

## First offer.

In the evening of the 23rd September, 1786, I was asked by a friend if I had got the spirit of a missionary, or if I wished to go abroad? I smiled, and replied 'No', I had no inclination or thoughts of ever leaving my native country.

## 2nd offer.

On the 30th of the same month, I received a letter from another friend, informing me that a colony was going to be established in New Holland or New Zealand, that application had been made to him to know whether he knew of any one proper for or willing to undertake such an arduous work, and that if I chose to accept of, he could secure me the appointment.

## feelings about the offer.

The feelings which I had upon receiving this letter and for some time after, are easier felt than described. For several nights and days both my sleep and appetite were in a great measure taken away. I did little else than weep & sigh, whilst I trust both by fervent prayer & fasting I implored divine direction what to do in an affair of so weighty moment. On the one hand, the idea of leaving my parents, relations, friends, and the respectful connections which I had formed; the dangers of the sea; the description of people I was going with; the place to which we were going, to the very ends of the earth, to a country wild & uncultivated; to be exposed to savages, & perhaps to various wild beasts of prey; these and such like ideas so impressed my mind with fear & terror that I



[2] sometimes was greatly inclined & almost resolved to decline the offer. But then on the other hand; when I considered the propriety, nay, the necessity of some person going out in this capacity; how the offer of the appointment was made to me; my situation at that time, having no charge of my own; the hopes & prospects of being rendered useful in the reformation of those poor & abandoned people; the power and promises of God to protect me in any place or situation wherein, in the line of duty, I followed the leading of providence; and the prospects of a glorious reward hereafter, laid up in heaven for all God's faithful servants & people; these considerations overbalanced & removed all my scruples & fears, & induced me to give my free consent to enter upon this hazardous expedition.

Arch. of Cant.

I then, by the advice & direction of my friends, waited on His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury upon this affair, who was pleased, in a most respectful & condescending manner, not only to give me his sanction, but also to wish me success equal to my wishes in so arduous, important & dangerous an undertaking.

[3] I have thought proper to begin these papers by briefly stating the above circumstances, for the following reasons —

Purpose of the colony.

From my first hearing that a colony was about to be established in this country, I always understood that it was the intention of



reformation

[3] [the] Government to see whether some reformation might not be effected amongst these unfortunate and abandoned people. Motives, merely politic, to me and I am persuaded to every one who will seriously think upon the subject, appear very strong & sufficient reasons for the convicts being carefully instructed in the various & important duties of morality & religion. But, when it is further considered that convicts as well as others are possessed of souls that are immortal, & that they must ere long appear before the solemn tribunal of God, there & then to answer for their actions — whoever considers this, & does himself believe in a future state of reward or punishment, must at once see & allow that all possible means should be made use of, to reclaim them from their former wicked course of life, & to beget in their minds (if any serious & religious impressions may or can be wrought in minds so vitiated & depraved) a sense of their duty to God, to society, & to themselves.

Conversion

education  
& example.

?

I do not hesitate to declare, as well from reason & observation as well as Scripture, that the more attentively these lower & abandoned class of people are instructed (proper & becoming examples being set before them at the same time) in such moral & religious principles & duties, the more reasonably might it be hoped & expected to see prosperity, unanimity to attend this infant colony.



[4]

neglect of  
religion.

Sabbath.

example of  
superiors.

Dec. 92.

Grose's 1st  
order:

service once  
a day

5.45 a.m.

But I am truly concerned to say that these do not appear to be the general sentiments of some around. Religion, which ought to govern every man's actions be his station or calling what it may, seems to be treated with too much neglect & derision.

That this is the case I shall only instance as to the manner in which the Sabbath is generally observed or rather profaned amongst us.

Example, it is generally allowed, goes further, or has more weight & influence than precept. When I have been privately & from one hut to another, admonishing the convicts to attend more regularly the public worship of God, I have often been told that others, their superiors, should set them an example. I could not deny the truth & force of their observation, & have come away, not knowing well how or what to answer.

Soon after Governor Phillip left the colony the following order was given -

"It being represented by the Revd. Mr. Johnston [sic] that he is exposed to many inconveniences for want of a proper place for Divine services, the Lieut. Governor on consideration of this circumstance will not require the ceremony to be performed more than once a day, and, that the health of the convicts may not be injured from the excessive heat of the sun, the church call will in future be at a quarter before [5] six in the morning. The overseers will be particularly careful to collect as many of the gang



Convicts  
to attend.

[5] to attend Mr Johnson as can conveniently be brought together, for although it is not wished that the huts should be left without proper persons to look after them, it is nevertheless expected no idle excuses will keep the convicts from church."

order not  
carried out.

10-50 present

Convicts work  
on Sunday.

The face of this order, it must be confessed, carries along with it some appearance of attention to my wishes. But, I do declare & assert, that I do not recollect that in any one instance, or at any one time, this order has been attended to. At least, I can be positive that from six hundred to a thousand convicts or more, who ought to have been present, I have seldom seen more than fifty, and sometimes not ten, & that, upon inquiry I have learnt that both overseers & their gangs have been at work for individuals, & sometimes for officers, at the very time I have been going through the service. And I have myself repeatedly seen great numbers thus employed on the Sabbath in different parts of the colony, with little or no distinction or difference paid between this day & another. The constables were formerly (particularly when Governor Phillip was here) directed to go to the different huts to see that the convicts attended public worship, & also that no unbecoming practices were going on during the time of divine service. But [6] these have of late repeatedly informed me that they have received positive instructions not to interfere or concern themselves about the convicts going to church. The natural consequences resulting from this (amongst persons of such a description) are easy to be

Overseers not  
to concern  
themselves.



behaviour  
of convicts

[6] concerned: as I go to perform public service & pass the different huts, some will stand in the street; others are sit in their doors; others looking out of their windows; many (for I have sometimes gone in to see what they were doing) have been smoking, laughing & talking in the most profane & obscene manner, which, though indelicate of me to mention, Mrs. Johnson as well as myself have been compelled to hear as we have passed them; others, I have been told, have been drinking, fighting, gaming during the time of divine service and when they have been told that I should be made acquainted with their proceedings instead of being either ashamed or afraid, they have laughed, & appeared quite careless & indifferent.

his grief.

In this manner have I been insulted. Thus have I been grieved, & my mind dejected from one Sabbath to another for a long time.

his complaints

I could not however be an eye & ear witness to such proceedings without frequently complaining of and at times openly & plainly remonstrating against them. But I am sorry to say that such complaints & remonstrances have had no effect, except that by this means I may have brought more neglect & insult upon myself [7]

A service  
interrupted.

Soon after the order above mentioned was given out, as I was going the public service one Sunday morning, I was first disturbed by two soldiers walking & talking, & soon after further interrupted by the beat of a drum when instantly the soldiers took up their arms, got into their ranks & marched away. I had



[7] read only part of the church service — was then about the middle of my discourse — and from the first beginning of the service had been barely  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour. A precedent of such conduct I believe is rare to be met with, & is not only forbidden by the Canons of the Church of England but is also contrary to all order and decency.

his requests  
reused by  
Grose.

Sometimes I have informed the Provost Martial & the Superintendent when there would be divine service; & have requested them to give directions for the convicts to know & to attend; for doing which, they have both informed me that they have been reprimanded, & the person who gave such directions has been deemed impertinent.

the bell-ringer  
told to cease

The bell my servant (or rather now a man I hire for the purpose) rings to call the convicts together, is very small (sometimes not heard an hundred yards). When ringing this he has been stopped more than once, & received orders that he was to ring it but so long a time.

requests a  
larger bell  
but refused.

The different huts laying so wide assunder, I sometime past made application for a larger bell out of the store, which I have heard was sent out for this use. My request was refused [8] — was told they were wanted for other uses — but to this day, they have been put to none.

Convicts not  
told to attend.

Things then have at length come to this pass, viz., that neither the Provost Martial, Superintendent, overseer or constable are to give any directions for the convicts to



[8] attend church. The bell is oftentimes not heard. Consequently, not one in ten or twenty oftentimes have known when there has been divine service, & not one in ten or twenty that ~~will~~ do know will ever come, unless either compelled by precept, or induced by example to do so, neither of which, it has been made pretty well to appear, are set before or enjoined upon them. From all which circumstances taken together (and I could have subjoined many others was it necessary or proper). I am free to say, that I verily believe, in no part of His Majesty's dominions is the Sabbath more generally and openly profaned than in this distant colony.

Sabbath  
profaned.

(Note of anniversary  
of colony.)

He expected  
difficulty

Requests for a  
Church

It is now above six years (the 26th of January last) since we first arrived in this distant country.

At our first arrival & for some time after, I set it down for granted that I must expect to meet with many difficulties & inconveniences as well in my public duty as in my private or domestic situation and concerns. Being naturally led to expect all this, I was enabled to bear up under, & to pass through them both with patience & contentment. But after being in the country two, three etc. years I began to think that there ought to be, and at times [9] to request there might be, some shelter or temporary building provided for the purpose. But, to my great concern & disappointment, I must openly declare that the longer I have been in the colony, instead of these difficulties & inconveniences



[9] being either removed or lessened they have only been increased.

Situation becomes intolerable.

Lack of place to hold services.

Temporary churches.

After waiting for more than five years (five years & a half) these difficulties all this while still increasing, my situation at Post became almost intolerable. I cannot well describe the painful feeling which I had at that time. I perfectly dreaded the approach of the Sabbath; my public duty, which was once my greatest delight, had now become my heaviest burden; many, very many times haven't gone out of my door & gate, but which way to turn or where I was to preach I could not tell. The officer, which generally attends with the soldiers, and I have met, and have mutually asked where Church was to be?; the soldiers and sometimes a few convicts standing & looking at each other, none of these knowing where we were going to assemble. I have seldom been at any certainty in this respect for two Sabbaths together. Sometimes we have assembled in ① an hospital full of bugs and other vermin & nauseous smells; the next Sunday perhaps in ② a barrack amongst the soldiers; the next in ③ an old stone house; in ④ a granary (which it has been said was originally intended for a church); at another time under ⑤ a tile [?] shade [i.e.] (which has since been fitted up, & converted into a playhouse); then ⑥ under the shade of a sawpit (which has caused much laughter & merriment to some who ought rather to be ashamed for their neglect); sometimes we have assembled in ⑦ and about my own room; sometimes



[10] I have preached <sup>(8)</sup> in the open air & sometimes not at all, on account of the weather, & having no place whatever to assemble in.

Takes in answer  
to his requests.

When I have complained, & have mentioned how unpleasant my feelings have been upon these occasions, I have had many petty jests administered to soothe & quiet my disconsolate spirits, such as: "we will provide & prepare the lump (a boat about twice the size of a long boat) for you, by turning the bottom upwards, & fixing it upon posts"; or, "you shall have a sentry box to stand in"; or, "well, never mind Doctor, you will still buffet Satan in the saw pit". These, & such like childish, witty, yet unmeaning jests have been given me from time to time, 'til at length my patience was quite exhausted.

He decides to  
erect a church

Seeing from these & such like circumstances that things were not likely to become any better, but daily growing worse & worse 'til alas! the very outward show & form of religion & morality was just ready to expire, I resolved that at my own cost & labour I would set about erecting a temporary place of worship.

the circumstances:

I think it necessary for certain reasons (which will be seen hereafter) to state here pretty fully some circumstances respecting this business—

[11] To prevent any improper or uncivil reflections being afterwards thrown out upon me in what I was about to do, I thought it



He informs Grosse  
of his plan.

[17]

would be advisable & proper to acquaint the Lieut. Governor with my intentions. I waited upon him for this purpose, acquainted him with what I was going to do, stated to him my reasons for it, & then begged he would give me what assistance he could spare in erecting this building. This he promised he would do, though he seemed surprised at my proposal and endeavoured to dissuade me from my purpose, signifying that I should find it very expensive. I again signified my resolution, & assigned as a reason that I was quite sick & weary of my then present situation.

Application for  
a site.

My original intention was to erect this building across the back side of my own yard, but for certain reasons (which may be seen in what I have styled my vindication, viz., to stop the mouth of slander, which is ever ready to construe the best intentions into the basest of purposes. (See part 2<sup>d</sup> page 52) [7] I soon perceived the propriety of altering my purpose, & accordingly I again applied to the Lieut. Governor requesting that he would appoint any spot of ground which he thought proper.

Request for men.

In consequence of the Majors promise, I first asked him for some assistance to cut posts, wattles etc. Two weak men were spared me for that purpose. Then together with a carpenter which I hired I sent into the [12] woods, but had not these two men many days before I was asked if I had not done with them? The whole time, which



[12]

these two men were spared, was a fortnight, + had to pay them for all their extra time, which was about seven days out of twelve each.

Request for  
planks

for men

The next thing I asked for was some plank for doors, windows etc., which was refused. I then asked for a gang of men to bring in some timber to the sawpit, which at first was promised, but was afterwards refused.

for slabs

I then asked for some slabs for seats, but was told that there were perquisites given to the sawyers ~~(for)~~. I asked both the superintendent of the carpenters + the sawyers themselves if they were, and was told that they were not, but that they were taken away from the pits as fast as they were cut, to build hog styes ~~(for)~~, + for other private uses.

for a boat

I also applied for a long boat to bring in posts and other materials. This was promised provided I found men to go in her. I was directed to apply to the commissary, who would have instructions given him to let me have one whenever I wanted. These directions I attended to. I engaged the boat for such a day, but when that day came and I had agreed with people to go in her, it was otherwise employed. I then asked for + engaged it for the next, but it was again taken away for other uses. The commissary at last acquainted the Lieut Governor with these circumstances + received for answer that were there twenty, they would all be [13] otherwise employed.

Meeting with these unexpected



[13]

Again sees Grose

difficulties & disappointments, I again waited on the Lieut Governor, acquainted him with these circumstances & reminded him of his promises, but received an answer not very pleasant or satisfactory: something else it seemed was of more importance than my whims etc.

Difficulty of using the boat.

The longboat was lent me four times in all previous to the above answer, which I received. But not more than half, if so much, of the materials were yet brought in, & to bring in the remainder, I was obliged to make use of a small boat of my own, which made it come the more expensive, & requiring the same number of hands to bring in  $\frac{1}{3}$  as many posts etc at a time, for the greatest part of which we had to go from six to ten miles distance.

Request for men to cut rushes

I also applied for some of the common men out of the gang to cut or pull grass for thatch. This was positively refused, & was then told that I could not have any further assistance whatever.

First service in building.

After I had nearly completed the building, & after that first Sunday we had service in it (Mrs. Grose & some other quality were present), understandingly some complained of the wind coming through the windows near them, which were not glazed, & wishing on this account to make it more comfortable, I applied for a little more glass.

Request for glass

I was again directed to apply to the commissary, & that if more could be spared I could have some. I did so, & was told by the commissary that there was plc [14]ndy, & further



[14] that some had been put aside by Governor Phillip intended for that purpose. I again waited on Major Grose, told him what the commissary had said. More glass was then promised me, in consequence of which promise I ordered five more sashes to be made containing eight panes each. When I had got them made, & the glazier was going to put them in, he was stopped. The glass was refused & the five sashes for which I had paid twenty shillings to this day lay by me useless.

glass refused.

Reasons for stating above.

(not relevant?) ?  
(but see p. 18.)

expense of the building

Request for re-imbursement.

I shall now state my reasons for relating the above particulars in so circumstantial a manner.

Having for certain reasons (which may be seen in what I have styled my vindication, part 2<sup>d</sup> page 2) seen it necessary to alter my purpose & to enlarge my plans and not meeting with that assistance which I at first was led to expect, I found the expenses come much heavier than I had at first conceived, (and I confess too, much heavier than in my situation with a family I could well afford). By my first calculation I hoped to have got the whole completed for about thirty pounds, instead of which it has stood me in about seventy.

These difficult & unexpected circumstances induced me to wait upon the Lieut. Governor to ask him if he could & would reimburse the expenses that I had been at? He said he could not. I then asked if he would have the goodness to transmit a letter home for me to the Hon. Mr. Dundas? He promised he would.

[15] In consequence of this



He writes to  
Dundas 3-9-93  
(see p. 33)

He sends estimate of  
expenses to Dundas.  
& covering note  
to Grose. (see p. 35)

Grose reveals that  
he had written to  
Dundas.

He sees Grose's  
letter to Dundas  
(see p. 36.)

He denies Grose's  
charges.

① "Methodist"

[15] promise I wrote a letter to Mr Dundas stating to him what I had done & my reasons for so doing. No 1 part 2<sup>d</sup> is an exact copy of the letter which I wrote to which I refer, and do appeal for the propriety and, (I am compelled to say), the modesty of my conduct in this affair.

The above letter, together with a true & exact estimate of the expenses which I had been at, I enclosed to the Lieut. Governor, with the following letter in service No 2.

This was in the beginning of the month of September, & I heard no more of the matter until the 8th November.

Having occasion on the morning of that day to wait on the Lieut. Governor on duty, & happening unfortunately to have some difference (the occasion of which I shall have to mention by & by) with him, this circumstance amongst others was brought upon the carpet. He then told me that my letter was gone home to Mr. Dundas, and that together with it, he had sent his own sentiments both of it, and of myself.

In a few days after, I was shown a copy of the major's letter which he had written & sent to Mr Dundas of which the following lines No 3 is the substance, so far as my recollection or memory served me till I got home.

When I saw & read the above letter I could not but smile at the honorable title he has given of me "a Methodist - a discontented troublesome character."

[16] I have heard various definitions given of the word "Methodist," but the above explanation given of the term is, to the best of my knowledge, original. And I must further declare that if this definition be true I deny that I am a Methodist, unless



[16]

being discontented with my situation being troublesome in making so long & repeated applications to get it bettered, constitute me to be of this character. But whether others, my superiors, may not rather thank themselves than blame or accuse me for thus turning Methodist I leave anyone, or all the world to judge. But, if studying and endeavouring to do my duty — in general — as a clergyman of the Church of England (and there is no religion's constitution I think so excellent and more scriptural & rational and less enthusiastic), and in particular as chaplain to the colony — if this constitutes me a Methodist, so far from disowning (sic) or being ashamed of the title, I deem it peculiarly honourable, and I trust that such an epithet cannot, will not, in any degree or respect prejudice or injure me in the judgment or opinion of my superiors either in the church or state.

His avowed  
anglicanism.

(2) over spending.

It is further said that the expenses stated in my estimate are infinitely greater than ought to have cost me in building the church.

I conceive, and grant that there is some truth in this assertion, for I am well aware that I ought not to have been at any expense whatever as I always supposed, and could not even doubt but that [17] Government would have long ere this have provided a place for me as good or better than what I



[17] have erected. But, whether in building a place of such dimensions, viz., 113 feet by 16 feet; the posts and other materials to be cut and brought in by water the distance of nine or ten miles; the immense labour and difficulty of collecting grass; the various disappointments which I met with about a boat, & the many breaches of promise I met with as to the help which I expected; whether from all these and some other circumstances I could have erected a building of this kind and of these dimensions for less, I must and I do submit this to the judgment of others.

His accounting  
for the expenses  
of the church.

He took advice  
on wages.

employed his  
own servants.

worked himself.

I can only say (and in this I speak the truth) that thus much it has cost me. That... I have been particularly careful (and I think undertaking such a business upon my own expense I had great reason to be so) to ask and to follow the advice of those who are from their calling (considered better judges than I can possibly be in such matters) how I could proceed & what I should give the different work people which I had employed. And, moreover, besides hiring others I employed my own servants as much as I could spare, which altogether was as much as one man's labour for near eighty days. And what is more, I am compelled to say, that for days together I have myself been in the woods, stripped & working as hard as any convict in the colony - night after night & almost all hours of the night I have been upon the water



motives.

[178] or in the woods exposed to rain and hunger etc. For what? why, for no reason, and of interest <sup>[181]</sup> than to provide a comfortable place for myself & fellow creatures to assemble together in order to worship God in a manner as becometh Christians.

cost.

Whatever, therefore, anyone is pleased to say & to assert I dare to affirm ~~and~~ ~~that~~ had I not thus employed my own servants, & thus exerted myself too in the manner I have done, this building would have cost me considerably more than it has done.

Question of reimbursement.

"It has also been made a matter of wonder why I should have made application for a reimbursement of the above expenses." But I think there would have been much greater cause for wonder if I had not. Had I however gone on with my original plan i.e. had I built the church in my own yard, I believe I should not have been troublesome in making such an application. But, (to prevent any unjust or sarcastic reflections being afterwards thrown out upon me) having altered my original intentions, having likewise enlarged my plans & (I must again say) having met with so many & great disappointments, by all which means I have been put to a considerable greater expense than I at first conceived, from all these circumstances it appeared to me that such an application was not only reasonable but also such as would be both excused & approved by Govt.

by which he appears to mean that in his own yard it would have been much smaller & ∴ cheaper & ∴ not so troublesome.

supplies from public stores.

Major Crose further says, that upon my application I have been supplied with many little things from the public stores - all that I had were nails, four pairs of hinges, 32 panes of glass & a yard of green bays. I think I could not well have received less, & everything besides iron work etc. etc. I had



[a] to get made & pay for myself.

Let anyone then impartially consider & examine all these different circumstances as above stated, & then judge whether my conduct throughout this affair has in any way or degree merited such uncivil treatment as I have met with - and whether it be fair or honorable for any one thus to prejudice or injure another without giving him an opportunity at the same time of vindicating himself.

The causes of  
his disagreement  
with Gross.

I shall now state, (as fairly, fully, & yet as briefly as I can) the grounds or causes of that difference which has unhappily arisen between Major Gross & myself.

Sexton.

There never has been, from our first coming to this country, any person appointed to the office of a sexton. This, though it may be thought a trifling matter to some, has been all along a heavy burden to me. Whenever divine service was going to be performed, (except at such times as the soldiers attended, for then the drum used to beat for that purpose) I have directions to give to my servant on this head. But sometimes he was out of the way, or he was not dressed, or he had something to do - in this manner have I been continually teased, & my spirit at times too much ruffled, instead of having my mind & thoughts engaged & attentive to the sacred duties that lay before me. Ever since the church has been built I have every week had directions to give to have it cleaned, or other [20]wise it has been left dirty. Repeatedly, have I been disturbed, when going through the service, by dogs, or children playing, or persons talking, laughing, sleeping or otherwise behaving improperly. The burying ground is more than half a mile distant from my house, & when I have had to bury

to ring bell  
etc.

to clean  
the church.



assist at  
funerals

[20] a corpse, I have very often had to wait for its coming; then the grave has been to alter & sometimes to make. In this way have I been detained for half an hour, or an hour together, without any shelter or shade from the sun or rain.

requests an  
old man

refused.

Wearied out with being put to so long & great inconveniences in these things, I was at length induced & resolved to ask for an old man that might answer these different purposes. This request was refused, & this refusal was the first thing that gave rise to the difference that at present unhappily subsists between Major Crose & myself.

the other officers  
all have  
sufficient  
attendants.

except the  
chaplain.

I am sure I can see no impropriety in my making the above application. I observe that the Surgeon General of the colony has an hospital and medicines provided for his patients with proper persons to attend them; the commissary has store houses, & persons allowed to issue out provisions, & to write in his office; the Surveyor General has men allowed him when he goes to measure out ground; the Judge advocate has assistance in his duty; nay, the provost martial has three men given him to punish offenders, & to attend executions. And for the same reason I conceive the Chaplain is entitled to and ought to be supplied with a church, ~~clerk~~ & sexton. But as to a church I had none till I built one myself — and as to clerk & sexton I have none to this day, except my own free and convict servant, one officiating as clerk, the other as sexton, which, I repeat it, has been attended with many great inconveniences, and at this time I am obliged to hire a man for the purpose



[21] of ringing the bell at the time of divine service.

From this let any one judge whether I had not sufficient cause to complain & remonstrate at being refused a request so reasonable & necessary, & what is allowed to every other officer in the colony in the discharge of his office.

For the substance of what passed between Major Crose & me at that time I shall refer to my letter no. 6. (A)

The above difference happened on Friday, the 8<sup>th</sup> of November - I was going the next day to Parramatta upon duty, & had at that time waited upon him for accommodations for a passage as usual upon this occasion. The boat that usually is lent me for this purpose, being down at Sydney on the Saturday morning I went up in her as usual. On the Monday evening I applied to the commanding officer at Parramatta for a boat to return in the next morning. This I had done very often before, but never before did I receive such an answer. For what then passed, and how I acted upon this occasion, I refer to the letter marked no 4.

On the Wednesday morning, the above commanding officer called at my room, and informed me that there was a boat at my service. [I] got down to Sydney in the evening when & where I received the following letter from Major Crose - no. 5.

The next day the Judge advocate, by the Major's per [22] mission, showed me a copy of the letter which he had sent home to Mr. Dundas, and at the same time told me he had permission to do so from the time it was sent, but that he did not choose to do it, aware that

Letter 6 (A)  
p. 43.

argument over  
boat to P<sup>r</sup>amatta.

p. 38.

p. 41



(p. 36)

[22]

it must hurt my feelings. No 3 is to the best of my recollection the purport & substance of the above letter.

p. 43

On the same day I wrote & sent the major the following letter. No 6.

one trial upon another.

I have often remarked (as in the case of Job, & I think I have needed his patience to bear up under what I have met with) that one trial frequently comes close upon the heels of another, & that not seldom a great trial is only succeeded by one still greater. Such was my case at this very time when I was exercised with trials greater than I could almost bear. For...

p. 50.

p. 70.

The next morning, a circumstance happened in my family which in its causes and consequences has given me more concern than all that had happened before. What this was may be seen in the letter No 7 & also in the first part of what I have called my vindications.

p. 53.

The answer which I received to the above letter I ~~consider~~ conceive to be one of the most illiberal, unjust, insulting & untrue that was ever written by a pen. — No 8.

p. 55.

With sincere concern & the deepest humiliation, I confess that upon receiving the above letter and for some days after my spirit & temper were heated in a manner & to a degree very unbecoming my sacred office & profession, & in my warmth I returned <sup>[23]</sup> the major the following answer No 9. And I am conscious that owing to my inferior or subordinate station, nothing can excuse the language I have therein made use of, except the infamous & unjust letter it was meant & sent as an answer.

Sally.

On the same day that I sent the above letter to Major Grese, he sent for my woman servant. Suspecting what



[23] was intended, I felt extremely for the poor girl, & with tears in my eyes I begged her to remember what I had been to her, & what I had done, and promised to do for her, & to consider what would become of her if she should consent to live with such a man as Wells. When she returned, she told me what had passed, which I took down in writing from her own mouth. The conversation that passed between them may be seen at the end of what I have called my vindication.

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i.e. Collins

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On the same morning, I enclosed to the Judge Advocate the Major's letter, together with the following lines to himself - no 10. And in the evening I called on him & stated some circumstances particularly respecting the affair of Wells. I asked his advice, & the advice he gave me was to state the different circumstances which I had related to him in writing and to lay them before the Lieut. Governor.

The next day I wrote these circumstances pretty fully, but instead of sending them to the Major, I enclosed them on the 21st, together with the Major's letter, & sent them, with a few lines to himself, to the Judge Advocate - no 11.

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On the 22nd, (still meeting with fresh trials), I wrote & sent another letter to the Judge Advocate - no 12.

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?

[24]. On the 23rd I received the following answer - no 13. This letter I conceived both judicious & friendly, & in consequence of what was mentioned in this letter, & upon more cool & serious reflection upon the subject, I thought it might and would be advisable to leave out some things which I had here and



[24] there inserted which, though true, might answer no good purpose but only serve to irritate the Major's mind still more. I therefore on the 25th wrote my vindication over again, as it stands at present, and in the evening enclosed it to Captain Collins together with the following letter - no 14.

The next day I received the following answer no 15, to which in the evening of the same day I wrote an answer no 16, and on the 30th he sent me the following answer no 17.

Since that time I have heard but little more of the subject, only I understand that Major Grese is still in possession of the papers which I enclosed & sent to Captain Collins. What the Major means to do with, what he has to object against them, & what are his intentions I know not. But, I think it my duty thus fully and truly to state all the above circumstances in order so far as I have acted consistently & properly to vindicate my own conduct in all that I have done.

It is neither my business nor inclination to inquire into or arraign ~~the~~ any person's conduct in what may relate to others, but I think myself justified, nay, I feel myself compelled, before I close these papers [25] to state some things of a private nature, & from thence to make an humble appeal whether I have not been treated with some "cruelty and wanton oppression."

Sometime before Governor Phillip left the colony, there were four hundred acres marked out for Church land. This ground I had, with

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[This section refers to Jan - Nov. 1793]

Further "private" considerations.

The 400 ac. Glebe.



100 ac. grants  
& 10 men.

his application  
for <sup>the</sup> above.

refused but he  
could have it  
instead of the  
glebe!

reasons for  
agreeing

writes to  
Dundas.

submits letter  
to Grose.

[25] the assistance of three (or rather but two)  
men, began to clear a very short  
time before he left us. Soon after Major  
Grose came to govern, grants of a  
hundred acres (I understand  
such were the instructions that had  
then come from government) were given  
to such officers as chose to accept of  
it, & ten men were given to each to  
assist in clearing it.

I now thought it nothing more  
than reasonable to ask for more  
assistance to clear the ground belong-  
ing to the church, if others had such  
indulgence & assistance in clearing  
ground of their own. For this assistance  
I made application to the Lieut.  
Governor, but my request was again  
refused, & was then told that if I chose  
to resign my claim to the church  
land and take a grant the same as  
others I should have the same  
assistance. Otherwise he did not feel  
himself either authorised or disposed  
to give me any further help whatever.

Considering that the ground  
which was marked out for the church  
is, in general, indifferent; having only  
the assistance of two or three men  
whilst the other officers had ten; and  
also that the ground which I was  
clearing at so much private [26]  
expense belonged to the public,  
whilst that which others were  
cultivating was their own; These differ-  
ences appeared so great & obvious that  
after a little reflection I was induced  
to write to Mr. Dundas upon the  
subject.

The letter which I wrote, not  
altogether meeting with the Majors  
ideas, he was pleased to draw out



who dictates  
a new one.

grant 7 men.  
(+ 2) (where?)

Grose promises  
a cow.

£130 to clear  
the 1st 50 ac.

Nov. 1793.

rather,  
£250

all but 2 men  
taken away and  
no cow.

[26] one for me, which letter I was to copy  
& send verbatim otherwise he would  
not attend to it, & I had my letter to  
write over the third time before it  
met with his approbation.

When I first began to clear &  
cultivate this ground, with seven men  
in addition to those I had before,  
the major promised that upon my  
condition of making an opening of  
fifty acres he would give me a cow.

Having a wife and two young & tender  
infants I considered this as an object  
worth pursuing. I therefore resolved  
that I would be at some expense, &  
from the first day I began to the present  
time I have kept a regular account  
of what it has cost me, which, in the  
different articles of flour, salt,  
provisions, spirits, soap, clothing etc  
amounts to one hundred & thirty  
pounds & upwards. This opening  
was to be made by the end of  
November, by the beginning of which  
month I had fallen full fifty acres &  
more, thirty of which were about  
that time in cultivation.

I now naturally expected to see  
the promise which was made me  
fulfilled. But, instead of this, at

August 1st I have today looked more  
accurately over my account book,  
& found the expenses have been  
upwards of two hundred & fifty pounds.

[27] a minute's warning & without  
any reason being assigned, all my  
convict men servants, domestics  
included, were taken from me &  
except two, whilst other officers, that  
have had grant longer than I have,



[27] and more men allowed them than  
ever I had, are to this day still  
allowed the same indulgence.

"cruelty" &  
"wanton oppression".

The Only Officer  
who brought a  
wife in F.F.

Cows given to  
other wives.

losses because  
of lack of men.

Whether there has not been  
some cruelty & wanton oppression  
used in the affair let any person  
judge. I was the only officer that  
came out with a family in the first  
Fleet. The difficulties which we had to  
encounter & the straits into which we  
~~we~~ were reduced before a second fleet arrived  
are pretty well & generally known. A  
soldier officer & his lady came out in  
the second fleet to whom the Major  
gave a cow about twelve months since.  
Two other officers belonging to the Corps  
& their ladies came out in the third  
fleet, both which some time before I  
had the above difference with the Major  
have had one given them & without any  
conditions of clearing ground as I  
have done, and neither of these last  
persons having any family of children.  
The difficulties which I have ~~been put~~  
<sup>so, after the</sup> ~~sustained~~ ~~in consequence of~~ losses which  
I have sustained, in consequence of  
having my men taken from me so  
suddenly & unexpectedly, have been  
very great.

More than twelve acres which I  
had paid for falling the timber, & which  
I had intended to sow with wheat  
at this season, still lies in that  
state without making me any return.

# This last week three others have  
had each a cow given them, viz.  
the Commissary, Quartermaster & Mr  
Marsden who had been here four  
months. I have been here near  
seven years & at this time am destitute  
of a drop of milk for my two dear  
children.

August 1st.



[28] The grain, which I was in hopes I should be able to part with in order to refund to me part of the expenses which I have been at, I am at this time obliged to pay for the protection and cultivation of my ground & for building etc whilst the other officers are returning some fifty & some some hundred pounds worth into the public stores.

Time spent on house & farm.

he has one man about house,

others have 6.

1 man on farm.

7 ml. from Sydney

pays 4 others.

+ 2 on night shift.

Instead of attending to my studies & to the other important & various duties of my office, my time has been principally taken up with the daily cares & concerns of my family, having only one man about my house to get me wood & water, to take care of my stock, garden, & to do a number of other things which are daily required about a house, whilst some others have perhaps half a dozen allowed them for these different purposes.

my other servant which is still allowed me to keep at my farm, which lies near seven miles distant from Sydney. Besides him, I have been obliged to take four men off the public stores, to each of which I allow store allowance & six shillings a week. Two others I have had to watch my corn by night, who made a charge of two shillings a night, and, after all, my corn potatoes etc are liable to and suffer perpetual depredations.

At the time my men were taken away I had about three acres of wheat ripe. The night after some thieves were seen among it, & a few days after some sheaves were missing. It was with great difficulty & at a considerable expense I got this



[283] reaped & brought home, & not being able to get it [29] either covered or threshed, it was exposed to a heavy rain & suffered great damage in consequence of it.

Orders by the  
William for  
4 men per  
officer.

I have been credibly informed that positive orders have come out by The William, which arrived here on the 10th of March, that every gentleman who has a grant should be allowed four men, but whilst the other officers continue to have ten, twelve, & some more, no further assistance or indulgence has been given to me than the two I had before.

The tension  
between sacred  
and secular.

Though my office is sacred, & though I have neither intention or inclination to become either a farmer or merchant, yet I conceive my station & standing in the colony entitle me to the same privileges & indulgences as are given to others, And that it is a duty incumbent on me to provide for the necessities & conveniences of my family. In doing this I believe no gentleman in the colony has exerted himself more than I have done, as many both sick & poor will testify.

helped sick & poor.

The bad or fatal effects of this, together with many other unhappy & unexpected circumstances which I have met with, (particularly of late), I do now feel, & fear I shall do so long as I live. A little time after the above difference took place between me & Major Grose, I was taken extremely ill. For about a week I was confined to my bed, & for two more I was prevented from discharging my public duty. For some

severe illness.

3 weeks.



[29] days, both from my own apprehensions  
& from the Surgeon General's

Life in danger.

Representation after I got better, my  
life had been in imminent danger,  
[30] & so this day I am labouring  
under the dregs of the same complaint.

caused by  
affair of Wells.

One principal cause of this great  
and dangerous illness I do and  
must attribute to the affair of Wells,  
(being that night for some time in  
my shirt in my yard), - and so that  
severe & unjust treatment which I  
have met with, whereby both my mind  
& body have been in a perpetual  
hurry & unsettled, instead of attending  
to those duties which both my  
office & inclination led me to.

family responsibilities.

Were I a single man, I could  
easily, (and would have done so),  
have prevented many of these  
difficulties, by neither caring for  
cow nor farm etc. But as an  
husband, & as a father of two dear  
& tender infants, I cannot but feel,  
& now & then drop a tear of conjugal  
& parental affection when I consider  
how I have been, & how, from my  
office & station as well as situation  
& standing in the colony & I flatter  
myself, from my general character  
& conduct too, though so grossly  
aspersed by some, I ought to have  
been treated.

His 2 native girls  
taken off the  
stone.

I might, besides what I have  
above stated, also mention <sup>the cruelty</sup> exercised  
in taking the two native girls off the  
stone, one of which I took (near five  
years since) at the request, and the  
other given to me since then by  
the permission of Governor Phillip,  
whilst others that took them are  
still allowed rations for them as

others still  
allowed rations.  
(white)



Canonical  
sacrilege.

[30] usual. Both these are still with me, which I do and will feed as long as I have bread to eat myself. I might also have repeated my being prevented and disturbed in the discharge of my public duty, so plainly forbid by the Canons of the Church of England, also the oppression I have met with in the [31] whole affair respecting Wells. But I hope I have said enough to convince any one who will think & speak impartially & candidly, that, however unintentionally, I have found no great difficulty (though happy should I have been to have prevented it altogether) to stimulate Major Grose to acts of the greatest cruelty & wanton oppression.

sustained  
by faith.

Two things alone can and do support my mind under all these my present trials, difficulties & afflictions. One is, my firm persuasion & belief that whatever happens is by the wise & gracious permission of God, & that the heavier my present crosses, the sweeter will be my future comforts. And the other is, that my present sufferings will be but of short continuance.

love enemies.

I hope too I am, under all my heavy & manifold oppressions, endeavouring to follow the advice & direction of my blessed Master viz. to love my enemies, to bless them that curse me, & to pray for them that despitefully use me & persecute me. But, at the same time, I must & do humbly & ardently pray that God would, in comfort to myself & in mercy to



[31] others, send some change soon amongst us, or otherwise open a way for my return to my native country, for, at present, my situation is truly uncomfortable, without any reasonable or apparent hope or prospect of getting good to myself or doing good to others.

Sydney, New S. Wales.  
April 16<sup>th</sup> 1794

Only asked for  
temporary  
church.

✓ I never wished, neither did I ever ask for, a permanent place of worship, but only a temporary shelter from the heat, rain, etc; And the Superintendent has often told me that he would undertake to erect such a place in an fortnight with the help of ten ordinary workmen & some of the common convicts out of a gang to bring in the materials. This, in my opinion, might have been done without the least retarding other public buildings, and that, so far from creating any discontent or inciting any mutiny, would have given general satisfaction & pleasure, & have prevented a number of complaints and murmurings which I have very frequently heard amongst the people.