57. 'Imperial Parliament', *Colonial Advocate*, 29 July 1830.
58. 'York Town Meeting', *Colonial Advocate*, 21 July 1831.
59. Lindsey 2009, p. 259.
60. Quoted in LeSeur 1979, p. 187.
61. Lindsey 2009, pp. 262–4.
62. Hansard HC Debs., 3rd series, Vol. V, 25–26 July 1831, cols., 282, 383.
63. Hansard HC Debs., 3rd series, Vol. VIII, 14 October 1832, cols., 767–81.
64. Hansard HC Debs., 3rd series, Vol. VI, 16 August 1831, col., 115.
65. 'Editorial', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 17 October 1831.
66. *Colonial Patriot*, 9 January 1830.
67. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG1 553/98, Blanchard to McCulloch.
68. NLSA, Thomas Pringle Collection, MSB 393, 2, Pringle and Fairbairn Letters, Hume to Fairbairn, 1836.
69. 'The Cape of Good Hope', *Cape Literary Gazette*, September 1835; 'South African Public Library', *Cape Literary Gazette*, September 1834.
70. 'The Colonies', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 26 August 1829; see also, 'Upper Canada', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 12 August 1829; 'Editorial', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 6 July 1831.
71. 'Hints to Emigrants', *Cape Literary Gazette*, 1 November 1833.
72. Pringle to Fairbairn, 3 June 1834, Vigne 2011, p. 363.
73. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, Pringle to Lang, 4 June 1834.

74. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, Philip to Lang, 28 February 1835[?].
75. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, Pringle to Lang, 4 June 1834.
76. 'Review', *The Colonist*, 15 January 1835.
77. 'Australian College', *The Colonist*, 31 December 1835.
78. *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 12 March 1831.
79. 'Editorial', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 7 September 1831.
80. *South African Commercial Advertiser*, Nov 2 1831; *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 7 December 1831.
81. Pringle to unknown 29 July 1834, Vigne [2011](#), p. 366.
82. Pringle to Philip 23 August 1834, Vigne [2011](#), p. 367.
83. 'Canada Land Companies', *Morning Chronicle*, 19 September 1832.
84. Wilson [1968](#), pp. 91–2.
85. Lindsey [2009](#), p. 276.
86. Lindsey [2009](#), p. 279.
87. Lindsey [2009](#), p. 279.
88. Schrauwers [2008](#), p. 12; McKenzie [2004](#).
89. 'Address', *The Colonist*, 1 January 1835.
90. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 11 February 1836.
91. Lang [1837](#), II, p. 358.
92. Quoted in Stoneman [2013](#), p. 191.
93. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 30 April 1835.
94. Baker, pp. 99–100; ML, Lang papers, A2232 CY 2187, letter to Lang from the Colonial Office, 18 March 1834.
95. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 28 October 1841.
96. Lang [1839](#), p. 98.
97. Quoted in Fletcher [2002](#).
98. NSA, Thomas McCulloch papers, MG 1 553/92, Copy of a letter to Col Fox, 24 May 1831.
99. Taylor [2003](#), p. 311.
100. Cockburn [1874](#), p. 136.
101. Quoted in LeSeur [1979](#), p. 367.

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## PART II

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# Backlash

## Radicalism in Scotland

*[I]f [monarchs] countenance one part of their subjects, in harassing and distressing the rest, as was too much the case in the cruel state-uniformities of the last century, they are rather tyrants, than nursing fathers and mothers to the church as they invade the sacred prerogatives of Christ, and the rights of his people. And every such invasion is a step towards the overturning of their throne.*

(Thomson and Struthers 1848, p. 314)

The Reform Acts of 1832, which enfranchised many in the middling ranks in Britain, and which Joseph Hume had tried unsuccessfully to amend, brought only temporary stability to Britain and its empire. At the Acts' passing, Henry Cockburn, solicitor-general for Scotland, prophesied that the legislation would have far-reaching consequences and would generate demands for further reform. '[I]n a few years', he said, 'dissenters will not be compelled to pay for the maintenance of the Established Church.'<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Wellington made a similar observation on the English Act's significance: 'The revolution is made, that is to say, that power is transferred from one class of society, the gentlemen of England, professing the faith of the Church of England, to another class, the shopkeepers, being Dissenters.'<sup>2</sup>

Members of the United Secession Church in Scotland, who had been reform-minded for some time, were quick to appreciate the Scottish Act's

potential to bring about a revolution in church and state. Many dissenters had the vote for the first time. ‘An Address to the Reverend Leaders of the Voluntary Church Movement’, published in the *United Secession Magazine*, described the Reform Act as a weapon with which the voluntaries could continue to attack the Kirk establishment. Reform had ‘lifted up the despised Seceder from his humble walk, to an authority upon the affairs of his country which shall yet effect a change upon its ecclesiastical institutions for the glory of God’.<sup>3</sup> Seceders had been influenced by new light thinking since the turn of the century. They had critiqued the Westminster Confession of Faith and found that the alliance between civil power and state church was too close. After the emancipation of Catholics in 1829, the Rev. Andrew Marshall had preached in favour of complete disestablishment and promoted a system whereby ministers would be supported by voluntary contributions from their congregations. Marshall and his colleagues had supported the extension of the political franchise as a means to elevate dissenters and lessen the power of the established hierarchy.<sup>4</sup>

Troubling news from British North America about alleged Anglican ‘tyranny’, transmitted from Nova Scotia by the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, a missionary from the Secession, and Jotham Blanchard, McCulloch’s pupil, encouraged the voluntaries to demand wholesale church reform. McCulloch and Blanchard, who were inspired by Marshall’s preachings, visited Scotland to drum up support from the United Secession Church for the Pictou Academy, a college open to non-Anglicans, whose existence the Anglican state in Nova Scotia, so McCulloch argued, found threatening. The Rev. James Pringle, an ally of Blanchard and a cousin of Thomas Pringle, the thwarted Cape Town poet whose own academy had been forced to close because of the Cape governor’s prejudice, or so Pringle argued, would become a vocal proponent of church disestablishment. John Dunmore Lang, who believed Presbyterians in New South Wales were being persecuted by the Anglican government, would, as we shall see in Chap. 10, convert to voluntaryism and provide further propaganda for the Secession’s crusade. The Rev. William Proudfoot, a Seceder missionary in Upper Canada, and his ally William Lyon Mackenzie, the political reformer, told similarly worrying tales about Anglican heavy-handedness in Upper Canada.

This news encouraged the United Secession Church, and its allies in the Relief Church, to contend that church establishments were persecuting and tyrannical. Church establishments, it was argued, had no sanction in the New Testament and violated the two kingdoms theory—that the

spiritual and temporal realms should be separate—of Scottish Presbyterianism. Besides the examples of colonial struggle, voluntaries pointed to recent domestic events—the bishops’ role in blocking the reform bill—and to the historic sufferings of the Covenanters as examples of the authoritarian nature of establishments. The Kirk’s history, meanwhile, of corrupting state interference—the Patronage Act in particular—and the futile resistance to it, demonstrated the poisonous influence of state control.<sup>5</sup> Voluntaries emphasised the success of the voluntary system in the United States and argued for the same freedom in the religious marketplace as in the trading. By the middle of the 1830s, argues Richard Brent, dissent had become politically self-aware as it allied itself with the whig party to achieve ecclesiastical and political equality.<sup>6</sup> Some dissenters in Scotland, this chapter will suggest, became increasingly radical and moved towards Chartism as it evolved in the late 1830s. Only a wholesale political revolution, some believed, could elevate dissenters, level society and overthrow the established hierarchy. The connection of voluntarism to political liberalism and radical Chartist reform in Scotland has received too little attention from historians.

The voluntary crusade culminated in the Disruption in 1843 when around one-third of the Kirk’s ministers left Scotland’s national church establishment to form the Free Church of Scotland. The Disruption, as will be discussed in the remainder of this book, would have far-reaching aftershocks in Canada, the Cape, New South Wales and New Zealand. Scottish migrants, frustrated at the slow pace of change in Britain’s colonies, and inspired by reform movements elsewhere in the empire, took up the arguments of Scottish voluntarists and Free Churchers and reworked them to argue for disestablishment and political reform, including self-government, in their own settlements. We will return in succeeding chapters to the troubles of McCulloch, Pringle, Mackenzie and Lang, whose lobbying missions in London had been dissatisfying, and investigate the impact of Scottish voluntarism and the Disruption in Nova Scotia, Upper Canada, the Cape and New South Wales. Chapter 11 will introduce Samuel McDonald Martin, a New Zealand settler, who sought to emulate the Free Church martyrs by campaigning for colonial reform in Auckland. But before that this chapter will examine briefly the radical backlash to the Reform Act in Scotland. It is difficult to understand properly, this book argues, the nature of colonial politics after 1832, without first investigating Scotland’s own politics of dissent.



## THE VOLUNTARY CONTROVERSY

In the 1830s the battle between voluntaries and establishmentarians dominated the Scottish political arena and, as we shall soon see, was fought in the colonies. Already the new light debate had influenced Thomas McCulloch and William Lyon Mackenzie. But after 1832, the voluntary controversy intensified. 'There has arisen a hue-and-cry, the like of which Scotland has not seen or heard since the days of the Covenant', wrote Henry Cockburn in 1835: 'temper and sense have been lost sight of. Meetings, lectures, pamphlets, and placards abound.'<sup>7</sup> In September 1832 members of the United Secession Church founded the Edinburgh Voluntary Church Association. In November a Glasgow branch was established and by September in the following year a further ten local divisions had been born. In December 1834 the Central Board of Scottish Dissenters was formed to oversee the campaign.<sup>8</sup> Both sides issued countless published pamphlets; delivered innumerable speeches and sermons; sent addresses and deputations to parliament; displayed posters; distributed handbills; and canvassed in the streets for signatures to mass petitions. As reported in the *Church of Scotland Magazine*, the Glasgow petition against church establishments appeared all over the city and in the suburbs. The petition was available for signing in 'dissenting vestries, and in dramshops, and places where profane, radical, and even blasphemous publications are sold'. According to the *Magazine*, those who signed the petition included 'atheists, infidels, low Irish, and others of a similar stamp'. The canvassers were 'a perfect nuisance to the community, laying hold of persons of all classes who passed – magistrates, clergy of the church, gentlemen, young and old, work people, boys of all ages, pressing them to sign'. Tables with petitions were stationed in the open air, on bridges and at the entrances to the city, while torches 'blazed in the evening, to attract the people from the factories'.<sup>9</sup> The voluntaries had, according to their opponents, 'raised a hue and cry over the length and breadth of the land, and gone from city to city, agitating the public mind, disturbing the peace of society, and setting all men by the ears'.<sup>10</sup>

In the face of the voluntary attack, the Kirk felt vulnerable. In Ireland violent riots over the payment of tithes to the established church caused Westminster to reduce the number of Anglican bishoprics. Meanwhile the government began to question the utility of the Church of England. The Kirk felt the need properly to address the enduring patronage grievance and to promote the church as a popular institution dedicated to meeting

the needs of the expanding population in the central lowlands. Spokesmen for the Scottish Church refused to admit that establishments were generally impolitic or that they lacked scriptural sanction. Rather, the Kirk with its Presbyterian government and its two kingdoms philosophy could be, they thought, the perfect establishment: one supported by the state whose duty it was to further the interests of religion, but one which controlled its own affairs and denied the civil powers the right to interfere. The Kirk highlighted its concern for the poor and its ability to provide nationwide spiritual sustenance through government assistance. The church, as an arm of the state, had an obligation to superintend the moral health of the nation. The Rev. Thomas Chalmers, leader of evangelical Kirkmen who had advised John Dunmore Lang and was a hero of Mackenzie's, argued that supply should meet demand when it came to the distribution of bread. As far as religious instruction was concerned, however, it was necessary first to supply churches to generate demand for spiritual nourishment.<sup>11</sup>

The Kirk established church societies and launched its church extension campaign, described by Chalmers as 'internal Voluntaryism'.<sup>12</sup> Chalmers believed that church extension would unite rich and poor and solve the perceived problem of the spread of irreligion and disillusionment.<sup>13</sup> The Kirk applied to Westminster for a partial endowment for these new churches, which the church intended to erect in deprived urban areas. The voluntaries condemned this move and through their own petitions, memorials and deputations to parliament, tried to prevent the success of the application. According to Adam Black, a member of the Edinburgh town council, the debates over church extension were 'conducted with great acrimony and kept alive in Edinburgh, to a degree unrivalled in any other important city of the empire, an amount of sectarian jealousy and bitterness that has wrought unspeakable evil'.<sup>14</sup> Unable to ignore the loud protest of the voluntaries, and keen to investigate the utility of the Scottish Church, the government created a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Religious Instruction in Scotland. The commission's investigations caused the hostility between the opposing sides to reach a pitch as each accused the other of misrepresenting their numbers.<sup>15</sup>

The principled position of the voluntaries led them to protest more fervently against the Edinburgh annuity tax—a church rate of six percent of house and shop rental value, levied to provide funds for the support of the established clergy in the city. In 1833 a campaign against this impost commenced, described as being similar in nature to the Irish tithe war.<sup>16</sup>

William Lyon Mackenzie, as we saw in Chap. 5, reported on the annuity tax conflict in his newspaper. The Rev. John Brown, who would later be championed as a hero in Cape Town, had his goods seized as a consequence of non-payment. The civil disobedience of Brown and his allies was reminiscent of the behaviour of the seventeenth-century Covenanters who had resisted payment of taxes; and, indeed, the voluntaries portrayed themselves as the descendants of the Covenanters who obeyed God rather than man and who were prepared to risk everything for the cause of civil and religious liberty. In printed pamphlets, the voluntaries justified their position and celebrated those who had been imprisoned or prosecuted as martyred heroes.<sup>17</sup>

The ultra-conservative *Church of Scotland Magazine*, influential, as Chap. 8 explains, in Nova Scotia, denounced the voluntaries as radicals determined to subvert the British constitution. Voluntaryism, to its opponents, appeared to be profoundly revolutionary. Voluntaries challenged the traditional parochial structure in Scotland and the traditional mechanism for maintaining social order, overseeing education and dispensing aid to the poor.<sup>18</sup> Since the revolution of 1688–1689 and the Treaty of Union, Scotland had been a Presbyterian state. The Westminster Confession stipulated that the monarch should be nursing father, or mother, to the church. To disestablish the church was to overthrow the entire political system. Disestablishment would, the defenders of the church-state argued, change the ‘frame of our government’ and ‘our jurisprudence’. Voluntaryism would, in fact, result in nothing less than a revolution: the ‘whole spirit and principles’ of the voluntaries, it was argued, ‘are those of insubordination and anarchy’.<sup>19</sup> John Cormack told the parishioners in his church that those who desired the overthrow of the monarchy began by ‘sapping the foundations of the church’, the very pillars on which the throne rested. The speeches of the Rev. Hugh Heugh, an ally of the Pictou reformers, were described as ‘radico-religious liberalism’ and ‘rabid republicanism’ designed to ‘stimulate the multitude to rebellion’.<sup>20</sup> A voluntary meeting organised in Heugh’s church was reported by the *Church of Scotland Magazine* to have been a raucous affair. Before the assembly commenced, a drum was sounded through the suburbs to ‘rouse the rabble’. During the meeting women stomped their feet and, according to the *Magazine*, ‘the old revolutionary cry of France, “Les évêques à la lanterne!” – in Scottish phrase, “hay the clergy on the nearest lamp-post” – required only to have been sounded to have met with many a ready response’.<sup>21</sup>

The Kirk, in a sense, was right about the voluntaries. They did often ally themselves with political radicals.<sup>22</sup> According to Iain Hutchison, voluntaries ‘tended to be radical in politics in part perhaps because of their democratic ecclesiastical structure, in part probably because they had suffered until the 1820s from religious discrimination embodied in legislation, and also because the Scottish state church was identified with the unreformed political regime’.<sup>23</sup> According to the Rev. John Brown, the voluntary body could be generally described as ‘holding...a political creed decidedly liberal, though varying in shades from the Whiggism of 1688 to the Radicalism of 1840’.<sup>24</sup> In the opinion of the biographer of the Rev. John Cairns, a United Secession minister, voluntaries were ‘samples of the not infrequent blend between Radicalism in politics and Toryism in theology’.<sup>25</sup> Many voluntaries had supported the reform bill hoping that an extension of the franchise would help the voluntary movement. Some now turned more extreme as the following extract makes clear: ‘the meanest subject of Christ’s kingdom has as good a right to all the privileges of it, as the greatest prince on earth...if [monarchs] countenance one part of their subjects, in harassing and distressing the rest, as was too much the case in the cruel state-uniformities of the last century, they are rather tyrants, than nursing fathers and mothers to the church as they invade the sacred prerogatives of Christ, and the rights of his people. And every such invasion is a step towards the overturning of their throne.’<sup>26</sup>

According to one Kirk supporter, there was ‘sympathy of political feeling’ between voluntaries and the ‘Radical and Infidel press’.<sup>27</sup> In an article printed in September 1838 in *The Scotsman*, a liberal paper which had expressed sympathy for the Pictou campaign, the paper declared its support for ‘the Voluntary system in religion out and out’.<sup>28</sup> Many of the paper’s editorials were penned in this period by Duncan McLaren, a voluntary who shared a pew with John Ritchie, proprietor of *The Scotsman*, in the church of the Rev. James Peddie, president of the Voluntary Church Association.<sup>29</sup> The *Glasgow Argus*, another reformist organ, explained that it supported voluntaryism because of its scriptural validity. The paper printed reports from meetings of the Voluntary Church Associations as well as reviews of the pamphlets written by leading voluntary clergymen. Indeed, in April 1834, the editor announced that he had attended a meeting of the Balfour Voluntary Church Association and had been pleased with the speeches of the clergymen he had heard there.<sup>30</sup> In March 1834 the paper listed the petitions for disestablishment and the expulsion of the bishops which were currently being dispatched to parliament from across

Scotland. A petition from Newburgh asserted that an established church was unscriptural, unreasonable and fostered a spirit of tyranny and merciless oppression.<sup>31</sup>

### VOLUNTARYISM AND CORN LAW REPEAL

Dissenters were highly represented in the movement to establish free trade and abolish the Corn Laws—legislation which imposed restrictions on the importation of cheap bread. The leadership of the Anti-Corn Law League in Manchester sought to capitalise on the religious sensitivities of Scottish dissenters. J.H. Shearman, former secretary to the Birmingham Voluntary Church Society and League lecturer, contacted the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw and the Rev. Hugh Heugh. Shearman was encouraged to send a message that would ‘circle like the electric spark along the chain of the churches in Scotland affiliated on the principle of religious liberty and equality’. Heugh introduced Richard Cobden to Duncan McLaren who became an active member of the League. McLaren was assisted by a committee of anti-Corn Law activists in Scotland which included Thomas Russell, an annuity tax protester, and the Rev. John McGilchrist, a leading dissenter who sat on the committee to help Pictou Academy. One of McLaren’s closest friends and an ally in the cause was the Rev. Henry Renton of Kelso, another voluntary dissenter. Renton, it will be recalled, may have forwarded to Lord Brougham Thomas M’Crie’s letters written in support of Pictou Academy. Renton’s mother, Agnes Renton, whose husband was a town councillor and whose daughter was married to McLaren, used her home as a base for reform meetings.<sup>32</sup> Every dissenting minister in Dundee signed a petition against the Corn Laws in 1840. An anti-Corn Laws meeting was held in 1842 in Bell Street chapel—the church attended around fifty years before by William Lyon Mackenzie’s parents. Moreover, around two-thirds of the 500 delegates to an anti-Corn Law conference in Edinburgh in 1842 were drawn from the United Secession and Relief Churches. No invitations were sent to Church of Scotland ministers.<sup>33</sup>

Dissenters have been labelled the representatives of the middle classes, the manufacturing interest, who sought to challenge the dominance of the landed gentry. The voluntaries were, according to Drummond and Bulloch, individualists who ‘reflected...the pattern of a pushing, competitive, bourgeois society’.<sup>34</sup> They demanded free trade in bread and religious instruction as well as state control of aid to the poor. Under the current church-controlled parish-based system of poor relief, some dissenters had

fallen through the cracks.<sup>35</sup> Thomas Chalmers claimed that the Kirk better represented the cause of the common man<sup>36</sup> but the *United Secession Magazine* accused Kirkmen of having ‘allied themselves with the aristocratic, against the other classes of the people’. Voluntaries objected to the alleged dictatorial paternalism exhibited by Chalmers and the Kirk, which was associated with the landed elite and the forces of conservatism.<sup>37</sup> They had ‘opposed the march of liberty with so forward a zeal, that the *Clergy* in every part of the country are now associated in the minds of the people with the bitterest enemies of political and religious reformation’.<sup>38</sup>

The voluntaries in Scotland argued that the Corn Laws helped to prop up church establishments. Because of the Corn Laws, the population was obliged to pay more for their corn providing landowners, as heritors, with a healthy fund for the upkeep of church buildings. The teinds—Scottish tithes on land used to fund stipends in rural areas—were enhanced, it was claimed, by restrictions on food. The *Glasgow Argus* claimed that the Kirk had petitioned parliament against repeal in 1827. In 1841, the Rev. Joseph Hay of the United Secession Church attended and spoke at an ‘anti-bread-tax and free trade’ meeting held in Arbroath. Hay warned the established clergy to participate in the debate, maintaining that Kirkmen stayed aloof from the campaign since they feared that the repeal of the Corn Laws would affect their stipends.<sup>39</sup> A clergyman in Crieff, meanwhile, was accused of asserting that ‘true religion’ depended on the permanency of the Corn Laws.<sup>40</sup> ‘In the eyes of many Scots’, it has been argued, ‘religious and commercial freedom blended imperceptibly into each other.’<sup>41</sup> As we shall see in Chap. 11, the political arguments of Samuel McDonald Martin, writing in Auckland, embodied these ideas.

### CHARTISM AND THE DISRUPTION

Despite the Kirk’s protest, the British government failed to provide the Church of Scotland with an additional endowment for new churches. Instead the Kirk was instructed to utilise the teinds. This recommendation was perceived by some as an assault on private property which would alienate the gentry from the Kirk.<sup>42</sup> The whigs, however, did in the end believe in the utility of liberal church establishments,<sup>43</sup> and were not prepared to countenance complete disestablishment. As the Kirk became further embroiled in what would become a ‘ten years’ conflict’ with the state over the controversial Patronage Act (discussed below), some whigs, whose party was in opposition after 1841, came to the Church’s defence.<sup>44</sup>

One of these was Lord Breadalbane, who spoke on the Kirk's behalf in the House of Lords. Breadalbane, as we shall see in Chap. 11, would later be called on to support Samuel McDonald Martin and reformers in Auckland.

Many voluntaries found this new alliance between the whigs and the Kirk threatening. They turned away from the whigs and looked towards Chartism, hoping to cultivate the support of the radical and unenfranchised.<sup>45</sup> Chartism officially took root in London in 1837 when the London Workingmen's Association drafted the People's Charter. The Charter listed six key reforms the movement sought: universal male suffrage; vote by ballot; payment of MPs; the abolition of property qualifications; equal electoral districts; and annual parliaments. The movement gained momentum in 1838–1839 and revived again with the establishment of the National Charter Association in 1842. In the May of that year the Chartists presented a petition to parliament reportedly bearing 3,300,000 signatures. Chartist agitation resurfaced again in 1848, a time of acute unemployment.<sup>46</sup> As Christopher Bayly observes, Chartist ideology 'represented not so much an early form of class-based socialism as a harking back to eighteenth-century demands for an end to corruption and taxation. Radical Chartists promoted a vision of virtuous communities of pious freeholders.'<sup>47</sup> Scottish Chartists were frustrated at the perceived failure of the Kirk and its ally, the landed interest, to provide for the poor. Their rhetoric was anti-Kirk and they tried deliberately to cultivate the support of the voluntarist clergy.<sup>48</sup> Some drew inspiration from the symbolism of Scotland's covenanting heritage and, though anti-clerical, remained pious.<sup>49</sup> Jean Christodoulou has highlighted the influence of the Universalist Church on Scottish Chartism, particularly on the *True Scotsman* newspaper edited by the leading Universalist John Fraser;<sup>50</sup> but the close relationship between Chartism and voluntarist dissent has yet to be explored fully.<sup>51</sup> Some Scottish Chartists expressed frustration at the government's response to the Canadian rebellions.<sup>52</sup> The allied causes of Scottish Chartism and voluntarism, the next chapter will explain, were exported in turn to Upper Canada, where they influenced the reform agenda of the Clear Grit party.

Chartists submitted addresses to the Relief and United Secession Churches. Members of the United Secession, it was argued, could not possibly object to the principle of universal suffrage: 'to say...that the working man is not qualified to use the elective franchise in the management of civil society, is to affirm that the institutions of man are more elevated in their character than the institutions of the Messiah'.<sup>53</sup> The *True Scotsman*,

launched in October 1838, began publication with an address to the Rev. James Peddie and the Central Board of Scottish Dissenters. The editor asked Peddie to consider laying the following resolutions before the Board: that God guided the present movement for universal suffrage; that a reformed parliament would bring about voluntaryism; that the Board would hail the prospect of such a parliament as they 'think it morally impossible that...the working man of Great Britain would elect, as their representatives men who could tolerate...the present union between Church and State'. The editor insisted that 'non-electors' formed the bulk of voluntary congregations and sympathised greatly with the voluntary cause. He implored Peddie to affirm the cause of Chartism.<sup>54</sup> In another article, the *True Scotsman* informed the Rev. Andrew Marshall, the great voluntary champion who was so inspirational to Thomas McCulloch and Jotham Blanchard, that Chartism 'embraces Voluntaryism'; 'reduce your faith to practice', Marshall was told, 'and you are a Chartist'.<sup>55</sup> In numerous articles the paper denounced the Kirk's endowment scheme, and criticised establishmentarianism as 'oppressive in its very nature', with no foundation in the bible.<sup>56</sup>

According to W. H. Fraser, most Scottish dissenters, who supported only a limited franchise, ignored the Chartists' pleas.<sup>57</sup> But the Rev. Andrew Marshall, one of the leaders of the voluntary movement, responded favourably and publicly. In 1840 the minister addressed his colleagues on the necessity of attracting the support of the unenfranchised community. No rational reason existed, he maintained, why the franchise could not be further extended. He declared: 'all men are equal – I mean, all entitled to equal rights...There is no man living, no man of good character, how low soever his station, how poor soever his circumstances, upon whom I could turn round and say – Sir, I am entitled to other rights and other privileges than you.' He argued that morality and religion best qualified men to vote—women were not included—denouncing many of the enfranchised who defended the Corn Laws and trade monopolies as morally bankrupt; the humbler classes, Marshall insisted, exhibited more piety and principle than those above them. He condemned the infidel Chartist leaders who had set up political churches devoid, Marshall thought, of religious creed, but sympathised with the movement's followers who required only direction from clergymen to continue faithful. Voluntaryism, he added, had benefited from the support of the unenfranchised who had attended its public meetings and subscribed to its petitions. '[M]ay we not avow', he proclaimed, 'on all proper occasions, that we are in favour of a more extended suffrage – a suffrage greatly more extended than what we now



enjoy – that we deem it reasonable in itself, reasonable in any circumstances, and that, in the present circumstances of the country, we hold it to be altogether necessary?’ He urged his colleagues to advocate the cause of the Chartists, to mingle with them, and reclaim their allegiance to the dissenting churches.<sup>58</sup>

The *United Secession Magazine* dedicated a portion of its March issue in 1841 to the subject of Chartism. This article supported Marshall’s position, remarking that though voluntaryism and Chartism were quite distinct, there did not ‘appear to be the slightest inconsistency between the two’.<sup>59</sup> It was hoped that an alliance might be formed between voluntaries, Chartists and Corn Law repealers.<sup>60</sup> Marshall’s speech was enthusiastically reviewed by one correspondent in the *Glasgow Argus*.<sup>61</sup> Of voluntary clergymen it declared thus: ‘why should they seem to be, what they really are not, indifferent to the civil rights and properties of the people, with whose interests their own are properly connected?’ The reviewer urged the ministers to proclaim their support for an extension of suffrage, which would ‘pave the way for that important measure which they desiderate – the separation between church and state’.<sup>62</sup>

The Church of Scotland, for its part, was highly suspicious of Chartism. It did not go so far as to ‘unmask’ Chartism in published tracts, as did some members of the Church of England, but it did discipline one of its ministers, the Rev. Patrick Brewster, for having involved himself in the movement.<sup>63</sup> According to Stewart J. Brown, the Church viewed Chartism as a rejection of ‘the paternalistic Christian social order’. Thomas Chalmers regarded Chartism as evidence of the breakdown of parish-based society; the movement proved that the Church must reform from the inside if it was to reach the unchurched poor.<sup>64</sup> The *Dumfries Times*, which sympathised with Chartism, condemned the Kirk for not doing more to abolish patronage. The right to elect their minister should be vested in the congregation.<sup>65</sup> Patrick Brewster maintained that the Scottish Church had lost its independent spirit, greatly owing to the burden of patronage, and could now be found instructing the people on their duties of submission to the ruling interest. This behaviour, he insisted, was opposed to the practice of previous generations of Scottish clergymen and to the social action presented in the bible, which revealed Jesus Christ teaching and feeding the poor. Brewster blamed the condition of society on the existence of the corrupting influence of state control of religion and on the failure of clergymen to realise their proper duties: to encourage charity and to preach the doctrines of resistance to the government and the equality of men.<sup>66</sup>

The allied causes of Chartism and voluntarism thus inspired some in the Kirk to strengthen their commitment to abolishing patronage and securing the Church's independence from the state. The Kirk establishment, some of its members believed, had been corrupted by its alliance with the civil powers. Reform of patronage would return the Church to the Scottish people, unburden them from the dominance of landed hierarchy and restore to them their liberties. Evangelicals in the Kirk strenuously asserted the principle of non-intrusion: that the civil power had no right to intrude an unwelcome minister on a Kirk parish or to interfere in the Kirk's business. So began the 'ten years' conflict'. The Kirk's Veto Act of 1834, which gave congregations the right to veto a patron's appointment, was an attempt on the Kirk's part to alleviate the patronage grievance. In 1838, however, the Court of Session found that by passing this act the Church had acted *ultra vires* and had infringed the rights of patrons. Worse still, an appeal to the House of Lords was rejected. The British state seemed to misunderstand, it was thought, the Church of Scotland's special relationship with the civil powers. The Court's response to a series of disputed patronage cases, as has been pointed out, underlined the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy and represents an important development in the evolution of constitutional law.<sup>67</sup> The Church's *Claim of Right* (1842) published in reaction to the decisions of the civil authorities, declared that the Treaty of Union in 1707 protected the independence of the Church of Scotland and had secured to the Scottish people their religious and civil freedom in perpetuity. The Kirk's privileges had been reserved by the Treaty 'from the cognizance and power of the federal legislature created by the said Treaty'—in other words, the newly united British parliament.<sup>68</sup> Non-intrusionists regarded the Treaty as fundamental law which checked the sovereignty of Crown-in-Parliament and safeguarded the autonomy of the Kirk—sovereign in its own spiritual sphere. Non-intrusionist constitutionalism, as we shall see, underpinned in this period the reform demands of Scottish Presbyterians in Upper Canada, Cape Town, Sydney and Auckland. They resented the inflated powers of the governor and his episcopal allies. Scots Presbyterian reformers fought for their spiritual autonomy and rejected the doctrine of Anglican supremacy—that the Crown was head of a united church and state. John Dunmore Lang, who converted to separatist republicanism, came to reject the Crown's transmarine authority altogether.

The British government spurned the Kirk's declaration of spiritual independence and its conception of the British constitution. As a result,

around one-third of the Kirk's ministers seceded from the Church in May 1843 and established the Free Church of Scotland. In some cases, ministers sacrificed their property and preached in the open-air. They had, the Free Churchers declared, taken up the mantle of their covenanting forebears: they were the church of the oppressed and the humble, martyrs to the cause of civil and religious liberty.

The voluntaries welcomed the Disruption. The Free Churchers, they thought, had come to accept the scriptural validity of the voluntary system. Voluntaryism and non-intrusion were not so different; both doctrines had evolved from a belief in the sanctity of spiritual independence. Chalmers and his cohort, however, initially rebuffed the voluntaries' advances. They still believed in church establishments, they said, even if they now had to operate as voluntaries in practice. In time, however, a branch of the Free Church headed by the Rev. Robert Rainy, a free-thinking theologian, came to accept the voluntary model. Rainy was a friend of the Rev. John Cairns, a leading light of the United Presbyterian Church—a new church formed in 1847 from a union of the Relief and United Secession. The antagonism of the voluntary controversy was forgotten—by some at least—as Rainy and Cairns paved the way for a further union, this time between the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church, eventually secured in 1900.<sup>69</sup> Samuel McDonald Martin, discussed in Chap. 11, seems to have shared with Rainy, a similarly sympathetic view of voluntaryism. Martin supported the Free Church but was prepared to go further than Chalmers and, like Rainy, embraced disestablishment.

## CONCLUSION

The religious radicalism of the 1830s and 1840s devastated Scotland's social and political harmony. Dissenters were enfranchised and emboldened by the whig Reform Acts of 1832 and they demanded redress of the grievances the whigs' reform agenda had yet failed to address. They sought to dismantle the Kirk and to liberate the populace from the apparent burden of an oppressive church establishment. The established clergy, it was argued, were leagued with the landed hierarchy; as a result, they deprived the people of voting rights and cheap bread. The voluntary controversy put pressure on the Kirk, which tried to purify itself by reforming the law of patronage. The Church sought resources from the government to help it reach the disfranchised masses while at the same time reasserting its independence

from the civil powers. After a decade of conflict, the Kirk's relationship with the state was almost irreparably damaged when at the Disruption of 1843 there was a mass exodus from the establishment.

Scottish settlers in all corners of the British world felt the Disruption's aftershocks. Scottish migrants, also frustrated at the slow pace of change in Britain's colonies, took up the arguments of the voluntaries and non-intrusionists and reworked them to argue for disestablishment and political reform, including self-government, in their own settlements. As we will see in Chaps. 9 and 10, the Rev. John Brown—the annuity tax protester—counselled John Dunmore Lang in Sydney and was championed as a hero in the Cape Town parliament. Samuel McDonald Martin, discussed in Chap. 11, heard about the Disruption while living in Auckland. In his opposition to the colonial government there, he sought to emulate the martyrs of the Free Church. Jotham Blanchard and William Lyon Mackenzie, meanwhile, had returned to Canada, after their lobbying trips in London, disappointed and despondent. They kept their reform campaigns going, stimulated by what they heard about the voluntary controversy in Scotland. When in 1837 the colonial government threatened to introduce Anglican rectories in Upper Canada, an increasingly radicalised Mackenzie was pushed over the edge.

## NOTES

1. Cockburn 1874, p. 35.
2. Jennings 1962, p. 69.
3. 'Address to the Rev. Leaders of the Voluntary Church Movement', *United Secession Magazine*, September 1834.
4. See e.g. Anderson 1832; Marshall 1831, 1832.
5. See e.g., Marshall 1829, 1831.
6. Brent 1987, p. 24.
7. Cockburn 1874, pp. 90–1.
8. Brown 1997. See also Brown 2001, pp. 176–84; Brown 2008.
9. 'Glasgow Dissenters' Petition', *Church of Scotland Magazine*, May 1834. According to Henry Cockburn 40,000 signatures appeared on the Glasgow petition. Cockburn 1874, p. 58.
10. 'Voluntary Principles...', *Church of Scotland Magazine*, June 1834.
11. Brown 1982.
12. Brown 1982, p. 238.
13. 'The Formation of a Church Society in Dundee', *Presbyterian Magazine*, June 1834; Brown 2001, p. 194.
14. Nicolson 1885, p. 94.

15. See Mackie 1888, pp. 171–3.
16. Brown 1997, p. 689.
17. See e.g., Maclaren 1836.
18. Voluntaries tended to support legal assessment of poor relief since some dissenters did not benefit from kirk session aid. Thomas Chalmers on the other hand advocated charitable giving and the complete abolition of legal assessment.
19. ‘On the Effects of Abolishing the Power of the Civil Magistrate about Matters of Religion’, *Church of Scotland Magazine*, November 1835; ‘Voluntary Truths Elegantly Expressed’, *Church of Scotland Magazine*, August 1834. See also, ‘On the Present Outcry Against the Established Church’, *Presbyterian Magazine*, January 1833.
20. ‘Glasgow Voluntary Church Society’, *Church of Scotland Magazine*, January 1836.
21. ‘Mr Colquhoun’s Bill and Meeting in Dr Heugh’s Chapel’, *Church of Scotland Magazine*, June 1834.
22. See for example an article in the *Reformers’ Gazette* on 28 October 1837 about ‘A Campsie Voluntary Rat’ who had been a ‘Radical’ but was now writing in favour of endowments.
23. Hutchison 1986, p. 17.
24. Brown 1840, pp. 5–6.
25. Macewen 1895, pp. 39, 93–4, 114. See e.g., Ferrier 1836, pp. 14, 18.
26. Thomson and Struthers 1848, p. 314.
27. Anon. 1834, p. 14. See also Montgomery 1980, p. 162.
28. ‘The Radicals and Ourselves’, *The Scotsman*, 19 September 1838. *The Scotsman* steered a more moderate course in later years as McLaren and the voluntary radicals distanced themselves from the paper. See Mackie 1888, p. 158.
29. Mackie 1888, pp. 139–40.
30. ‘Editorial’, *Glasgow Argus*, 24 April 1834.
31. ‘Church and State’, *Glasgow Argus*, 31 March 1834. See also, ‘Church and State’, *Glasgow Argus*, 17 March 1834.
32. Pickering and Tyrell 2000, p. 59.
33. McLaren 1842; Mackie 1888, pp. 225–6, 232–4; Pickering and Tyrell 2000, pp. 53–60.
34. Quoted in Pickering and Tyrell 2000, p. 59.
35. Dissenting congregations were not legally obliged to distribute poor relief and their dependence on Church of Scotland session aid caused resentment. In some cases, dissenting congregations were told to reimburse the Kirk or were denied relief altogether; see Cage 1981, pp. 29, 52. The Disruption, which increased the number of dissenters and decreased the amount of aid available in the Kirk, rendered the system unworkable, helping to bring about poor law reform in 1845.

36. Hanna 1851, p. 433; Brown 1982, p. 232.
37. Spall Jnr. 1990. Nevertheless, establishmentarianism did find support amongst the lower classes. The Conservative Operatives' Association declared its intention to uphold the British Constitution as established at 1690. Its main priority was 'to defend the Ecclesiastical and Educational Establishments of Scotland as an integral part of that Constitution'. It supported church extension and non-intrusion. See Ward 1976, pp. 141–51; Hutchison 1986, p. 19.
38. *United Secession Magazine*, June 1834. Voluntary radicals frequently accused Churchmen of resisting reform. There was some truth to this. In the 1837 elections, only one Kirk minister in Roxburghshire, and only one in Midlothian, voted liberal. See Hutchison 1986, p. 19. James McCosh, member of the Presbytery of Arbroath, said that he regretted the extent to which evangelical Kirkmen 'threw themselves openly into the Tory side of politics' after the excesses following the reform bill. Guthrie and Guthrie 1874, p. 340.
39. Anon. 1841. In England the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 had linked the incomes of established clergymen with the price of corn. The *Anti-Corn Law Circular* denounced the 'Bread-Taxing Bishops' while the *Scottish Patriot* observed that the 'teinds on which the established clergy fattened' were enhanced by restrictions on food. See Brown 2001, pp. 330–1. Some Kirk ministers supported Corn Law repeal, including the evangelical Rev. Robert Burns of Paisley who was a member of the Anti-Corn Law League and apparently the only Kirkman to attend the Glasgow banquet held in honour of Richard Cobden. See Burns 1873, pp. 96–7.
40. 'The Church Established in Scotland and the Corn Laws', *Glasgow Argus*, 26 February 1838; 'True Religion in Scotland Depends on the Permanency of the Corn Laws!', *Glasgow Argus*, 19 March 1838.
41. Pickering and Tyrrell 2000, p. 56.
42. 'To editor', *Church of Scotland Magazine*, March 1834.
43. Best 1960.
44. Miller 1975, p. 261.
45. Brown 1840, pp. 5–6; Macfarlane and Marshall 1840.
46. Brown 2001, pp. 332–7. Two older accounts of Scottish Chartism are Wright 1953 and Wilson 1970. See also Fraser 1989; Duncan 1989, pp. 78–91; Fraser 2010. On Chartism more broadly see Chase 2007.
47. Bayly 2004, p. 159.
48. Fraser 2010, pp. 82–94.
49. Chase 2007, pp. 41, 52.
50. Christodoulou 1992, pp. 618–21.
51. Ian Machin has observed the link between English nonconformist voluntaryism and Chartism but the relationship between voluntaryism and Chartism in Scotland has yet fully to be explored. Machin 1977, p. 110.

52. Neilson 1920, pp. 121–9.
53. Smith 1987, pp. 159–60.
54. ‘Central Board and the People’s Charter’, *True Scotsman*, 20 October 1838.
55. ‘The Great Voluntary Meeting in Edinburgh’, *True Scotsman*, 2 January 1841. See also ‘Spirit of Reform’, *Scottish Patriot*, 6 July 1839; ‘Address to the Chartists of Scotland’, *Scottish Patriot*, 2 November 1839.
56. ‘To the Rev. Mr Stark, Burgh Missionary, Lanark, *True Scotsman*, 16 March 1839; ‘Voluntaries, Read This! The Connexion of Voluntaryism and Universal Suffrage’, *True Scotsman*, 9 February 1839.
57. Fraser 2010, pp. 83, 90.
58. Marshall 1840.
59. ‘Chartism’, *United Secession Magazine*, March 1841. See also *Voluntary Church Magazine*, February 1841.
60. ‘Dissenting Neutrality’, *United Secession Magazine*, June 1840.
61. However, the *Argus* itself was not an advocate of Chartism. William Weir disapproved of physical-force activism, as had been demonstrated by the cotton spinners, and which the early Birmingham Chartists appeared to represent.
62. *Glasgow Argus*, 1 February 1841. See also ‘Non-Intrusionists’, *Scottish Patriot*, 20 March 1841.
63. Faulkner 1970, pp. 60–1; Cook 1924, p. 499; Smith 1987, pp. 153–7. Brewster pointed out that the Church was not setting a good example by rebelling against the judgment of the supreme court on disputed patronage cases. See Brewster 1843, appendix, pp. 410–11, 414, 416; Smith 1987, pp. 181–2.
64. Brown 2001, pp. 333–4.
65. Cowan 1946, pp. 154, 162.
66. See Brewster 1843, pp. 26, 186–7, 213–14, 249, 276–313.
67. Mortensen 2000, pp. 230–66; Rodger 2008.
68. The Church of Scotland 1842, pp. 1, 15.
69. Kidd and Wallace 2013, pp. 233–55.

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## Rebellion in Canada

*[We will not] rest until, to the last word and letter, the Treaty of Union is fulfilled, till our Religious and civil rights are respected, restored and secured; till the faction is crouched forever, and the world is taught that we came not to our colonies to be Insulted with impunity.*

(‘To Scotchmen in the Colonies and at Home’, *Correspondent & Advocate*, 5 April 1837)

William Lyon Mackenzie was present in the House of Lords on 4 June 1832 to hear the last reading of the reform bill. He was jubilant when the bill finally passed. The ‘example’, he said, ‘of the reformers in England, and their brilliant success should teach the Upper Canadians to be united as one man in defence of their rights as British freemen’.<sup>1</sup> Earl Grey, the prime minister, was ‘one of the first among men; he was – he is – one of that aristocracy of nature which, in any free country, are found among the pillars of its liberties, and in any despotism among the foremost to break the tyrants yoke, or perish in attempting it’.<sup>2</sup> His trip to Britain energised Mackenzie at first but when he returned to Toronto, his mood changed. In 1834, Joseph Hume, who had assisted Mackenzie in his efforts to lobby the Colonial Office, expressed his frustration at the slow pace of reform in what would become an infamous letter to Mackenzie. Hume’s efforts at colonial reform—his attempt to have colonial representation written into the reform

bill—had failed, and it was time, Hume argued, for the colonies to liberate themselves from the ‘baneful domination of the mother country’.<sup>3</sup>

On his return to Toronto Mackenzie joined the radical Canadian Alliance Society, for which Hume as well as Jotham Blanchard, who had returned home to Nova Scotia feeling similarly disappointed, acted as agents. In Upper Canada the campaign for the secularisation of the clergy reserves and the reform of colonial government, discussed in Chap. 5, intensified. The Kirk and dissenters were appalled at the attempt of the government to impose Anglican rectories on the colony. In the previous chapter we saw that non-intrusionists in Scotland, who were determined to protect the spiritual independence of their Church, staged a revolt against the British state. They left the Kirk to form the Free Church in 1843. Like the Free Churchers in Scotland, Scots Presbyterians in Upper Canada insisted that the Treaty of Union protected their rights. The Anglican state, it was argued, was threatening to persecute Presbyterians and deprive them of their hard-won civil and religious liberties. Mackenzie, who, as we saw in Chap. 5, was inspired by his Secession heritage, now called on his fellow Presbyterians to remember the sacrifices the Covenanters had made for their freedoms. In 1837, he resorted to violent measures and led a dissenter-dominated ‘Scotch rebellion’.

This chapter highlights the significance of Scottish birthright rhetoric in Upper Canada and the role played by Presbyterian protest meetings in fomenting unrest, a hitherto unstudied dimension to pre-rebellion politics. It also briefly charts the influence on post-rebellion reform politics, of Scottish Chartism, a movement partly indebted, as we have just seen, to the voluntary controversy in Scotland. The chapter points, moreover, to the significance of church politics in Nova Scotia where Joseph Howe took up the mantle of McCulloch and Blanchard. Howe demanded wholesale reform of the government, owing partly to its historic tendency to privilege Anglicanism, promote denominational education and stimulate sectarian disputes. The battle in Nova Scotia between Howe and his opponents, this chapter argues, mirrored the voluntary controversy in Scotland.

## THE VOLUNTARY CONTROVERSY AND NOVA SCOTIAN POLITICS

Blanchard and McCulloch were thoroughly disheartened by the Colonial Office’s response to their lobbying mission. As we saw in Chap. 6, Blanchard visited London in 1831 to gain support for the Pictou Academy,

which the local government in Halifax had refused to fund on a permanent basis. On hearing of the Pictou controversy, Lord Goderich, the colonial secretary, advised the lieutenant-governor in vague terms to satisfy the dispute in a way satisfactory to all interested parties. Colonial legislation reduced the Academy to a grammar school in 1832 and allowed the lieutenant-governor a say in the composition of the board of trustees. Kirk representatives were appointed to the board and intense hostility between the Kirk and Secession camps, and continued popular political pressure from Kirk supporters in the Pictou region, made it impossible for the Academy properly to function. In 1842 it was eventually forced to close, a circumstance which reduced McCulloch to tears.<sup>4</sup>

But the *Colonial Patriot*, Blanchard's newspaper, kept campaigning. It tracked the development of the voluntary controversy in Scotland and defended the principles of the Rev. Andrew Marshall and the Rev. Hugh Heugh. It reported the formation of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Association, supported the resistance to the Edinburgh annuity tax—the levy used to fund the Kirk clergy—and begged the mother country to 'shear bishops of all their political power'.<sup>5</sup> It recommended the *Voluntary Church Magazine* and copied the editorial address into the *Patriot*.<sup>6</sup> The *Patriot* insisted that the Nova Scotian establishment should share the same fate as the British churches. The paper also championed the cause of the Canadian reformers, heartily praising William Lyon Mackenzie, whose *Sketches*, published in London and reviewed at the Cape, it recommended to readers.<sup>7</sup>

The Kirk in Nova Scotia, whose members had always been antagonistic to Pictou Academy, established its own publication, whose tone echoed that of the conservative *Church of Scotland Magazine*, discussed in the previous chapter. The *Pictou Observer and Eastern Advertiser*, initially edited by the Rev. Kenneth McKenzie, espoused the twin cause of establishments and political conservatism. It denounced the Pictou Academy as an 'antiburgher nursery' which 'smelt rank of disloyalty and republicanism'. The *Observer* stated that a church establishment would teach the people 'that His Majesty's Representative is something more than a King Log'. The paper praised the 'talent and ability' displayed in the *Church of Scotland Magazine*. It defended the Patronage Act and condemned the alleged attempt of political radicals to expropriate church revenue. In August 1834, the *Observer* printed a speech from the 'Grand Conservative Dinner at Glasgow' which denounced the 'wave of democracy' threatening the established Church. The assault on the Church, the paper claimed,

was not to be regarded 'as a mere isolated menace on a detached interest in the State. It is a direct attack on the whole interests of society – the first of a series of measures by which the nobility, the throne, the funds, the great estates, will be destroyed.' The reform bill and Catholic emancipation were censured, as were the assaults on the council's privileges in Nova Scotia and the attempt of Newfoundlanders to acquire a representative legislature.<sup>8</sup> The *Pictou Observer* was thus more conservative than many of the Kirk supporters in Scotland.

Pictou reformism lost some of its intensity owing to Blanchard's increasing ill-health and the *Patriot* ceased in 1834. Blanchard died prematurely in 1839 and McCulloch in 1843. Increasingly it was Joseph Howe, the son of a loyalist from Boston, who assumed the mantle of leading reformer, campaigning to achieve a more accountable government. The *Novascotian* under his editorship supported the Reform Acts in Britain, advocated vote by ballot and critically examined the banking issue which had led to depreciation in currency in Nova Scotia. Howe encouraged assemblymen to challenge the council, which, in spite of the brandy affair, discussed in Chap. 3, continued to retain considerable power.<sup>9</sup> Looking increasingly to the general populace for support, Howe objected to the inflated salaries of government officials.<sup>10</sup> He demanded an elective legislative council and the separation of the executive and legislative powers.

Howe admitted that his visit to Pictou during the brandy election and his observations of the feuds there had caused him to abandon his political neutrality. As Beck has acknowledged, 'Blanchard and the Scribblers had forced [Howe] to peer into the motive forces of Nova Scotia society and the more deeply he peered the less he liked what he saw.'<sup>11</sup> Howe had been wary of Pictou extremism but later he enjoyed friendly conversations with McCulloch and Blanchard; he wrote to his wife that Blanchard had 'held out the olive branch of peace'.<sup>12</sup> His dissenting background—Howe belonging to the Sandemanians, an iteration of the Glassite denomination started by John Glas, whose writings William Lyon Mackenzie read—may have led Howe to sympathise with the plight of dissenters and encouraged him in his future campaign for non-denominational education and political reform.

After being elected to the assembly in 1837 Howe protested the reappointment of the Rev. R.F. Uniacke as Anglican chaplain to the House.<sup>13</sup> According to Howe, references to the old establishments of the mother country were no longer relevant. His Twelve Resolutions of 1837, which demanded a more accountable government, insisted that the composition

and operation of a council, which included eight members of the Church of England, had prevented the assembly from governing effectively. Indeed, Howe claimed that the dominance of the Church had led to 'a general and injurious system of favouritism and monopoly...creating invidious distinctions and jealous discontent.' He had earlier in 1830 condemned the presence of the Bishop in the council.<sup>14</sup> Howe also campaigned for a single non-denominational college which could meet the needs of the entire provincial population. He objected to the establishment of Catholic and Methodist colleges in 1838 and 1843 and succeeded in altering the composition of the board of Dalhousie College to ensure that all denominations were represented. He observed that Pictou Academy had 'kept the eastern counties in hot water for sixteen years'; there was no sectarianism, he said in the legislature in 1843, in the 'works of Providence'.<sup>15</sup> Howe also insisted that the unused lands claimed by the Anglican Church should be utilised to provide education for all.<sup>16</sup>

Contemporaries attributed Howe's politics to the influence of voluntarism. In 1838 a Nova Scotian correspondent in the *Church of Scotland Magazine* observed that copies of the publication had found their way to the villages of the province. This claim is borne out by the Rev. John Sprott, a Presbyterian minister in Nova Scotia, who in 1838 informed the Rev. Robert Burns, the minister of Paisley, that he was delighted with the *Magazine* whose editor had sent him copies from its commencement.<sup>17</sup> This 'able and spirited' magazine was described as a good weapon against the colony's voluntaries who had lately 'got their foot on the floor of our new House of Assembly'. This allusion was to Howe and his colleagues who had, the letter informed readers, begun their work of reform by dispensing with a chaplain and public prayers. The author condemned the voluntary system as unworkable in the province and praised the efforts of the Church of England which had, in his opinion, provided much of Nova Scotia's spiritual instruction.<sup>18</sup>

Howe toured the province in 1843 holding public meetings in favour of secular education. According to William Hamilton, the close alliance with the governor of Howe's political rival, the conservative-inclined Baptist J.W. Johnston, and the governor's significant control over the council and colonial affairs, encouraged Howe to champion the cause of responsible government, which was achieved after a momentous election in 1847. In 1848 the permanent grant to King's College was withdrawn. Bishop Inglis died in 1850; his successor was informed that he would not receive an appointment to the council.<sup>19</sup>

Nova Scotian politics after 1832 thus owed much to the political furore generated by the voluntary controversy in Scotland. The ecclesiastical divisions of Scotland were imported into the colony where they exacerbated local tensions caused by the Pictou Academy debate. To a certain extent Joseph Howe took up the mantle of Thomas McCulloch and Jotham Blanchard whose apparently fruitless campaign to have their Academy funded permanently and the government reformed had ended in disappointment. Howe campaigned for responsible government partly to end Anglican privilege.

### THE 1836 ELECTION IN UPPER CANADA

Meanwhile in Upper Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie, who had been disappointed at Lord Stanley's response to his grievances, was growing increasingly desperate. Sir Francis Bond Head, the new lieutenant-governor, arrived in 1836. Head appeared to contemplate moderate reform when he included Robert Baldwin and John Rolph, two leading reformers, in his council, and he then cleverly represented the reformers, who resigned out of frustration at the lieutenant-governor's intransigence, as disloyal radicals out to sever the British connection.<sup>20</sup> Head issued a long critique of responsible government, insinuating that reformers were power-hungry and self-interested. The assembly demanded that a responsible executive was necessary to colonial government and proceeded to withhold supplies. Head dissolved the house and called an election for the spring of 1836. He employed every weapon at his disposal during his election campaign, including Orange violence.<sup>21</sup> Acknowledging the importance of popular opinion, he made a long tour of the province, and succeeded in drawing to him an unprecedented number of 'loyal' supporters.

Mackenzie, meanwhile, redoubled his own efforts to influence the public. Mackenzie, as Chap. 5 revealed, invoked the covenanting idiom in his journalism. Influenced by the narrative of Scotland's past made famous by Thomas M'Crie, Mackenzie was determined to free Upper Canada from the domination of a state church. His references to the covenanting past now became more frequent. In an article in the *Correspondent and Advocate*, entitled 'A Plain Dialogue Between John a country farmer, and Andrew, a citizen of Toronto', the author, probably Mackenzie, appealed to the religious sensitivities of the ordinary colonist by highlighting the persecuting spirit of Anglicanism:



- Andrew: ...“Prelacy” has lately raised its brazen head, and altho’ small in numbers, and insignificant as to usefulness has seated herself upon a throne, and insolently tells the churches of purer faith, and far surpassing numbers “Sit thou at my foot stool!” I cannot imagine that the Presbyterians, the Dissenters or the Methodists in the city, in common with their brethren throughout the Province, will degrade themselves by supporting at the coming election any High-Church Tory...
- John: Scotchmen must think...of the day when the sword of a Claverhouse was red with the blood of his ancestors; and Dissenters of every name must feel when they recollect, that, even at this day in England and Ireland their brethren are compelled at the point of the bayonet to feed a pampered political, Episcopalian priesthood and the same spirit animates the Tories of Upper Canada as of England.<sup>22</sup>

In a supplement to the *Correspondent and Advocate* produced by Mackenzie and distributed in June before the election, ‘A Caledonian’ addressed ‘the Scottish Presbyterian Ministers and People’ directly. Mackenzie, as we have seen, was influenced by Seceder voluntarism and he was contemptuous of the Canadian Kirk for applying for state aid. Kirkmen were urged to join the reformers and forget their application for a share in the clergy reserves, and the obligation to the government which state aid brought them. The following passage cites the covenanting martyrologies Mackenzie read in his youth:

Dear Friends, Have you already forgotten the Cloud of Witnesses, the Scots Worthies, the strugglings of your forefathers against prelatic intolerance and arbitrary power? Has the few thousand miles of sea which divides you from the graves of the Martyrs of old Scotia, deadened the finer feelings of your nature towards that glorious cause which sheds on Caledonia its brightest lustre? Have you wept in boyhood at the recital of the sufferings and losses of the Scottish Covenanters in the persecutions of 1660 to 1688, and are you now ready to send the Drapers, the Ruttans, the Hagermans, the Joneses, and the Robinsons to the Assembly, to sign, in your name, a deed of apostasy against their testimony?...Shall it be said that the Ministers and people of the Church of Scotland in Canada joined, in 1836, in the cry of “Revolution, Rebellion, and Sedition” against the Reformers because they follow the footsteps of John Knox? Are ye, indeed, prepared to bow the knee to the new courtly creed of Dr. John Strachan? I will not, dare not, cannot believe it!

The correspondent proceeded to point out the absurdity of the establishment principle: 'Was the Church of Scotland established on the pillars of worldly wealth when a Wishart was burnt at the stake-when a Cargill and a Renwick perished on the scaffold-when the glens and mountains echoed the song of praise of champions who fell at Bothwell, to rise and live forever in a better world?...Your Church is not established here and it never will be.' Mackenzie's readers were urged to remember how the 'Heart beats warmly for the honour and glory of the land of our sires' and encouraged to repeat to themselves Burns' 'Cotter's Saturday Night'. To further stir the emotions, the author printed stanzas from a poem on covenanting days entitled 'The Vision of Ayr's Moss' and referred to the historians who had sketched the 'sufferings and bravery' of the Covenanters 'for the admiration and example of an admiring world'. The article ended by asking, is all 'to be lost upon us in this new country?'<sup>23</sup>

The 1836 election was an intense and violent affair in most places. In London in the west of the province, where everybody 'was wholly occupied with the approaching elections',<sup>24</sup> newspaper editor John Talbot anxiously implored the Rev. William Proudfoot, Seceder minister, to put his preaching abilities to good use: 'could not you use your good office with your people to animate them for the coming important struggle. Every means are being made use of to turn the Scotch around...if we lose this election we are down. You will be still acting in your vocation to say a word for Reform. I trust you will do it.'<sup>25</sup> Whether Proudfoot followed his friend's advice it is impossible to know, but it is clear from evidence that Seceders made up a significant proportion of pro-reform voters in Toronto at least. Here twenty-three Scottish voters nominated Draper, the tory candidate, while twenty-four opted for Small, the reformer. While the Church of Scotland vote was divided equally (12/25 voted for reform), two-thirds of voting Seceders supported reform (14/21).<sup>26</sup> Later, the Kirk Synod explained that fear of an extremist faction who desired the severance of the British connection had led Kirkmen to give their votes to the tories.<sup>27</sup> The tories thus successfully defeated the reformers and, although the reformers protested, complaining of violent tactics and foul play, their petitions were rejected.

### ANGLICAN RECTORIES AND SCOTTISH BIRTHRIGHT

More difficult for the reformer to stomach than a humiliating election defeat were plans unveiled by the government for the establishment of fifty-seven Anglican rectories. Many believed that each new rector was to

possess the same privileges, except the right to levy tithes, accorded to those in England, and, according to Lord Durham, non-Anglican clergymen regarded this plan as degrading 'them to a position of legal inferiority'. Durham reported after the rebellion that 'in the opinion of many persons, this was the chief pre-disposing cause of the recent insurrection, and it is an abiding and unabated cause of discontent'.<sup>28</sup> In the region of Galt, the reserves and the rectories were regarded as 'undoubted evidence that the ruling oligarchy was firmly bent on inflicting a State Church upon the country, the danger of which served to render the people of Dumfries more strongly pronounced in their Liberalism than ever'.<sup>29</sup> Solicitor-general Christopher Hagerman, Mackenzie's enemy who had been reinstated by Lord Stanley, defended the policy, and condemned the Church of Scotland's demand for equal rights and a share in the reserves. He delivered a speech in the assembly which succeeded in alienating Scottish Presbyterians still further, driving Kirkmen from the government's side. Mackenzie recorded the infamous speech in *The Constitution*:

I say it publicly as a lawyer, that the ministers of the Church of Scotland are no more established in this Province than the ministers of the Methodists or of the Baptists...if they were to attempt to perform [a marriage] ceremony without a license...if I were the Attorney General I would prosecute them for it!...The Church of England is not only established here, by express enactment, but it is also established in all the colonies which belong to the British Crown, the Church of Scotland being confined to that country only – for when Scotland was united to England by the Act of Union in 1707, it had no dependencies to which to extend their religion!... the object of these resolutions is to give the Clergy of the Church of Scotland what they so much want –and that is to be on a footing of the Church of England, in a Province where they are only recognised as dissenters.

Malcolm Cameron, the member for Perth, Upper Canada was indignant. He reminded the assembly of the events of Scotland's unhappy past and warned that they would not be repeated in Canada: 'the Church of England and its priesthood, armed with temporal power, pursued with fire, sword, fetters, dungeons and death the Scottish people, because they were constant to the faith of their forefathers...it was attempted for nearly a century to force episcopacy on Scotland but it had failed, and it would fail here in Canada'<sup>30</sup>. Hagerman was regarded as expressing the feelings of the lieutenant-governor and his subsequent elevation to the position of attorney-general was interpreted as signalling Head's approval of

Hagerman's brash declarations. Moreover, Hagerman now had the power to prosecute Kirkmen; something he had threatened in his speech. Hagerman's claim that the Kirk was a mere tolerated sect angered Kirkmen to the extreme. A patriotic and rousing address 'To Scotchmen in the colonies and at home', printed in the *Correspondent and Advocate*, employed the covenanting idiom—the Scottish variant of British birth-right rhetoric. The address, which echoed John Dunmore Lang's protest in Sydney, urged Scottish colonists, as British subjects, to stand up for their right to civil and religious freedom, a right won by the Covenanters and secured by the Treaty of Union: 'we Scotchmen are told to believe that our Forefathers who resisted to the very death every encroachment on their religious rights, cared not for their descendants; that when they secured these rights with the words "forever" in the Treaty of Union, they nevertheless meant, that on emigrating to lands conquered by their own arms, under their own banner their sons equal in all inferior rights, should tamely sit down the ecclesiastical serfs of England'. The address called on all Scots and Irish Presbyterians, already 'too fearfully aroused', to unite: 'The spirit of our Fathers is extinct neither in Scotland nor here...we ourselves must unite from the Ottawa to the shores of Huron, and we call to join us our Presbyterian brethren, the descendants of our Forefathers, who emigrated to Ireland...[we will not] rest until, *to the last word and letter*, the Treaty of Union is fulfilled, till our Religious and civil rights are respected, restored and secured; till the faction is crouched forever, and the world is taught that we came not to our colonies to be Insulted with impunity.'<sup>31</sup>

The Rev. William Bell, Presbyterian minister in Perth, Upper Canada described this address as a 'capital production – well fitted to rouse the national spirit'. Five hundred copies were printed in Perth alone and distributed throughout the settlement. The Kirk arranged numerous meetings, including a province-wide conference in Cobourg, and sent congregational and synodical protests to the government. These meetings, though neglected by historians, helped to foment frustration and discontent in the months preceding the 1837 rebellion. The Perth meeting requested the removal of Hagerman from the government, declaring his elevation to be insulting 'and an unequivocal approval of his conduct, and an avowal of his sentiments on the part of the Colonial Government'.<sup>32</sup> In Niagara Presbyterians apparently charged the Church of England with 'breathing vengeance' and 'vomiting forth threats'. The Rev. Robert McGill insisted that the ire of Niagara was directed at the lieutenant-

governor and his council, not at the Church of England itself.<sup>33</sup> In Hamilton there was a debate over how far the criticism of the lieutenant-governor's choice of attorney-general should extend. One gentleman, arguing that the Scots had been ill paid for their loyalty at the last election, demanded that a resolution against Hagerman pass without amendment.<sup>34</sup> The Cobourg delegates formulated an address to the Crown stating that the 'fundamental principles of the Act of Union, which were guaranteed to us with so much jealousy by our forefathers in perilous times' could not be infringed upon. The rectories further violated the rights of the Kirk since the incumbents were invested with jurisdiction over all inhabitants of the province regardless of spiritual orientation.<sup>35</sup> A stirring account of the Cobourg meeting was printed and circulated in the legislature in handbill form. This document apparently helped to postpone action on the clergy reserves just when Hagerman was advocating their reinvestment in the Crown.<sup>36</sup>

In April, William Morris, member of the assembly and Kirk layman, travelled to London, as a delegate from the Cobourg conference, to lay the grievances of Presbyterians in Upper Canada before the imperial government. Morris passed a copy of the Cobourg proceedings to Lord Glenelg, colonial secretary, enabling the minister 'to understand the view which [Scots] take of their constitutional right to enjoy, under the Treaty of Union between the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, equal privileges with their fellow subjects of England in a *British* colony'. He also presented a petition which he hoped would be transmitted to the House of Lords. Morris was pleased to report that Glenelg expressed a desire to see the Churches of England and Scotland placed on an equal footing and to see the latter Church acquire a share in the reserves. Glenelg had recently sanctioned Governor Bourke's Church Act, discussed in Chap. 10, which aimed to distribute aid proportionately to the principal denominations in New South Wales. Glenelg revealed his disapproval of Hagerman's speech. Crucially, he informed the Presbyterian agent that the home government had never sanctioned the establishment of the rectories. Glenelg informed Morris, however, that only the colonial government could settle the reserves question and told him that he was unwilling to present a petition to the Lords criticising the government of which he was a member. Even when Morris explained that the petition expressed faith in the home government, Glenelg warned Morris that the present juncture was an inopportune moment to present a Presbyterian petition to the House of Lords. At this point Glenelg and his government were no

doubt overwhelmed by the protests coming in from Scottish Presbyterians, not just in Scotland but, as we shall see in succeeding chapters, in Cape Town and from Sydney. Despite these discouraging remarks, Morris reported that he had read the despatch to Head, which instructed him to deal fairly with the Presbyterians. The Cobourg petition was also enclosed for Head's consideration.

Morris and his allies hoped that Glenelg's instructions would alter the policies of the colonial government, but they were disappointed when the lieutenant-governor informed them that the rectories policy would now be submitted to the Bishop of Montreal and the Archbishop of York for their advice. It was also implied that the imperial government had sanctioned the rectories in its recent despatch. On receiving this news, the Kirk Synod addressed a memorial to Glenelg reiterating its grievances and complaining of Head's exploits, especially his refusal to grant the Kirk Synod a copy of Glenelg's despatch when requested.

Morris's correspondence, containing all the above detail, appeared in the autumn edition of the *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*—a periodical established in 1837 to vindicate the rights of the Canadian Kirk. It was later published in pamphlet form. It revealed to a portion of the Presbyterian community how the home government seemed to view their predicament sympathetically and how Head's administration allegedly refused to adhere to the wishes of the Colonial Office. As Morris informed Glenelg, Upper Canadian Scots retained their faith in the British authorities and, they insisted, the Church of England in England, but had now lost all confidence in the Anglican regime in Toronto.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, according to Michael Gauvreau, by this point in 1837, for some Scottish Presbyterians Upper Canada had begun to resemble Scotland in 1638. Thomas Christie, Seceder minister of West Flamborough, suggested to Proudfoot that all congregations across the province, and those who chose to support them, should sign a petition. Gauvreau sees this as an attempt to form an Upper Canadian-style National Covenant.<sup>38</sup> Mackenzie, as we saw in Chap. 6, had predicted in 1832 that such a measure might become necessary.

The strategy of the Upper Canadian Kirk, in portraying itself as the representative of the entire Scottish population in the colony, annoyed some voluntary Seceders, including Mackenzie, who desired not that the Kirk should be established on an equal footing with the Anglican Church, but that establishments should be abolished completely. After recording Hagerman's speech in his paper, however, Mackenzie admitted that 'it was

painful to us to hear Scotland, her institutions, her ministers, and her religion, from which we swerve not, spoken of in such contemptuous terms'.<sup>39</sup> He warmed to the Kirk after its congregations began to hold meetings to petition against Hagerman and the rectories, declaring that 'we have no desire to see Kirkmen ride roughshod over other religious societies, but for the sake of those immutable principles of justice for which so many pious men, Caledonia's bravest and brightest ornaments, have bled and died, nobly contending against prelacy and arbitrary power, we hope that Scotsmen and Scotsmen's children will never rest till they wipe away the unmanly stigma of the Governor's representative'.<sup>40</sup> 'A Caledonian' wrote another letter to Mackenzie as editor of *The Constitution*, which implored him to forget past squabbles over the clergy reserves and to help muster a united Presbyterian front:

Forget not as a Scotchman what you owe your native land. Her religion, for which she spilt her best blood...has been insulted and is threatened with degradation. Each son of Scotland is expected to do his duty; and as the Editor of a paper much is expected and much can be done by you. Bury all minor considerations and let us unite like our forefathers to vindicate the honor and purity of our beloved church...not only for ourselves and for our children, but for our countrymen who may come to join us, let us maintain inviolate the religious rights of Scotchmen or perish in the struggle. When our religious rights are impaired our civil rights must be in danger—they must stand or fall together.<sup>41</sup>

On the eve of the rebellion Mackenzie was aware that Scottish Presbyterians were his best allies, although he was still dedicated to soliciting a diverse army of support, advocating aid to Lower Canada on the basis that 'they are Canadians like ourselves'.<sup>42</sup> These pleas notwithstanding, in his last publications before the rebellion, Mackenzie continued to make direct emotional appeals to his fellow Canadian-Scots. In the last issues of *The Constitution* published before the rebellion, Mackenzie printed 'The Scottish Covenanters', a poem by James Linen, which declared: 'for a season the murmurs of Freedom be hushed, but its spirit by mortals can never be crush'd. It lives and will live!' He also included an excerpt from Hume's *History of England* on the 'Presbyterians of 1660', who 'relinquished their cures and to astonishment of court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets'.<sup>43</sup> On 29 November, a few days before the rebellion broke out on 4 December, and several months after it had first been uttered, Mackenzie deliberately reprinted Hagerman's insulting speech.<sup>44</sup>

## THE 'SCOTCH REBELLION'

Mackenzie cleverly invoked the covenanting idiom in his journalistic propaganda but did it have an impact? The uprising, whose Toronto theatre lasted only a few days, was termed a 'Scotch rebellion',<sup>45</sup> an appropriate label perhaps since about one-third of the rebels were British-born. Indeed, Scots constituted the largest group of rebels after the Canadian and American-born. Ronald Stagg speculates that Mackenzie's leadership appealed to Scottish migrants.<sup>46</sup> It was apparently very difficult to recruit loyalist volunteers in Galt where there was much sympathy for Mackenzie. Mr Absalom Shade, when asked if a militia force could be raised in the region, replied that 'the inhabitants were mostly Scotch, mostly quiet and inoffensive, but it would be better not to put arms in their hands!' A petition was later got up to protest the execution of the rebels.<sup>47</sup> Michael Vance and Mark Stephen suggest that most of the Scottish rebels were artisans and tradesmen recently arrived in Upper Canada with experience of political radicalism at home. Vance observes that Mackenzie made appeals 'to farmers and mechanics'.<sup>48</sup> Many of these immigrant rebels were also Presbyterian and Mackenzie, as we have seen, was quick to exploit his readers' religious sensitivities. Most rebels, says Gauvreau, were dissenters united under a non-Anglican banner. While most loyalists belonged to churches who received state aid, over half the rebels seem to have belonged to voluntaryist sects.<sup>49</sup> The Convention held in Toronto on the eve of the rebellion, the aim of which was to draw up a constitution for the province, outlined the aims of the soon-to-be-rebels regarding the secularisation of the reserves and the establishment of voluntaryism. The residents of the Kingston region were seemingly driven to support the rebellion owing to the elevated position of the Anglican Church.<sup>50</sup> A sizeable chunk of the congregations of the Rev. William Jenkins, the Seceder Presbyterian minister in Markham, bore arms, as did some of the Rev. James Harris's church. Harris was a Seceder minister in Toronto and a reformer.<sup>51</sup> Though many in the Secession remained neutral,<sup>52</sup> the Secession churches attracted much suspicion, perhaps with good reason. William Proudfoot was accused of preaching sedition from his pulpit and it was reported that he was to be apprehended as a rebel.<sup>53</sup> His nephew James Aichison was imprisoned and his friend John Talbot fled to the United States.<sup>54</sup>

Thus, Gauvreau concludes, the rebellion was not a foreign outburst of American republicanism nor was it solely a protest against socio-economic inequality; it was a battle for the end of Anglican dominance in church and



state.<sup>55</sup> As Schrauwers has shown, religious, economic and political inequality were all interwoven in Upper Canada. The Anglican elite had control over government and education and the colony's incorporated institutions: the Bank of Upper Canada, the Clergy Corporation and the Canada Company.<sup>56</sup> It thus unsurprising that many rebels hailed from dissenting sects.

Moderate Kirkmen in Upper Canada were desperate to distance themselves from the rebels and, aware that their agitation in recent months implicated its members, the Synod was quick to declare its loyalty and apologise for the vituperative language which had recently issued forth from congregations. The Synod sent out an address to all members of the Kirk Synod in which people were reminded that obedience to rulers was one of the Kirk's main precepts.<sup>57</sup> In Lochiel, Highland settlers submitted a loyal address exonerating Scots from suspected culpability. It was hoped the address would be 'sufficient to dispel the apprehensions that were entertained by some, – and even openly expressed, – that the Scottish inhabitants of the Province were principally concerned in the late rebellion. That the Scottish people here have to complain of certain matters and that they do complain is well known; but it is far from their inclination or intention to commit any act that could by the utmost stretch be construed into an open violation of the laws or constitution of the country.'<sup>58</sup>

A thanksgiving was announced to celebrate the end of the troubles. When some ministers scrupled to obey a command from the temporal sphere, they were admonished in *The Scotsman*, a newspaper launched in Canada in February 1838 to forward the interests of the Kirk. The paper warned abstainers that refusing to do the will of the authorities looked extremely suspicious. The editors of *The Scotsman*, on being advised that the name of their production might be construed as implying hostility to the British connection, quickly altered the title to the *British Colonist*. The editors hoped this alteration would 'remove the impression, supposed to be entertained, that it ever was our wish or object to maintain distinctions in this country arising out of National origin'.<sup>59</sup>

While distancing itself from armed rebellion, however, the Kirk, like the Secession, refused entirely to condemn its demonstrations against the colonial government. A Kirk spokesman defended the actions of his colleagues against the charges of Dr Strachan, who, in January 1838, launched an offensive against the Church of Scotland in the form of published letters. The Kirk justified the spirited defence of its rights, denounced by Strachan as agitation designed to aid the 'stirring up of evil passions'.<sup>60</sup> A

petition from the Kirk despatched by Sir George Arthur, Head's successor, included a note from the executive council, complaining of its hostile tone. The council accused the Kirk of raking up the 'ashes of war' to rekindle past animosity between Scotland and England.<sup>61</sup>

Mackenzie, meanwhile, continued to play on Scottish Presbyterian emotions from his position of exile in New York. He addressed the 93rd Regiment of Foot—stationed in Niagara to repel an attack by American sympathisers—in the following terms:

Language would fail me to express the sorrow I feel at seeing you placed in military array on the banks of the Niagara, in 1841, to uphold that government which deluged Scotland with the blood of her noblest sons in two persecutions previous to 1688, for the degradation of the presbyterian religion, and the substitution in its place of prelacy, because it was believed to be a more suitable prop for an iron despotism...Scotland stood firm to the republican faith of her ancestors, and the good broadswords of her gallant sons secured for their country at the revolution the religion of their choice, and to our God-fearing ancestors, in each of old Scotland's thousand parishes, the choice of a minister.

Recalling those accounts of Restoration-period tyranny related in the covenanting martyrologies from his youth—*Scots Worthies* and a *Cloud of Witnesses*—Mackenzie warned that the curates installed by Strachan in illegal rectories in Upper Canada, paid to keep watch on farmers, were akin to the spies employed two centuries before by Viscount Claverhouse, the antagonist of the Covenanters denounced by Thomas M'Crie. Mackenzie beseeched the regiment not to 'defend prelacy in America...bishoprics, arch-deaconries, rectories, and curacies, established in Canada, in spite of its people'.<sup>62</sup>

### VOLUNTARISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

Mackenzie remained in exile in the United States but back in Upper Canada, once the post-rebellion investigations had ended, many Presbyterians continued to battle for political reform. Lord Durham recommended responsible government for Canada in his report on the causes of the rebellion. He also suggested that in order to integrate—some might say subjugate—the Francophone population, whose rebellion had been more serious than Mackenzie's, Upper and Lower Canada should be

united in one legislature. Some Upper Canadian Presbyterians were terrified at the prospect of politicised Catholicism in a united Canada and advocated disestablishment and responsible government as a means to limit Francophone influence. Though the Durham Report had recognised the principle of responsible government, the machinery of government was little changed after 1840. The legislative council was composed of twenty life members and the governor retained the right to appoint and dismiss his executive council. According to Gauvreau, ideas of responsible government—channelled through Presbyterian dissent—gained popular currency into the 1840s becoming inseparably linked with voluntarism.<sup>63</sup> Scottish Chartism, a movement, as Chap. 7 explained, in some ways indebted to the voluntary campaign, infiltrated Canada where Scots Presbyterian-inflected voluntarism underpinned Francophobic demands for political reform.

The 1840s saw the rising importance of George Brown and his father Peter, immigrants from Edinburgh who championed responsible government and religious voluntarism. Peter Brown had been an ally of the whig party in Edinburgh and was a strident evangelical. Initially the Browns were establishmentarians who denounced the law of patronage and championed non-intrusion in the pages of their New York-based *British Chronicle*, and, after their migration to Canada, the *Toronto Banner*. Their desire to safeguard the rights of the Free Church—which separated from the Kirk Synod in Canada in 1844—inspired the Browns’ criticism of the Canadian government. The Browns, who read the works of Knox and M’Crie as well as popular histories of the Covenanters,<sup>64</sup> sought to resist the threat of Tractarianism, a High-Church Anglican movement regarded by some as crypto-Catholic, and the alleged dangerous influence of Catholicism represented by Francophone Lower Canada.<sup>65</sup> Numerous articles on the apparent rise in popularity of Tractarianism and Catholicism appeared in *The Banner* and in *The Globe*—*The Banner*’s sister paper—which tended to dwell on the supposed tyrannous nature of both ecclesiastical systems.<sup>66</sup> Peter Brown described the Tractarians as an ‘episcopopapist party’ who were ‘enemies of liberal civil government’. Also controversial was the settlement of the clergy reserves which divided the sales of the lands between several churches including the Catholic Church. The Church of England, though its members constituted only twenty per cent of the Upper Canadian population, retained around forty-two per cent of the total, thus safeguarding its dominant position in the colony.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, it seemed that Governor Charles Metcalfe supported the

attempt of the Anglican Church to control education and to establish a system of management over the reserve lands. Peter Brown spoke against Anglican control of King's College at a meeting of reformers in Toronto in 1846 and he warned that the establishment of an Anglican landlord system would result in the creation of an oppressive aristocratic hierarchy.<sup>68</sup>

The Browns were not the only ones to hold these views. The Clear Grits, a radical party formed in 1849, were similarly troubled by Anglican privilege and Catholic dominance. As the Anglophone population grew, the Grits agitated for universal suffrage on the grounds that it would limit the influence in the union parliament of Francophone Canada.<sup>69</sup> Scottish Chartism, particularly its voluntarist tenets—described in the previous chapter—inspired the Grits. William Lyon Mackenzie, who returned to Canada and continued to rail against the influence of Strachan,<sup>70</sup> had ties to the party. One of its core members was the Dundee-born James Lesslie, son of Mackenzie's former business partner, Edward Lesslie. Charles Lindsey, Mackenzie's son-in-law, was likewise a member. Other members included Malcolm Cameron, who had been so indignant at Hagerman's speech and who was a founding member of the Anti-Clergy Reserves Association in 1850, and David Christie, a Seceder.<sup>71</sup> At the Markham reform meeting in 1850 when the Grit platform was outlined by Peter Perry, he insisted that Jesus Christ had been put to death owing to his opposition to an established church.<sup>72</sup>

The Toronto *Examiner* edited first by Francis Hincks and then after 1842 by James Lesslie, advocated 'responsible government and the voluntary principle'. The paper congratulated the Free Church for its separation from the establishment but criticised its unwillingness to adopt voluntarism; 'we regret', the paper proclaimed, 'that their secession from the old Kirk has not been upon broad and scriptural grounds'. Under Lesslie's editorship the *Examiner* reported on the agitation surrounding the clergy reserves and King's College and concluded that political unrest in Canada had in general been intertwined with the voluntary question: 'the question of a Church Establishment or no Church Establishment has formed the principal distinction between political parties in the Province. Opposition to the Church has been denounced as treason to the State. The Clergy Reserves question, King's College question, with all the moral and political corruption which they disclose, all the enmity and bad feeling which they have engendered, are only the fruits of an attempt to secure what is styled a Protestant ascendancy (which means Episcopal supremacy) in the colony in opposition to popular opinion.'<sup>73</sup>

The Browns believed that responsible accountable rule in Canada would limit the influence of the Catholic and Anglican Churches. Only with the establishment of responsible government, *The Banner* declared, would it be possible to secure equal rights for all denominations.<sup>74</sup> Only voluntarism, writes Gauvreau, was deemed consistent with responsible government, 'because only disestablishment protected liberty of conscience from the will of the legislative majority'.<sup>75</sup> In public speeches and then as a member of the assembly, George Brown, a friend of William Proudfoot's, railed against the dominance of an eastern bloc which controlled the public affairs of the western province.<sup>76</sup> Their concern over the Canadian union and the British government's apparent 'pro-Catholic' policies in the 1840s led the Browns to demand complete disestablishment. Their opinions on the intolerant and oppressive nature of church establishments in the past no doubt made their conversion to voluntarism easier.<sup>77</sup> M'Crie's exclusionary idiom, which depicted the Reformation as the triumph of liberty over Catholic tyranny, influenced the Browns. Responsible government was, in their view, a principle of the Presbyterian church.<sup>78</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The political values of Scots Presbyterian dissent had an undeniably profound influence on William Lyon Mackenzie and the wider Upper Canadian culture of which he was a part. The political changes of the age of reform emboldened dissenters in Scotland while embittering dissenters in Canada who were frustrated at the failure of the British authorities to redress their grievances. 'If the representations you then made of the great discontent of the Canadians', Joseph Hume wrote to Mackenzie of his visit to London, '...had been listened to, the misfortunes and rebellion of Canada would have been avoided.'<sup>79</sup> Many Scottish immigrants struggled to assert their right to 'civil and religious liberty', allegedly at risk because of Anglican aspirations to supremacy and threats of prosecution. No doubt inspired by Mackenzie's emotive rhetoric on the covenanting past, they galvanised a movement for political reform. Like the Free Churchers in Scotland, Scots Presbyterians in Upper Canada insisted that the Treaty of Union protected their spiritual independence and freedom from Anglican supremacy, rights for which their covenanting forefathers had died. When religious liberty was threatened, it was argued, civil liberty was undermined. Some turned out to meet Mackenzie when

he resorted to armed rebellion in December 1837 and Chartist voluntaryism continued to inspire Canadian reform in the years following the failed insurrection. The Nova Scotians did not turn violent but still the frustration at the slow pace of change and the legacy of the divisive, ugly and unresolved battle over Pictou Academy caused Joseph Howe to demand autonomy from Britain. Nova Scotian politics mirrored in some ways the voluntary controversy in Scotland.

The connection between Canada and Britain, William Proudfoot prophesied, could only last so long. Indeed, the course of events in Canada, including the Anglicanising tendencies of the government, pointed to 'separation from the mother country'.<sup>80</sup> Proudfoot's desire to achieve popular autonomy in matters of church and state inevitably led to his increasing detachment from the institutions of Britain. Of his church, he declared: 'We are too Scotch.' He welcomed the evolution of a multi-cultural 'Canadian' brand of Presbyterianism in an independent church just as he welcomed confederation and political self-rule in the civil sphere.<sup>81</sup> The confederation and dominionisation of Canada in 1867 allowed the various churches in the country to unite and become a national Canadian church.<sup>82</sup> As we shall see in the next chapter, the desire to resist Anglican control and secure the spiritual independence of the Presbyterian churches inspired similar demands for political autonomy in Cape Town.

## NOTES

1. *Colonial Advocate*, 19 July 1832.
2. LeSeur 1979, p. 185.
3. Hume 1834.
4. The Academy was later revived as a secondary school.
5. 'Bishops', *Colonial Patriot*, 3 March 1832.
6. 'Itinerating Libraries', *Colonial Patriot*, 11 August 1832; 'Voluntary Church Magazine', *Colonial Patriot*, 2 July 1833.
7. 'Edinburgh Clergy', *Colonial Patriot*, 16 June 1832; 'Notice of Formation of Glasgow Voluntary Church Association', *Colonial Patriot*, 5 January 1833; 'Voluntary Church Magazine', *Colonial Patriot*, 2 July 1833; 'Clerical Apostasy', *Colonial Patriot*, 6 August 1833; 'Dr Heugh, Mr Marshall and the Scottish Guardian', *Colonial Patriot*, 17 September 1833; 'Editorial', *Colonial Patriot*, 15 October 1833.
8. 'Grand Conservative Dinner at Glasgow', *Pictou Observer*, 12 August 1834; 'Prosperity of the Province', *Pictou Observer*, 3 August 1831; 'Signs of the Times', *Pictou Observer*, 22 February 1832; 'Pictou Academy',

*Pictou Observer*, 7 March 1832; 'Reform', *Pictou Observer*, 28 March 1832; 'Newfoundland Legislature', *Pictou Observer*, 26 September 1832; 'Church Patronage', *Pictou Observer*, 10 June 1834; 'England etc.', *Pictou Observer*, 8 July 1834. Establishmentarian beliefs did not completely preclude support for political reform; the *Observer* advocated reform of electoral districts in Nova Scotia to ensure better representation of Pictou in the future. It was felt that in the struggle over the Academy, the views of the Kirk camp had to some degree gone unheard. 'On the Necessity for Reform in Nova Scotia', *Pictou Observer*, 21 September 1831; 'Pictou Academy – Division of the County', *Pictou Observer*, 14 March 1832.

9. 'Editorial', *The Novascotian*, 16 November 1831; Beck 1982, pp. 112–19.
10. Beck 1982, pp. 122–6, 198.
11. Beck 1985, p. 107.
12. Beck 1982, p. 87.
13. After a period of debate Howe managed to carry a motion which allowed clergymen of the five leading denominations to serve as chaplains on rotation.
14. Beck 1969, p. 40.
15. Beck 1969, pp. 93–4.
16. Beck 1982, p. 192.
17. Sprott 1906, p. 36.
18. 'Letter from Nova Scotia', *Church of Scotland Magazine*, January 1838.
19. Hamilton 1970, p. 306.
20. On the ability of both reformers and tories to utilise ideas of the ancient constitution and mixed monarchy to represent the opposition as disloyal, see McNairn 2000, pp. 23–62.
21. On Francis Bond Head and the 1836 election see Wilton 2000, pp. 168–83.
22. 'A Plain Dialogue Between John a country farmer, and Andrew, a citizen of Toronto', *Correspondent & Advocate*, 8 June 1836.
23. 'To the Scottish Presbyterian Ministers and People', *Correspondent & Advocate*, 15 June 1836.
24. University of Western Ontario [UWO], William Proudfoot papers, Series 1, File 5, Journal 25, 23 June 1836.
25. UWO, Gray papers, Box B4980-3, letter from John Talbot, 15 January 1836.
26. See Romney 1990, pp. 198–9, 209.
27. 'The Claims and Proceedings of the Presbyterians Vindicated', *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, March 1838.
28. Coupland 1945, pp. 98–9.
29. Young 1880, pp. 83–4, 148–51.

30. 'The Fifty-Seven Rectories', *The Constitution*, 15 February 1837.
31. 'To Scotchmen in the Colonies and at Home', *Correspondent & Advocate*, 5 April 1837.
32. Queen's University Archives [QUA], William Bell Papers, Life, vol 11, mfm reel 586a, Mar 1837; 'Meeting of Presbyterians at Perth', *Correspondent & Advocate*, 5 April 1837.
33. 'To the editor', *The Constitution*, 29 March 1837.
34. 'Great Meeting at Lanark', *Correspondent & Advocate*, 19 April 1837.
35. 'Address of the Delegates of the Church of Scotland in Canada to the King, 14 April 1837', in Moir 1967, pp. 202–3.
36. 'Presbyterian Meeting at Cobourg', *The Constitution*, 8 March 1837.
37. 'The Correspondence of the Hon. William Morris', *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, October 1837.
38. Gauvreau 2003, p. 74.
39. 'The Fifty-Seven Rectories', *The Constitution*, 15 February 1837.
40. 'The Scottish Synod', *The Constitution*, 8 March 1837.
41. 'Letter to the editor', *The Constitution*, 5 April 1837.
42. 'Look and deeply consider!!!', *The Constitution*, 22 November 1837.
43. 'The Scottish Covenanters', *The Constitution*, 22 November 1837; 'The Presbyterians of 1660', *The Constitution*, 22 November 1837.
44. 'The Fifty-Seven Rectories', *The Constitution*, 29 November 1837.
45. Gauvreau 2003, p. 75.
46. Stagg 1976, p. 199.
47. Young 1880, pp. 155–64.
48. Vance & Stephen 2001, p. 191. Vance 1997, p. 191.
49. Stagg 1976, pp. 205–6.
50. Boyce 1992, pp. 23, 121–2, 133.
51. Stagg 1976, pp. 206, 213, 215.
52. Stagg 1976, pp. 348–9.
53. UWO, William Proudfoot papers, Series 1, File 5, Journal 28, 19 December 1837; Journal 29, 2 October 1838; Series 2: Correspondence, File 1, Heads of a Letter sent to Rev Mr Peddie (Committee) August 1839.
54. Gill 1991, pp. 98–102.
55. Gauvreau 2003, pp. 74–6.
56. Schrauwers 2008.
57. 'Address of the Commission of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, to the Members of that Church', *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, January 1838.
58. 'Lochiel', *The Scotsman*, 1 February 1838. There was truth to this statement. Robert Thornton, minister in Whitby, expressed in a letter to the United Secession in Scotland, his relief that the province had been purged



- of its radical faction: Gill, *Proudfoot*, p. 105. According to the Rev. Andrew Bell there had been no rebels from the United Synod congregations in the Toronto area. Bell declared that had he had the opportunity he would have willingly joined in putting down the rebellion. Archives of Ontario, Bell Family Papers, AI Family Correspondence 1827–1979, Andrew Bell to his brother, 16 January 1838.
59. ‘Editorial’, *The Scotsman*, 15 February 1838.
  60. ‘Dr Strachan’s Charges Against the Presbyterians of Canada Examined’, *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, January 1838; ‘The Claims and Proceedings of the Presbyterians Vindicated’, *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review*, March 1838.
  61. ‘Minute of the Executive Council of Upper Canada, 9 August 1838’, Moir 1967, pp. 210–11.
  62. ‘Hints to the Scots – Spies in America’, *Rochester Volunteer*, 15 May 1841.
  63. Gauvreau 2003, p. 82.
  64. See Library and Archives Canada [LAC], George Brown papers, MG 24 B 40, Vol. 25, Catalogue of Books in Library of Lambton Lodge. *The Banner* printed articles on the Solemn League and Covenant, James Renwick and the poetry of Samuel Rutherford. ‘Poetry – Samuel Rutherford’, *The Banner*, 25 August 1843; ‘The Solemn League and Covenant’, *The Banner*, 22 September 1843; ‘Life of the Rev. James Renwick’, *The Banner*, 17 November 1843. See also poem on ‘Rullion Green’, in issue for 9 February 1844.
  65. See for example, ‘The Toronto “Patriot”’ in *The Banner*, 8 August 1845. For Peter Brown’s critical opinion of the Church of England, see Brown 1842, pp. 179–81. For his prejudice against Episcopalians and Catholics on board the ship transporting Peter and George from Scotland to New York in 1837, see Careless 1950, pp. 130, 135, 139, 141, 144. See also Careless 1959, II, p. 8.
  66. Puseyism was discussed in almost every issue of *The Banner*. See for example, ‘Religious Department’, 18 August 1843. See also the issues of *The Globe* for 18 April 1849 and 21 April 1849.
  67. Moir 1956.
  68. The 1843 University Bill was rejected. Another bill introduced in 1847 gave the Church of England a disproportionate share in the government of the college. George Brown apparently approved of the eventual University Act in 1849 since it embodied the principle of disestablishment. For the furore over King’s College, see e.g., ‘King’s College – Great Public Meeting’, *The Banner*, 6 October 1843; Careless 1959, pp. 69, 71, 87. On the reserves see e.g., *The Globe*, 19 August 1845.
  69. Vance sees this agenda as evidence of anti-Quebecois sentiment on the grounds of racial discrimination. I would argue that fear of the influence of the Catholic Church also inspired this attitude. Vance 1997, pp. 73–4.

70. 'Strachan, Green, the Globe and the Pope', *Toronto Weekly Message*, 6 March 1857.
71. Vance 1997, pp. 76–8; Vance and Stephen 2001, pp. 194–203. For the Grits' preoccupation with the reserves issue, see Charles Lindsey's history of the debate published in 1851: Lindsey 1851.
72. 'Reform Meeting in the Village of Markham', *Bathurst Courier*, 29 March 1850.
73. 'The Free Church of Scotland', *Toronto Examiner*, 17 April 1844; 'Grant to Maynooth College', *Toronto Examiner*, 21 May 1845. See also 'The Papacy in England – Church Establishments', *The North American*, 13 December 1850. *The North American* newspaper, founded by William McDougall as the organ of the Grit party, expatiated on the connection between priestcraft and statecraft, and denounced episcopal and Catholic hierarchy which had supposedly corrupted the republican nature of Christ's voluntary church.
74. 'To the Readers of the Banner', *The Banner*, 17 December 1847.
75. Gauvreau 2001, p. 157. For Proudfoot's connection to Brown see UWO, William Proudfoot papers, Series 1, File 6, Journal 31, 23 January 1845, 3 February 1845 and 3 August 1850.
76. LAC, George Brown papers, MG 24 B40, Vol. 22, The American War and Slavery. Speech of the Hon. George Brown at the Anniversary Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, held at Toronto, on Wed, Feb 3, 1863.
77. On the Browns' views on poor relief and education, see Gauvreau 2001, pp. 145–6. For evidence of Peter Brown's views on the abusive aspect of church establishments, see Brown 1842, p. 177.
78. 'The Church's View of Responsible Government', *The Banner*, 1 September 1843.
79. Quoted in LeSeur 1979, p. 367.
80. Gauvreau 2003, p. 81.
81. Gill 1985.
82. Fry 2001, p. 216.

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## Disruption at the Cape

*'Let us only get rid of predilections of the monstrous error, that because we are a British Colony, we ought, as loyal subjects, to provide for the Church of England in preference to every other.'*

(Anon. 1855a, p. 15)

Like the Canadians, colonists at the Cape Colony in southern Africa felt the tremors caused by the Disruption and the collapse of Britain's *ancien régime*. A Scottish relative wrote to the Rev. John Philip, the superintendent of the London Missionary Society at the Cape, telling him about the patronage squabbles of the 'ten years' conflict' between the Church of Scotland and the British state.<sup>1</sup> Sir John Herschel, meanwhile, the famous astronomer who arrived at the Cape in 1834, made a note in his diary about Scotland's church-state controversy.<sup>2</sup> As in Upper Canada where political reformers echoed the voluntarist campaigners in Scotland, so at the Cape Free Church principles shaped political debate. The Disruption controversy infiltrated the Scots Church in Cape Town and penetrated even the interior of the colony where the missionary community was beset with conflict over the issue of church-state relations. In 1843 a campaign to reduce the power of the state in the governance of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), whose ministers were about fifty percent Scottish,<sup>3</sup> echoed the Disruption debates of the same year. The 'theological and denominational struggles' of

Scotland, says John MacKenzie, were transplanted to the Cape where they affected the ecclesiastical and civil politics of the colony.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas Pringle and his compatriot John Fairbairn, as we saw in Chap. 2, had in the 1820s been frustrated at the autocratic nature of colonial rule in the Cape Colony. Governor Somerset had allegedly persecuted Pringle, described by Somerset as 'an arrant dissenter', because of his liberal journalism and efforts to establish an academy. Pringle left the colony in a state of distress and moved to London where, as we saw in Chap. 6, he helped out Jotham Blanchard and John Dunmore Lang, fellow angry colonists. John Fairbairn stayed at the Cape and continued to press for government reform. Fairbairn was counselled by Joseph Hume, whose demands for colonial representation in the Westminster parliament Fairbairn believed were inadequate. In 1834 the British government eventually replaced the governor's advisory council at the Cape with a legislative council, which contained nominated members and officials, and an executive council composed of the legislative council's official members: a similar system to that which existed in Upper Canada but on a smaller scale. But unlike in Upper Canada, and much to the annoyance of Fairbairn, there was no provision made at the Cape for a representative branch of government.

The campaign for settler self-government at the Cape gained momentum in the 1840s where, as in Upper Canada, it was intertwined with ecclesiastical politics. Some political reformers who campaigned for representative institutions also mobilised against the centralisation of authority within the Anglican Church. Though the Church of England was more dominant in other colonies than at the Cape, where the majority church was the DRC, on British conquest of the Cape Colony it still acquired semi-official status. The governor, under authorisation from the Bishop of London, was granted the power to legalise the marriages and baptisms of all denominations.<sup>5</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, some thought, the Church of England enjoyed an even closer relationship with the civil powers. The municipal government in Cape Town, through which, from 1840, political opposition in Cape Town was channelled, and which tended to represent the interests of the DRC and non-Anglican dissenters, accused the legislative council of unfairly favouring the Church of England.<sup>6</sup> The municipal government resented the arrival in 1848 of Robert Gray, the new Anglican bishop for Cape Town.<sup>7</sup> The Anglican Church, the commissioners complained, had been 'privileged to a much greater extent' than other churches. This circumstance was unfair, particularly as most of the Church's members held lucrative positions in the colony and could afford to fund their

pastors. The councillors described the favouritism shown to the Church of England as a 'great evil and Calamity'.<sup>8</sup> Gray informed his brother that the Church of England was 'exciting jealousy', particularly within the dissenting community whose press was attacking the Church on account of clerical salaries.<sup>9</sup>

As in Upper Canada where Strachan was so reviled, colonists at the Cape feared clerical interference from a Tractarian bishop; these ecclesiastical disputes inspired demands for greater political autonomy in state as well as in church.<sup>10</sup> According to Joseph Hardwick, the campaign against Gray's appointment and the movement for a more accountable government in the civil sphere were mutually reinforcing; both campaigns were, in fact, part of single campaign to rid the colony of autocratic and centralised power. Gray himself acknowledged the link between his Church and the governing regime. Only the Anglican clergy, he commented, were loyal to the governor during the anti-convict crisis of 1848–1849. It was a great comfort, he said, that the Church was so close to those in authority; representative government would threaten the Church's position. Indeed, he remarked that when representative government came his 'game would be up'.<sup>11</sup>

In the 1860s the Anglican Church experienced something of a crisis when Bishop Gray tried to underline his authority by excommunicating the allegedly heretical Bishop Colenso of Natal. The Privy Council in London adjudicated the case in favour of Colenso; as a result, the Anglican Church in South Africa declared itself independent of the Church of England and refused to acknowledge the authority of the Privy Council, thereby limiting the Queen's prerogative powers in the colony.<sup>12</sup> It was now Gray's turn to seek autonomy. In 1863 the Privy Council's Judicial Committee stated that in a colony with representative government, it could not 'regulate religion or civil rights by the prerogative'.<sup>13</sup> As Saul Dubow has observed, the Colenso case had 'direct relevance' to the campaign for self-government, for it raised questions regarding the extent of the Queen's power and the constitutional relationship between colony and metropole. Though the colony acquired representative institutions in 1854—an elected council and house of assembly—full responsible government was granted only in 1872. The career of Saul Solomon, who in the 1860s vigorously agitated for responsible government, church disestablishment and the institution of voluntarism at the Cape, suggests that the pursuit of spiritual independence and the campaign for political autonomy were interrelated.<sup>14</sup>

This chapter will suggest that, though overlooked by historians, controversies within the Presbyterian community, stimulated in part by the ruptures in Scotland—as well as in Canada and Australia—also contributed to a culture of reform in mid-century Cape Town. The DRC and the Scots Church in Cape Town, institutions which incorporated lay participation and whose members upheld long-established traditions of challenging Anglican supremacy in church and state—traditions stimulated by the writings of Thomas Pringle and John Dunmore Lang—sought to limit the governor’s power in ecclesiastical business and to distance the church from imperial control. Similarly, Scottish missionaries at the Cape, inspired by Free Church ideas, aimed to challenge the authority of the London Missionary Society’s superintendent, regarded as a pseudo-bishop who restricted local autonomy. In the era of the Colenso case, moreover, the DRC also found itself in conflict with the Privy Council, which reversed the Church’s decisions in two heresy cases. In the same period, the Scots Church reasserted its spiritual independence from the colonial and metropolitan powers. Just as the Colenso case and disputes within the Anglican community fostered a spirit of reform, so the conflicts of the Presbyterian world inspired agitators like Saul Solomon and William Porter—the attorney-general and son of a Presbyterian minister from the north of Ireland—to campaign for political autonomy and religious equality. The ‘experiences of the two most influential churches in South Africa’, Eric Walker has written, ‘pointed the way to political self-government’.<sup>15</sup>

### THE SCOTS CHURCH AND NON-INTRUSION

The first Presbyterian services at the Cape were held in 1812 but the foundation stone of the Scots Church was not laid until 1827. In a pamphlet written in the same year, Alexander Johnstone Jardine, Thomas Pringle’s successor at the Cape Town library, outlined the history of the Scots Church in Cape Town. The church had been formed after a few copies of a ‘Discourse to Presbyterians in Sydney’ by John Dunmore Lang had found their way to Cape Town in a box of books which had been ordered from London. The bookseller, James Nisbet of Oxford Street, a fan of Lang’s, deliberately slipped the copies into the order. They ‘excited so much interest’, Jardine claimed, that manuscript copies had been made and circulated in the interior of the Cape. These had awakened the zeal of the Scottish community in the colony which had begun to subscribe money towards the erection of a Presbyterian church. The Scots Church



in Cape Town, argued Jardine, who had been a member of the Secession before he left Scotland, had been founded on covenanting principles.<sup>16</sup> 'The genius of Presbyterian polity', Jardine observed in the *South African Chronicle*, 'is agreeable to the free institutions of the country.'<sup>17</sup> Jardine, it will be remembered, described Thomas M'Crie's biographies of Knox and Melville as the 'Iliad and Odyssey' of the Scots Church at the Cape. Jardine was an admirer of M'Crie's vindication of the Covenanters. The Scots worthies, he wrote, had been ridiculed by 'infidel historians', but it was their doctrines which had 'foiled "a tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws"'. The Covenanters had proclaimed to tyrants, wrote Jardine, echoing Pringle's 'Autumnal Excursion', that man has 'rights beyond their reach'. It was these men, indeed, to whom the current generation were indebted for their civil and religious liberties.<sup>18</sup> As we have seen, Jardine included articles on M'Crie and the heroism of the Covenanters in the *Cape Literary Gazette*.<sup>19</sup>

Pringle and M'Crie inspired Jardine but Lang's writings also shaped Jardine's views of church-state relations and encouraged him to adopt a more critical stance regarding the governor's authority. Thomas Pringle, as Chap. 6 explained, encouraged Lang to meet with his friends in Cape Town on his return journey from London to Sydney. John Philip enjoyed reading the writings Lang left behind him. Lang married his cousin there in 1831 and the service was conducted by the Rev. James Adamson, whose prospectus for the South African College stimulated Lang's desire to establish the Australian College in Sydney.<sup>20</sup> Adamson told Lang that 'ministers of our Church settled abroad should maintain a constant correspondence with each other'.<sup>21</sup> A clergyman wrote to Lang that in his 'intercourse with the sailors', who presumably travelled frequently between the Cape and Sydney, he often received 'favourable accounts' of Lang and his proceedings. His correspondent informed Lang that Fairbairn was 'fighting most manfully for us'.<sup>22</sup>

Jardine congratulated Lang for his 'independence of mind' and his criticisms of the system of church patronage and preferment in Australia.<sup>23</sup> Jardine reported on the benefits of church establishments but he also supported reform of the law of patronage and the abolition of pluralities to strengthen and purify the Kirk.<sup>24</sup> Jardine favourably reviewed Lang's writings on New South Wales which, along with Pringle's *African Sketches*, a book he also admired, had been acquired in 1834 by the South African Public Library. Lang's history of New South Wales was, Jardine wrote, an honest portrayal of the characteristics of rulers. As we saw in Chap. 4,

Lang's account strongly condemned the rule of Governors Brisbane and Darling who, Lang argued, treated the Presbyterian population unfairly. Jardine also praised Lang's newspaper *The Colonist* (discussed in Chap. 10)—a mouthpiece for Lang's religious voluntarism which denounced Anglican supremacy—for propagating bold truths. Fairbairn's *South African Commercial Advertiser*, Jardine noted, deserved similar thanks. From 'certain appearances in our political hemisphere', Jardine wrote ominously, 'we think we shall stand more in need of the independent services of this Press than heretofore...Disguise thyself as thou wilt', he ended, 'still, despotism, thou art a bitter draught.'<sup>25</sup>

The Disruption raised questions about the standing in Cape Town of the Scots Church, later called St Andrew's Church, and its relationship to the imperial and colonial governments. James Adamson, first minister of the Scots Church and a friend of Lang's, denounced the law of patronage and came out in support of the Free Church. It was intolerable, he exclaimed in a pamphlet of 1840, that Scotland, 'a land, among the first and earliest in freedom and in knowledge' should be made to 'submit to this miserable and disgraceful despotism'. Though, as head of the Church of England, the monarch chose the Church's bishops, in Scotland the Queen had no authority over the Kirk. Thus, Adamson concluded, the right of patronage was constitutional in England but unconstitutional in Scotland.<sup>26</sup> In October 1843, provoked by a statement in the *Home and Foreign Mission Record* declaring that the Church of Scotland had jurisdiction over colonial churches, Adamson wrote a letter defending the independence of the Scots Church.<sup>27</sup>

In 1862, around the same time that the DRC and the Anglican Church were struggling to assert their autonomy, Adamson restated his belief that the local and imperial civil authorities had no right to interfere in the appointment of clergy to the Scots Church. In fact, the independent status of the church had been underlined when Adamson had resigned his charge in 1841 to concentrate on his teaching at the South African College. The governor had overstepped his mark when he had announced in the *Government Gazette* that he had appointed George Morgan to assist Adamson. The governor had afterwards written to the Colonial Office for clarification regarding his 'right of patronage in the appointment of a clergyman to the Presbyterian Church'. This letter should have been unnecessary, Adamson insisted, for the congregation was clear, as the governor should have been, that the governor's interference was 'peremptorily excluded', as was the interference of the Scottish General Assembly. Only

the Cape Town congregation had the right to appoint its minister.<sup>28</sup> In 1845 a sub-committee of the Church of Scotland found that Adamson had been under no obligation to obtain the Presbytery of Edinburgh's sanction of his resignation since the Presbytery had merely ordained him and had no jurisdiction in this respect.<sup>29</sup>

In November 1843, not long after the Disruption in Scotland in May and agitation in July (discussed below) over the DRC Church Ordinance, the Scots Church, led by George Morgan, passed a resolution to underline its independence. This resolution stated that the church was 'perfectly free to manage its own affairs, or in other words to assume to itself the duties and exercise the power of self-government'. This action, later commentators would remark, was an 'essential prerequisite' to the establishment in 1893 of the autonomous and independent Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.<sup>30</sup> Morgan, who had cut his teeth just a few years before in debates on church polity in the DRC's synod, agreed with Adamson that the Scots Church was independent of the Church of Scotland and of the civil government in Cape Town. In 1846 Morgan was encouraged to write in the church's defence after a Mr Hawkins, a member of the Bengal civil service and visitor to Cape Town, declared the church to be in 'Erastian bondage' to the Kirk establishment and to the colonial government.<sup>31</sup> Originally, Morgan explained, the organising committee which had raised funds for the Scots Church—and from which Pringle had been allegedly excluded after Somerset ostracised him—had wanted an alliance between the Kirk and the local church. Why? Because the church had been erected during the era of Somerset's rule when 'all powers' had been in the hands of the governor.

Morgan was inspired by Thomas Pringle's experiences. Pringle died prematurely in 1834 but Cape politics in the Disruption era drew inspiration from his earlier clashes with authority. Pringle recorded his experiences in his *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*, published as part two of his *African Sketches* in 1834; the *Narrative* appeared on its own in 1835 with a biography by Josiah Conder. Further additions appeared in 1840, 1842, 1844 and 1851.<sup>32</sup> As Pringle's *Narrative* showed, Morgan argued, during Somerset's era freedom of speech and action had been unknown. During this era the Literary Society, to which some members of the Scots Church had belonged, had been put down and the activities of missionaries and teachers of religion had been curtailed, lest they excited 'a spirit of disaffection to Government'. All men 'were sighing for liberty'; those 'bold spirits' who had struggled for it had done so in vain.

During Pringle's time at the Cape, Morgan continued, some had feared that the governor might insist on his right to appoint the minister of the Scottish church—an exercise of authority 'inconsistent with the principles of a Presbyterian church'. Resolutions of the committee in 1824 stated that Somerset's wishes would be consulted and adhered to but only 'as far as may be practicable, consistent with the principles of the National Presbyterian Church'.<sup>33</sup> To protect their interests the committee had desired to be 'under the care' of the Kirk in Scotland. Though Earl Bathurst, when colonial secretary, had agreed to contribute £100 towards the minister's salary, he had endorsed the doctrine of non-intrusion when he had allowed the Presbytery of Edinburgh to make the selection. This presentation was a one-time only privilege however, as, ultimately, Morgan argued, the right of presentation to the Scots Church in Cape Town was vested in the people. When James Adamson had arrived, he had immediately formed a kirk session without the consent of the Kirk, thus signalling that the church lay outside the Church of Scotland's jurisdiction. The Colonial Office had implicitly acknowledged the right of the people to ministerial patronage when it had paid the passage of the new minister for the Scots church at Glen Lynden. Thomas Pringle had been authorised by the Glen Lynden population to select a candidate on their behalf—and, it will be recalled, he had written to his Seceder cousin James Pringle for advice on who to pick. The doctrine of non-intrusion was embodied also, Morgan pointed out, in the usual method employed to appoint Scottish clergymen to the DRC. The colonial secretary merely sanctioned the nominations of committees formed by the Church. Morgan ended his treatise by proclaiming his attachment to the principles of the Free Church, which were 'firmly imbedded' in his heart and to which he had been attached since his youth.<sup>34</sup>

In a sermon of 1854, the year of the first parliament at the Cape and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Scots Church, Morgan celebrated both the progress of the church and the establishment of representative institutions. He noted that the formation of the Scots Church had occurred when liberty had first begun to dawn and when the 'arm of despotism had been broken'. He again criticised the nature of gubernatorial rule in the era before the introduction of representative government: 'All legislative, judicial, and executive powers were then virtually in the hands of one man, to whose will all public and private interests were made to bend.' Church ministers had had their freedom of speech curtailed. Invoking Pringle's memory, Morgan saluted the 'ardent friends of liberty' who had struggled

for press freedom to ensure that civil and religious liberty would flourish.<sup>35</sup> For Morgan autonomy in the church was closely connected to the issue of autonomy in the state. In a sermon of 1857 he reiterated his views on the civil magistrate's role in relation to the church. Though Christ may delegate authority to Popes and Kings they must 'take their instructions immediately from [Him]...keep within the strict line of commission, without arrogating to themselves rights or privileges to which they are not entitled according to the written word'.<sup>36</sup>

Scottish non-intrusionism thus encouraged Jardine, Adamson and Morgan to protect the spiritual independence of the Scots Church in Cape Town and demand that the governor's authority be curbed. Morgan wanted representative institutions for the state as well as popular sovereignty for his church. The writings of Thomas Pringle—who, as we saw in Chap. 2, had battled with Governor Somerset and fostered the covenanting idiom at the Cape—and John Dunmore Lang, whose own critique of Anglican supremacy was well known in Cape Town, inspired the combative politics of members of the Scots Church. For them, spiritual independence and political autonomy were two sides of the same coin.

### MISSIONS AND NON-INTRUSION

The non-intrusion controversy also penetrated the interior of the colony where the issue of church-state relations divided the missionary community. In 1838 the Glasgow Missionary Society at the Cape splintered as a result of the voluntary debate. The majority of missionaries, who would later join the Free Church, remained in affiliation with the reconstituted 'Missionary Board of the GMS adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland' but a couple of members opted to join instead the voluntarist Glasgow African Missionary Society (GAMS). The secretary of GAMS was the Rev. Gavin Struthers, a minister and historian of the Relief Church,<sup>37</sup> who noted in his history that many of his church's members were affiliated with GAMS.<sup>38</sup> Thomas Pringle's brother, John Pringle, asked for a GAMS missionary to be sent to minister to his family, connected as the Pringle family was to the Scottish dissenting community. He built a new church for the purpose at their Glen Thorn farm in the Mancazana valley. The minister appointed to the charge, Rev. E.D. Hepburn, deemed it unsatisfactory and left for an alternative settlement. When GAMS dismissed Hepburn, a power struggle commenced within the missionary community between voluntaries and establishmentarians.

The Rev. Henry Calderwood condemned the Rev. James Read senior, an ally of John Philip's and associate of GAMS, for the contents of a private letter Read had written to Struthers. Read had criticised the Calderwood faction for attempting to overpower the GAMS missionaries and have Hepburn reinstated. Read and Calderwood had already come to blows over the issue of congregational patronage. Read agreed with the non-intrusion community in Scotland who insisted that all church members should be allowed a say in the nomination of ministers. Calderwood, on the other hand, was reluctant to give local Africans a voice in church governance. Read castigated Calderwood for abandoning the so-called radical traditions of his forebears and attempting to establish a system of church governance at the Cape which excluded lay representation: 'To force a pastor upon a church without in any way to consider its judgment would be to hand over God's heritage... This has given rise to the struggle in the Scotch Church that has proved to [be] fatal.'<sup>39</sup> Read drew a comparison, says Elizabeth Elbourne, between the missionary society at the Cape and the intrusionist state in Scotland.<sup>40</sup>

Though Calderwood rejected the principle of congregational suffrage, pointing out that even in Scotland only male heads of households had voted for ministers, he also, to some extent, championed the cause of non-intrusion. Calderwood resented John Philip who, as superintendent of the London Missionary School (LMS), had the authority to oversee the governance of mission churches. Calderwood and his allies regarded Philip as a bishop-type figure and wanted to establish instead a system of church committees. This system would protect local autonomy and would be, Calderwood claimed, more democratic than the rule of a single superintendent. Calderwood claimed to be astonished that dissenters like the Reads were, in their defence of Philip, advocating episcopal church government. The Reads, for their part, insisted that committee rule was oppressive and marginalised people of colour. Philip had angered some settlers when he had intervened at the Colonial Office over their heads. His lobbying had encouraged the government to return Queen Adelaide's province to the Xhosa. Some Cape colonists desired more local autonomy in church and state and less interference from the imperial centre. They also resented humanitarian lobbying. When Philip retired in 1848 the LMS became more autonomous and less reliant on overseas funds.<sup>41</sup> The campaign for church committees in the 1840s mirrored, argues Elbourne, the campaign in this period for a representative assembly. The 'disputes over spiritual authority', she observes, 'were occurring in parallel in

Scotland and the Cape Colony, both industrialising countries with an expanding potential electorate in which debates about political citizenship interacted with debates about the relationship of church and state'.<sup>42</sup> At the Cape church-state politics also intersected with the politics of race. Because of the Scottish Disruption then, the movement at the Cape for local autonomy in religious and civil affairs gained momentum.

### DISRUPTION IN THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

The DRC, the first ministers of which arrived from the Netherlands in 1665 but whose ministry was, by the 1830s, fifty percent Scottish, was not immune from the Disruption controversy. Like the Scots Church in Cape Town, the DRC experienced internal conflict regarding the Church's relationship with the state. Efforts to protect the spiritual independence of the DRC from the governor and the Privy Council in Britain led to increased support for voluntarism and self-government for the Cape.

Regulations drafted in 1685 to guide the formation of a new kirk session, or consistory, for a congregation at Stellenbosch first underlined the nature of the DRC's relationship with the state. Half of the session's members were to be government officials and no meeting of the Church could be held without the presence of a government representative. In 1804 the 'church order' of Jacob De Mist, the commissary-general, reaffirmed, it was later claimed, the DRC's status as a civil establishment. It stated that two political commissioners, nominated by the governor, should represent the government at periodic meetings of the church's synod, the highest court of the Church, which, as it turned out, only began to meet from 1824. The commissioners were given the right, if needed, to halt church business until they had acquired the governor's approval. The government continued to provide ministerial salaries and appointed ministers to vacant congregations.<sup>43</sup>

After British control of the Cape Colony was affirmed in 1815, the government continued the custom of appointing political commissioners to the Cape Town consistory. All correspondence from the consistory to the governor was allegedly rubberstamped by the commissioner or left unanswered.<sup>44</sup> Official ties between the DRC and its mother church in Holland had now been cut and Governor Somerset attempted to 'anglicise' the Church by infiltrating the body with bilingual Scottish ministers. The DRC soon took on something of a Scottish complexion: four out of twelve of the ministers attending the first synod in 1824 were Scots.<sup>45</sup> In

1825, indeed, the DRC debated whether to establish a closer union with the Church of Scotland.<sup>46</sup> Richard Plasket, secretary to the government, was relieved that such a union did not take place; closer ties to the Scottish Church, he implied, might threaten the Cape government's position as 'nursing father' of the DRC. The government had a right, Plasket insisted, to appoint clergymen to the Church. He had no truck with the doctrine of non-intrusion. Plasket wrote to Sir John Truter, the governor's commissioner in the synod, congratulating him on his efforts to uphold the ordinance of De Mist. Truter was supporting the 'Supremacy of the Colonial Government over the Reformed Church and its right with the sanction of Home Government of regulating and superintending the Government of the Church, and of appointing the Clergymen, a right which must on no account be lost sight of or in any way be infringed upon.'<sup>47</sup>

The DRC's position in relation to the colonial powers was, some thought, too close. Thomas Pringle criticised some members of the DRC for their close relationship with Somerset's regime.<sup>48</sup> In 1824 Pringle advised Fairbairn to watch the synod of the DRC carefully; he was concerned that it 'is intended to be made a humbug and a tool of also'.<sup>49</sup> Alexander Johnstone Jardine disliked the fact that the civil authority constituted the highest court of appeal in the DRC. This circumstance violated Presbyterian principles. The political commissioners in the DRC synod should, Jardine insisted, refrain from interfering in the business of the Church; their position was merely ceremonial.<sup>50</sup> The Rev. James Adamson wrote to John Dunmore Lang that his situation at the Cape as minister of the Scots Church was more favourable than Lang's as no 'exclusive privileges' were granted by the government to any church in particular. Nevertheless, the DRC could be regarded as the established church over which the colonial government assumed a control 'inconsistent with our principles'.<sup>51</sup>

During the era of the ten years' conflict in Scotland there was further debate at the Cape over the role of the civil magistrate in the DRC and its status as an established church. Governor D'Urban, it was thought, had overstepped his mark when he disagreed with the synod's decision in 1837 to reinstate the Rev. Robert Shand, formerly a Scottish Kirkman who became minister at Tulbagh, and who had been suspended by the synod after a dispute in his parish. Shand had offended his parishioners when he refused to baptise the child of one of his deacons who, he said, desecrated the Sabbath by riding his horse. D'Urban wrote to Shand to inform him that



despite the synod's decision, he chose to continue Shand's suspension and would be referring the matter to the Colonial Office. Shand and the synod, though not some of Shand's congregation who seem to have despised him, were maddened at the governor's behaviour. Shand petitioned Lord Glenelg in March 1838 insisting that according to the principles of the churches of Scotland and Holland, the civil magistrate had only the power to endorse the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts. Describing himself as the 'Head of the Colonial Church', D'Urban insisted in response that the synod's decisions were of no effect until sanctioned by the governor. 'The Scottish ministers of the South African Church', he continued, 'do not bear in mind the material difference between that Church and the Kirk in Scotland. Here they are stipendiaries of the Government...The Colonial Clergy have a code for their own guidance – the Regulations of De Mist... and it is clear that by that code the Governor by virtue of the power vested in him by the Sovereign, is the Head and Chief of their Church.' According to D'Urban, the Shand case exposed the DRC's ultimate goal: to free the Church from governmental control and 'destroy that right of patronage under which every one of them holds his present appointment'.<sup>52</sup> The governor was not wrong for the synod of 1837 proposed that the Church's regulations should be redrawn. During the discussions the Rev. George Morgan, who would become the outspoken minister of the Scots Church in Cape Town (discussed above), defended the DRC's spiritual independence.<sup>53</sup> The political commissioners' report, regarded by the synod as insulting, described these proceedings as 'disorderly and tumultuous'.<sup>54</sup> In the 1842 meeting of synod, the political commissioner's role was again attacked by most members. The synod petitioned government stating that the civil authorities were intervening inappropriately in ecclesiastical business.

Lord Glenelg, who, in the same period, as we have seen, was sympathetic to the claims of the Church of Scotland in Upper Canada, asked the Church of Scotland for advice. The Kirk declared in favour of the DRC's synod, stating that the synod's decision to reinstate Shand had restored to him all his privileges as a minister. Glenelg forwarded this information to the new governor, Sir George Napier, D'Urban having been recalled by Glenelg on account of his annexation of Queen Adelaide province. Napier was sympathetic to the church's complaints, stating through his secretary that he was 'most anxious to free the Church from the trammels of secular interference in all spiritual or purely ecclesiastical matters'.<sup>55</sup> Shand was restored to his position.

In 1843—the year of the Scottish Disruption—the legislative council passed a Church Ordinance which repealed De Mist’s regulations. The Ordinance, declared William Porter, a Presbyterian from the north of Ireland who, as attorney-general, drafted the legislation, would legally establish the DRC as a Presbyterian church. It would henceforth be impossible for the government, he said, were it so inclined, to convert the Church into an episcopalian body and appoint the Rev. William Robertson—moderator of the synod in 1842—its first bishop. The Ordinance would protect the government’s right of patronage, a right which, Porter observed, currently ‘agitates all in Scotland – but one which in this colony rests upon a different footing’. The Ordinance stated that the government granted funds to the Church on a voluntary basis; the Church could not demand state aid as a legal right. Once the rights of both the Church and the government had been protected by law, Porter explained, the commissioners would stop attending the synod. For them to continue to attend would, Porter argued, ‘serve no purpose except to provoke or give room for controversy and unpleasantness’.<sup>56</sup> According to the Rev. John M’Carter, a DRC minister in Natal and originally a Free Churchman from Ayr, the Ordinance underlined the Church’s spiritual independence. Church members regarded the Ordinance as the Church’s charter.<sup>57</sup> After its passing the governor customarily assented to the Church’s nominations of clergymen.

It was only in the 1860s, when the civil authorities intervened in two heresy cases, that the contradictions inherent within the DRC’s constitution were revealed: it was impossible for two authorities claiming supreme power to co-exist. One case involved that of J.J. Kotzé, a Church member deemed heretical for his comments on the Church’s catechism and expelled from his congregation. The civil authorities ordered the Church to readmit him but the congregation refused. Following a similar case involving Thomas François Burgers a few years later, the Church defended its right to supervise its own affairs, pointing to the Church Ordinance of 1843. In making the case for non-intrusion, the synod also referred to the Church of Scotland’s repeated assertions of spiritual independence, including evidence from the time of the Disruption. As we saw in Chap. 7, the non-intrusionists in the Kirk printed in 1842 the *Claim of Right*, which rejected the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy by asserting that the Kirk had remained autonomous after 1707. The DRC now stated that the doctrine of non-intrusion had qualified the

‘absolute supremacy of the Crown’. The governing principle of the British empire, ‘that the Sovereign is the fountain of all authority’, had, by dint of the propagation of the non-intrusion doctrine, received ‘a most important limitation’. The Privy Council, to which the Burgers case was referred, endorsed the decision of the civil authorities at the Cape. As a result, some members of the DRC began to embrace voluntarism, looking to sever the ties between the Church and the state in its imperial and local form. Some began to view the Ordinance of 1843, not as a guarantee of the Church’s liberty, but as a ‘rope round her neck’.<sup>58</sup> Others—mostly those from its theologically liberal wing who supported Burgers and Kotzé—also called for an end to state intervention, insisting that the Ordinance, by declaring that the Church had no legal right to state aid, had endorsed the voluntary system. To secure its freedom, the Church had, in their view, sacrificed its right to financial support. Those who sought to protect freedom of expression in the Church, notes Sylvia Darby, also sought to free the Church from state control.<sup>59</sup>

### VOLUNTARISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

The Cape Parliament, when it eventually opened in 1854, passionately debated the benefits of voluntarism. These parliamentary debates echoed the Disruption-inspired deliberations in the DRC synod and in the Scots Church. A bill to institute voluntarism was introduced in 1854 and debated for twenty-one years until 1875, in the era of responsible government, when it was finally passed. William Porter argued that each denomination should receive aid according to the numbers it purported to represent. Saul Solomon, on the other hand, argued for complete disestablishment. Solomon was a Congregationalist of Jewish descent with close ties to the dissenting community. He came under John Philip’s influence and the Rev. George Morgan of the Scots Church officiated at his wedding. Solomon worked for the printing firm of George Greig (who had printed Pringle and Fairbairn’s controversial periodicals) before taking the business over. He printed Morgan’s 1857 sermon on Christ’s headship, discussed earlier, as well as the *Cape Argus* through which he voiced his voluntarist views.<sup>60</sup> In parliament Solomon referred directly to the development of voluntarism in Scotland, Canada and in Australia. The Disruption, he said, was ‘an astonishing instance of the power of the principle’ the Cape representatives were then discussing. Scottish dissenters,

Solomon explained, agreed with the Church of Scotland on doctrine and discipline; they had seceded from the Kirk on account of the establishment question.<sup>61</sup> Solomon pointed to the case of the Rev. John Brown, minister of the Secession in Edinburgh, who, as we saw in Chap. 7, had had his goods seized as a consequence of his refusal to pay the Edinburgh annuity tax. 'I honor him', said Solomon, 'for his consistency and courage. I hold that the man was right.'<sup>62</sup>

During the parliamentary election of 1869, establishmentarian members of the DRC campaigned for anti-voluntary candidates and in 1873 the Church petitioned parliament against the voluntary bill. This resolution caused a schism in the synod, however, as members like T.F. Burgers argued in favour of the scheme. J.J. Kotzé's father, Petrus J. Kotzé, twice mayor of Cape Town, came out in favour of voluntarism in a speech in the assembly. By 1872 it was estimated that around one-half of the DRC members of assembly were pro-voluntary.<sup>63</sup> Some in the DRC published a critique of Solomon's scheme, which argued that comparisons with Scotland, where voluntarism appeared to be flourishing in the post-Disruption era, were inapposite since the religious zeal of Cape colonists was not on a par with the residents of Scotland. Many could still agree, however, that it was time for the Church of England's privileges to be abolished. 'Let us only get rid of predilections', it was declared at the time, 'of the monstrous error, that because we are a British Colony, we ought, as loyal subjects, to provide for the Church of England in preference to every other.'<sup>64</sup> Voluntaries tended to attack the Anglican Church in particular—evidence of the anti-establishment sentiment at the Cape which had developed in the decades since Gray's appointment in 1848. In 1872, Solomon, pointing to the fact that most of the Cape's population was Presbyterian, condemned the favouritism which the government continued to show to the Church of England.<sup>65</sup>

In 1867 and 1868 the voluntary bill passed second readings in the assembly but on both occasions it was thrown out by a conservative legislative council. Voluntarism was connected to the issue of political reform—only after reform of the council, which rendered it more accountable to the population, and the institution of responsible government, was the bill finally passed.<sup>66</sup> Voluntarism and responsible government were two interrelated issues central to the Liberal party agenda. 'It was almost hypocritical', notes Darby, 'to accept responsible government, which was supposed to reflect the opinions of individuals and yet to argue that individuals could not be trusted to support their own churches.'<sup>67</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The desire for spiritual independence at the Cape developed in tandem with the desire for political autonomy. Local Anglican congregations, as Joseph Hardwick has shown, which were accustomed to managing their own affairs, resented the appointment of Bishop Gray and agitated against the growth of centralised power. Anti-Anglicanism developed in the municipal council which, dominated by non-Anglican dissenters and members of the DRC, accused the colonial government of favouring the Church of England. Likewise, this chapter has argued, Presbyterians in Cape Town, and in the DRC, stimulated in part by the Disruption controversy in Scotland, became increasingly suspicious of centralised authority. Members of these churches sought to limit the power of the governor and to assert their rights to control their own affairs. Even in the interior, where Scottish missionaries interpreted Free Church doctrine in different ways, church-state controversy intersected with the exclusionary politics of citizenship. Voluntarist fervour developed and was expressed in the Cape Parliament where debaters like Saul Solomon drew inspiration from the Scottish model, while also pointing to similar controversies in Australia and Canada. Just as the case of Bishop Colenso—excommunicated by Bishop Gray but reinstated by the Privy Council—encouraged the Anglican Church at the Cape to seek independence from imperial control, so the DRC's legal wrangles with the Privy Council encouraged some of its members, though not all, to desire more freedom from the local government and the British state. Inspired by the non-intrusionist constitutionalism of the Scottish Free Church, the DRC sought to curb the power of the metropole. The demands for spiritual independence mirrored, and no doubt stimulated, the demands for political autonomy—granted in part in 1854 when the Cape held its first parliament, and then in full when responsible government was secured in 1872. One commentator on the Colenso case recognised the link between self-government and spiritual independence: 'we think the capability of a community to organise its own temporal affairs a good index of the capability of its members to handle the delicate questions of church government. And our best hope for the future is that these two may be allowed to advance together, looking in each case to absolute independence as the goal.'<sup>68</sup> Others also saw the connection. Jardine, partly inspired by Lang's attempts to secure spiritual independence in Australia, discussed more fully in the next chapter, and George Morgan, inspired by Pringle's battles with the Somerset regime, became

more critical of the governor's rule. Morgan saw representative institutions and spiritual independence as safeguards against gubernatorial despotism. Ecclesiastical politics, so often overlooked, and Disruption politics in particular, helped to foster a spirit of reform at the Cape, as they did in Upper Canada. In New South Wales, as will be revealed in the next chapter, they had a similar effect.

## NOTES

1. SOAS John Philip papers, Folder 4, Jacket A, Thomas Philip to John Philip, 24 February 1840.
2. Evans et al. 1969, p. 320.
3. Dubow 2006, p. 21.
4. MacKenzie 2007, p. 118.
5. Davenport 1997, p. 52.
6. On the composition of the municipal government and legislative council and the divisions between them see Warren 1992.
7. The council was particularly resentful after it was discovered that the colonial government had reimbursed Gray's generous travel allowance.
8. Warren 1992, p. 106.
9. Darby 1970, p. 81.
10. Hardwick 2008; see also Hardwick 2014, pp. 75–6; 118–25.
11. Darby 1970, p. 89.
12. See Hinchliff 1963, pp. 82–103.
13. Quoted in Mandelbrote 1963, p. 372.
14. Dubow 2006, pp. 141–2, quotation at p. 141.
15. Walker 1962, p. 303.
16. Jardine 1827.
17. 'Editorial', *South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser*, 26 January 1825.
18. Jardine 1827, pp. 20–1.
19. See e.g., 'On the Radical Tendency of Sir Walter Scott's Writings', *Cape Literary Gazette*, July 1835; 'Sermon at the Grave of a Martyr', *Cape Literary Gazette*, December 1835. See also Lewin Robinson 1962, p. 206.
20. Lang's visit to Cape Town and his success at acquiring 'almost everything' requisite for his new institution was announced in the *South African Christian Recorder* in July 1831. An announcement also appeared in Fairbairn's *South African Commercial Advertiser*. 'Proposed College at Sidney in New South Wales', *South African Christian Recorder*, October 1831; 'Australian College', *South African Commercial Advertiser*, June 2 1832.

21. National Library of Australia [NLA], Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, Adamson to Lang, 7 November 1828.
22. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, John Bain[?] to Lang 23 September 1838.
23. 'Editorial', *South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser*, 16 May 1826.
24. 'Retirement of Sir D.K. Sandford', *Cape Literary Gazette*, November 1834.
25. 'Dr. Lang', *Cape Literary Gazette*, December 1835.
26. Adamson 1840, pp. 10–12.
27. Adamson 1843.
28. Adamson 1862, pp. 25, 27.
29. Anon. 1929, pp. 27–8.
30. Quinn and Cuthbertson 1979, pp. 26–7.
31. Anon. 1929, p. 14.
32. Lewin Robinson 1966, p. xix.
33. Anon. 1929, p. 13.
34. Morgan 1846, pp. 40–1, 48, 89. See also Anon. 1847[?].
35. Morgan's sermon was printed as *A Sermon preached in the Scottish Church Cape Town on occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the opening of that church* (1854). No extant copy of the sermon has been located but it is summarised in Quinn and Cuthbertson 1979, p. 27.
36. Morgan 1857, p. 12.
37. Ross 2009, p. 572.
38. Struthers 1843, p. 548.
39. Rutz 2008, p. 115.
40. Elbourne 2000, p. 141.
41. Davenport 1997, p. 53.
42. Elbourne 2000, p. 136.
43. M'Carter 1869, pp. 6–7, 35–6.
44. M'Carter 1869, p. 20.
45. For information on the Scottish clergy in the DRC see Sass 1956, pp. 73–5. See also, Ross 1993, pp. 151–64.
46. The DRC debated the question of union with the Church of Scotland as late as 1918: Walker 1962, p. 165.
47. McCall Theal 1904, pp. 181–3.
48. Vigne 2011, p. 126.
49. Vigne 2011, p. 130.
50. Jardine 1827.
51. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, Adamson to Lang, 7 November 1828.
52. Sass 1956, pp. 200, 202–3.

53. Anon. 1929, p. 58.
54. Sass 1956, p. 206.
55. M'Carter 1869, pp. 37–8.
56. 'On the Dutch Reformed Church Bill, Legislative Council, July 31 1843', in Porter 1886, pp. 209–11, 213.
57. M'Carter 1869, p. 39.
58. M'Carter 1869, pp. 47–76, quotations at pp. 64, 76. On the disputes see also Du Plessis 1919, pp. 208–36. The Synod voted fifty-two in favour of accepting the Privy Council rulings and forty-four against. There were seven abstentions: Nel 2010, n.p.
59. Darby 1970, p. 9. Rodney Davenport also suggests that while the liberal wing of the DRC supported voluntaryism, the majority of the Church was against it: Davenport 1997, p. 59.
60. Gladstone Solomon 1948, p. 154.
61. Anon. 1855b, p. 8.
62. Anon. 1859, p. 32.
63. Darby 1970, pp. 44, 46–7, 50.
64. Anon. 1855a, p. 15.
65. Darby 1970, p. 81.
66. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, editor of the *Volksvriend*, organ of the orthodox movement in the DRC, opposed the voluntary principle. 'It was but a short step', says his biographer, 'to the opposition of the movement for Responsible Government, in which the leaders as well as the followers were in the main the same as in the Voluntary question.' See Hofmeyr and Reitz 1913, p. 102.
67. Darby 1970, pp. 148–9.
68. Fremantle 1866, p. 342.

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- Anon. 1847[?]. *Reply to "Remarks" by the Rev. G. Morgan on the State of the Scottish Church in Cape Town.* Cape Town[?].
- . 1855a. *Mr Saul Solomon, As Champion for the Voluntary Principle, Answered by the Zuid-Afrikaan.* Cape Town.
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## Republicanism in New South Wales

*‘[H]ow can we pretend to object to the claim of the Pope to govern the whole Christian Church, in all its numerous, diversified, and widely scattered settlements—on which the Sun never sets; when we ourselves actually set up a sort of political Pope in Downing-street, and empower him to govern the whole Colonial Empire of Britain, in all its numerous and endlessly diversified and widely scattered settlements—on which also the sun never sets? Reasoning upon Protestant principles, and without reference to points of doctrine, the pretended right to govern is in both cases sheer usurpation—a mere trampling under foot of the sacred and inherent rights of men.’*

(Lang 1857a, pp. 98–99)

In 1835 John Dunmore Lang visited Van Diemen’s Land to preach at the opening of St Andrew’s Church in Hobart. He paid tribute to the church’s minister, the Rev. Archibald Macarthur, a minister of the ‘highly respectable’ United Secession Church. Lang noted the similarities which existed between the Church of Scotland and dissenters like Macarthur. Unlike in England, where nonconformists could be theologically heterodox, dissenters from the national Church of Scotland agreed with the establishment on issues of doctrine; they dissented from the Kirk because of the law of patronage. Patronage had been, proclaimed Lang, foisted on the Scottish people by English parliamentarians in contravention of the Treaty of

Union. The liberties of the Church had been undermined and the rights of the people ‘cruelly invaded’; a tory faction had insidiously taken from them ‘the blood-bought privileges of their forefathers’. Luckily, Lang continued, a new era had dawned; because of the Reform Act of 1832, ‘the Scottish nation had obtained its proper place and influence in the empire’. Just like Henry Cockburn, quoted in Chap. 7, Lang recognised the Reform Act’s real significance: it might determine the future of the Church. ‘Scotsmen’, said he, ‘may well be thankful to the good providence of God for that famous [Reform] Bill...wherever the spirit of oppression presumes hereafter to show itself towards them—whether under the unscriptural name of an archdeacon, or the prostituted title of a bishop—they have only to make their case known to one or other of the constituted guardians of the civil and religious liberties of their country.’<sup>1</sup> In Scotland, reported Lang, the General Assembly was already working to throw off patronage and restore liberty to the Kirk while dissenters were striving for liberty by another means: they hoped to overturn the Church completely. It might have been possible to bring about a union between the Kirk and its dissenters if not for this ‘Establishment Question’ with which, Lang reported, ‘all other questions are now regarded as comparatively insignificant’.<sup>2</sup> In 1833 Robert Bowie wrote to Lang disapprovingly of the voluntarist meetings being held across Scotland and sent him voluntarist texts on ‘what they call their principles’. ‘I trust’, said Bowie, ‘for the sake of Religion and for the sake of your native land that God will frustrate their nefarious plans.’ There was one comfort in these bad times: Thomas M’Crie, the respected Seceder historian, had chosen not to join with the voluntaries.<sup>3</sup>

Lang deliberately avoided discussing the establishment question in his Hobart sermon but he did not keep quiet about it for long. As the 1830s progressed he moved further towards a voluntarist position and, no doubt to the horror of his friend Bowie, was advocating the nefarious scheme of outright disestablishment by the early 1840s. Though an early supporter of Governor Bourke’s Church Act of 1836, which distributed funds proportionately to the principal denominations in New South Wales, Lang soon condemned a system which he believed buttressed Anglicanism and Catholicism and supported infidelity. As he did in his early years in Sydney, discussed in Chap. 4, Lang resisted the attempts of Archdeacon Broughton and his Anglican supporters to consolidate the Church of England’s position. Frustrated at Broughton’s pretensions and the legislative council’s attempts to regulate the affairs of his Scots Church, Lang renounced his

government salary and demanded the complete abolition of state aid. Neither the local nor the imperial authorities, Lang claimed, in a similar vein to his Cape Town friend James Adamson, discussed in the previous chapter, had any business interfering in Sydney's ecclesiastical disputes. He began to cultivate relationships with Macarthur's brethren back in Scotland in the voluntaryist United Secession and Relief Churches. In Scotland, the invasion of Scotland's spiritual sphere by the temporal powers had resulted in the Disruption. By throwing off the shackles of the state, Lang had, he thought, beaten the Free Churchers to it. He gloated that he had initiated a mini-Disruption in Sydney before the Scottish Disruption proper.

As outlined in Chap. 4, historians have been working recently to retrieve Lang from the footnote of Australia's history. Even before he embraced separatist, anti-monarchical republicanism, Benjamin Jones argues, Lang was influenced by the tradition of civic republicanism whose tenets underlined the importance of entrenching civic virtue and securing popular freedom from domination. Jones suggests that a type of 'Nonconformist Christianity' influenced Lang's politics. He became a democrat, championing the rights of the third estate, in order to advance 'the cause of a moral Christian society'.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere Lang has been described as a 'republican prophet' who drew inspiration from the bible.<sup>5</sup> This book adds nuance to these arguments by suggesting that the specific traditions of Scottish Presbyterianism shaped Lang's politics. Influenced by the tenets of voluntarism and non-intrusion, Lang fought to secure popular freedom for his church from the domination of the legislative council and the British authorities. Inspired by populist fervour in Disruption-era Scotland and news from Canada and the Cape, he demanded spiritual autonomy for his church at the same time as he began to demand self-government and democracy for New South Wales. Joseph Hume's proposals to introduce colonial representation into the reformed parliament in Britain had been a disappointment, Lang thought. Only a fully responsible and popular government, he believed, would enable Australia to abolish state aid, free the colony from the grip of Anglican—and Catholic—hierarchy and become a nation of virtuous Protestants. Pointing to the martyrdom of the Scottish Covenanters and the rights supposedly entrenched in the Treaty of Union, Lang continued to couch his claims in the exclusionary language of Scottish birthright. Eventually Lang decided only complete independence and the establishment of an Australian republic would honour God's wishes.

## THE CHURCH ACT AND ANGLICAN SUPREMACY

On arriving in Sydney after his lobbying mission to London, and sojourn in Cape Town—discussed in Chap. 6—Lang had had to face the wrath of Archdeacon Broughton. Lang had travelled to Britain to acquire funds for his Presbyterian college and to complain about Anglican preferment in New South Wales. Broughton, as we have seen, had been insulted by Lang's criticism of the Church of England. Lang's credit in the colony had been damaged but still Lang was hopeful when in 1831 Richard Bourke, former Cape Colony governor known to be a liberal whig, arrived in Sydney to replace Governor Darling. Thomas Pringle when he saw Lang in London asked him to carry back to Sydney a volume and a letter for Bourke, probably an edition of Pringle's recently published account of his stay in Cape Town.<sup>6</sup> Bourke soon wrote to the Colonial Office about his plan for a new system for financing religious instruction in New South Wales. This despatch, commented Lang, was 'one of the most important state papers I have ever seen'.<sup>7</sup> Bourke planned to finance all the principal denominations in the colony proportionately.<sup>8</sup> Lord Glenelg, who became colonial secretary in 1835, backed his proposals. Though, Glenelg declared, he was attached to the Church of England 'in common with other members of the Government', he felt it was fair to acknowledge the just claims of the diverse population in New South Wales.<sup>9</sup> Lang knew not which statesman to admire most. Bourke's Church Act of 1836 was 'liberal and enlightened'; it would, Lang declared, 'be regarded in all future times as the *Magna Carta* of the religious liberty of this infant empire'.<sup>10</sup> The Church Act signalled a change in colonial policy; no longer would the Church of England be foisted upon pluralistic colonial settlements; its days as an imperial established church were over. The act was particularly gratifying, Lang noted, to Scots Presbyterians, who had been insulted in the past by Brisbane and Darling. The Church Act, Lang proclaimed, would 'operate as a death-blow to that system of Exclusive Episcopal domination, under which Christianity itself has suffered, and bled, and well nigh expired, in this colony...[and] which has...tended to alienate from His Majesty the King the affections of the most enlightened and loyal of his colonial subjects'.<sup>11</sup>

It was not long before Lang changed his tune. The Church Act, it turned out, did not bring about complete denominational equality. Lang and his allies were aggrieved that despite the Church Act the Church of England continued to regard itself as the established church in New South

Wales. The Church and School Corporation, which, as we saw in Chap. 4, had been established to fund Anglican instruction in the colony, was dissolved in 1833. This news was fantastic, Lang thought, since the Corporation's existence, like the Canadian clergy reserves, had had the potential to provoke a rebellion. But Broughton and his allies suggested that the Corporation's lands, rather than be sold to boost the colony's funds, might be appropriated to support the Church of England.<sup>12</sup> The Church's defenders claimed that the British constitution recognised the Church as one of its constituent parts. Wherever British colonies had been planted, the Church of England had been established. The Church of England was an imperial church whose jurisdiction extended beyond England's shores. Only a revolution, it was declared in the *Sydney Gazette*, could alter the constitution of the country and release the Queen from her solemn covenant with the nation and her duty as head of the Church.<sup>13</sup>

*The Colonist*, a newspaper launched by Lang in 1835, rejected these claims. Between 1835 and 1838, Lang heavily influenced the tone and content of *The Colonist*, which was admired, as we have seen, in Cape Town. After 1838 James McEachern, a Scottish migrant and one of Lang's acolytes, took over the publication's editorship.<sup>14</sup> *The Colonist* questioned why the Anglican Church deserved territorial grants. The lands in the colony were for the use of all and the land fund had been generated to finance immigration. Broughton was trying to establish an 'imperium in imperio'; Anglican domination would threaten the liberties of the people.<sup>15</sup> The *English* constitution might recognise the supremacy of the Anglican Church in England, Wales and Ireland but the *British* constitution, created at the Union of 1707, recognised two national churches and rendered both territorial not imperial institutions. The Church of England's jurisdiction was restricted to England, Wales and Ireland while the Church of Scotland was confined to Scotland alone. The British constitution, indeed, encompassed three kingdoms out of which the British empire had evolved.<sup>16</sup> Yes, the Union protected the Church of England in England and the 'territories thereunto belonging' but this 'legal phraseology', it was argued, should be taken to denote the minor islands adjacent to England or, at a push, the colonies established by England *before* 1707. After 1707 the royal banners had been melded into one imperial standard; wherever this flag had been planted the soil had become the property not of England but of a united Britain: the 'joint estate of that great national co-partnery established in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Anne'.<sup>17</sup> The doctrine of Anglican supremacy—the notion that the Queen was

head of an imperial church—was a doctrine which, *The Colonist* argued, ‘no Scotchman’ could allow.<sup>18</sup>

To the argument that English law, which recognised the Church of England’s supremacy, had been exported to Britain’s colonies, and thus the Church of England had been exported likewise, *The Colonist* responded thus: the local legislature, not an imported legal precedent, should determine how and if to support religious institutions.<sup>19</sup> If colonies, the paper argued, were obliged to conform to the law of the parent state then New South Wales would have either two establishments or a hybrid: ‘The United Church of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism as by Law Established’.<sup>20</sup> William Westbrooke Burton, Supreme Court judge, was castigated for proclaiming at a meeting of the Anglican Diocesan Committee that the constitution recognised the Queen as head of a united church and state. Burton had been a puisne judge at the Cape Colony and on his transfer to Sydney, James Adamson had warned Lang that while ‘liberal towards other denominations’, Burton was ‘very zealous on behalf of his own’.<sup>21</sup>

*The Colonist* echoed Adamson’s argument, discussed in Chap. 9, on the unconstitutional nature of the Queen’s supremacy and the independence of the Scots Church in Cape Town. *The Colonist* also noted the agitation of Upper Canadian Presbyterians—discussed in Chap. 8—who, in defiance of the rectories policy, pointed to the Treaty of Union as the guarantor of Scotland’s religious privileges. In both Upper Canada and New South Wales, it was reported, Scottish colonists were fighting for their blood-bought liberties.<sup>22</sup>

### LANG’S SCOTS CHURCH AND SPIRITUAL AUTONOMY

Their battle with the Church of England caused Lang and his followers to argue for the legislative independence of the New South Wales council. Lang’s falling out with his Presbyterian brethren further encouraged the minister to believe that only self-government and reform of the council could secure his spiritual autonomy. Lang’s relations with the Presbytery of New South Wales had only ever been stormy. Lang was contemptuous of the Rev. John McGarvie, his moderate colleague, and other alleged drunkards in the Presbytery, so he left for Britain in July 1836 to recruit a better sort of minister. He told his new recruits before they arrived in Sydney in December 1837 that he had resolved to leave the Presbytery and set up the alternative Synod of New South Wales. He implied that the Colonial Office and General Assembly in Edinburgh had sanctioned this



move. In his absence, however, the legislative council in Sydney had passed the Presbyterian Church Temporalities Act which established procedures for the appointment of church trustees. It stated that the Presbytery was officially connected to the Church of Scotland in Scotland and would approve any government funds due to congregations as a consequence of the Church Act. In short, this act made it difficult for the legislative council to grant salaries to the ministers in Lang's alternative Synod.

Governor George Gipps, who had replaced Bourke, was unsure if Lang's Synod was even legal. Why had he formed a synod first before a presbytery? Was it not irregular to establish a superior court before a subordinate body? Lang claimed to be incensed at the council's behaviour for the implication that lay behind it: that the state had a right to legislate for the church. He insisted that the legislative council was trying to suppress liberty of conscience and force the new Synod to join the Presbytery. *The Colonist* sensationally compared the behaviour of the council to tyrannical measures employed during the reign of the Stuarts. Like 'the Popish King James the Second,' it was said, 'when he tried the notable experiment of the thumbscrews and the boot on the Scotch Presbyterians of olden time, [the council] merely wished to render the clergy servile to the state'.<sup>23</sup> The Synod of New South Wales, *The Colonist* argued, recognised 'no Head of the Church but Christ'; withholding state aid because the Synod would not join the Presbytery amounted to 'an unwarrantable invasion' of the liberty and independence of the Synod. The council was attempting to wrest the 'Crown from off the Messiah's head'.<sup>24</sup> Lang was particularly annoyed that Broughton, as a legislative councillor, had weighed in on the debate. Broughton had been elevated from archdeacon to bishop in 1836. In what way was an Anglican bishop qualified to pass judgement on Scots Presbyterian ecclesiastical matters? While the bishop held a seat on the council, *The Colonist* argued, the Church Act was a 'mockery';<sup>25</sup> it had been perverted into an 'engine of oppression'.<sup>26</sup> The paper hoped, as Jotham Blanchard had hoped a few years before, that the bishop's behaviour in the colony would encourage those at home 'more energetically to agitate for the expulsion of the Bishops from the Parliament...and also from the Executive Councils abroad'. Can they 'fail to remember' it was asked, 'that it was in resistance to [prelatic] supremacy and domination that our covenanted fathers bled?' The very principles, the paper proclaimed, for which the Synod was suffering were 'analogous to those which our martyred ancestors cherished amid the gloom of their dungeons'.<sup>27</sup>

In answer to the governor's query about the legality of the Synod, Lang produced an act of the General Assembly of 1647, which had been appended to the Westminster Confession of Faith and which had allegedly sanctioned the formation of higher church courts before the creation of subordinate bodies. In the council, Alexander Berry—a friend, Lang maintained, of Lang's enemies—condemned Lang for introducing a piece of legislation from the time of the civil wars in Britain. What did this move suggest about the republican tendencies of Lang and his friends? Had the King's head not been cut off only two years after this legislation had been passed? Berry warned the council—in a discussion reminiscent of the Nova Scotian assembly's debate on the Pictou Seceders (discussed in Chap. 3)—that during the civil wars Scottish Presbyterians had divided into two camps: one body remained connected to the state while the Seceders, who were republican in their views, dissented from the Kirk. *The Colonist* reprimanded Berry for his inaccuracy—Seceders broke away from the Kirk only in the 1730s—and was incandescent at his insinuations. The 1647 act, Lang maintained, had been confirmed by the Treaty of Union. Berry had essentially accused the entire Scottish nation of 'revolutionary and regicidal tendencies'. *The Colonist* hoped that Scottish Presbyterian voters would not forget this affront when the time came to elect members of the council.<sup>28</sup>

Lang was told that his ministers would get stipends if they declared themselves dissenters but Lang would not yet relinquish his connection with the Scottish Kirk—a connection which, he claimed, entitled him to money but which precluded the council, the General Assembly in Edinburgh and the Colonial Office in London from interfering in his Synod's business. He argued somewhat nebulously that both the Presbytery of New South Wales and the Synod of New South Wales were sister churches to the Kirk and both deserved state aid. The Kirk recognised many sister bodies, with which it shared standards but over which it had no power; these included the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town—then embroiled, as we have seen, in its own campaign to underline its autonomy. The Synod of New South Wales, like the Presbytery of New South Wales, was another sister church.<sup>29</sup>

Governor Gipps was happy to allocate funds to Lang's ministers on a temporary basis but would not agree to permanent salaries until he had heard the opinion of the Church of Scotland and the Colonial Office. Lang was sure, he claimed, that the General Assembly would treat him sympathetically, for the cause of the Synod was the 'cause of religious

liberty and of evangelical Christianity'.<sup>30</sup> He was wrong. The Colonial Committee of the General Assembly, led by Duncan Macfarlane, a friend of McGarvie's, regarded Lang as a schismatic and refused to recognise the Synod's validity. In response Lang's supporters reiterated Lang's argument that the Kirk had no jurisdiction in Australia. Its high-handed treatment of the Synod contravened their blood-bought rights as British subjects to religious liberty.<sup>31</sup> The General Assembly's failure to recognise the Synod would indirectly deprive the ministers of their salaries.<sup>32</sup> The behaviour of the Committee in presuming to legislate for the Synod was declared to be anti-Presbyterian and popish in spirit; 'it having been the uniform policy of the earlier Popes...to encourage appeals to Rome & to secure the universal recognition of their antisciptural and usurped authority'.<sup>33</sup> Lang was annoyed that the Colonial Office had accepted the Committee's judgement. The Office was activated by a 'spirit of decided hostility towards that liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free'.<sup>34</sup> In the event, during Lang's absence in Britain to plead his case, his Synod united with the Presbytery of New South Wales and formed the Synod of Australia. The problem was solved. The General Assembly's Committee told Lang to join the new Synod when he returned to Sydney. The notion that the General Assembly exercised jurisdiction over Australian Presbyterians was entirely 'without foundation'. If 'this be the only obstacle to union,' the Committee declared, 'it is one having no existence in reality, but only in his own invention'.<sup>35</sup>

### LANG'S VOLUNTARYISM

Lang was growing increasingly disillusioned with the church-state alliance. He sought to curb the powers of the legislative council in Sydney and to loosen the ties between colony and metropole. On his return to Australia Lang did join the Synod of Australia as he was instructed to do but he did not last long as a state-funded clergyman. When, in 1842, Lang visited Port Phillip to scout out locations for new missions and to raise money for the Australian College, the Synod suspended him for vacating his church for too long a period. Lang, who no doubt guessed the Synod would soon depose him, seized the opportunity to secede. He threatened to move to New Zealand to establish a Presbyterian church in Auckland but his congregation pleaded with him to stay. Lang gave up his government salary; he claimed his congregation paid him more than he had ever received as a government employee. It suited Lang at this juncture to advocate a form

of voluntaryism and he delivered public lectures on voluntaryism at the School of Arts in Sydney.<sup>36</sup> Lang could save face by depicting his falling out with the Synod as a principled self-sacrifice for the cause of disestablishment.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, his conversion to voluntaryism was not wholly self-interested. Lang later claimed that the Synod of Australia had deposed him because of the voluntaryism he had embraced *before* he left the Synod and not after.<sup>38</sup> Certainly, Lang had been moving towards voluntaryism for a while.

Indeed, Lang was contemplating voluntaryism even as he was negotiating with the General Assembly. *The Colonist*, launched in 1835, outlined from the first its commitment to voluntaryism. State provision, it declared, was the 'greatest calamity' ever to have befallen the Christian religion in the British colonies. The paper hoped that soon denominations in Australia 'may speedily be left, as in America, to the voluntary contributions of their people'.<sup>39</sup> Lang also expressed his voluntarist inclinations in a publication of 1839 on the colonisation of New Zealand. In this work Lang warned against instituting a New Zealand version of the Church Act. Though this system might put an end to all the 'heart-burnings and jealousies which the existence of an exclusive establishment in the Colonies is sure to give rise to', in Australia it had also helped to elevate Catholicism and Anglican Tractarianism—feared in Sydney as well as in Cape Town and Toronto—and to diminish the usefulness of the Presbyterian clergy. The system was also expensive and, alluding to his difficulties regarding the Scots Church, Lang claimed that it had afforded the government a 'pretext for interfering in ecclesiastical matters, in way of petty and vexatious regulation and legislation'.<sup>40</sup> Lang always maintained that he saw nothing wrong with establishments in theory; hence his attempt to stay connected to the Church of Scotland and claim state aid; but his experience in Australia was starting to persuade him that voluntaryism was the best system to adopt in certain contexts.

A trip to the United States in 1840 convinced him of this fact. He wrote up his observations in *Religion and Education in America* (1840), which he addressed to the laity of the Church of Scotland. By publishing this work Lang aimed to contribute to the debate in Scotland generated by the voluntary controversy and ten years' conflict. For too long, he informed his target readership, the Kirk had deluded itself. Despite the Kirk's protestations of spiritual independence, the British monarch operated as the head of the Scottish Church. The disputes over patronage confirmed that Kirkmen were merely the 'hereditary bondsmen' of the

Queen. The Kirk had evidently abandoned the legacy of the covenanting martyrs, who had accepted only Christ as head of the church.<sup>41</sup> The United States, Lang decided, where there was no established church, was more moral and pious than Britain and its empire. There was talk that Catholic immigration was altering America for the worse. This was nonsense, Lang declared: it was clear that despite the Catholic 'influx', Protestantism was thriving. He became convinced that New South Wales, also experiencing an inflow of Irish Catholic migrants, could, if the Church Act was abolished, reach similar heights as the United States. Initially Lang had accepted aid to Catholics as the price for the end of Anglican domination. It was difficult for him to stomach, however, the inauguration of Dr Poulding as Roman Catholic bishop for New South Wales. The legislative council awarded Poulding a salary of £500 per annum.<sup>42</sup> When the state gave up funding Catholic error, Lang insisted, Protestant Truth would flourish. The future of the empire was at stake: Australia might be blighted by superstition as in South America or dominated by the clergy as in Ireland.<sup>43</sup> Only voluntarism would prevent both outcomes.

Lang sent copies of this work to leading ministers in Scotland of the voluntarist United Secession and Relief Churches. He claimed later that he had been treated by the Synod of Australia in the same manner that the Church of Scotland had treated the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, founder of the Secession, and the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, founder of the Relief.<sup>44</sup> The Rev. John Brown, the annuity tax protester of the United Secession who was so inspirational to Saul Solomon in Cape Town, replied to Lang most enthusiastically. 'Your work', he wrote, 'is greatly valued and relished by the Voluntaries.'<sup>45</sup> It would, Brown hoped, accelerate 'the Emancipation of the churches from the yoke of Civil Establishment'.<sup>46</sup> Brown informed Lang that the Missionary Committee of the United Secession Church had resolved to help Lang if it could.<sup>47</sup> The Rev. John French of the Relief Church, meanwhile, reassured Lang that 'a feeling of generous and approving sympathy towards you in your disinterested and manly struggle for Christian truth and religious liberty was expressed by all my brethren'.<sup>48</sup> Once he had broken with the Synod of Australia, Lang printed 'The Voluntary Manifesto' in his newspaper, a letter addressed to the ministers of the Secession and Relief, encouraging them to support his plight.<sup>49</sup> In 1847 he met in person with a committee of the United Presbyterian Church—which had been formed by a union between the Relief and United Secession—in order to discuss the feasibility of missions.<sup>50</sup> Lang had come a long way since his squabble with William Wemyss in 1824.

Wemyss, a Seceder, it will be remembered, had hoped to open the pulpit of the Scots Church to dissenters. He had objected to Lang's request to the governor for an augmentation of his salary. Lang had complained that Wemyss hoped to keep him in a 'state of complete vassalage to my congregation as is the case with ministers among the Dissenters'.<sup>51</sup> Lang now embraced this vassalage as a form of liberty.

Lang explained his position on the church-state connection thus:

I have already subscribed our national standard, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and I am quite willing to do so again. I do not regard such a connection as either sinful or unlawful. But it is evident, the question assumes a totally different form and character in this country from what it does either in the abstract or in Scotland. The question *here* is simply this, "Are we, by receiving State support, on the principle and condition that that support shall be extended to all religions and superstitions alike, to countenance, by our practice and example, the monstrous heresy that all religions are alike and therefore all equally deserving of support from the State?"<sup>52</sup>

It was unconscionable, he claimed, to support a system which buttressed multiple church establishments and thus, from Lang's point of view, propagated error as well as Truth. In a pluralistic settlement such as New South Wales, one could only be true to one's self by embracing disestablishment and the voluntary principle. The Church Act, Lang now realised, was no Magna Carta; it sanctioned latitudinarianism and infidelity.

### LANG'S MINI-DISRUPTION

Lang was beside himself with glee when it became clear that, soon after his own secession from the Synod of Australia in 1842, many ministers in the Church of Scotland were about to leave the Kirk at the Disruption. Lang could not resist pointing out that he had beaten the Free Churchers to it; the General Assembly had recently scolded Lang for his schismatic behaviour but now many in the Kirk were following in his footsteps. The Church of Christ, his paper warned the Kirk, did not need an establishment: 'Let them cut the connection, therefore, at once, as Dr. Lang and his congregation have done.'<sup>53</sup> In his reminiscences written in 1877, the year before he died, Lang commented that 'our Church case in Sydney in 1837 was precisely the same as that of the Church of Scotland at the disruption in 1843'.<sup>54</sup>

Lang gloatingly admonished members of the Synod of Australia for failing to martyr themselves as he and the Free Church had chosen to do. He claimed that owing to the wording of the Temporalities Act the Synod had legally bound itself to the rump Kirk in Scotland. Several members of the Synod sympathised with the Free Church; however, they could not openly say so without losing their property.<sup>55</sup> Lang wanted the Temporalities Act repealed but not to help his brethren honour their consciences and keep their salaries. Rather, he wanted to secure his right to the Scots Church property whose ownership was in dispute following his secession. Still, Lang heartily approved of the non-intrusion movement; Lang had long admired Thomas Chalmers to whose sermons he had listened while a divinity student in Glasgow and with whom he had consulted in 1831.<sup>56</sup> The Disruption, his paper declared, was the 'first of a series (we trust peaceful) revolutions that will, ere long, wrench asunder the whole fabric of Church and State throughout the British Empire'.<sup>57</sup> The Disruption had sounded the death knell of religious establishments around the world.<sup>58</sup>

### VOLUNTARYISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

The conflict with his Presbyterian brethren, which had involved the local council in Sydney, the General Assembly in Edinburgh and Colonial Office in London, caused Lang and his followers to critique Anglican dominance in the local council and to think carefully about questions of transmarine jurisdiction. The bishop had no right, it was argued, to sit on the council and the council had no right to interfere in Presbyterian affairs. The Church of Scotland's General Assembly, moreover, like the Church of England, had no jurisdiction in New South Wales. Lang's arguments on ecclesiastical self-government were easily applied to political questions. At an earlier period Lang had been wary of extensive reform, but now, following his efforts to protect his spiritual autonomy, Lang came to favour fully representative and responsible government for New South Wales. His paper scorned Gipps's attempt to introduce municipal institutions into the colony before a responsible national government. Just as it had been perfectly legitimate for Lang to form a synod before he had established subordinate presbyteries, so it was reasonable for colonists to expect a national legislature before regional authorities.<sup>59</sup> Lang informed his new allies in the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland, some of whose members, as we saw in Chap. 7, had been notorious for

campaigning for Chartism—a movement of which Lang approved—that political freedom for New South Wales would have a beneficial impact on the religious state of the colony. The current system had been ‘palmed on the country’ but when the people themselves acquired a say in government, voluntarism would receive a boon.<sup>60</sup> State aid, Naomi Turner has written, ‘became an important issue in the colonists’ democratic fight for responsible self-government’.<sup>61</sup>

In 1841 Lang launched a new newspaper, the *Colonial Observer*, to agitate for self-government. The British parliament, the paper argued, had no right to tax Australian colonists without giving them representation—just as the General Assembly had no right to govern an Australian synod. But Joseph Hume’s proposal that the colonies should be represented in the imperial legislature was inadequate also: the colony needed its own assembly independent of Westminster’s jurisdiction.<sup>62</sup> Lang argued that the colony was being governed by a ‘Committee of Incapables’ who had made a mess of immigration policy. Lang agreed that land should be sold off at a minimum price instead of parcelled out as grants and he believed that the proceeds of land sales should be devoted exclusively to emigration. Nine-tenths of the immigration fund, he pointed out, had been generated by Protestants since Catholics were too poor to buy land. Nine-tenths of the population, Lang perhaps incorrectly reasoned, thus wanted Protestants rather than Catholics to migrate to New South Wales. Yet Catholics, he claimed, had arrived into the colony in their droves. The *Colonial Observer* stated that it would ‘strenuously advocate the exclusive appropriation of Protestant funds to the encouragement and promotion of Protestant immigration’. Catholicism presented ‘a serious obstacle to the political advancement and general welfare’ of the colony.<sup>63</sup> A representative council which respected the wishes of the people would be more likely to transform New South Wales into a ‘bulwark against the kingdom of Antichrist’.<sup>64</sup> It would also abolish the system established by the Church Act which was proving too expensive to maintain.<sup>65</sup>

New South Wales was granted a new constitution in 1843. The nominee council was replaced by a blended thirty-six-member legislative council. The council membership was two-thirds elected, one-third nominated; the twenty-four elected members were chosen by men who paid £20 a year in rent or owned a freehold of £200. Broughton stepped down from the legislative council, though he remained in the executive body. Lang sought to fill his place as the only clerical member of the new council. He knew this move might seem hypocritical, but he did not really seem to



care. It was better to have a Presbyterian minister in the council than a bishop.<sup>66</sup> He claimed that he sought election to champion religious equality and to promote immigration and education. He resented that in addition to a hefty civil list, the Colonial Office had reserved from the colonial revenue £30,000 a year for the support of religious instruction. Lang was determined that no more would be spent on buttressing religious establishments. He hoped also to fight his own personal battle over the future of the Scots Church and the Australian College.

Lang took one of the six seats allocated to Port Phillip. In the council Lang brought forward a motion recommending the establishment of a select committee to inquire into the grievances of the Scots Church. The church had petitioned the unreformed council but to no avail. Lang hoped that a representative body would be more receptive. The committee recommended that a sum of money be allocated to help with the liquidation of the debt of the church. The governor, however, vetoed the suggestion, stating that the Scots Church had already had too much public money. In 1841, for example, the council had agreed to remit some of the church's debt. Lang was incensed at the governor's intervention. It was unconstitutional, he claimed, for the governor to ignore the wishes of the council: his behaviour was an 'overstretch of the Viceregal prerogative'. The reform of the council, Lang insisted, had not gone far enough; the governor could still pack the council with his nominees and still it was responsible to the Crown and not to the people. The council should have control over the colony's expenditure and the power to fix the salaries of government officers; the governor, who exercised a 'despotic authority', regarded any criticism of the estimates as a personal attack.

Lang maintained that the revenue apportioned to religious instruction was a 'greater grievance' than anything else on the civil list. By 'placing all forms of religion, as it does, on the same footing as to public support, it goes to establish this most delusive, dangerous, and demoralizing doctrine, that all religions are alike, and alike deserving of public support'. Surely it was 'a question for the colonists themselves, rather than for the Imperial Parliament, to decide whether the amounts required for the support of religion should be contributed directly by the members of these communions themselves, or indirectly through their authorised representatives'.<sup>67</sup> Lang claimed that on account of the Canadian rebellion, the British government felt justified in putting 'unconstitutional restrictions' on the Australian people. All the government had to do to avoid another rebellion was to grant the colony responsible government. If this was

denied, Lang warned, then 'disaffection will at length display her insurgent flag and rally around it a hundred thousand free-born Australians, to repeat the same scenes in these uttermost parts of the earth as have been exhibited already in the misgoverned Colonies of Britain in other and far distant lands'.<sup>68</sup>

Perhaps surprisingly, given his prejudice against Irish Catholics, Lang sympathised with the campaign to repeal the union between Britain and Ireland. He regarded the repeal movement, he said, in a different light to many of his countrymen because of his experience of imperial misrule in Australia. Ireland's principal grievance, Lang claimed, was an oppressive church establishment. Even in the north the Presbyterian population had been mistreated but had been bribed with the *regium donum*, the state grant which Lang described as an 'ecclesiastical Soup-kitchen'. It was natural that the Irish people—who were the supreme power in the country—should want to cut ties with a parliament which ruled from afar. The British government, Lang insisted, did not have the requisite local knowledge to govern Ireland effectively. Australia was suffering in a similar way. The colonial secretary had sent a despatch to prevent landholders from burning grass in the interior. If they had been consulted, Lang proclaimed, the indigenous people of Australia—who had been burning grass 'from time immemorial'—would have told the Colonial Office that new grass resulted in superior pasture for kangaroos. Irish independence, he concluded, would be good for Britain and its colonies. It would keep the Irish in Ireland (Lang recommended shutting the ports) and it would enable the government to concentrate on colonial affairs. Soon the 'Manchester men'—the leaders of the Anti-Corn Law League—might come to power and Britain and its colonies would be free at last.<sup>69</sup>

### VOLUNTARISM AND DEMOCRACY

The British government passed the Australian Colonies Government Act in 1850 which granted to the colonial legislatures in Australia the right to devise new constitutions for their territories and establish fully autonomous governments. But still Lang was not happy. Why should the legislature, of which Lang was no longer a member—a notoriously biased and partly nominated body—construct a new government on behalf of the Australian people? As a consequence of partisan gerrymandering, the new constitution protected the interest and influence of the squatters—the large landholders who had been granted generous leases in 1846. Lang was annoyed that so much land was sealed up and unavailable for the

development of infrastructure. In ancient Israel, Lang pointed out, land had been divided equally among adult males.<sup>70</sup> Now the squatters had virtually disfranchised half of the colony's population. The political weight of Sydney residents, he claimed, had been reduced to a 'vulgar fraction of only one tenth' of the political weight of squatters on the frontier.<sup>71</sup> State aid for religious instruction had been reserved under the new system against the wishes of the majority of the population.

Lang was turning increasingly into a populist. Just as he favoured the abolition of patronage and the boost non-intrusion gave to popular liberty in the ecclesiastical sphere, so he favoured a broad franchise in the political realm. In ancient Israel, Lang pointed out, official appointments had been made by popular election.<sup>72</sup> The puritans who had fled the persecution of the Stuarts had set up governments on the basis of universal suffrage.<sup>73</sup> He criticised Broughton for recommending the introduction of a colonial aristocracy. It was unsurprising, Lang's paper commented, that an Anglican bishop would favour such a move; an aristocracy, it was argued, would oppress the populace and negatively affect its morals.<sup>74</sup> The English aristocracy, Lang's paper argued, had helped to cause the Disruption. It was no coincidence that the Disruption, Anti-Corn Law League and the movement for further franchise extension were occurring in Britain simultaneously. As we saw in Chap. 7, Lang was not the only dissenter to take such a view. By encouraging the Disruption, the government had hastened 'on a political revolution that can scarcely be avoided long, and that will one day shake the empire to its centre'.<sup>75</sup> Lang's paper hoped that the Disruption would encourage politicians to imbibe the spirit of popular liberty with which the Scottish Kirk was so imbued.<sup>76</sup>

Lang advocated universal male suffrage, though he seemed less than enthusiastic about granting the vote to Catholics. As Ann Curthoys, Angela Woollacott and others have recently pointed out, the political rights of free-born Britons were not extended to non-white subjects; the grant of self-government in Australia resulted in the further dispossession of indigenous people.<sup>77</sup> James Macarthur reportedly railed against universal male suffrage contending that 'vile democracy' involved the adoption of anarchic principles; under such rule the colony might embrace 'the cannibalism of the natives of New Zealand, and even admit the savages of this Colony to a share in the Government'. Lang's paper pointed out that in New York, where male suffrage had been adopted, 'men as black as the Aborigines of this Territory, whose admission into the Colonial Constituency Mr. Macarthur is so much afraid of', who had two hundred dollars' worth of property, had 'an equal right to vote at all popular elections for the highest

offices in the government with the whitest man in the land'. There was no anarchy there. Lang was less enthusiastic, however, about the U.S. law of naturalization which allowed masses of illiterate Irish immigrants to influence elections. It was seemingly more inconceivable to Lang that an immoral Catholic—or, indeed, any woman at all—would be allowed a say in government when a propertied, Protestantised indigenous man was denied it. Lang did not call for the disfranchisement of Irish Catholics but he believed that Protestant immigration and the abolition of state aid would reform the colony's morals and render enfranchised Catholics less dominant. The Latin American colonies and the United States had both acquired representative governments but the latter was more prosperous than the former. Indeed, he prophesied that the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon United States would soon take over Mexico.<sup>78</sup>

Lang attributed the success of the republican United States to the benefits of Protestantism sustained by the voluntary system.<sup>79</sup> He was unsure that Britain should risk universal suffrage because 'through the long mismanagement of a government and an Established Church that have never had a conscience between them – a large proportion of the entire population, as in England, and a still larger, as in Ireland, have been left to all appearance almost destitute of that faculty which Dr. Watts tells us "distinguishes man from his fellow-creatures the brutes"'. He had no reservations about the United States, however, or about Australia, provided that universal suffrage was always accompanied by 'universal education and entire freedom of religion'.<sup>80</sup> Protestantism, Lang thought, was indispensable to a democratic republic. Protestant instruction had a stabilising and moralising effect on the populace.<sup>81</sup> A popular government by and for the people, he claimed, would forever dispose of the Holy Alliance of Church and State. A church establishment contravened a principle of Mosaic law; that money derived from impure means should not be used to finance the church. In Australia duties on alcohol boosted the revenue of the colony, a portion of which was set aside for religious instruction.<sup>82</sup>

### REPUBLICANISM AND INDEPENDENCE

Australia, Lang now concluded, needed to become a democratic, fully independent republic. The colonial secretary, Lang wrote, was evolving into a 'political pope' who aspired to universal domination and trampled on the rights of men. By ruling the colonies without the requisite local knowledge, the Colonial Office was claiming to possess the 'Divine attri-

bute of omniscience'. The 'history of the British colonies', he wrote, 'sufficiently demonstrates that this impious claim of the Imperial Parliament and the Secretary of State for the Colonies is as much opposed to the rights of men and the progress of civilisation and Christianity as the most outrageous claims of the Vatican itself'.<sup>83</sup> Britain's claim to rule Australia was a blasphemous usurpation of divine authority.

[H]ow can we—Britons and Protestants as we profess to be—how can we pretend to object to the claim of the Pope to govern the whole Christian Church, in all its numerous, diversified, and widely scattered settlements—*on which the Sun never sets*; when we ourselves actually set up a sort of political Pope in Downing-street, and empower him to govern the whole Colonial Empire of Britain, in all its numerous and endlessly diversified and widely scattered settlements—*on which also the sun never sets*? Reasoning upon Protestant principles, and without reference to points of doctrine, the pretended right to govern is in both cases sheer usurpation—a mere trampling under foot of the sacred and inherent rights of men.

God, Lang warned, disliked universal monarchies; divine providence had subverted attempts at global monarchical empires for 1350 years since the fall of the Roman Empire. The more territories an empire added to its dominions, the more likely it was to fall; Britain had won Canada from France following the Seven Years' War but it had soon lost the thirteen colonies at the American Revolution. Recently Britain had begun to annex territory in the east—New Zealand, Singapore, Labuan—and had moved on to China. Britain's thirst for empire was offensive to God. Providence would soon intervene to dismember the overmighty British empire and establish independent republics. Republicanism, Lang claimed, was sanctioned by God in the Old Testament. God had expressed his opposition to monarchy in I Samuel, viii. 4–9 when the elders of Israel had rejected popular rule in favour of kingship: 'But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.'<sup>84</sup>

Britain had failed in its providential mission to Christianise the world. However, Australia now had the potential to bring to bear on the 'heathenism of the earth' a formidable 'moral machinery'. Lang hoped that Britain would continue to send migrants to Australia after the colony's independence; if so Australia had the potential to become a Protestant

beacon that could take over Britain's role. It was wrong for a government to usurp the province of a church and legislate on religious matters—state aid to clergy, who when salaried were always allied with wealth and power, would be abolished in an independent Australia—but still it was incumbent on a nation to further the Protestant reformation. Soon the seven provinces of Australia, governed by a House of Representatives and an elected Senate, would be united into a federal republic. Together the territories of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Victoria and South Australia had a population exceeding that of Scotland in 1314 when Robert the Bruce had delivered the country from the 'intolerable yoke' of the English. Surely, Lang implied, the generally well-educated population of Australia, which was composed of Britons from all three kingdoms, was more able to govern themselves than the 'half-civilized Scotch' of the fourteenth century.<sup>85</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Lang's religious voluntarism, this chapter has argued, shaped his democratic republicanism. In his squabbles with his brethren in Australia and Scotland and with the local council in New South Wales, he and his followers, as Scottish settlers did elsewhere in the empire, defended their right to religious liberty by invoking the covenanting idiom. The Treaty of Union, it was argued, had secured to Scots the right to worship in the church of their ancestors, a right for which these ancestors had died. The British constitution prevented the Church of England from asserting its supremacy in colonies of Britain's empire, particularly those colonies founded after 1707. The Church of England had no right to special protection in the empire and the colonial government in New South Wales had no right to marginalise Presbyterians to buttress the Anglican Church. Presbyterians were free to manage their own affairs in the spiritual realm, a jurisdiction into which neither the local council, the imperial government nor the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland could trespass. Partly for selfish reasons Lang defended the spiritual independence of his church, eventually converting to voluntarism. He advocated spiritual independence for the church at the same time as he began to demand political autonomy for New South Wales. He believed a responsible government would enable the country to abolish state aid and become a nation of virtuous Protestants. Lang's reformist rhetoric—his covenanting idiom—was

thus somewhat exclusionary. Eventually Lang decided that only complete independence and the establishment of an Australian republic would honour God's wishes. Australians were compelled to resist, Lang thought, Britain's aspirations to model itself on the papacy and its assertions of universal dominion.

Australians, however, were not alone in this fight. James Adamson, the minister of the Cape Town Scots Church provided Lang with counsel while the Canadians, who had battled against the rectories policies and who had rebelled in 1837, had set an example for Australian colonists to follow. But so too, in a way, had the residents of New Zealand, where Lang almost settled in 1842. As far as Lang was concerned, Hōne Heke, the Māori chief who tore down the British flag at Kororāreka in protest at colonial rule, was a hero. The *New Zealander* accused Lang of attempting to create Australian Hōne Hekes.<sup>86</sup> Lang was inspired also by the New Zealand writings of a former Sydney acquaintance, Samuel McDonald Martin, a Scottish migrant from the Isle of Skye who moved to Sydney in 1837. Martin was a leader of land claimants in Sydney who, supported by Lang's paper *The Colonist*, organised to protest against Governor Gipps's restrictions on land purchases in New Zealand. Martin moved to Auckland on a more permanent basis and Lang continued to follow his career there. Lang approved of Martin's critique of colonial rule in New Zealand, the substance of which, to a great extent, echoed Lang's own of Australia. In 1842, the *Colonial Observer* acquired a copy of a political pamphlet penned by Martin: *New Zealand in 1842; or the effects of a bad government on a good country*. In *Freedom and Independence*, his republican manifesto for Australia, Lang printed the following extract from Martin's pamphlet:

In the colonies, the genius of British liberty is no longer to be found. Her mild sway is exchanged for the iron rod of the despot, and those who were her children in her native land have become the subjects and the slaves of petty tyrants. The truth of this will be found in the history of every colony, and felt in the experience of every colonist; its effects have been the premature separation of the first American colonies, the recent rebellion and bloodshed in Canada, the ruin of the present settlers in New Zealand, the extravagant expenditure of this Government, and the demand upon England for money to support it.<sup>87</sup>

The next chapter will examine Martin's Auckland career and consider why Lang regarded him as a brother-in-arms.

## NOTES

1. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 30 April 1835.
2. Lang 1835, pp. v–vii.
3. National Library of Australia [NLA], Lang papers, A2226 [CY 893], Robert Bowie to Lang, 9 February 1833.
4. Jones 2014, p. 151.
5. Linder 1992. See also Elford 1968; Baker 1994, pp. 39–45.
6. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, Pringle to Lang, 4 June 1834.
7. Lang 1837, II, p. 272.
8. On the Church Act see Turner 1972; Hogan 1987.
9. Border 1962, p. 92.
10. Lang 1837, II, p. 274.
11. Lang 1837, II, p. 283.
12. On the importance placed by Broughton on Anglican colonisation of land, see Lake 2011.
13. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 8 August 1840.
14. Weekes 1977.
15. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 7 August 1839; 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 14 August 1839.
16. 'Our new contemporary', *The Colonist*, 9 January 1839.
17. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 15 June 1839. For an earlier debate in colonial America on this 'phraseology' see Landsman 2011.
18. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 8 August 1840.
19. 'To the Presbyterian Inhabitants of New South Wales', *The Colonist*, 16 February 1839.
20. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 12 June 1839.
21. NLA, Lang papers, A2226 [CY 893], James Adamson to Lang, 12[?] October 1832.
22. 'Presbyterian Church in Canada', *The Colonist*, 13 April 1839.
23. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 9 June 1838.
24. 'Synod of New South Wales', *The Colonist*, 16 June 1838.
25. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 9 June 1838.
26. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 8 August 1838.
27. 'Synod of New South Wales', *The Colonist*, 16 June 1838.
28. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 8 August 1838.
29. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 12 September 1838.
30. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 15 August 1838.
31. 'Domestic Intelligence', *The Colonist*, 29 December 1838.
32. 'To the Presbyterian Inhabitants of New South Wales', *The Colonist*, 9 March 1839.
33. Mitchell Library, Sydney [ML], Lang papers, A2232 CY 2187, To The Right Honourable Lord Glenelg his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State



- for the Colonies The Memorial of the undersigned Presbyterian inhabitants of the Colony of New South Wales humbly sheweth.
34. ML, Lang papers, DOC 1767.
  35. ML, Lang papers, A2232 CY 2187, Minute of the Colonial Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland regarding New South Wales, 29 June 1839.
  36. Lang 1856, p. 40.
  37. The Synod of New South Wales when it formed had felt no need to attach an addendum to the Westminster Confession, as other conscientious new light volunteers did, quibbling about the extent of the magistrate's powers in spiritual matters.
  38. See NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 1, 158/40, Lang to? on 7 May 1849. According to Lang the Kirk had been waging a 'war of extermination with the Voluntaries'; anyone advocating the voluntary principle was 'to be hunted down and got rid of': Lang 1857b, p. 9. The voluntary principle, a correspondent told Lang, 'I am happy to say is rapidly advancing. All the efforts to retard it is hastening its glorious achievement. The church-party and the Tories are...full of great wrath because they see their time is short.' See ML, Lang papers, A2230, CY 809, William Newton to Lang, 6 August 1835. This correspondent told Lang in 1835 that the *Scottish Guardian* newspaper had reported on Lang's voluntary tendencies stating that these would cause him to be soon excluded from the Kirk.
  39. 'Address', *The Colonist*, 1 January 1835.
  40. Lang 1839, pp. 99–101.
  41. Lang 1840, pp. iii–v.
  42. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 24 September 1835.
  43. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 15 August 1838.
  44. 'Meeting of the Scots Church', *Colonial Observer*, 22 October 1842.
  45. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, John Brown to Lang, 28 October 1840.
  46. NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, John Brown to Lang, 19 September 1840.
  47. The Rev. David King wrote to Lang too and, though more critical of Lang's work than Brown, he was generally supportive. He introduced to Lang two friends who had emigrated to Australia and hoped to enjoy his ministry. ML, Lang papers, MSS 268/1, CY3349, David King to Lang, 4 April 1842.
  48. NLA, MS 3267, Box 5, John French to Lang, 17 September 1840.
  49. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 29 October 1842.
  50. Although he was disappointed at the Church's apathy: NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 1, Andrew Somerville to Lang, 21 May 1847; Lang 1847.

51. ML, Lang papers, A2232 CY 2187, letter dated 9 March 1826.
52. 'Dr. Lang's Resignation', *Colonial Observer*, 9 February 1842.
53. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 6 July 1842.
54. Lang 1972, p. 165.
55. 'Dr Lang', *Colonial Observer*, 30 September 1843.
56. Lang 1840, p. 238. In 1849 his son William, in Britain with his father, visited Chalmers' grave in Edinburgh: NLA, Lang papers, MS 3267, Box 5, William Lang to his mother, 25 June 1849.
57. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 16 August 1843.
58. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 8 March 1843.
59. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 13 July 1842.
60. 'Australian Mission', *United Presbyterian Magazine*, August 1847.
61. Turner 1972, p. 50.
62. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 28 October 1841. Hume, as he told Lang in a letter, supported Lang's proposal and was keen to assist his campaign: NLA, MS 6998, Joseph Hume to Lang, 4 May 1847.
63. 'Prospectus', *Colonial Observer*, 7 October 1841. For a somewhat celebratory account of Lang's anti-Catholic mission, see Bridges 2000.
64. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 9 December 1841.
65. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 2 March 1842.
66. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 8 February 1842.
67. Lang 1849, pp. 9–10.
68. Lang 1843, pp. 4, 10, 13, 15.
69. Lang 1848, quotations at pp. 16, 30, 40.
70. Lang 1857a, p. 124.
71. Lang 1854, p. 8.
72. Lang 1859, p. 8.
73. Lang 1854, p. 10.
74. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 21 July 1838.
75. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 16 August 1843.
76. 'The Church of Scotland-The Elections-Sir Robert Peel', *Colonial Observer*, 4 November 1841.
77. A. Curthoys 2012a, b; Woollacott 2015; Mitchell 2009.
78. Lang 1840, p. 218.
79. 'Colonial Politics', *Colonial Observer*, 9 March 1842.
80. Lang 1840, pp. 298–9.
81. Lang 1840, p. 257.
82. Lang 1854, p. 13.
83. Lang 1848, p. 13.
84. Lang 1857a, pp. 72, 94–9.
85. Lang 1857a, pp. 49, 399.
86. *The New Zealander*, 30 August 1845.
87. Lang 1857a, pp. 10–11.

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## Samuel McDonald Martin and Oppositional Politics in Auckland

*'The State Church of England, as well as English taxes, are not only the birthright of Englishmen, but they are the evil Genii which attend them wherever they go. They may escape from every thing else, but these haunt them to the remotest corner of the huge colonial empire of Great Britain.'*  
(*'State Church'*, *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1844)

Samuel McDonald Martin was born on the Isle of Skye and trained as a medical doctor at the University of Glasgow, graduating in 1835. In 1837 he migrated to Australia to try his hand at grazing sheep. From there he made a visit to New Zealand, then officially attached to New South Wales, where he purchased land for a saw mill in the Coromandel region.<sup>1</sup> He visited various settlements at Port Nicholson where he drank whisky with the former superintendent of the Duke of Sutherland's estate and spoke Gaelic to a 'delighted' Highland woman. On hearing his accent, a woman from Paisley burst into tears.<sup>2</sup> During his New Zealand tour Martin wrote a sort of travelogue for his Sydney-based friend James McEachern to print in John Dunmore Lang's newspaper, *The Colonist*. McEachern, who had been encouraged by Lang to migrate in 1836, was editing the paper while Lang was in Britain fighting with the General Assembly, discussed in Chap. 10. Martin commented in his reports for the paper that having been born on an island he preferred New Zealand to Australia. He hoped that every inhabitant of the glens and mountains of Scotland would emigrate there to build a

better life. Scots from the northern coast, he thought, would be particularly qualified to cultivate New Zealand flax.<sup>3</sup> Like Lang Martin believed that hard-working and pious Britons—Scots in particular—would make the best settlers. It was important for Britain to repel the incursions of the French who were threatening to colonise New Zealand before Britain could do so and whose Catholic mission was making inroads into the country. France's 'legions of priests', Martin warned, would introduce into New Zealand the 'soul-destroying delusions of the Church of Rome' and render the indigenous people the victims of 'inquisitorial and rapacious tyranny'.<sup>4</sup> Britain must colonise New Zealand to protect and elevate its Māori people and to police the European inhabitants who had begun to settle there.

Martin's articles in *The Colonist* were so popular that McEachern offered readers the chance to acquire the whole series on application at the newspaper office.<sup>5</sup> Many residents of Sydney had begun to purchase land in New Zealand and were keenly interested in news of its development and Britain's plans for colonisation there. They learned that Captain William Hobson was instructed to treat with the Māori people of New Zealand. Hobson was to become lieutenant-governor of New Zealand in February 1840. Governor George Gipps issued a proclamation which restricted the sale of land in the territory and threw the validity of purchases made prior to 1840 into doubt. Martin returned to Sydney in 1840 where he and McEachern became involved in an association to defend the rights of New Zealand landowners. Martin joined a deputation to Hobson which requested him to deal fairly with land claimants and establish an elective branch of government in New Zealand. Martin reported that he was happy with Hobson's candour and felt confident he would treat honest purchasers justly.<sup>6</sup>

Martin's confidence soon evaporated. An invitation to become editor of the *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette* lured him back to Auckland, now the capital of an independent colony, where he resided from 1842 until the end of 1844. There he became a notorious critic of the colonial government, particularly its land, education and tax policies. Lang's *Colonial Observer* reported on Martin's move: 'Our old friend Dr. Martin', it noted, 'has taken the editorial superintendence of the Auckland Gazette, whose pages have assumed a much more spirited character.'<sup>7</sup> Martin's first editorials in the *Gazette* angered members of the printing company who owned the paper, half of whom were government officials. Governor Hobson ordered the registrar of the Supreme Court to seize from the printer a manuscript destined for publication in

the paper. In response Martin challenged the registrar to an abortive duel, a circumstance which Lang's paper thought disgraceful.<sup>8</sup> Hobson reported to the Colonial Office that in the *Gazette* 'as well as in every disaffected meeting that could be collected, [Martin] reviled the Government without the slightest regard for truth, and endeavoured to throw my authority into contempt'.<sup>9</sup> Martin was one of the leaders of a group of disgruntled settlers known as the 'Scotch Clique', who complained about the unaccountable nature of gubernatorial rule in New Zealand. The Clique met in 'Radical Hall', the warehouse of the firm owned by John Logan Campbell—a doctor from Edinburgh—and William Brown—a lawyer from Dundee. Martin and his friends wrote to Hobson threatening to abandon New Zealand and establish a new settlement outside British jurisdiction somewhere in the Pacific. Lang's paper regarded this as a criminal move like that of the Boer trekkers in Natal and warned Martin to proceed with caution.<sup>10</sup>

Lang approved however of Martin's pamphlet authored in 1842, the first political pamphlet ever printed in New Zealand.<sup>11</sup> Martin sent a copy to Lang at the *Colonial Observer*<sup>12</sup> from which, as we have seen, Lang quoted in his republican writings. Now almost completely forgotten, *New Zealand in 1842; or the effects of a bad government on a good country* (1842), was serialised in the *Bay of Islands Observer* in October 1842 and in the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* in November and December of the same year. A contemporary settler urged Scotsmen to read Lang's 1839 writings on New Zealand alongside Martin's pamphlet. These two publications were, overall, he said, 'the best on the resources and actual condition of this colony, that I have met with'.<sup>13</sup> W.E. Cormack, an associate of Martin's, visited London and reported to Martin that his publication had tickled people. Cormack arranged to have another edition printed.<sup>14</sup> Martin echoed this pamphlet in his editorials in the *Southern Cross*, the first oppositional newspaper in Auckland launched in April 1843, owned and influenced by Brown and Logan Campbell, who forwarded issues to his disapproving father in Edinburgh.<sup>15</sup> Lang's *Colonial Observer* received the paper in Sydney, declaring it to be 'conducted with something more than an average share of ability'.<sup>16</sup> Martin also chaired successive public meetings and led a petitioning movement like William Lyon Mackenzie's in Toronto, albeit on a much smaller scale.<sup>17</sup> As A.H. McLintock has pointed out, Martin's petitions and letters to the Colonial Office were carefully read, marked and underlined.<sup>18</sup>

Robert Fitzroy, second governor of New Zealand, sought to placate Martin by appointing him in 1844, along with William Brown, to a seat on his legislative council. The council was composed of the governor, attorney-general, colonial treasurer and colonial secretary and three non-official members, all of whom were appointed. Despite the pleas of the Sydney deputation to Hobson, no representative branch of government was established in Auckland. As far as Brown and Martin were concerned, their opposition in the council made no difference to colonial policy: the official members consistently sided with the governor and outvoted the non-official members.<sup>19</sup> In December 1844 Brown and Martin sailed to London to lobby the imperial government in person. On board ship Martin compiled for a British audience a more extensive work than his first pamphlet: *New Zealand in a Series of Letters* (1845) in which he demanded, amongst other reforms, the institution of representative government. After a couple of months lobbying the government in the capital, Martin moved home to Skye and then on to British Guiana, where he died in 1848.

Samuel McDonald Martin was integral to the development of Auckland's oppositional politics yet very little has been written about him. There is no extant image of Martin, no proper analysis of his published writings—copies of which are very rare—or of the debates in the legislative council to which he contributed. Except for a short entry in New Zealand's dictionary of biography, there is no account of his life.<sup>20</sup> Why? Scholarship on New Zealand's popular politics and early political thought is comparatively slim and out of date.<sup>21</sup> Settled later than other colonies, New Zealand was a crown colony for only twelve years. Whiggish historiography assumed that New Zealand's political independence was 'preordained' and that British institutions were transplanted without much fuss.<sup>22</sup> After the publication of the Durham Report, wrote Leslie Lipson, 'New Zealand did not have to force its requests upon a reluctant home government'.<sup>23</sup> Pākehā constitutional history has, according to Paul McHugh, 'margin-alised its own past'.<sup>24</sup> The rise of social history and a natural preoccupation with race relations also encouraged New Zealand historians to turn their attention away from the history of political thought. There is 'limited scholarly interest', Tony Ballantyne has observed, in the country's political history.<sup>25</sup> The few studies of settler politics which do exist have tended to focus on the New Zealand Company settlements where colonists, it is assumed, were merely demanding what Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the brainchild of systematic colonisation, had promised: bountiful land and a



representative government.<sup>26</sup> New Zealand historians, writes Mark Francis, even when evidence has been lacking, have ‘imagined that Wakefield’s influence was ubiquitous’.<sup>27</sup> Francis contends instead that colonial politics were, on the whole, ideologically impotent.<sup>28</sup> Though the symbolism of British politics was sometimes employed in the colony, Ballantyne has agreed, politics were not informed by any ‘coherent British tradition of political philosophy’. Early critiques of colonial rule were merely pragmatic, self-interested reactions to gubernatorial policy.<sup>29</sup>

Russell Stone, a few decades ago, argued that Auckland, a settlement which evolved organically, could be distinguished from the planned New Zealand Company settlements at Wellington, Nelson and elsewhere. Stone debunks the myth that Aucklanders—usually dismissed as a ‘faceless’ group of land sharks—lived in a state of ‘political torpor’.<sup>30</sup> Auckland was a comparatively small settlement—it had about 3000 inhabitants by 1845—but its residents were quick to establish institutions for their own improvement: a reading-room, supplied with ‘most of the fashionable and periodical literature of the day’;<sup>31</sup> a Mechanics’ Institute with a library and museum (though as Martin reported, it lacked apparatus); a Total Abstinence Society; a Book Society; an Agricultural Society; and an independent press.<sup>32</sup> As Stone makes clear, there were seven newspapers in the Auckland region in the crown colony period. Though there was no representative assembly, the courts functioned as forums for public debate and discussions over legal jurisdiction reflected settlers’ concerns about the extent of the governor’s power.<sup>33</sup> Just like in Sydney, public institutions in Auckland were regarded as indicative of the colony’s bourgeois respectability;<sup>34</sup> something the government threatened to undermine by its lack of attention to civic improvements, by the importation of juvenile offenders and by the appointment of officials who were guilty of scandalous behaviour.<sup>35</sup>

According to Stone, a tradition of press combat imported from New South Wales, not the writings of Wakefield, inspired the oppositional politics of early Aucklanders. Samuel McDonald Martin had learned in Australia how to critique colonial governors through the medium of the newspaper press. He had also been involved there, as we have seen, in organising public meetings and memorials to the governor. Auckland was, for Stone, a mini-Sydney; its culture was shaped by trans-Tasman exchanges. Even the new printing press for the *Southern Cross* was brought over from Sydney. Auckland’s politics, argues Stone, must be understood within an Australasian context.

This chapter supports Stone's hypothesis but it locates Auckland within a larger imperial framework. Martin moved over to New Zealand from Australia, as Stone pointed out, but he had not been born there. Refuting the argument of Mark Francis, this chapter argues that Martin's colonial critique was, to a certain extent, ideologically driven, and partly shaped by currents flowing through the Scottish empire of dissent. '[W]as the ideological baggage brought by the first generation of colonists', Paul McHugh has asked, 'so impoverished and disconnected from what they had left behind?'<sup>36</sup> This chapter argues that it was not. Martin's only biographer remarks suggestively that Martin may have been involved in reformist agitation while a student in Glasgow. McIntock has also described him, though without providing any evidence to support the statement, as 'a fiery Scot imbued with the radicalism of the Glasgow school'; Martin's ideas on government stemmed from his 'former Glasgow associates'.<sup>37</sup> What was the Glasgow school? Who were these associates? Why as a Scot was he necessarily fiery? This chapter sheds new light on Martin and provides the first proper analysis of his now-forgotten published writings. It argues that Martin's religious ideas—ideas which helped to form the basis of political allegiance back in Scotland—provided some of the theoretical basis to his reform politics in New Zealand. Martin was a student in Glasgow during the height of the campaign for the disestablishment of the national church, a campaign which resulted in the Disruption. The Glasgow school to which Martin was indebted may have been that led by Presbyterian dissenters.

By the time New Zealand was annexed by Britain, the imperial government, as we saw in Chap. 6's conclusion, had stopped trying to establish churches in its colonies. Nevertheless, religious controversy infused New Zealand's early politics to a much greater degree than many scholars have assumed.<sup>38</sup> News of the Scottish Disruption, and of the ruptures in Canada and Australia, stimulated Martin to resist in New Zealand what he regarded as attempts to establish an Anglican monopoly. Martin was described in 1899 by John Dickson as a 'liberal-minded but staunch Presbyterian'.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, the voluntaryist-non-intrusion ideology of Scottish Presbyterian dissent underpinned Martin's critique of colonial policy on education, tax and land claims. Martin viewed the alliance of church and state with suspicion and to secure religious liberty and freedom of trade—interconnected issues in Martin's eyes—he sought to overturn in New Zealand what he described as 'spiritual despotism'. He objected to Anglican control of education, the heavy taxes which prohibited free trade and propped up the

Anglican clergy and the Crown's monopoly of Māori land, which, Martin feared, would come to resemble the clergy reserves in Upper Canada.

The efforts of land claimants like Martin to defend their right to buy from Māori, proscribed by the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) which, ostensibly for the protection of Māori, gave the sole right to buy to the Crown, has been written off as selfish. British settlers, Alan Lester has argued, employed the racially inflected language of British birthright to defend their land purchases and critique the Treaty's terms.<sup>40</sup> Martin's interpretation of the Treaty, however—and of Māori—differed from the settler discourse outlined by Lester. Like the other reformers in this book, Martin invoked a Scottish variant of British birthright rhetoric.<sup>41</sup> The Free Church movement, which, Martin argued, could be compared to the covenanting rebellion of the seventeenth century, was a campaign to overturn the unscriptural ecclesiastical supremacy asserted by the British Crown and secure to the Scottish people, their political rights. This supremacy was oppressive to colonists too who were being threatened with Anglican monopoly and deprived of their liberty to buy and sell land. Martin may have been a self-interested land-shark but his critique of the Crown's monopoly, this chapter finds, had an ideological basis.

### MARTIN'S FREE CHURCH BELIEFS

Little is known about Martin's early life in Skye but it seems he was a member of the Church of Scotland. The dissenting churches, very much lowland-based, made little impact on the Highlands and Islands. The Disruption, however, was to have a dramatic transformative effect on religious and social life there, generating immense controversy over property rights to church buildings. Roderick MacCowan, author of a 1902 book on lay preachers in Skye in the Disruption era, insisted that Martin, when resident on the island after his return from New Zealand, was hostile to Free Church principles. Martin, said MacCowan, was one of the 'high-minded' who looked with contempt on the Disruption and the 'men of low estate' who supported it. He had returned from New Zealand with wealth but had refused to support the erection of new churches. Martin's brother, Angus Martin, had been installed as Church of Scotland minister of Snizort in Skye in October 1843.<sup>42</sup> Angus was an establishment man and a moderate and his brother, MacCowan wrote, evidently shared his inclinations.<sup>43</sup>

As a prominent resident of Skye, Martin was called in 1847 to give evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons on the availability of sites for religious worship in Scotland. During his interview Martin criticised itinerant Free Church preachers and insisted on the benefits to a community of educated and ordained clergymen. Martin criticised the faction of the Rev. Roderick McLeod, Free Church minister in Snizort, for having duped some Gaelic-speaking residents into seceding from the Kirk. A document had been drawn up, so Martin's niece who witnessed the proceedings had informed him, for Snizort parishioners to sign declaring first, their loyalty to McLeod, and second, that they would secede with him. The second clause was written only in English and was thus unintelligible to the native Gaelic speakers. It is interesting that Martin, who had recently spent some years in New Zealand complaining about the mistranslation of the Treaty of Waitangi, was sensitive to this injustice.

Martin was evidently critical of McLeod but despite his contempt for the minister and the lay preachers who followed him, Martin had more sympathy for the Free Church than Roderick MacCowan allows. During his interview with the select committee Martin refuted McLeod's claim that his other brother, Martin Martin, a tacksman on the estate of Lord Macdonald, had ejected tenants from his land on account of their Free Church beliefs. Indeed, MacCowan, a Free Churcher himself, doubtless misrepresented Martin's position in his 1902 account. Martin's brother Angus, as MacCowan himself admitted, had been expected to join the Free Church and had sympathised with the non-intrusionists, attending their meetings before the Disruption took place. Though he ultimately remained in the establishment, Angus was not wholly antagonistic to the Free Church. Similarly, Samuel McDonald Martin, though definitely sceptical about the benefits of itinerant preaching, offered evangelical preachers money and hospitality.<sup>44</sup> When asked by the select committee what his opinions were 'with respect to the disruption, when you heard of it?', Martin gave a decisive answer: when based in New Zealand, he said, 'my feelings were in favour of the Free Church'. Some of his friends, he informed the committee, had been among those who had seceded from the Kirk; thus, he had had direct access while in New Zealand to the papers issued by the Free Church. These writings had shaped his opinion that the Free Church had 'made a movement in advance as regarded religious and civil liberty'. I conceived, said he, 'that they had made a great sacrifice, and that they had been unkindly treated'. When asked if he had

since changed his views, Martin replied that he disapproved of the behaviour of the Free Church preachers in Skye and the Church's conduct in accepting money from in the American South—a huge controversy in the Church. This conduct, Martin claimed, was contrary to the professed principles of the Free Church. While he grew disillusioned then with some of the actions of the Free Church and its representatives, Martin remained committed to the liberal ideals which he believed had prompted the Disruption in the first place.<sup>45</sup> As we shall see, Martin, who may have been introduced to voluntarist argument while a student at Glasgow, would move further towards voluntarism than the original non-intrusionists, taking up the position of later Free Churchers like the Rev. Robert Rainy and his allies in the voluntarist United Presbyterian Church: that complete disestablishment was the only security for civil and religious freedom.<sup>46</sup>

While living in New Zealand, Martin, informed by the information sent by his non-intrusionist friends and, no doubt, his clergyman brother, reported on the Disruption in his newspaper, the *Southern Cross*. His views on the political significance of the Disruption mirrored those of John Dunmore Lang expressed in the *Colonial Observer* and discussed in Chap. 10. Like Lang, Martin believed that non-intrusion was a political movement aimed at securing civil liberty. His paper accused the tory party, in its opposition to non-intrusion, of trying to subjugate the Scottish populace. It attributed the conflict, which was described as 'the most deeply interesting and important event which has taken place in Scotland since the establishment of the present Church', to the 'heartless conduct of Sir Robert Peel'. The remnant Church of Scotland, the paper continued, rendered oppressive by its connection to the state, 'will be viewed by the people of Scotland in the same light that the Church of England is regarded by the people of Ireland. The sympathies of the people of both countries will be strongly united, and their energies exerted in every possible manner to upset the present government.'<sup>47</sup> Non-intrusion, it was argued, was as much a political as a religious cause:

[T]he present religious convulsion in Scotland affords a striking illustration of the powerful revolutionising elements which are in active operation at Home. This is not a mere religious struggle or quarrel about doctrines. Dr. Chalmers, the head of the non-conformist, or dissenting portion of the Church of Scotland, is in truth the enlightened and powerful assertor of the political rights of the Scottish people, and this is the reason why nearly the whole of the

lay inhabitants of Scotland have seceded with him. The liberty which the evangelical, or religious portion of the Scottish people are contending for, though deeply affecting the rights of conscience, is equally and intimately connected with the civil and political rights of the people.

Martin's paper equated non-intrusion with the rebellion of the Scottish Covenanters: 'the attempt on the part of the Government to convert the Scottish national Church into a mere state tool,' it was proclaimed, 'is regarded precisely in the same light as was the attempt made by the Stewarts to impose Episcopacy upon the stern, simple, and uncompromising followers of John Knox'. The Covenanters, his paper continued, in a similar vein to the other colonists in this book, gave birth to a 'Scottish spirit of liberty', which, 'springing in the midst of persecution – nourished by the blood of the martyrs, and asserting freedom of conscience as the contending principle' was again galvanising the populace. The changes at home, it was added, provided a lesson for the colonies: 'the whole civilized if not the whole world is on the eve of a revolution greater than any by which it has hitherto been convulsed...old principles are being forgotten, old systems are discovered to be useless.'<sup>48</sup>

### THE THREAT OF ANGLICAN SUPREMACY

Inspired by his religious views Martin dedicated himself to resisting what he regarded as the attempted establishment of Anglican monopoly in New Zealand. 'At the commencement of the Colony', he wrote, 'when Episcopacy promised to itself to be in the ascendant, we were threatened with a full effusion of intolerance and bigotry.'<sup>49</sup> The exact nature of the Church of England's relationship to the colonial government was ambiguous. George Selwyn, appointed Bishop of New Zealand in 1841, was the only clergyman to receive a stipend from the civil list.<sup>50</sup> Martin was a little suspicious of Selwyn's position in the colony, particularly as Selwyn was High-Church and had caused friction on his arrival by intensifying disputes between Anglican and Wesleyan missionaries and within Anglicanism itself.<sup>51</sup> The civil government, wrote William Brown, should cut all ties with the Anglican Church on account of Selwyn's poor judgement in these matters.<sup>52</sup> Martin worried that the Anglican community had been more assertive than the Presbyterian population in building a place of worship. The apathy of Scots Presbyterians, many of whom had arrived in October 1842 aboard the *Jane Gifford* and the *Duchess of Argyle*, was

‘altogether unworthy’, Martin proclaimed, ‘of the followers of John Knox’. Their apathy could be partly attributed to the upheaval of the Disruption which had made it almost impossible for colonists to procure a minister.<sup>53</sup> This lethargy, however, contrasted worryingly with the aggressive spirit of the Anglicans, who, Martin’s paper hoped, after the erection of St Paul’s Anglican church, would ‘not despise others, although they may not have been equally fortunate or zealous’.<sup>54</sup> It probably did not help that the trustees of St Paul’s included several government officials: the colonial secretary, treasurer, land claims commissioner, attorney-general and surveyor-general.<sup>55</sup> Martin compared the governing elite, who tended to live in the exclusive plots of ‘Official Bay’, to the Family Compact in Upper Canada.<sup>56</sup> The Presbyterian population at large may have shared Martin’s concerns. When the community finally did erect a church in 1847—subscriptions for which were taken at Brown and Campbell’s shop—its members sympathised with the Free Church. An analysis of the communicants’ roll suggests that of the 121 members, thirty-four had been members of voluntarist churches in Scotland and twelve had belonged to the Free Church.<sup>57</sup>

Articles in the *Southern Cross* denounced government policy in dramatic terms as ushering in a ‘State Church’.<sup>58</sup> Martin was particularly worried about the Native Trust Ordinance of June 1844, designed to establish English language schools and provision for religious instruction for Māori. The board of trustees—to be composed of the governor, Bishop Selwyn, the attorney-general, the chief land commissioner and the chief protector of aborigines—was dominated by Anglicans. The governor claimed that the board would strive to be impartial and provide instruction to all denominations. This outcome was unlikely, Martin argued, since all of the trustees were Anglican and would inevitably favour their own church. ‘The intolerance and bigotry of the Bishop are so great’, he insisted, perhaps unfairly, ‘that, with such powers as this Bill gives him, it will be impossible to keep him within bounds’.<sup>59</sup>

Martin resented the attempt to reproduce in New Zealand the conflict which had resulted in the Disruption. His paper had hoped, it reported, to avoid in the Antipodes the controversies surrounding tithes, patronage and non-intrusion. But while British settlers were deprived of most of their rights, the right to be taxed and to live under the Church of England seemed to haunt them wherever they went, even ‘to the remotest corner of the huge colonial empire of Great Britain’.<sup>60</sup> The evils church establishments had inflicted on the mother country, Martin observed to the

council, were all too obvious. The alliance of church and state was an 'unholy connexion' which retarded the progress of knowledge and brought about 'spiritual despotism'.<sup>61</sup>

Martin and Brown, together with Charles Clifford, the third non-official on the legislative council and a Catholic, attempted to have the measure amended to restrict the trust to the administration of secular instruction or to the provision of equal assistance to all sects. The government, they insisted, should detach itself from all churches and institute perfect equality between denominations. No 'favour or countenance', argued Brown, 'ought to be shown to an Episcopalian, which is not given to any and to every other follower of Christ'. It was enough, Brown continued, to see 'our own country torn asunder' by the battle over ecclesiastical advancement; it was madness to introduce it into New Zealand. 'Surely', wrote Brown, Selwyn had not been dispatched to New Zealand 'for the purpose of laying every other form of worship prostrate at the feet of Episcopacy'.<sup>62</sup> The proposed amendment asserted that denominations should receive funding in proportion to the number of Māori students under their instruction. The majority in the council rejected the amendment and thus, argued Brown, proved itself incapable of impartiality when it came to religious matters. From 'all he had heard', Martin proclaimed, 'he had no doubt the schools would be conducted on Episcopalian principles'.<sup>63</sup> Brown and Martin recorded their official protest at the Ordinance's passing.<sup>64</sup>

The next controversy surrounded a clause in the appropriation bill of the same month, which allocated £200 to ecclesiastical purposes and the Anglican clergy in particular. This bill was obnoxious to Martin given that the Colonial Office had previously disallowed the council's Church Extension Act of 1843, designed to allocate public funds to the maintenance of clergymen. Lord Stanley, fully aware of the 'revolution' which was then overturning the Church of England and Kirk of Scotland, had, Martin's paper reported, acted wisely in this regard.<sup>65</sup> John Dunmore Lang had been worried about this act too. It rendered the colonial treasurer, he thought, 'the almoner-general of all the churches'.<sup>66</sup> Martin now presented a petition from Auckland inhabitants against the appropriation bill's ecclesiastical clause. When justifying his anti-establishment position in the council he admitted that he had been raised in the established Church of Scotland but stated that he would resist any attempt to establish an ecclesiastical supremacy in New Zealand. He preferred the voluntary system and criticised the 'infamous' New South Wales Church Act,



which forced people to pay for a religion they did not believe in. Bigotry, Martin proclaimed, was already too much in evidence in Auckland where the common burial-ground had been, after the bishop's arrival, appropriated by the Church of England. All other sects had been allocated ground elsewhere; the Presbyterian community had been granted an inferior plot. When they had asked for another spot the surveyor-general had refused. One man had been unable to bury his child because he was a Presbyterian and had chosen not to conform to the Anglican service. Martin, who had accompanied the man to the surveyor's office, reported on this incident in the *Southern Cross* and in his *Letters*.<sup>67</sup>

Responding to Martin, the governor insisted that the Church of England deserved special consideration and support, as its missionaries had done so much to prepare the colony for settlement. The voluntary system, he claimed, had failed in most places where it had been attempted. The attorney-general went further, declaring the settlement to be a Church of England colony. Martin made an indignant reply: 'He did not himself belong to the Church of England, and he had no desire to do so. He regarded the established churches at home and their connexion with the state, as a curse to the country; they were an impediment to the progress of knowledge, and to the growth of intellect, and he therefore sincerely trusted that New Zealand would never become a Church of England, or a church of any thing colony.'<sup>68</sup> In his *Letters* Martin denounced the attorney-general as 'a bigoted Churchman'.<sup>69</sup> Martin, Brown and Clifford voted against the bill but still it passed, having the support of the official members, who formed a majority. The three non-official members submitted written protests against the ecclesiastical clauses.<sup>70</sup>

Martin was suspicious of all monopolies—in trade and in religion. He supported the abolition of customs duties in New Zealand, favoured direct taxation and was vocally supportive of the Anti-Corn Law League; he equated the governor's proposed five percent tax on flour to the unpopular bread taxes in Britain. Martin was supportive of the Auckland Total Abstinence Society and, echoing the Nova Scotian debate on brandy—discussed in Chap. 3—he stated that he preferred a tax on wine and beer, which, he said, would fall on the colonial officials, not on the ordinary settlers.<sup>71</sup> Martin was indignant at the exorbitant salaries paid to government officials and objected strongly to the governor's proposal that Bishop Selwyn's salary should be increased. He complained that settlers would be forced to leave if they had to pay for an ecclesiastical establishment on top of the taxes which the governor already threatened to

impose.<sup>72</sup> Like the campaign to free the church from state control, the movement for free trade was an attempt to overthrow a monopoly and restore to the people their political liberties. ‘The Irish repealers’, his paper proclaimed, ‘the Scotch non-conformists, and the gigantic anti-corn law league, however apparently opposite, or different in their views, and in the pursuit of their individual objects, are all the offspring of the same parent, and will all unite together in breaking asunder the strong bands in which the people are endeavoured to be fastened by the monopolists.’<sup>73</sup> By supporting free trade and impeding the development of an Anglican state in New Zealand, Martin was, he believed, defending civil and religious freedom. In this regard he had much in common with the voluntaryist dissenters in Scotland who formed the mainstay of the Anti-Corn Law movement. As was discussed in Chap. 7, dissenters complained about Church of Scotland clergy who, fearing that abolition of the Corn Laws would affect their stipends, supported the bread tax. The teinds—Scottish tithes on land used to fund stipends in rural areas—were enhanced, it was claimed, by restrictions on corn. As a consequence of the Corn Laws, the population was obliged to pay more for their corn providing heritors with a healthy fund to support the Kirk. In this way, the Scottish population indirectly paid for the upkeep of the Church establishment. ‘In the eyes of many Scots’, it has been argued, ‘religious and commercial freedom blended imperceptibly into each other.’<sup>74</sup>

### ANGLICAN SUPREMACY AND THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

The most significant grievance for Martin was that of the old settlers’ land claims, the defence of which was one of the chief goals of the *Southern Cross*, and Martin’s original motivation for entering the world of journalism. His defence of land claims constitutes the third facet of his critique of Anglican monopoly. The Land Claims Bill of May 1840 issued by George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, which then included New Zealand within its boundaries, rendered invalid, until they could be confirmed by crown commissioners as fair, land purchases made by settlers prior to the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty was signed first in the Bay of Islands on 6 February 1840 by William Hobson, who became lieutenant-governor of New Zealand as a result, and several Māori chiefs from northern districts. It had a preamble and three articles. The first article of the English language version stated that Māori would cede sovereignty to the Crown. The second article agreed in return to protect Māori in the possession of

their lands. It also vested in the Crown the right of pre-emption, or the sole right to buy, any lands the original owners were willing to sell. Article three granted Māori ‘all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects’.<sup>75</sup>

The Treaty, Martin’s paper argued, was a deception. It was merely a pretext for setting up a Crown monopoly of land sales. As the land ordinances which followed the Treaty made clear, the Crown could buy land from Māori at a low price and sell it on to settlers at a profit. It was unconstitutional, Martin argued, to guarantee to Māori their rights as British subjects while at the same time depriving them of their right to sell their lands to whomever they chose.<sup>76</sup> ‘The right of property,’ he declared, ‘the natural and inherent right of all men and of British Subject[s] in particular, is purposely withheld.’<sup>77</sup> The Treaty, moreover, had been mistranslated. Article one of the Māori language version translated sovereignty as ‘kawanatanga’, a neologism coined by the missionaries who undertook the translation, interpreted by Māori as signifying a limited form of governance, rather than full sovereignty. Article two of the Māori version reserved to chiefs their ‘rangatiratanga’, or ‘chieftainship’ over their lands, not just their possession. This article also failed to explain properly that the Crown would have the sole right to buy.<sup>78</sup> The Māori version, Martin argued, inadequately conveyed the hidden meaning of the Treaty: that the Crown sought to acquire a ‘pre-emptive sovereignty’; that Māori would be compelled to surrender their territory and give up their right of free trade.<sup>79</sup> In *New Zealand in a Series of Letters* and in the *Southern Cross* Martin printed the government’s official version of the Treaty in English alongside a ‘literal and true’ translation, in order to underline his point.<sup>80</sup> Martin’s interpretation of the Treaty and what the framers’ intended by it may have been unfair. That the original framers of the Treaty aimed to deny Māori their independence and the ownership of their lands has recently been called into question.<sup>81</sup>

According to Paul McHugh, scholarship on contemporary Pākehā interpretations of the Treaty lacks depth.<sup>82</sup> He suggests that the Treaty’s English language articles could have been read as an expression of the whiggish idea, rooted in English common law, that British subjects on account of their birthright were entitled to liberty and the protection of property.<sup>83</sup> The Treaty could equally have been interpreted, he continues, as an expression of the patriarchal language of the Anglican church-state.<sup>84</sup> Henry Williams and his son Edward Williams—the Church Missionary Society agents who translated the English version of the Treaty into the Māori language—apparently encouraged Māori to regard the Treaty as a

covenant ‘between Māori and the Queen as head of the English Church and state’. Māori and Pākehā were now ‘one people’ under the Queen ‘in both a spiritual and temporal sense’. This concept, argues Claudia Orange, may have been familiar to Māori whose chiefs sometimes played a dual role in their society: they were heads of *imi* (tribes) but also on occasion acted as *tohunga* (expert priests).<sup>85</sup>

Martin would have been critical of both constructions. The Treaty, he suggested, simultaneously protected and deprived Māori and Pākehā of their British birthright to liberty and property guaranteed by English common law. As a Free-Church Presbyterian Martin also implied that the Treaty and the subsequent land policies of the government threatened to strip colonists of their Scottish birthright—their right to be protected from Anglican supremacy. To understand Martin’s view of the Treaty it is first necessary to consider again the significance of non-intrusionist constitutional thinking. During the ten years’ conflict with the state, future Free Churchers, as we saw in Chap. 7, championed a theory of sovereignty which conflicted with the constitutional theory paramount in England: that the sovereignty of the British Crown-in-Parliament was absolute and indivisible. In England the monarch was supreme head of the Church of England and Anglican bishops sat in parliament but in Scotland the monarch and parliament were sovereign in the temporal sphere alone. Jesus Christ was head of the Church of Scotland and the General Assembly of the Kirk operated independently of parliament within its own spiritual jurisdiction. Archibald Bruce, the late eighteenth-century professor of divinity in the dissenting Secession church who tutored Thomas McCulloch, condemned the supreme headship of the Anglican Church as pseudo-papist. The English Reformation, he argued, had transferred the unscriptural powers of the papacy to the English monarchy. Non-intrusionists, in turn, believed that they were defending the Crown rights of Jesus Christ and the independence of the Kirk, supposedly guaranteed by the constitution as ‘unalterably settled by the Treaty of Union’. The *Claim of Right* issued by non-intrusionist protesters in 1842—one of the Free Church documents which Martin’s friends may have sent to him—declared that the Kirk’s privileges had been reserved by the Treaty ‘from the cognizance and power of the federal legislature created by the said Treaty’—in other words, the newly united British parliament.<sup>86</sup> The Disruption ‘brought into collision,’ says Colin Kidd, an Anglican-inflected and a Scots-inflected conception of the British constitution.<sup>87</sup> As we have already seen, the Rev. James Adamson of the Scots Church in Cape Town

effectively argued that two constitutions existed in Britain. *The Colonist* in Sydney, meanwhile, a paper with which Martin was intimate, maintained that the doctrine of Anglican supremacy had been embodied in the English constitution but that the British constitution, constructed in 1707, had restricted the Church of England's territorial jurisdiction to England alone. According to the Dutch Reformed Church, as we saw in Chap. 9, the doctrine of non-intrusion had qualified the supremacy of the Crown in the British empire.<sup>88</sup>

It is possible that these non-intrusionist ideas informed Martin's critique of the British Crown's imperial power as embodied in the Treaty of Waitangi. Martin arguably viewed the Crown's alleged claim to pre-emptive sovereignty as a usurpation of Jesus Christ's authority which, like the attempt to curtail the Kirk's independence, infringed the political liberties of British subjects. Henry Williams, Martin argued, had stepped beyond his jurisdiction when, as an 'agent for government', he had persuaded people to sign the Treaty and abandon their political rights.<sup>89</sup> The Crown, Martin insisted, echoing debates of the early modern period—including the justifications of Scotland's colonisation of Darién in Spanish-claimed Panama<sup>90</sup>—was asserting an ecclesiastical supremacy like the doctrine of universal papal dominion used to justify Spanish conquest in the fifteenth century. Martin referred to the fifteenth-century papal bulls—*Romanus Pontifex* (1455) and *Inter Caetera* (1493)—which underlined the universal dominion of the Pope and the duty of the Catholic Church to Christianise the earth. The latter bull granted to Christian princes who discovered new territory the right to native land and instructed these rulers to convert the indigenous inhabitants.<sup>91</sup> Martin argued that the spirit of papal usurpation was embodied in the Treaty of Waitangi. The British Crown, which had usurped Christ's headship of his church, claimed to have authority in all matters spiritual and temporal; by the Treaty, it claimed dominion over all the peoples of the earth. This 'old Romish doctrine', Martin's paper contended, was being revived as a means to deprive settlers and Māori of their lands.<sup>92</sup> The land commissioners' investigations, he remarked, resembled a 'court of Inquisition'.<sup>93</sup> Whereas in 1847 Henry Chapman—first puisne judge of the Supreme Court—and in 1877 Chief Justice James Prendergast invoked the doctrine of the indivisible sovereignty of Crown-in-Parliament to deny Māori claims to co-sovereignty and defend the Crown's pre-emption rights,<sup>94</sup> so Scottish non-intrusionist constitutionalism may have buttressed Martin's defence of Māori property rights and his criticism of the Crown's supremacy. In Rotorua in 1844

some Māori, in conversation with a group of Christian converts, criticised the Crown's claim to sole sovereignty and seem to have agreed with Martin's interpretation of the Treaty: 'You [the Christian party] are continually calling upon us to acknowledge one Head, Christ – let Him be Head of the Church, as you say – but we want no one [else] over us.'<sup>95</sup>

The Treaty had been a deception, Martin thought, but the attempts of the New Zealand Company to encourage the government to ignore the Treaty and claim the Crown's right to land by reference to the doctrine of discovery were even worse. The Crown originally took the view that before the annexation of New Zealand, Māori had possessed sovereignty; their consent was required before British rule could be established. Later, however, the Company—supported by Henry Chapman—argued that, as the Treaty had been signed first in the North Island and only by some chiefs, Britain's claim to sovereignty in New Zealand should rest instead upon the doctrine of discovery.<sup>96</sup> The Crown, as the discovering nation, whose claim originated from Cook's first landing, was entitled to all of New Zealand's 'waste lands'—the uncultivated Māori territory which, if the terms of the Treaty were observed, the Crown was obliged to purchase at a fair price (if the current owners were willing to sell). Governor Gipps supported this argument. His Land Claims Bill of 1840 stated that the Crown would seize 'surplus' land in any claim from pre-1840 purchasers exceeding 2560 acres. According to Gipps, sovereignty in New Zealand, as in North America, had been acquired first by discovery. It was customary for the British government, as the discovering nation, to assert its right of pre-emption. Gipps and others who supported this view drew on sources from American jurisprudence.<sup>97</sup> They also invoked an 'agriculturalist' justification for conquest given shape in the writings of Vattel: seizure of land was warranted when it was not being used.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, this argument implied that Māori were mere possessors of the soil, not legitimate owners of the land.

Martin rejected these arguments as 'inconsistent with morality' which revived the dark ages of pre-Reformation Europe.<sup>99</sup> It was unfair that 'surplus' lands should be appropriated by the Crown instead of being returned to the original Māori owners.<sup>100</sup> Martin worried that surplus lands might come under the control of the Anglican board of trustees established by the Native Trust bill discussed above. The bill proposed that the trust should administer as reserves for the native population one-tenth of all New Zealand Company lands as well as one-tenth of all land purchased by private individuals. In 1839 Martin had recommended that the Crown

purchase as much of New Zealand as possible, leaving the cultivated land to Māori and reserving one-tenth of the revenue from land sales for their religious instruction.<sup>101</sup> Now he maintained that the bill established an 'imperium in imperio' and gave the trust the power to impose Anglicanism across the country.<sup>102</sup> Martin used the same language expressed in Lang's newspapers where the Church and School Corporation and the attempts of Broughton to appropriate one-seventh of all Crown lands had been denounced.<sup>103</sup> The native reserves were similar in nature, Martin insisted, to the clergy reserves in British North America and the church lands in New South Wales and would generate in New Zealand strife comparable to the conflict seen in those colonies.<sup>104</sup> Martin's paper had earlier warned the government that another Canadian rebellion was possible: 'The fire however, is only smothered, not extinguished. If present measures are persisted on, it will assuredly burn again, with a fierceness which will cause the conflagration to extend from the forests of Canada to the grass-covered plains of Australia, and the mountains of New Zealand.'<sup>105</sup>

Martin was a severe critic of the New Zealand Company and its principles of systematic colonisation. The Company, he thought, was merely trying to save its own skin by forcing the government to recognise its inequitable land purchases.<sup>106</sup> The 1844 select committee on New Zealand, Martin insisted, had shamefully accepted the Company's argument on discovery and cultivation when it had concluded that the Treaty had formed a part of a series of Hobson's 'injudicious proceedings'. The acknowledgment, the committee reported, of 'a right of property on the part of the Natives of New Zealand, in all wild lands in those Islands, after the sovereignty had been assumed by Her Majesty' had been an error. If the right of discovery had been declared in the north of New Zealand, the report continued, the exclusive title of the Crown to 'all land not actually occupied and enjoyed by the Natives' could have been established.<sup>107</sup> Martin condemned the committee's resolutions. Britain having 'acknowledged the rights of the Chiefs to the land', Martin had written in *The Colonist* in 1839, '(which she had never any just right to call in question), it is plain she must also acknowledge their power to sell and dispose of it to whom and in what manner they will'.<sup>108</sup> Governor Gipps had 'consulted American books' and, comparing Māori to Native Americans and indigenous Australians, had claimed that Māori, having failed to cultivate enough land, could legitimately be deprived of the property rights bestowed to them by Providence.<sup>109</sup> In 1847 Martin was called to give evidence before a select committee of the House of Lords on Irish emigration. He was asked if the

government might find a way to control the ‘waste lands’ claimed by Māori. In response Martin warned the committee that ‘every inch’ of land, even in the South Island, or Middle Island as colonists knew it then, was claimed by Māori, even when it was not occupied. The Crown would have to pay for these lands based upon a ‘principle of equity’.<sup>110</sup> Martin’s friend W.E. Cormack agreed with this assessment. He wrote to Lord Breadalbane in Scotland, the Free Church defender, asserting that the ‘private rights’ of Māori extended ‘even to the productions of the sea shores and seas adjoining’. These laws were ‘understood by all,’ Cormack claimed, ‘and tenaciously adhered to’. The ‘phantom of a treaty’ should be thrown out, he insisted, and an ‘honourable arrangement’ agreed instead.<sup>111</sup>

In his *Letters* Martin again accused the government of claiming a divine right to conquer. ‘Divine and Discovery Right’, he wrote, had been fabricated owing to the ‘impudent pretensions of ancient priestcraft’. The Pope of Rome, who had usurped the authority of Christ, had claimed an unscriptural right to govern the entire earth. He had granted to the rulers of Spain a portion of this right, used to justify the murder and robbery of indigenous Americans. Martin’s analysis echoed that of *The Colonist*. The ‘Man of Sin’, one editorial in *The Colonist* blustered, ‘as he is emphatically styled in Scripture, has yet to answer at the tribunal of God for the accumulation of crime and misery, of robbery and bloodshed, of which his impious pretensions to the absolute sovereignty and disposal of the kingdoms of earth were the manifest cause and origin in the continent and isles of America.’ Catholic kings had too often followed the Pope’s example by expropriating territory in the name of conversion.<sup>112</sup> As we have seen, Martin supported British colonisation of New Zealand as a way to prevent the ‘inquisitorial and rapacious tyranny’ of the Church of Rome.<sup>113</sup> Now he worried that the ‘infamous falsehoods of an old Romish Pope’ had been adopted by Protestant Britain. The ‘morality and Christianity of England’, he proclaimed, had ‘become very scarce’. Martin warned the aristocracy to be careful about the doctrines they preached on property rights. By the same principle applied in New Zealand, he argued, unoccupied lands in England could be justifiably appropriated and used to feed the poor—currently suffering because of the Corn Laws and the church establishments which supported them.<sup>114</sup> Martin had been scathing of the ‘scions of noble stock’ in his letters to *The Colonist*. He told them to stay at home and improve the ‘moral and physical condition of their numerous and oppressed serfs’ rather than attempt to reproduce feudal society in New Zealand. He did not want to see large proprietorship replace the *pā*.<sup>115</sup>



Martin and his allies enthusiastically defended the attributes of Māori, rejecting as false or ignorant the negative depictions which appeared in New Zealand Company publications. In evidence to the select committee, Martin argued that Māori, who he revealed he had frequently employed, were sober, industrious and vested with the intelligence to make land transactions.<sup>116</sup> As Stone has argued, Martin's attitudes to Māori were paternalistic, self-interested and contradictory. Māori were fully capable of transacting land exchanges, but they were incapable of understanding properly the English criminal justice system, which, Martin argued, should, out of fairness, apply only to Māori in certain cases.<sup>117</sup> Martin's outlook seems to have been influenced by the mixture of stadialist theory and a 'civilizational perspective' which shaped the mindset of many early nineteenth-century evangelicals.<sup>118</sup> Even the 'savagest cannibals', he wrote, could be 'raised to the physical and moral dignity of a branch of the human family'.<sup>119</sup> His viewpoint in this regard was similar to that of Thomas Pringle who, as Chap. 2 described, believed in the advancement and regeneration of man. Martin's thinking could also be regarded as an example of 'humanitarian capitalism', in evidence elsewhere in the British empire in this period. Like blacks in the post-slavery West Indies, Māori, Martin seems to have believed, had the potential for transformation into Christianised labourers fully incorporated into the British state.<sup>120</sup> It is worth remembering that Martin lived briefly in British Guiana after he left New Zealand, a post-slavery territory engaged in the recruitment of non-white labour. Some planters resented government attempts to regulate the importation of labourers, denounced by some critics as slave trading by another name, claiming that the freedom of former slaves and other workers to sell their labour should be respected.<sup>121</sup> Would Martin—an abolitionist—have argued for the free trade in labour in Guiana as he did the free trade in land in New Zealand? Martin, it should be stated, was keen to encourage Māori to sell their lands, albeit under ethical conditions, for he viewed land in terms of its commercial value. On his return from New Zealand to Skye he recommended that the local tenantry—half of the island's population in fact—currently suffering from dearth, should be cleared from the land, which he believed was better suited to pastoralism than to cultivation. The evicted tenants could be profitably resettled in the colonies, presumably on territory acquired from indigenous owners.<sup>122</sup>

In any event, Martin's critique of British colonial policy and his representations of Māori were different from that of the Company and some

of its settlers. British settlers, generalises Alan Lester, drawing his evidence from the Company-affiliated *Nelson Examiner*, resented the attempt of humanitarian missionaries and their metropolitan allies to safeguard the rights of Māori. Settlers wanted freedom to settle land claims in their favour and ignore the guarantees embedded in the Treaty. Humanitarians like Fitzroy in New Zealand<sup>123</sup> or Thomas Pringle at the Cape represented settlers as ‘aberrant Britons’ whose immorality threatened to undermine Britain’s providential mission to reclaim souls. In response to these representations, Lester contends, settlers invented their own notion of Britishness as the antithesis of indigenous savagery.<sup>124</sup> Settlers’ demands for their rights as freeborn ‘Englishmen’, argues Mark McKenna, were predicated on representations of what they were not: ‘uncivilised savages’.<sup>125</sup>

Settler discourse was more nuanced than Lester has suggested. In fact Martin’s paper specifically rejected the arguments of the *Nelson Examiner*.<sup>126</sup> The relationship between settlers and humanitarians, indeed, was not a binary one. Martin was both a settler and a humanitarian, as was Pringle. Martin styled himself, in fact, the President of the New Zealand Aborigines’ Protection Society. Generalisations about settler attitudes, John Stenhouse has commented, can distort the complex array of religious and political ideas which underpinned contemporary mentalities.<sup>127</sup> A suspicion of humanitarianism did not shape Martin’s critique of British policy; humanitarianism—of a Scottish Presbyterian stripe—actually shaped Martin’s particular conception of British birthright. Anglican Arminianism, according to McHugh, which stressed the values of free will and individual responsibility as a precursor of salvation and which was intertwined with free trade ideology, underpinned the humanitarianism of Westminster.<sup>128</sup> In Martin’s case, his commitment to free trade and personal liberty on which his defence of Māori, as well as Pākehā, rights rested, was rooted in the voluntarist-non-intrusionist thinking of Scottish Presbyterian dissent. He opposed the erection of a state church because he believed it infringed the political liberties of British subjects—the birthright won for them by Scottish martyrs. The so-called ‘divine right’ of pre-emption—which restricted the free exchange of land—was a monopoly, like a church establishment, designed to deprive the people of their freedom. He objected to customs duties on similar grounds and took the same view of the ten shillings an acre tax on all land purchases applied by Fitzroy in March 1844 (and reduced to one penny an acre in October) in exchange for the Crown’s waiver of its right of pre-emption. It did not matter, Martin’s

paper insisted, whether the soil or the productions of the soil were taxed; like the poor of Britain, the European and Māori populations of New Zealand would be ground to the earth.<sup>129</sup>

### MARTIN AND JOHN DUNMORE LANG

Martin's position resembled that of another so-called humanitarian: the Rev. John Dunmore Lang. Lang, as we saw in Chap. 10, wrote four letters to Lord Durham on New Zealand's prospects as a colony in 1839.<sup>130</sup> Lang's characterisation of the old settlers as criminal and his support of the Crown's right of pre-emption as a means to undermine these settlers and protect Māori, won him few friends in New Zealand.<sup>131</sup> Martin disagreed with Lang's argument that the Crown's rule rested on the doctrine of discovery and thus invalidated early purchases from Māori. Ned Fletcher speculates, indeed, that Martin wrote in January 1840, *The Colonist's* response to Lang's piece.<sup>132</sup> 'Dr. Lang, and other malicious persons', Martin's paper later reported, ignorant on the state of New Zealand, had published falsehoods to prejudice the public mind.<sup>133</sup> Despite a difference of opinion on this matter—and on Lang's negative portrayal of immigrants from Skye, which Martin deeply resented<sup>134</sup>—their thinking was still greatly aligned, unsurprising given Martin's position in the Scottish Presbyterian community in Sydney. As voluntaries Lang and Martin both criticised the New South Wales Church Act and accused the British Crown of assuming a papal-like power. Lang warned Durham that the Church Act propagated the 'indefeasible right' of the Church of England to 'lord it over the understandings and consciences of men'.<sup>135</sup> Like Martin, Lang supported free trade and he sought the help of the Rev. William McKerrow, a voluntary Seceder and co-founder of the Manchester Anti-Corn Law League, to promote Queensland's fledgling cotton industry to Manchester freetraders.<sup>136</sup> Lang cited Martin as an authority on the evils of customs duties. Lang insisted that no imposts on foreign imports should be levied in an independent Australia. Just as Australia had no need of an established church, it had no need of a customs house.<sup>137</sup>

As we have seen, Lang also admired Hōne Heke, who cut down the British flag at Kororāreka four times in 1844–1845. Martin agreed with Lang on this point. As far as Martin was concerned, Hōne Heke could be compared to other patriots from Europe's history, including Scotland's own Robert the Bruce and William Wallace.<sup>138</sup> The flagstaff rebellion had occurred because of government policy and the actions of the New

Zealand Company. Customs duties had hit Māori trade in the north hard while the British government had concealed their intention to deprive Māori of their lands. The Colonial Office, Martin insisted, should have heeded his advice in his pamphlet, *New Zealand in 1842*, which had been written as a warning to Lord Stanley. Martin had forwarded a copy of this pamphlet to the government—still in the Colonial Office archives—but he was sure its message had been counteracted by Willoughby Shortland, acting governor at the time, whose cover letter would have undermined Martin's statements.<sup>139</sup> Martin was right about this: Shortland did encourage Stanley not to pay too much attention to the publication.<sup>140</sup>

### LONDON LOBBYING

In December 1844 Martin and Brown decided it was time to abandon letter-writing and, like the other colonists discussed in this book, lobby the British government in person. They sailed to London, finishing their protest pamphlets—Martin's *New Zealand in a Series of Letters* (1845) and Brown's *New Zealand and its Aborigines* (1845)—during their long journey. In London they had their writings published, hoping to influence the House of Commons debate on New Zealand in June and July 1845.<sup>141</sup> They stayed in London after their arrival trying to lobby the government. They were luckier than many colonial lobbyists; for Brown, at least, because of the goods he had shipped, had a letter of introduction to Stanley from Fitzroy, which gained him access to the Colonial Office.<sup>142</sup> Martin and Brown also tried to reach sympathetic politicians with radical inclinations. The *Southern Cross* had previously encouraged its readers to lobby Robert Wallace of Kelly, reformist MP for Greenock, and Joseph Hume, who had been helpful to McCulloch, Pringle, Lang and Mackenzie and whose reputation for defending colonists' rights was well known.<sup>143</sup> Hume's sympathy was assured; he had already protested in the House against the establishment of a bishopric in New Zealand.<sup>144</sup> Martin may have sought out John McGregor, a free-trade proponent and associate of Hume's, who in 1843 had helped W.E. Cormack to gain access to 'all parties in London'.<sup>145</sup> Born in Stornoway, McGregor had migrated to Canada for a time—sailing to Pictou in the same year as Thomas McCulloch—and was Secretary to the Board of Trade. Cormack continued to be helpful to Martin and Brown by writing in August 1845 to Lord Breadalbane, former whig MP for Perth and a vocal defender of the Free Church in the House of Lords, informing him of the mismanagement of New Zealand

affairs, including Stanley's 'disregard of the remonstrances of those he has dealt unfairly with'. Cormack recommended that Breadalbane seek out John McGregor, who had 'as correct a view upon New Zealand affairs as any man in England'.<sup>146</sup>

McGregor may have introduced Martin and Brown to another of Hume's circle: Charles Pelham Villiers, prominent anti-Corn Law activist who, A.C. Howe has argued, effectively took over the ageing Hume's portfolio.<sup>147</sup> Villiers presented Martin and Brown's petition to parliament on 22 July. The petition attributed Heke's rebellion to colonial misrule—to the government's insistence on its right of pre-emption and to the New Zealand Company's attempt to occupy lands in violation of the Treaty terms. It strongly objected to the government's proposal to impose a tax on land.<sup>148</sup>

Martin and Brown also argued in favour of representative, responsible government for New Zealand. The non-official members in the council, Martin's paper maintained, were akin to the people's representatives in the House of Commons and the actions of the governor in repeatedly ignoring their protests were unconstitutional.<sup>149</sup> New Zealanders were taxed but had no representation. They were thus deprived of the rights of British subjects.<sup>150</sup> Britain had a mixed constitution but only the monarchy, Martin proclaimed, had been exported to its colonies. Monarchy in the hands of its gubernatorial viceroys had degenerated 'into the purest and most absolute despotism'.<sup>151</sup> 'The Divine Right of Kings', Martin's paper insisted, 'and of undelegated and unrepresenting Governments is too old a story to be received as one of the traditions of the South Sea Islands.'<sup>152</sup> The colonial government clearly believed that people were made for the use of government and not the other way round: 'This opinion', Martin stated, 'was never cherished with intenser bigotry by the Stuarts themselves than by Captain Hobson and his lieutenant Mr Shortland, who have driven many hundreds from the Colony.'<sup>153</sup> Echoing the complaints of the other colonists in this book, Martin insisted that the system of colonial management required reform. Colonists were 'shut out' from the British parliament and it was impossible for the Colonial Office to govern millions of subjects from so far away. Only by rebelling, as the Canadians had done, could colonists acquire proper attention.<sup>154</sup> Sympathetic MPs took up this theme in the Commons debate. Lord Howick and Benjamin Hawes, another of Hume's allies, spoke in favour of representative government. Joseph Hume, meanwhile, repeated the arguments he had made many years before in favour of the reform of colonial rule and the management of the Colonial Office.<sup>155</sup>

The whigs assumed office in 1846 and Colonial Office administration changed once again. Martin expressed his hope that with a new constitution and under the management of the whigs, 'New Zealand will speedily advance to be a very important Colony.'<sup>156</sup> The debate on the form this constitution would take continued in the Commons in August 1846 when Hawes introduced a bill for representative government. A petition from William Brown, still resident in London, was also introduced. Brown worried that Auckland, because of warfare in the north, would be excluded from the bill. He asked for clause nine, which granted the new governor, George Grey, the power to delay the introduction of representative government in the north, to be omitted.<sup>157</sup> Neither Martin nor Brown accepted the argument that because of its 'semi-civilised' native population, New Zealand was unready for self-rule. Martin was perfectly happy to grant Māori the vote immediately, provided they met the property qualification which he believed it was necessary to impose.<sup>158</sup> He pointed out in his letters to *The Colonist* that Māori were experienced in the practice of debate and reasoning.<sup>159</sup> In practice, of course, a property qualification would result in the disfranchisement of most Māori who held land collectively.

William Brown returned to Auckland in 1847 to complain further about Governor Grey's suspension of the 1846 constitution. The constitution granted the colony municipal councils and, at provincial and national levels, bicameral legislatures with appointed upper branches and representative lower branches. Brown recommenced the *Southern Cross* and criticised Grey for reintroducing pre-emption. He also critiqued his policy in support of religious education. Auckland politics, indeed, continued to be inflected with sectarian bias.<sup>160</sup> After 1852, when New Zealand received its constitution, Brown continued his political warfare in his role as provincial superintendent. Brown and his business partner gained notoriety in New Zealand; John Logan Campbell was later nicknamed the 'father of Auckland'.

## CONCLUSION

Martin, meanwhile, faded into obscurity. He chose not to return with Brown to New Zealand and instead moved back to Skye where he ended up embroiled in parish disputes with the Rev. Roderick McLeod over his failure to use Gaelic instead of English. Martin did not stay long in Skye, however, which was suffering acutely from depression and famine, and

moved on again to Berbice in British Guiana to work as a stipendiary magistrate. He died there because of ‘the climate’ in September 1848.<sup>161</sup> As the lack of attention to his political writings attests, Martin did not attain the status of ‘hero’—or ‘anti-hero’—in New Zealand’s national historiography. More a sojourner than a settler, it is debateable whether Martin can even be described as a ‘New Zealander’. Like the other colonists discussed in this book, Martin’s mobility and his knowledge of, and experiences living in, the networked world of Britain’s empire influenced his worldview—a view which, in turn, impacted on that of his colonial neighbour, John Dunmore Lang. Martin’s awareness of Canadian affairs, his residence in New South Wales, where he chaired public meetings and wrote for *The Colonist*, and, most importantly perhaps, his enduring connection to the complex world of Scottish religious dissent, shaped his political outlook. He sought to overturn in New Zealand what he regarded as ‘spiritual despotism’. Just as it had oppressed the Covenanters of the Scottish past, the Free Churchers of the Scottish present and the colonists of Canada and Australia, Anglican supremacy, he believed, threatened to deprive colonists—Māori and Pākehā—of their rights as British subjects: denominational equality, freedom of trade and representative government. Martin’s liberal critique of colonial rule may have been selfish but it was more than just an ideologically bankrupt reaction to policy decisions against his interest. The Scottish Disruption—a cataclysmic event brought about by the politico-ecclesiastical changes rocking the entire empire—fundamentally influenced Martin’s perspective on New Zealand affairs.

## NOTES

1. Martin 1845, p. 64.
2. Martin 1845, p. 94.
3. ‘New Zealand Colonization. First Article’, *The Colonist*, 25 December 1839.
4. ‘New Zealand Colonization. Fourth Article’, *The Colonist*, 4 January 1840. For similar views from Lang see Lang 1839, p. 98.
5. ‘New Zealand Colonization. Second Article’, *The Colonist*, 25 December 1839.
6. ‘Colonial Politics’, *The Colonist*, 18 January 1840.
7. ‘New Zealand’, *Colonial Observer*, 2 Mar 1842.
8. ‘New Zealand’, *Colonial Observer*, 18 May 1842.
9. The National Archives [TNA], CO 209/14, Hobson to Stanley, 28 March 1842.

10. 'New Zealand', *Colonial Observer*, 31 August 1842.
11. Martin 1842; Hocken 1901[?], p. 111.
12. 'New Zealand', *Colonial Observer*, 26 October 1842.
13. 'The Emigrants from the Clyde at New Zealand', *Colonial Observer*, 10 December 1842.
14. 'Latest News', *Southern Cross*, November 11 1843. 'Latest News', *Southern Cross*, September 16 1843. No second edition has been located so Cormack's efforts seem to have come to nothing.
15. Auckland War Memorial Museum [AWMM], John Logan Campbell papers, MS51 Folder 14B, letter dated December 15 1844. Campbell also sent his father Martin's 1842 pamphlet; see the letter dated 4 April 1843.
16. 'New Zealand', *Colonial Observer*, 14 June 1843.
17. TNA, CO 209/14; CO 209/15. On 2 April 1842 Hobson described an enclosed petition to the Colonial Office as 'the work of a few factious persons headed by Doctor Martin and Mr Dudley Sinclair'.
18. McLintock 1958, p. 139.
19. Moon 2000, pp. 113–15.
20. Simpson 1990.
21. See e.g. McLintock 1958; Morrell 1932; Robson 1954; Cheyne 1975. Newer works include: Ward 2008; Ward 2014; Griffiths and Evans 2014.
22. McHugh 2001, p. 198.
23. Lipson 1948, p. 17.
24. McHugh 1995, pp. 366–7.
25. Ballantyne 2009, p. 99.
26. See e.g., McLintock 1958, p. 259.
27. Francis 2001, pp. 178, 181.
28. Francis 1992.
29. Ballantyne 2009, p. 109.
30. Stone 1980b, pp. 15–35; Stone 1982. Stone echoes the ideas of Cheyne 1975.
31. Martin 1845, p. 330.
32. 'Mechanics' Institute', *The Auckland Chronicle and New Zealand Colonist*, 25 March 1843; Martin 1845, pp. 330–2.
33. Ward 2008.
34. 'To the Inhabitants of Auckland and Colonists of New Zealand', *Auckland Times*, 22 September 1842; Martin 1845, p. 326.
35. Many objected to the appointment of James Freeman as colonial secretary on account of Freeman's relationship with an unmarried woman of alleged dubious sexual morality. Several 'leading people at Auckland', Edward Jerningham Wakefield wrote, 'intimated that their wives would



- be unable to meet Mr Freeman's wife at his Excellency's house': Wakefield 1845, p. 505. Martin threatened to print in the *Southern Cross* an article titled 'Morality Essential to Good Government' if Freeman was not recalled. Stone 1982, p. 119; AWMM, John Logan Campbell papers, MS51 Folder 14B, Logan Campbell to his father, 5 April 1844. On 'impassable' streets see Brodie 1845, p. 14; Martin 1842, p. 7. On the 'moral contagion' of the Pankhurst boys see Martin 1845, pp. 174–5; Brown 1845, p. 173.
36. McHugh 1995, p. 360.
  37. Simpson 1990; McLintock 1958, pp. 138, 270.
  38. On this theme see Wood 1975; Stenhouse 2004, 2009.
  39. Dickson 1899, p. 40.
  40. Lester 2002, pp. 24–48.
  41. New Zealand historiography, Angela McCarthy has noted, has failed to distinguish the attitudes to Māori held by various ethnicities: McCarthy 2011, p. 183. Though see Patterson et al. 2013, pp. 117–19.
  42. Scott 1928, p. 180.
  43. MacCowan 1902, pp. 118–19.
  44. MacCowan 1902, pp. 119, 142.
  45. Anon. 1847b, pp. 73–7, 80–1.
  46. Kidd and Wallace 2013.
  47. 'Latest News', *Southern Cross*, 28 October 1843.
  48. 'Signs of the Times. Indications of Great Social and Political Revolutions', *Southern Cross*, 11 November 1843.
  49. Martin 1845, p. 328.
  50. Even in 1855 Thomas Gore Browne, when appointed Governor of New Zealand, was instructed to 'look to the spiritualities of the Church of England in New Zealand': Mackey 1967, p. 35.
  51. 'Religious Quarrels', *Southern Cross*, 15 June 1844; Martin 1845, pp. 308–11.
  52. Brown 1845, p. 179. The Rev. John Macfarlane, Presbyterian minister in Wellington, was similarly suspicious of Selwyn's High Church proclivities. Macfarlane rejected the notion of 'apostolical authority' and pointed out that the Church of Scotland admitted 'of no head but Christ': To the editor', *New Zealand Colonist*, 23 August 1842.
  53. 'To editor', *Southern Cross*, 20 May 1843; Martin 1845, p. 327.
  54. 'St Paul's', *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1844.
  55. Terry 1842, pp. 53–4.
  56. Martin 1842, p. 22.
  57. Of the rest 51 were members of the Kirk, twelve came from Ireland and another twelve came from other colonies: Matheson 1990, pp. 24, 34; Comrie 1939, pp. 20, 30.

58. 'State Church', *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1844.
59. Martin 1845, p. 211.
60. 'State Church', *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1844.
61. 'State Church', *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1844.
62. Brown 1845, pp. 179–80.
63. *Auckland Chronicle*, 20 June 1844. Quoted in Mackey 1967, p. 31.
64. Brown 1845: 'Appendix II: Protest Against the Native Trust Bill'.
65. 'Church Extension Act Disallowed', *Southern Cross*, 24 June 1843.
66. 'New Zealand', *Colonial Observer*, 2 March 1842.
67. 'Church Extension Act Disallowed', *Southern Cross*, 24 June 1843; Martin 1845, pp. 328–9. The Rev. John Macfarlane, Presbyterian minister in Wellington, experienced similar treatment in his settlement. The common burial ground was appropriated by the Anglican Church. The surveyor-general stated that Presbyterians, as dissenters, would be excluded after the Bishop's arrival. Macfarlane reminded the community that the Church of Scotland was equally established in Britain and possessed the same rights as the Church of England in Britain's colonies: 'To the editor', *New Zealand Colonist*, 23 August 1842; Dickson 1899, pp. 38–9. Charles Hindley, Radical MP for Lancashire and voluntaryist dissenter, voiced similar criticisms of Selwyn's graveyard monopoly in the House of Commons: Hansard HC Deb 30 July 1845 vol 82 cc 1236–51.
68. 'Legislative Council', *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1844.
69. Martin 1845, p. 210.
70. 'Protests', *Southern Cross*, 15 June 1844.
71. 'Legislative Council', *Southern Cross*, 22 June 1844.
72. 'Legislative Council', *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1844.
73. 'Signs of the Times. Indications of Great Social and Political Revolutions', *Southern Cross*, 11 November 1843; 'Latest News', *Southern Cross*, 9 September 1843.
74. Pickering and Tyrrell 2000, p. 56.
75. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty-of-waitangi>
76. 'Treaty of Waitangi', *Southern Cross*, 3 June 1843.
77. Martin 1842, p. 20.
78. Sharp 2001, pp. 37–8.
79. On pre-emptive sovereignty see Pocock 2005, pp. 235–7.
80. 'His Excellency Mr Shortland, the Treaty of Waitangi, and the Wairoa Massacre', *Southern Cross*, 26 August 1843; Martin 1845, Appendix I, pp. 360–3.
81. Fletcher 2014, pp. 1023–1079.
82. While Fletcher 2014 has examined what the framers of the English text meant, how settlers understood the text remains largely underexplored.
83. McHugh 1995, pp. 364–6.
84. McHugh 1995, p. 360.

85. Orange 2011, p. 91.
86. The Church of Scotland 1842, pp. 1, 15.
87. Kidd 2008, p. 229.
88. On the DRC see Chap. 9.
89. Martin 1845, pp. 98–9.
90. McPhail 1994.
91. Tomlins 2010, p. 53; McHugh 2004, p. 90.
92. ‘New Zealand Colonization Necessarily Different from that of any other British colony’, *Southern Cross*, 17 June 1843.
93. Martin 1845, p. 119.
94. McHugh 1989, p. 47; McHugh 2001, pp. 193–5; Ballantyne 2009, p. 114; Hickford 2010b, pp. 191–3.
95. Quoted in Orange 2001, p. 121. On the conflation of church and state and law and religion in the Māori worldview, see Paterson 2008.
96. Dorsett 2010, pp. 209–28; Hickford 2010b, p. 182; ‘Treaty of Waitangi’, *New Zealand Journal*, 2 March 1844.
97. Hickford 2010a.
98. Ivison 2006, p. 197; Tomlins 2010, p. 61.
99. Martin 1845, p. 347.
100. ‘To Whom Belong the Lands Wrested by Government from the Original Settlers?’, *Southern Cross*, 6 May 1843. See also Brodie 1845, p. 53.
101. ‘New Zealand Colonization. Second Article’, *The Colonist*, 25 December 1839.
102. Martin 1845, pp. 209–10.
103. ‘Colonial Politics’, *The Colonist*, 7 August 1839.
104. ‘Legislative Council’, *Southern Cross*, 6 July 1844; ‘Native Trust Bill’, *Southern Cross*, 6 July 1844.
105. ‘The Original Settlers of New Zealand’, *Southern Cross*, 1 July 1843.
106. Anon. 1847a, p. 378. In response to Martin’s criticisms the Company accused him of hypocrisy: ‘Petition to the House of Commons’, *New Zealand Journal*, 16 August 1845.
107. Anon. 1844, pp. v–vi, xii–xiii.
108. ‘NZ Colonization. Second Article’, *The Colonist*, 25 December 1839.
109. Martin 1842, p. 10; Martin 1845, pp. 114, 335.
110. Anon. 1847a, pp. 384–5.
111. Alexander Turnbull Library [ATL], MS Papers 1049, W.E. Cormack to Lord Breadalbane, 15 August 1845.
112. ‘Colonial Politics’, *The Colonist*, 21 April 1838.
113. ‘New Zealand Colonization. Fourth Article’, *The Colonist*, 4 January 1840. For similar views from Lang see Lang 1839, p. 98.
114. Martin 1845, pp. 346–8. Brown made a similar point: the property rights of the aristocracy could ‘be traced to no better title than the law of physical force’. Brown 1845, p. 298.

115. 'NZ Colonization. Second Article', *The Colonist*, 25 December 1839.
116. Anon. 1847a, pp. 384–7.
117. 'Legislative Council', *Southern Cross*, July 6 1844; Stone 1980b, p. 29.
118. Hickford 2006, pp. 128–9.
119. Martin 1845, pp. 291–2.
120. Bischof 2016, pp. 129–68.
121. Rodway 1894.
122. Anon. 1847a, pp. 375–7.
123. Governor Fitzroy noted with disapproval that the 'Nelson paper was an organ of the most violent advocates of hostility with the natives, but so cleverly written, that one could not help wishing its editor more creditable employment': Fitzroy 1846, p. 18.
124. Lester 2002. For Lester's comments on Pringle see note 37, page 46.
125. McKenna 2012.
126. 'To the Editor of the *Nelson Examiner*', *Southern Cross*, 16 September 1843.
127. Stenhouse 2000, p. 22.
128. McHugh 2004, p. 121.
129. 'The Causes of the Ruin of British Colonies', *Southern Cross*, 20 April 1844.
130. Lang 1839.
131. *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 6 September 1839; *New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, 8 November 1842.
132. Fletcher 2014, pp. 819–20.
133. 'Treaty of Waitangi', *Southern Cross*, 3 June 1843.
134. See Martin's letter in the *Sydney Herald* on 3 September 1841.
135. Lang 1839, pp. 100–1.
136. Pickering 2008, p. 06.6.
137. Lang 1857, pp. 11, 350, 352.
138. Martin 1845, p. 334.
139. Martin 1845, p. 337.
140. TNA, CO 209/16, Shortland to Stanley, 6 October 1842.
141. 'Captain Fitzroy's Proceedings in Council', *New Zealand Journal*, 21 December 1844; 'Prospects of Settlers', *New Zealand Journal*, 1845.
142. TNA, CO 209/29, 12 October 1844.
143. 'Taxation', *Southern Cross*, June 22 1844.
144. Hansard HC Deb 15 July 1842 vol 65 cc 202–6; HC Deb 19 April 1844 vol 74 cc 105–125; 'Votes for the Colonies', *Southern Cross*, 14 September 1844.
145. 'Latest News', *Southern Cross*, 16 September 1843.
146. ATL, MS Papers 1049, W.E. Cormack to Lord Breadalbane, 15 August 1845.

147. Howe 2009.
148. 'Petition to the House of Commons', *New Zealand Journal*, 16 August 1845.
149. 'Taxation', *Southern Cross*, 22 June 1844.
150. 'Financial Embarrassments', *Southern Cross*, 20 May 1843; 'Representative Legislation', *Southern Cross*, 16 March 1844; Martin 1845, p. 226–7.
151. Martin 1845, p. 13. See also 'The Governing and the Governed', *Southern Cross*, 21 October 1843.
152. 'The Last *Gazette* – Taxation', *Southern Cross*, 4 May 1844.
153. Martin 1845, p. 236.
154. Martin 1845, p. 17.
155. Hansard HC Deb 30 July 1845 vol 82 cc 1236–51.
156. Anon. 1847a, p. 383.
157. Cheyne 1975, pp. 115–6.
158. Martin 1845, p. 345.
159. 'New Zealand Colonization. Third Article', *The Colonist*, 28 December 1839.
160. Stone 1980a; Stenhouse 2011.
161. *New Zealander* 21 April 1849. See the letter to Martin's brother from John Logan Campbell: AWMM, John Logan Campbell papers, Logan Campbell to N. Martin, 22 December 1849. Angus Martin, the Church of Scotland minister, named his son who born in 1850 after his recently deceased brother. Samuel McDonald junior followed in his uncle's footsteps by migrating to Australia: Scott 1928, p. 180.

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## Conclusion

In the aftermath of the American Revolution, the British metropolitan state sought to Anglicanise its colonies. The Church of England clergy, it was thought, would stabilise the empire by acting as vectors for the propagation of loyal principles.<sup>1</sup> Instead, the policy of Anglicanisation generated considerable unrest in the settler colonial world. Non-Anglicans like Thomas Pringle, Thomas McCulloch, John Dunmore Lang, William Lyon Mackenzie and Samuel McDonald Martin, who were concerned about the fate of Scottish Presbyterianism, the sectarian nature of education, the Anglican monopoly of land, the Anglican monopoly of political power—and, at times, the alleged creeping influence of Catholicism, regarded as Anglicanism's sister faith—critiqued the system of colonial misrule. The growth of political reform movements in the Cape Colony, Nova Scotia, Upper Canada, New South Wales and New Zealand can be partly attributed to the policy of Anglicanisation. The British state had hoped to avoid another war of independence; instead its counter-revolutionary policy eventuated in an empire of self-governing dominions.

Pringle, McCulloch, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin, some of the most notorious colonial reformers in the early nineteenth century, were all connected in some way to the networked world of Scottish Presbyterian dissent. Some of Pringle's relations were Seceder ministers; McCulloch was a Seceder missionary; Lang was a Kirk minister who identified with

dissenters; Mackenzie was nursed in the cradle of Secession activism; while Martin's family were embroiled in Free Church disputes. The subversive ideas of Presbyterian dissent shaped their politics. They were receptive to the new light voluntaryist ideas nurtured in the Secession and Relief Churches and to the similar doctrine of non-intrusion expounded by the Free Church— notions which emphasised that church and state should be separate, that the powers of monarch and parliament should be limited and that church ministers should be chosen by popular election.

As in Scotland, where political liberals sought to challenge post-Napoleonic Anglican conservatism by diffusing knowledge, loosening the bonds between church and state and enfranchising dissenters, so in the colonies of Scottish settlement, the values of Presbyterian dissent underpinned colonial reform politics. The pursuit of denominational equality and freedom from the domination of episcopal 'tyranny' were central to the whig-liberalism of Thomas Pringle, Thomas McCulloch and Samuel McDonald Martin, who fought to protect civil liberties—the rights of individuals to religious liberty, press freedom, free trade and representative government—within the framework of Britain's balanced constitution. These values were also central to the republicanism of John Dunmore Lang and William Lyon Mackenzie, who fought to entrench popular sovereignty and to secure a community of independent, virtuous and equal citizens.

Thomas McCulloch believed that an Anglican state in Nova Scotia thwarted his efforts to fund a college of higher learning for dissenters. Driven by a belief that church establishments were oppressive and offensive to God—tenets expounded in the sermons of the Seceder minister Andrew Marshall—McCulloch fought to reform the Nova Scotian council, on which the Anglican bishop, McCulloch thought, wielded too much influence. In Upper Canada, the predominantly Anglican 'family compact' dominated the incorporated institutions and the corridors of power. William Lyon Mackenzie, who adopted the Seceder view on the utility and scriptural validity of church disestablishment, battled to secularise the clergy reserves—the land grants monopolised by the Church of England. Mackenzie campaigned for responsible government, and later for complete independence, hoping to limit the power of Bishop Strachan, a Scottish Anglican, who sat on the governing councils in Toronto and who helped to ensure that the assembly's bills on the secularisation of the reserves were continually dismissed. In Sydney, John Dunmore Lang was similarly suspicious of his local bishop, who also sat on the council and

who interfered too readily, Lang thought, in the affairs of Lang's Scots Church. Lang was originally a member of the Church of Scotland but he converted to voluntarism. He wrote propaganda for the voluntary crusade in Scotland and informed the Secession and Relief Churches that only disestablishment and democratic self-government would bring religious equality to Australia. At the same time, his religious prejudices underpinned Lang's mission to people the colony with virtuous Scottish Protestants and marginalise the influence of Irish Catholics. In Auckland, Samuel McDonald Martin, inspired by the non-intrusion ideals of the Scottish Free Church, was afraid that Anglican supremacy was being exported to New Zealand. Martin was prepared to go further than the original Free Churchers and expounded the voluntarist principles of the Secession and Relief. He believed—in common with dissenters in Scotland—that only complete disestablishment would liberate the populace from the dominance of a landed hierarchy and secure denominational equality, cheap bread and accountable government. The Crown and its assertions of Anglican supremacy were depriving settlers and Māori of their rights as British subjects. Māori should be granted their freedom of trade so that they could sell their lands to settlers and be incorporated into the British state as Protestantised labourers. Martin's denominational prejudices shaped his political liberalism. Politics in colonial settlements, some have suggested, were petty, personal and ideologically bankrupt. By appreciating the political significance of religious ideas, this book has shown that colonial politics had more of a theoretical basis than has been hitherto recognised.

Pringle, McCulloch, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin were well-versed in Scottish Presbyterian mythology, having been brought up on a diet of covenanting martyrologies and the works of the Rev. Thomas M'Crie, the popular Seceder historian. They endorsed M'Crie's narrative of Scotland's past—Pringle's poetry, indeed, contributed to its evolution—that the Scottish Covenanters had given birth to a Scottish spirit of liberty—and they reworked it to justify resistance to their respective colonial governments. Their claim-making was indebted to a variety of sources but one strand of their constitutional discourse, which has yet to receive proper attention from historians, was Scottish birthright rhetoric, an exclusionary idiom underpinned by covenanting mythology and a Presbyterian interpretation of the British constitution. The reformers discussed in this book claimed that their Presbyterian forefathers—the seventeenth-century Covenanters in particular—had died to secure religious liberty for

Scotland; to ensure that episcopalian rule was never again established in the country. Episcopalian rule, it was argued, had been despotic in church and state and by resisting its incursions, the Scottish Covenanters had hastened the evolution of political liberty for Protestant men, later enshrined in Britain's balanced constitution secured at the anti-Catholic revolution of 1688–1689.

The revolution settlement had been confirmed by the Union of 1707, which, John Dunmore Lang argued, underlined that the Church of Scotland and Church of England were co-established and equal. In the colonies of Britain's empire, particularly those founded after 1707, it was unfair of the British government to elevate the Anglican Church to a position of superiority whereby Scottish Presbyterian settlers were relegated to second-class status as religious dissenters. Lang's supporters maintained that the Treaty of Union, which protected constitutional liberty, had restricted the Church of England's jurisdiction—and the monarch's supremacy as head of the Anglican Church—to England, Wales and Ireland and protected the spiritual independence of the Scottish Church. The British constitution—which the Covenanters' sacrifice had protected—entitled all British subjects, particularly if they were white and male, to representative government, free speech and the rule of law. The Treaty of Union of 1707, a fundamental, constituent part of the British constitution, also reserved to Scots Presbyterians their spiritual independence from the 'cognizance and power' of the British parliament. The right to civil liberty was threatened when the right to religious liberty was taken away. It was only a short step from the position that Crown (and parliament) had no jurisdiction in the spiritual realm to maintaining that colonial governments should be independent of Westminster. In all the colonies this book has considered, the movement for spiritual autonomy intersected with the campaign for self-government.

Pringle, McCulloch, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin settled in different places separated by great distances but, this book has suggested, they lived similar and interconnected lives. Sometimes these figures operated on the fringes of colonial society but at other times they spoke for the wider community. The similarity of their views suggests that the values motivating the politics of Pringle, McCulloch, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin, who have been mostly studied within national frameworks—if they have been studied at all—enjoyed wide currency across the empire, beyond the localities in which these individuals lived. As Scots and as Presbyterians they were all attached to a networked empire of dissent—a network whose

influence on colonial lobbying has been too little studied. Before they departed Scotland, they were probably unknown to each other but as colonial settlers, journalists, political lobbyists, Presbyterian dissenters and Scots, their lives became intertwined. Pringle's connection to the politically active United Secession Church brought him into contact with McCulloch's pupil, Jotham Blanchard, who was introduced to the Secession by McCulloch. Pringle also met with Lang during one of Lang's lobbying trips in London. Lang stayed with Pringle's friends on a trip back to Sydney via Cape Town. Lang knew Martin when Martin lived briefly in Sydney before moving to Auckland, during which time he wrote for Lang's newspaper. McCulloch knew Mackenzie's work and vice versa; the rest knew of Mackenzie as the leader of a notorious and incredibly influential rebellion. All five knew Joseph Hume, the ally of colonial reformers, who helped them to petition the House of Commons and gain access to the Colonial Office. His dealings with Pringle, McCulloch, Lang, Mackenzie and Martin, this book has suggested, influenced Hume's politics. He advocated colonial reform and disestablishment in the House of Commons, where, after meeting with his colonial visitors, he introduced an amendment to the reform bill, calling for additional MPs for colonial settlements in the British parliament.

Hume encouraged the reformers to show solidarity with each other and to recognise that each of their grievances was part of a larger problem of systematic colonial misrule. When his plans in 1831 for colonial reform fell apart, a backlash ensued. Presbyterian dissenters in Scotland and across the settler world rode the revolutionary wave which threatened to overturn the church-state regime of the entire empire. Mackenzie and McCulloch were inspired by each other's campaigns and their similar tales of Anglican dominance amplified the anti-Kirk agitation in Scotland. This agitation, in turn, impacted on the politics of Canada and Nova Scotia. The Scottish church-state controversy, also inflamed by the writings of John Dunmore Lang, culminated in the great Disruption of 1843, which sent shockwaves across the globe. The Cape and New South Wales experienced their own disruptions where reformers were also further inspired by events in Canada. Samuel McDonald Martin's view of New Zealand affairs was inevitably influenced by all of this turbulence. Reformers were concerned for the most part with local conditions but they were also mindful of what was happening elsewhere. It is difficult fully to understand the circumstances of one region of the empire without appreciating the fate of others. Though this book has been restricted to an analysis of the connections

between London, Scotland, Nova Scotia, Upper Canada, the Cape, New South Wales and New Zealand, other sites—Ireland, India, Lower Canada and Van Diemen's Land, to name a few—were doubtless connected to the networked world of Scottish Presbyterian dissent.

Historians have been somewhat guilty of marginalising colonial Scots. Some Anglocentric scholars writing from Britain and some historians working in post-colonial societies have equated Britain with England or, worse still, with London, the metropolitan headquarters of the British empire. Even scholars who have expended much time and effort pointing to the influence of Scots in the empire or to the particularity of the Scottish experience of empire have missed the significance of religious dissent. Others have begun to examine the role of religious institutions, particularly the Church of England, in building up empire or in tearing it down. They have examined the role of religious ideas—of 'Nonconformist Christianity'—in the development of settler political culture. But still the history of Scottish Presbyterian dissenters has been largely missing from narratives of colonial expansion. *The Colonist*, Lang's newspaper, hit on why as far back as 1837. Some people say, the editor wrote, that the colonies are 'parts and parcels of England'. The 'fallacy [of this argument] lies in the ascription of parentage to *England* instead of to *Great Britain*. The colonies are the appendages, not of the *English Nation*, but of the *British Empire*. That empire comprises three kingdoms – England, Ireland, and Scotland. In point of religion, two of those kingdoms are *united*...another of the three stands *alone*.'<sup>2</sup> The object of this book has been to recover from the fringes of colonial historiography the distinctive ideas and particular experiences of Scottish Presbyterian dissenters, individuals who believed they were anything but marginal.

## NOTES

1. Gladwin 2015, pp. 6–7.
2. 'Colonial Politics', *The Colonist*, 26 October 1837.

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