

Broughton to Coleridge, 17/2/1842 (Syd)

(23 sides)

My dear Coleridge:

A few days since (14/2/42) I wrote to you by the Ship 'Cumberland' at much length; and now dispatch to you as promised in that Letter Copies of my Charge & Sermon lest any interruption should take place of those which were forwarded to you (and many others) by a former Ship. These are to go by the 'Hamlet' in charge of the Revd William Cowper, whose case I have already written fully upon to you; and have furnished him with a letter of introduction to Mr Robert Keate, hoping much from his professional skill and kindness. Long as my (~~last~~) Letter was, I yet find there are two remaining subjects on which I am anxious to make a communication to you. I will begin (as in duty bound) with that which concerns the Church.

COWPER

As you may suppose, the loss of Mr Cowper, where there existed already such a paucity of clergymen, is severely felt: and indeed it is not in my power even to provide for the discharge of the ordinary services, without taking upon myself the entire duties of a parochial minister. Though I have stated that I hope much from Mr Keate's advice, yet it is not to be concealed that recovery from total blindness in a patient who has reached the grand climacteric, is hardly to be expected: such a recovery, I mean, as should enable him to resume his active duties in his Church and parish which contains, as an accompanying paper will shew, ~~xx~~ very nearly (if by this time not quite) 6000 souls in communion with the C of E. Though their situation without a pastor fills me with concern & alarm, yet from respect to Mr Cowper & his long services, I wld not take any step which might wear even an appearance of setting him aside: & therefore I shall have recourse to the best temporary expedients in my power to get the duty done until I hear whether the operation on his eye will ~~desire~~ produce the desired effect or not. You will have means of knowing much earlier than I shall how the attempt succeeds. If it fails, then you will naturally imagine my first anxiety will be to obtain the services of a suitable successor in St Philip's parish: and I mention this thus early in the hope that if so required you may providentially meet with a good man for the purpose. The duties are such as require a strong man too, and a willing one. Three services in the Church on Sunday, and one evening service during the week; and of course the occasional duties in such a parish are heavy; especially as no clergyman will do much good among the people who is not assiduous in visiting them in their homes, and in superintending the Schools. There is another Church in the course of erection in the parish, which, by taking off a part of the population, will of course diminish the labours of this description. Next, as to the temporalities, There is a very good house indeed: perfectly sufficient for any family of ordinary numbers. It stands not far from the Church; and the incumbent is not liable to (sic) repairs, dilapidations, taxes, or any charge whatsoever. The income consists of a Stipend of £200 p.a. paid by Govt; and of £150 p.a. secured upon the Glebe land, which is let on lease for 28 years under an Act of Council. The Fees average from £80 to £100 p.a. and the S.P.G. I have no doubt wld allow £50 p.a. as to the other clergymen whom they send out. It may be said therefore with safety that there is a clear income of £500 p.a., with a house & garden: and being free from all outgoings, &

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no bad dabts (which tithes are liable to) it is superior to an income of the same amount in England. There is every reason to believe that if the clergyman were a man of suitable weight, character, and principles, the parishioners would not fail to make him up nearly another £100 p.a. by Easter offerings and for the Lecutre, or weekly service. But this I do not put positively into the account: as they may be parsimonious or capricious, and not give it. At any rate there is a maintenance for a family: and if the holder of it have any private resources of his own, I think he may without difficulty allow the whole, or any part he likes, to accumulate for his family. I will not say much more about him: because I am sure you know what manner of man I mean: you know the marks of Osiris; and I trust you might light upon him, and secure him for this service. There must assuredly be many well qualified, who would rejoice in being called to so important a work; and to stimulate their zeal let me add, that exactly opposite to St Philip's Church, the Roman Catholics are laying the foundation of a large, very large, Church, to be called St Patrick's; for the completion of which they hope to receive funds on the return of their Bishop from England; (and I may add Rome, for he was there when they last heard of him) and then they boast what great things they shall do in filling their own benches and emptying ours. You will see therefore that it is not an everyday person who could effectually fill the situation which is likely to be vacant: & it really is an object worthy of the attention of those who appear to have been at this time raised up at home to take thought for the maintenance of the Churches abroad. From 27 (not under) to 30 or 35 would be the properest age: and his wife (for he would be better for having one) ought to be a person of good sense and discretion: for a wife, by wanting these, often mars the work of a good husband (1 Tim iii 11)

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NOTE

POLITICAL REFORM AND COL CONSTITUTION

I could wish in the second place, if you will permit me, to say a word or two upon our political concerns, which must soon occupy the attention of the home government; and it must be decided what institutions the people of this Colony are henceforth to be placed under. As you are upon terms of intimacy with many in Parlt who would not willingly be accessory to the establishment of false principles anywhere, I will offer a few suggestions which you may perhaps find an opportunity of communicating to some in whose hands they may be of service. Considering what foundations of future importance are laid in Australia, the work of legislating for it must be a work demanding caution, and a full discussion of every question connected with it: & therefore I trust it will not be carelessly hurried over (as if it were a mere experimentum in corpore vili) at the end of a Session; when Parlt's power of attention is exhausted, and everybody is anxious only to get away. And I do also hope that a Conservative Govt will not be induced to think that the great principles which are essential to the welfare of the parent state, may be sacrificed ~~to~~ ~~the welfare~~ without hesitation when the question is how Colonies are

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to be governed. Be assured if monarchy and a church are good things for England, they are good no less for her dependencies; which, if England wld maintain her greatness, she must incorporate into and make parts of herself. If those principles upon which rulers profess to act in one place are surrendered in another place, even though that be at the distance of the antipodes, I am convinced that not only will the tie which binds the Colonies to the mother-country "become as flax which is burnt with fire", but the fatal precedent will plead - it will react even upon the institutions of England itself. With such constant intercourse as is now carried on between all parts, can it be, but that if a bad example is set in one place it's (sic) evil influence must quickly spread, and be brought home even to your own doors? If anti-monarchical and levelling principles of government, & those of the voluntary Church system be encouraged here, they will be felt in the rebound on the other side of the world. ~~There is no such thing~~

TMPT-
ARGUMENT-

There is at the present moment a good deal of earnestness shewn to obtain a representative government, instead of the present Councils nominated by the Crown. I have no doubt that the steady and well affected part of our society desires this; and desires only that it should be granted upon such terms as wld tend to promote order and good government and to maintain the supremacy of the Crown. But their views are counteracted by an influence of a different character, and may be baffled by it if extreme prudence and caution are not used in fixing the conditions upon which an elective assembly shall be granted.

I enclose a Report of a Speech delivered on 26th January at a dinner given to commemorate the foundation of the Colony, at which Capt O'Connell presided. The passage which is marked will shew you what some people have got in their heads. I am not at all aware that Capt O'C (sic) himself participates in such ideas; but there are evidently others, not a few, who would try to use his name for their own purposes. I send you likewise a copy of this day's newspaper containing an account of a Meeting held yesterday for the purpose of petitioning for a representative government. The result entirely confirms the opinion which I have held for many years: that

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representative government may be a very proper boon to bestow on this community. Under good arrangements I think it would be. But with regard to those arrangements the people themselves are not qualified to form any opinion whatever (for the Meeting broke up without coming to a determination) and the terms must therefore be fixed for them by those who are better informed. The greatest care will be necessary to prevent any form of govt which may be established here from sliding into pure democracy. In all such communities as this the people have a tendency to it; and must have. How should they not? The natural likes it, and there is but little here to curb or correct the natural man's propensities. As a substitute for the Crown, and the check which it exercises over all the movements in our constitution of England, the Colonies have but Governors appointed for so brief a period that they cannot possibly acquire much personal consideration before the time for their removal comes round. As to any other kind of influence

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(using the word in an honest and legitimate sense) they can hardly possess it except among the few who, like myself, may think it (a) matter of conscience to "render to all their dues": for a Governor is not entrusted with discretion to do any thing which can benefit any body, or to give any thing which any body is anxious to have. However, Colonial Governors, and the powers which they shall exercise, as well as long long those powers shall be enjoyed, must be left to the choice and determination of the Crown; and I will therefore say no more upon that part of the subject. But the matter to which the attention of Parlt will probably soon be called is to provide for the legislative government of this Colony; and I would earnestly desire, if possible, to call the attention of some competent person to the policy and expediency of adopting some fixed principles with reference to Colonial govt in general, which may occasion that to be conducted upon system, which has heretofore been carried on by piecemeal, and decided on (if I may use such a word without pedantry) in a mere tumultuary manner. On the spur of the moment it is found, something must be done; and something is done accordingly, which just serves the purpose and no more: and it is only matter of surprise that so indigested a scheme holds together in its various parts so well as it does. But having been forced, I may say, to look attentively at the subject, the conclusion which I have formed is this: that Great Britain~~s~~ possesses the means of becoming great indeed by the establishment of a Colonial empire. Her object, I am persuaded, ought to be to mould the Colonies so into one with herself, that different Colonies shall be no more than so many different Counties added to the previous number. I wish you could put this into the head of some one of your friends, who has ~~taken~~ talent and station to qualify him for working out their conception; and who would devote himself to it, as we have seen frequent instances of men in parliament attaching themselves to one great object, and ~~have~~ never ceasing till they had carried it. In this way, I must admit, some measures have been carried in the ~~sin~~ success of which I take no pleasure: but if by pursuing a particular course some can accomplish mischief, why should not others attempt in a similar manner to bring to pass that which is good?

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The object which I propose is to make the Colonies so like England that they may form together with it one body in reality as well as in name; and so continue for ever inseparable, so far as any thing which is worldly can be endured with permanency. To bring this to pass, there must be as perfect uniformity in govt as in language; & to carry this into effect the principle of **HEREDITARY RANK** must be every where established. At present, from the neglect of this, we go about the world founding republics, and offering an absolute premium for their establishment. We train the minds of people to expect that, as the natural termination of our course of policy; & by continuing so to act, we shall light up a general conflagration from which we are much deceived if we expect that the monarchy of

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one small island will escape unconsumed. I can have no doubt that the exclusive feelings of English aristocracy would be much disgusted by a proposal to extend the system of hereditary rank to communities which they deign to think so little about: and he must be an intrepid man, well satisfied of the justness of the principles, and capable also of defending it, who shall dare first to give it public utterance, and to reiterate the mention of it till the public mind is familiarized and reconciled to it. But to the aristocracy I think it may fairly be urged, that without a continually extending foreign trade giving employment to the manufacturer, it will be impossible to uphold that system of protection upon which the fortunes of the landed interest depend; and where, when foreign nations are ceasing to be our customers and rather becoming rivals, is that outlet for our manufactures to be found except in our own Colonies? Where else can an outlet be sought for to dispose of that accumulation of numbers which if confined at home, must be liable to distress; and distress will engender disaffection; and the whole frame of society will be torn asunder by their struggles. In fact therefore whatever is done to promote the advancement of the Colonies, and to preserve them in close and willing dependence on the parent state, must collaterally be for the benefit and security of the aristocracy in England. Besides, they might be asked, what will they do with their own Branches, who cannot all luxuriate in the confined space which England itself affords; and yet, if they now emigrate, find no congenial soil anywhere else: whereas if they found, and might themselves attain to, an established station in all parts of the empire, all parts would be England to them; and in this manner the advantages which England has derived from hereditary gradations of rank and privileges, wld be extended with her dominion and commerce all over the world. Having referecne to Colonial policy in general, I am perfectly certain of the advantage wghich wld arise from the institution of rank entailed by descent, and of a recognized distinction of families. The principle is all that I contend for. It might be introduced with modifications and safegaurds (and the more limited the scale in the first instance perhaps the better) in such of the older Colonies as are fit for it, and the others might be taught to look for it insuccession as their qualifications shld be ascertained. ~~With~~

With respect to this Colony, ~~where~~ there are obvious reasons why it must be one of the last to which this system could be extended. If it were but a declared principle of Colonial policy that there should be hereditary rank, and there were a reasonable expectation that it would gradually be extended to the natives of this Colony among others, it would suffice. Such a step wld raise up a loyal and reverential feeling towards the Sovereign, as the fountain of honors of which all might hope to be partakers; and by giving them convincing proof that they are Englishmen, not Americans, would produce a unity of determination to maintain their connexion with the English Crown. At present, the Sovereign is but a name to her Colonial subjects, as the East India Company was, and may still be, to the Hindus: and it is not easy to attach men strongly to a name or phastasm. The parts of which our empire now consists are heterogeneous parts, like the iron and clay

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which fall asunder upon almost any impulse. There is no such feeling, in the minds of those who were born here, as that of loyalty, or of veneration for the dominion under which they live. We find it impossible to make them comprehend even what is meant by it. In fact I am sorry to say they too generally ridicule such notions. This happens because the way in which the government is conducted rather partakes of the republican character; and tends to create sympathy with the institutions of America, and not with those of England. They soon pick up the shibboleth of democracy; but of monarchy and its concomitants we see nothing, and they who were born here consequently know nothing. Can it be questioned whether or no this is false policy on the part of the English nation? And I say this, be assured, not merely under the influence of Tory feelings (as they are usually called) which make me love old associations, and desire their continuance merely for their own sake. In all this I am really very much of an utilitarian, and can urge reasons which would be approved by the good Whig Sir Andrew Freeport himself, whose favorite theory was (as I think the Spectator records) that England might become richer than other nations, as he himself was richer than other men, by cultivating such and such branches of commerce. Surely there are symptoms which must lead us to apprehend that our foreign trade is not in a very secure state; and the natural resource seems to be to encourage the opening of fresh markets in the Colonies, where commerce may find such a scope as all the foreign countries in the world could not furnish. And in order to secure and bind to herself these communities which contain the rudiments of future wealth and power, to prevent their being alienated from her by a factious spirit, and so converted into aliens and opponents, England has but to give to all communities inhabited by Englishmen the institutions of their native country as nearly and as speedily as circumstances will admit; not omitting, as heretofore, the establishment of hereditary distinctions; which would do more than any thing else to bring about the consummation which I have projected, of a Colonial empire more extended and powerful than any which the world has ever yet witnessed. Now however, as to the measures presently required in the case of this Colony in particular: I do believe that the establishment of a representative govt on a basis not extravagantly popular is desirable. The mind of the community cannot be drawn out or trained in any other way. Still it is necessary to consider seriously whether the scheme is practicable before it is determined on. The circumstances of this country are very peculiar. Its enormous extent makes it almost impossible for representatives from all parts to assemble at any one point. Sydney cannot be reached from Port Phillip, Port Macquarie, and Moreton Bay for example, except by a sea voyage of some duration. Besides it will be altogether ruinous to establishments that their masters (who would naturally be elected as the representatives) should be long absent. You may judge how true this is when I state that almost the universal excuse among settlers for not going to Church on Sunday (as I am sorry to say too many do not) is, that they dare not be so long away from their servant

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And moreover the expense of living in Sydney 3 or 4 months during the Session of Council wld be so great, that I do not know many persons in this country (if any) who could afford it. The effect of all this wld very likely be to deter the members from distant Districts from attending regularly which wld throw the management of affairs and the chief influence in Council into the hands of a few active men living in or near to Sydney: and these might combine to form a party in opposition to Govt: a party which from its position must be powerful. And thus in truth the people of the Colony wld be less represented than they are by the existing Co. But, supposing it to be resolved that these obstacles are not of sufficient weight to prevent the measure of granting a representative and elective form of govt, I trust that care will be taken to apply such checks as may restrain the community from running away into the excesses of democracy; and so may serve to bind it in loyalty and attachment to the British Crown. I do from my heart hope that the Govt of England will never be led, in order to silence, for it wld not satisfy, a few factious persons to yield any thing like universal suffrage; or even a very few low scale of qualification for voters. If they do, they will bitterly repent it hereafter: for this wld include thousands of that class which creates so much turbulence in Ireland; who have been brought hither by ship loads, and are here under exactly the same description and extent of control by their priests (derived from Maynooth) as they were in their native land. Again it is easily to be seen that a legislature which should consist of one house or chamber only, upon whatever terms or qualifications elected, cld not be securely trusted with power to make laws and dispose of the revenue. It wld be too much in danger of falling under the control & management of a few active persons who wld thus have the functions virtually in their own hands. There should unquestionably be a second deliberative ~~chamber~~ body, whose assent, as well as that of the Governor, shld be required to the passing of a law. If then there were no other reason to be given for this than ~~such~~ that, such an arrangement would approach more nearly to that identity to the British form of government which I am anxious to see universally established in the empire, it wld be a very powerful reason. But such a fixed and ondependent body (the members being appted at least for life, even if the seats cannot yet be declared hereditary) will be wanted, to endure the constant tug of that exorbitant centrifugal force which any popular constitution here would be sure to generate. The Governor alone wld be quite incompetent to resist it: and the policy therefore must be to invest him with more substantial power by encouraging a mutual good understanding between him and the upper house, chamber, or assembly; whatever its title may be. Such a house or chamber wld also be needed not only to check the excesses of the elective one, but also by its steady application to business to correct the negligences and omissions of which without a question the other

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wld be often guilty: and I am persuaded that in a short time, however the people might be pleased with having a house of their own representatives and so, a voice (as they ought to have) in the management of their own affairs, yet for the prudent conduct of business, and for defence against agitation and strife, their confidence would soon be reposed chiefly in that house which was composed of nominees of the Crown. Some have proposed to meet the apprehended difficulty by constituting a ~~leguslat~~ legislature in one chamber, the members being partly elected partly nominated. But this I am certain would not answer; as the latter wld not retain their due share of influence or power. In our present Council the Governor cannot venture, as he has more than once or twice acknowledged, to carry measures, even when he thinks them necessary for the public service, by the votes of official members alone, if opposed by a minority of those unconnected with the Govt. So it wld happen in a Council of mixed formation. A distinction wld quickly be drawn between nominated and elected members; as if the former were less independent; and at a difficult crisis the govt wld be intimidated from availing itself of the support of those who were placed in council specially to be its supporters. The case wld be different if they formed a separate assembly altogether; in which they cld speak and vote without being overawed by an invidious comparison between their position and that of others; and therefore I earnestly hope that if we ~~xxx~~ are to have in the legislature one body elected by the people, we shall have another nominated by the Crown.

I have said nothing in all this concerning myself, although from having been during upwards of 12 years a member of the now existing Councils, I am sensible that I am not altogether unconcerned in the determination which may be taken. The only feeling which I have upon the subject is this: that having taken during the period which has been named a somewhat active part in the proceedings; and having given constant and useful support to the Governors in both Councils, I do not merit a removal from



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them now in any such way as might imply disrespect, or such as
 wld give a triumph to those who are always on the ~~1~~ alert to rejoice
 in what they may deem the depression of the C of E. In such a
 light, ~~xxxxxxx~~ wld they view and represent the removal of the
Bishop from the Councils. Individually, I can candidly say that
 such removal wld be a relief to me; for the necessary attendance
 is burdensome as it interferes with pursuits and studies which are
 more to my taste. Indeed before I last quitted England I made
 application to Lord Glenelg that I might not be included in any
 partly elective Council, which might partake of a turbulent
 character. The only question which remains with me is, what ought
 the government to do with regard to me in the event of the present
 nominated Council continuing to exist as a kind of Upper House:
 should the Bishop be a Member of it? His exclusion wld sever the
 last link of peculiar connexion between the government here, and th
 C of E; and therefore the enemies of establishments, and the Roman
 Catholics who hope to rise up upon our overthrow, wld no doubt
 commend the measure. But we must recur to the question: What is
 good for England herself? Is an established Church good? is it for
 the general advantage that the Bishops form a part of the legislat-
 -ure? If this be good, and good upon principle, then I do not
 percieve how it can be surrendered here and elsewhere; or if it be
 surrendered, then the effect will gradually be felt in the C of E
 itslef. If our Government be really and conscientiously conservativ
 I doubt whether it cane securely or consistently make such a
 surrender of what it finds established here, as to deprive the Bp
 of his seat in the legislature. If they do so it must be upon the
 admitted ground of their disapproving in principles of Bishops
 discharging such a function: for ~~the~~ practically there is no
 compulsion requiring them to take that step. There is no offence
 given by my holding that seat. On the contrary when the Roman
 Catholics some time since called a public meeting to petition for
 , among other things, my removal, that part of the petition was
 omitted without a dissentient voice, and so completely were the
 tables turned that I hardly escaped receiving thanks for my
 services! At this very moment the Presbyterians are making
 application to me, as an Executive Counsellor, to meidate in the
 deadly feuda and dissensions by which their body here is distracted
 All my desire is that the subject may be duly considered, so as to
 prevent any slight being shewn to my Office if I am to leave the
 Councils. Personally I shld prefer doing so; but having regard to t
 welfare of the Church, and regarding the determination now to be
 taken as establishing a precedent for all future time, I see
 sufficient reasojs to make me think that my continuance in my
 present position might be desirable.

I will now perplex you no longer with my theories of Col Govt, ..

P.S. ~~COWPER'S PREACHING~~

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P.S. If the ~~selection~~^{selection} of a clergyman for St Philip's Church should devolve upon you, allow me to say, in addition to former particulars, that, caeteris paribus, I should give the preference to one who would restore the practise of daily prayers in his Church.

Inter nos. I would not encourage your asking Mr Copwer to preach for you. Mrs Macquarie, the wife of a former Governor, used to say that she liked Mr Cowper any where better than in the pulpit: and with all mt respect for so good a man such, I must acknowledge, is my own feeling. But you will keep this among the (Greek) agenta.