

THE APOSTLE OF METHODISM IN THE SOUTH SEAS

Richard Johnson (1753-1827)

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In 1616 Dutch explorers landed on the north and west coast of Australia, and followed this up with Tasman's discovery of Tasmania and New Zealand, and fuller exploration of the large landmass of 'New Holland'. The Dutch did not follow up the promise and the challenge, which was taken over in the eighteenth century by the British, the first settlers. The great name here was that of James Cook (1728-1779), son of an agricultural labourer, of whom the *Dictionary of National Biography* states, 'his truest and best memorial is the map of the Pacific'. During three voyages round the world, 1768-71, 1772-75, 1776-80, he traversed the whole of the southern hemisphere, and a large part of it he mapped for the first time. To him more than to anyone we owe the fact that we are here in New Zealand—which he visited on all three voyages—speaking the English language.

That this Pacific area is mainly Christian, and mainly Protestant, is again, owing mainly to one man, I believe, and that one man, John Wesley. On the heels of the explorer-scientists with their thirst for new knowledge and the merchant-adventurers with their eager quest for new markets came the missionaries with their yearning for human betterment. Sometimes these have been individuals like Ignatius Loyola (1495-1556), Thomas Coke (1747-1814), and William Carey (1761-1834). These individuals, usually after some delay, gathered together fellow-enthusiasts into societies, who became the backbone of missionary evangelism.

Commissioned in 1768 to explore the Pacific, during his first voyage James Cook spent some months in Tahiti, charted the coasts of New Zealand during the six following months, and after first sighting Australia on 20 April, 1770, surveyed the coast of New South Wales- so called because of its resemblance to the northern shores of the Bristol Channel. He planted the British flag in a cove named Botany Bay in tribute to the profusion of plants discovered by his botanist shipmate Joseph Banks, later Sir Joseph,¹ The year after Cook had left on his second voyage, John Wesley dipped into a volume describing the first. 'I sat down to read it,' Wesley wrote, 'with huge expectation. But how was I disappointed! I observed 1) things absolutely incredible . . . ; 2) things absolutely impossible ... So that I cannot but rank this narrative with that of *Robinson Crusoe*'²-Wesley continued sceptical about some of Cook's anthropological observations in Tahiti. Nevertheless he shared with the reading members of the British public the general excitement about the new lands on the other side of the world. In his sermon *The General Spread of the Gospel*, written in April and printed in his *Arminian Magazine* for July and August, 1783, he wrote: 'Many new nations have been discovered numberless islands, particularly in the South Seas, large and well inhabited. But by whom? By heathens of the basest sort, many of them inferior to the beasts of the field. Whether they eat men or no (which I cannot find sufficient ground to believe) they certainly kill all that fall into their hands.'

In his *Arminian Magazine* for 1787 he reprinted—in four brief monthly instalments—Cook's account of his exploration of Botany Bay. He offered his Methodist readers factual descriptions of the terrain, of trees, plants, 'birds of exquisite beauty, particularly of the parrot kind', a glimpse of 'a quadruped about as big as a rabbit' (which may have been a wallaby), and great quantities of fish, including a leather-jacket weighing 336 pounds when gutted. Both Cook and Wesley were undoubtedly especially interested in the aboriginal inhabitants, usually referred to as Indians, all stark naked, who were 'very dark coloured, but not black', with whom Cook tried unsuccessfully to make friends by signs and presents.³

The general religious populace of Britain was presented with a romantic view of this new world, similar to that of Georgia 50 years earlier. And as the Indian chief Tomochichi had been displayed in England, so was the Polynesian Omai from Raiatea lionized in London, 1774-76; he also was seen as the typical 'noble savage', was presented to the King, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and in the 1785-86 season was made the central figure in a popular South Pacific extravaganza performed in the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.⁴ This was one of the signs of a great public interest in the South Seas, the background against which Wesley published Cook's account of

¹ Alan Villiers, *Captain Cook*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1967. 134-35.

² John Wesley, *Journal*, Dec. 17. 1773.

³ *Arminian Magazine*, April-July, 1787, espec. 158, 265, 321-22.

⁴ *Captain Cook and the South Pacific*, British Museum Yearbook 3, 1979, pp.81-136.

Botany Bay. The British government, however, had its own eye on colonization for utilitarian purposes. Wesley's extract from Cook concluded: 'During my stay in this harbour, I caused the English colours to be displayed on shore every day; and the ship's name (Endeavour), and the date of the year, to be inscribed upon one of the trees near the watering place.'⁵ With this prize in Britain's crown, this rather inhospitable harbour became the target (as Georgia had been formerly) for a penal settlement.

Doubtless a formal religious setting would have been furnished for the expedition by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts (founded 1701), under whose auspices John Wesley had been sent out to Georgia. The spiritual quality of that setting, however, depended greatly upon the type of man chosen for the task. Here Wesley's vicarious influence was important. As a priest of the Church of England he had set himself from the outset to transform his beloved church into a more thoroughly evangelical institution. In large measure through his efforts there arose in eighteenth-century Britain two parallel movements, the Methodist Revival, which was institutional-ized as the Methodist Society and eventually became a worldwide church, and the Evangelical Revival, which revitalized the Church of England, and even other British Protestant denominations. Thus there were Wesleyan 'Methodists' and Evangelical 'Methodists'.⁶ To his dying day Wesley insisted that he was a loyal member and minister of the Church of England, although increasingly his practice denied what he preached. Yet in spite of constant complaints at various levels, no official action was ever taken against him by church authorities. Small wonder that the term 'Methodist' was used almost equally to describe both evangelical parish clergy and Wesley's itinerant lay preachers. Church historians, indeed, have to this day found themselves in some difficulty in trying to distinguish clearly between them.⁷

After Wesley's death in 1791 this work of the Holy Spirit led to the formation of several enthusiastic missionary societies, ushering in what Kenneth Scott Latourette termed 'the great century' in the History of the Expansion of Christianity: The Baptist Missionary Society (1792), The London Missionary Society (1795), The Church Missionary Society (1799), and The British and Foreign Bible Society (1804). So-called 'Methodist'churchmen organized and supported them all. Thomas Coke, an Anglican priest turned 'Methodist' in the narrower sense of the term, and Wesley's lieutenant in many ventures, had published A Plan of the Society for the

⁵ *Arminian Magazine*, 1787, 323.

⁶ John Venn of Clapham, writing a memoir of his father Henry Venn of Huddersfield. maintained: 'The Methodists and the Evangelical Clergy were the chief instruments employed in this work; and these two bodies of labourers had a mutual and important influence upon each other.' *Life ...of... Henry Venn*, 2nd edn., London, Hatchard, 1835, xv.

⁷ See C.G. Brown, 'Itinerancy and Loyalty: a study in e'ghteenth century evangelicals.' *Journal of Religious History*. 6:232-45.

Establishment of Missions among the Heathens in 1784, and with Wesley's aid had implemented it by a mission to the West Indies in 1786, but this movement did not receive full connexional authorization as the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society until 1818, though Wilberforce's annual subscription to 'Methodist Missions' had begun during Coke's lifetime.⁸

The evangelizing spirit of John Wesley was there at the heart of the enthusiastic missionary movement at the turn of the century. Studying the subscription lists of these societies one is constantly reminded of the cross-fertilization going on, and of the solid core of evangelical philanthropists who supported several groups rather than one only. Noteworthy among them was Willaim Wilberforce, a great friend and admirer of the Wesleys. He had been moved to tears when in 1786 Charles Wesley solemnly blessed him during a tea party at Hannah More's, and furnished a substantial pension for Charles Wesley's widow from 1792 to her life's end in 1822. After his own spiritual awakening, 1785-86, Wilberforce dedicated himself to being a Wesley among the leaders of society, to use his own words, a 'reformer of the nation's morals, who should raise his voice in the high places of the land; and do within the church, and near the throne, what Wesley had accomplished in the meeting, and amongst the multitude'.⁹ It was eminently fitting that a few days before his death in 1791 Wesley should write saluting Wilberforce 'for your glorious enterprise' in seeking to emancipate the slaves, the most noteworthy venture of his noble spirit.¹⁰

One of the first-fruits of Wilberforce's dedication was his work for the Pacific undertaking. Before the end of 1786 his closer evangelical friends congratulated him for securing a man with a warmed heart as the spiritual leader of the project. Henry Venn noted: Through the influence of Mr Wilberforce, with Mr Pitt, (Mr Richard Johnson) is appointed Chaplain to Botany Bay.' William Pitt himself wrote: The Colony to Botany Bay will be much indebted to you for your assistance in providing a Chaplain'.¹¹ John Newton claimed: To you, as the instrument, we owe the pleasing

⁸ G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, London, Epworth Press, 5 vols., 1921-24—henceforth *WMMS*- 1.56-80; cf Wilberforce's letter of 2 March 1815, to Joseph Entwisle, of which a photocopy is at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

⁹ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1846, 150-53; Ford K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians; the age of Wilberforce*, Cambridge, University Press, 1961. pp.72-76. On pp.72-73 Mr Brown indicates Wilberforce's powerful influence through 'the intricate relationship and intermarriage of the Evangelical families'.

¹⁰ Wesley's letter of 24 February, 1791, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey.

¹¹ Item 487, Sotheby's Sale, 9 April 1963. In the Manuscript Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, are two letters from Pitt to Wilberforce furnishing some background for this document. The first refers to Sir George Pretymann (later Wesley Historical Society (NZ) Publication #50 1987

prospect for an opening for the propagation of the Gospel in the Southern Hemisphere. Who can tell what important consequences may depend on Mr Johnson's going to New Holland!¹²

Wilberforce's hand may clearly be seen in the educational background of both of the first two chaplains ordained for New South Wales, Richard Johnson (1786-1810), and Samuel Marsden (1793-1838). Both were Yorkshiremen, both educated (as Wilberforce had been) at Hull Grammar School, whose headmaster was the evangelical leader and church historian, Joseph Milner; both were from a lowly 'Methodist' background, not accustomed to soft living, but trained as sizar (working students) at Magdalene College, Cambridge. One of the complaints made against Johnson later by the lieutenant-governor, Major Grose, was that he was 'one of the people called Methodists'.¹³

Having been ordained (possibly by the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Moore), on Sunday, 22 October 1786, Wilberforce's dear friend Henry Thornton of Clapham took Johnson to meet (and apparently to address) 'two hundred and fifty of his future congregation aboard the Hulk at Woolwich'.¹⁴ The following week the new clergyman received the royal commission for his office:

George the Third, etc. to our trusty and well-beloved Richard Johnson, clerk, greeting. We do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain to the settlement within our territory called New South Wales. You are, therefore, carefully and dVigently to discharge the duty of chaplain by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging; and you are to

Tomline) (1750-1827), Pitt's tutor and private secretary and later Bishop of Winchester, and is dated **Hollywood, 14 October (1786): 'Pretyman has sent me your letter mentioning the Curate you had found for New Holland. I will take care of the business, and let you know as soon as the stipend; etc., is fixed. I conclude he will be ready, if he takes the charge, immediately.'** The second is dated simply '**Downing Street, Friday 20 October, 1786): 'I saw the Archbishop (John Moore (1730-1805)) this morning, who seems much pleased with your Clergyman, and almost decided in his favour, but is to have another conversation with him.'**

¹² Brown, *Fathers*, 76, Cf. Jean Woolmington, *Religion in Early Australia*, Cassell, 1976, 6. In 1783 John Newton had founded the Eclectic Society for fruitful discussions by evangelicals; it was the spiritual parent of the Church Missionary Society. Richard Johnson had been present in September 1786. and the subject of their first missionary discussion (on 13 November 1786) was: 'What is the best method of planting and promulgating the Gospel in Botany Bay?' Through Newton the Society followed his ministry carefully. See Keith Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia* (Melbourne, C.M.S., 1971). 4-6. 1786.

¹³ *Historical Records of New South Wales*- henceforth *HRNSW* 1(2).64; but cf. Grose's defence in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 1967—henceforth *ADB*.

¹⁴ Woolmington, *Early Australia*, 6; cf. Brown, *Fathers*, 76.

observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from our

Governor of our said territory for the time being, or any other your superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of war.

Given at our Court at St James's, the twenty-fourth day of October, 1786, in the twenty-sixth year of our reign.

By His Majesty's command,

*Sydney.*¹⁵

On 28 November Wilberforce introduced him to the Board of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as 'the appointed Chaplain to convicts going to Botany Bay', and they fitted him out with a lavish supply of Bibles, New Testaments, Psalters, and Books of Common Prayer, as well as many devotional works, tracts, and broadsheets in bundles of 50 or 100.¹⁶ *The Gentleman's Magazine* announced the marriage on 4 December of Rev. Mr Johnson, chaplain to the intended new settlement in the South Seas, to Miss Burton'.

Not till 13 May 1787, however, did the First Fleet of 11 vessels set sail, with some 730 convicts, men and women, together with about 250 free persons, mostly marines. Sailing in the Golden Grove, Johnson conducted services at sea for two of the ships, and Arthur Phillip, commander of the expedition, and first governor, warned him that in his preaching he had best 'begin with moral subjects'.¹⁷ They arrived off Botany Bay on 19-20 January 1788. Almost immediately Governor Phillip discovered that deficiencies in soil and water unfitted Botany Bay for settlement, so that after reconnoitring they sailed north to Sydney Cove, where their flag was hoisted on 26 January.¹⁸ On Sunday, 3 February, the chaplain held the first religious service and preached the first sermon on Australian soil 'under some trees', from Psalm 116:12, 'What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me!' Two weeks later he celebrated Holy Communion in the tent of Lieutenant Ralph Clark, who devoutly preserved the Table.¹⁹ Against much opposition as well as indifference, he faithfully carried out his many spiritual duties almost alone for six years.

In theory the Rev. Richard Johnson could have cut a stately figure in the new colony, in spite of the primitive conditions. His official status was high, he received what seemed to a lowly English curate a princely stipend, he was quartered in a substantial home, and had 400 acres of glebe land to cultivate.²⁰ True, he found it difficult to

¹⁵ *HRNSW* 1(2).27. The signature was that of Thomas Townshend, first Viscount Sydney (1733-1800), the Secretary of State, after whom the first Australian town was named.

¹⁶ Woolmington, Early Australia, 6-7.

¹⁷ *ADB*. 11.17.

¹⁸ *HRNSW* 1(2). 121-22.

¹⁹ *ADB*, 1.225-26; 11.17; *WMMS*, 111.238, gives the date as 27 January, the previous Sunday, for the first service.

²⁰ His annual civil salary was £182.10.0, immediately below the Governor's £1000 and the Lieutenant Governor's £250, and on a level with the Deputy Judge-Advocate, the Surgeon,

secure help with his land, but this may well have been because of his temperamental inability to fit into the part of the worldly gentleman that he might have become. His conscience was so tender that he was found puritanical and abrasive to his social equals; he could not keep silent about sin in high places; he could not ignore the degradation of the convicts; he could not shut his eyes to suffering nor his pockets to the poor. His ordination vows remained a blazing torch along a dark and tangled wilderness way. He was not born to leisure; he had been chosen by man as well as God because he was a do-gooder, a Methodist. And so, as John Newton's frequent letters reminded him, he could not expect lordly treatment; he was called to suffer for the sake of the gospel; he had himself accepted his destiny to be despised and rejected of men.

From the outset Sunday services alone were daunting. After four years he outlined them to the governor: I have to perform divine service at three different places, viz. at Sydney, Parramatta, and at a settlement about three miles to the westward of Parramatta ... I dread Sunday coming, aware of the danger and the consequences I have to expect.. . I go up to Parramatta as usual once a fortnight. . . the distance by water about 14 miles. Generally go up on the Saturday . . . sometimes four, five, six hours upon the water. On Sunday morning early I now ride up to the new settlement; preach in the open air about seven o'clock to about 600 convicts; at ten and four in the afternoon I preach at Parramatta.²¹

Johnson's rheumatism worsened, and his potential worshippers had a ready excuse for absence in severe weather, because no place of worship had been erected at Sydney, nor seriously discussed, though on Sunday 25 March, he hoped to 'assemble in an old boat-house close by the waterside, the sides and ends quite open'. At Parramatta foundations for a church had been laid in 1791, but it was converted first into a lock-up, then into a granary.²² No help being in view, in 'his great zeal' he built one in Sydney himself, 'of strong posts, wattles, and plaster', at the cost of his own manual labour, much controversy, and some capital expenditure ... first used for worship on 25 August 1793, for which he was reimbursed in 1797, and which was burnt down in 1798.²³

The week days were every bit as full as the weekends, with baptisms, marriages, churchings, burials ... 60 a month in the winter of 1792. He solved varied problems for

and the Surveyor of Lands (*HRNSW* 1(2).33); for his home - contrasted with high living costs— see *HRNSW* 1 (2).601-2 (1792): 'As to my habitation I am very well satisfied; it is pretty commodious and convenient few better provided for in this respect in the colony than myself.' For his glebe land and his victimization see *HRNSW* 11.201-4 (1794).

²¹ *HRNSW* 1(2).602-(0)3. (23 March 1792).

²² *ibid.* "The first service at Parramatta was in 1791 'in a carpenter's house near the house of Governor Phillip' (Strachan. *Leigh*. 49).

²³ *HRNSW* 11.64-65. 201-4; cf. Woolmington. *Early Australia*. 26-27 and John R. Elder, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*. Dunedin. Otago Univ. Council. 1932. 27.

the convicts, and tried to afford comfort at their executions. In April 1790 a convict wrote home: 'I believe few of the sick would recover if it was not for the kindness of the Rev. Mr Johnson, whose assistance out of his own stores makes him the physician both of soul and body.'²⁴ When the Second Fleet arrived in June 1790 he refused to heed his friend John Newton's advice: 'It will be madness of you to risk your health by going down into the hold of a ship, where the air must be always putrid from the breath of a crowd of passengers in chains.'²⁵ Taking his chaplain's duties very seriously, Johnson insisted on an attempt, and described in a letter to Henry Thornton the heart-breaking conditions of the hundreds whom he visited.²⁶

As chaplain Johnson also had charge of schooling in the colony. Official requests for schoolmasters having failed, in March 1792 Johnson reported to the SPG that he had himself secured schoolmistresses for Sydney and Parramatta, who taught convicts gratis, under his own supervision; he had managed to secure some small remuneration for the teachers from the military. During the summer of 1791 he had even spent three weeks in Norfolk Island, an overflow penal settlement, and had recruited a former English schoolmaster, Thomas Macqueen, whose good conduct qualified him for continuance. He also reported that he now had two Aboriginal girls under his own roof, and pleaded for an additional missionary to be sent for missionary work among the Natives.²⁷ The Society did take over support of his teachers, but the first missionary to the Aboriginals was not appointed until 1820, a Wesleyan, William Walker. The first governor, Arthur Phillip, was also a humanitarian. He tried to domesticate an Aboriginal, Bennelong, for whom on one occasion Johnson served as a hostage while Bennelong was visiting the governor.²⁸ In March 1792 the Johnson's 'pretty commodious' home housed eight people, including not only the two Aboriginal girls, but their own two-year-old daughter, given an Aboriginal name, Milbah. with a baby boy on the way.²⁹

A normal emolument (and responsibility) of an English clergyman, was the care of glebe land ('church ground'), of which Johnson was allotted 400 acres. This was 'full of large green trees', however, and he received no official help in cultivating it, remonstrating in 1792: 'I cannot suppose Government meant for me to use axe and spade myself, though this I have done day after day ... I did not come out here as an overseer or as a farmer. I have other things more, much more important, to attend to.

²⁴ *HRNSW* 11.758.

²⁵ *ADB* 11.18.

²⁶ *HRNSW* 1(2).386-89.

²⁷ C.L. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*. London. SPG. 1901. 386-89.

²⁸ *ADB* 1.84-85; 11.18; *HRNSW* 1(2). 300.309.375; 11.709-10. Phillip took Bennelong to England in 1792. and presented him to the King. William Walker later adopted Bennelong's son. and bapti/ed him by a name honouring Wesley's missionary colleague. Thomas Walker Coke.

²⁹ *HRNSW* 1(2), 601-02; *ADB* 11.19.

My duty as a clergyman fully takes up all my time.' Nevertheless, though he did not use the land for gain, in 1790 he had gained a reputation as 'the best farmer in the country'.³⁰

Johnson also served as a civil magistrate under governors Phillip and Hunter, though from this unpleasant chore he was temporarily rescued (1793-94) by the fact that Major Francis Grose insisted upon a military government. Altogether it is no overstatement in the Australian Dictionary of Biography to claim that he was 'one of the busiest men in the colony'. Nor is it any wonder that he was worn down physically and emotionally, and questioned the worth of his unremitting labours.

Frequently he sought assistance. John Newton congratulated him in 1789 when John Crowther was appointed his assistant chaplain, who would be 'a true helpmeet, a counsellor, and a friend'. Crowther, however, was shipwrecked ten days out from the Cape of Good Hope, and then gave up the venture. Newton wrote on 10 March 1791: 'Endeavours have not been wanting to send you a companion... But you live in such an awkward, unpromising corner of the Lord's great house that it is not easy to find a competent person willing to go to you.'³¹ In September 1791 James Baine arrived, as a military chaplain to the New South Wales Corps, and he alternated with Johnson in conducting worship at Sydney and Parramatta, but in January 1792 was transferred to Norfolk Island.³² For a time it seemed possible that William Dawes (a friend of Wilberforce, and later a voluntary worker for the Church Missionary Society), who shared Johnson's concern for the Aborigines, in whose language he was becoming expert, might assist in some way, but instead he became Governor of Sierra Leone.³³

It was an enormous relief to hear that Samuel Marsden had been persuaded to cut short his career at Cambridge without a degree and go to Johnson's rescue. On 1 January 1793, he accepted the commission as assistant chaplain, he was married on 21 April, ordained on 26 May, and set sail on 1 July 1793. They sailed on a transport, which arrived on 10 March 1794, to save the colony from starvation, and Johnson from complete breakdown and despair.³⁴ Marsden not only entered into Johnson's own labours, sharing a heavy burden, but gradually took on new responsibilities of his own. He proved such a robust character that eventually he completely overshadowed his superior, who was broken in health and spirit. Johnson applied for sick leave in 1798, secured it in 1800 (when he left), but in fact did not resign until 1802. He remained on penurious leave until Marsden, visiting England in 1808, pulled the strings (surely aided by Wilberforce) which in 1810 secured for him until his death in 1827 the Crown living of the united rectories of St Antholin and St John the Baptist in

³⁰ *ADB* 11.18; *HRNSW* 1(2). 602.

³¹ *HRNSW* 1(2). 260: 11.432, 438. 443, 445 757.

³² *ADB* 1.49.

³³ *ADB* 1.297-98; *HRNSW* 11.473.

³⁴ *Elder. Marsden*. 20-27.

the City of London—a living filled a century earlier by Richard Venn, grandfather of John Venn of Clapham.³⁵

Although Australia's first preacher remains almost unknown in England, it seems fitting that at long last a British Methodist historian should attempt a fuller and perhaps more worthy tribute to Richard Johnson. William Wilberforce had hinted that he was too unwordly for his own advancement, telling Henry Dundas in 1794; 'He is one of the worthiest men breathing, the most active, the most humble, and at the same time very little acquainted with the world.'³⁶

John Newton wrote on 24 May 1793, about Marsden's coming, and surely realized that Marsden would speedily eclipse Johnson; yet he said an encouraging word: 'You will have the honour of being the first Apostle to the South Seas, but I think you will have no ejection that others should be sent to take a share in your labours.'³⁷ Newton was also to warn Johnson that he could 'not expect to be treated like a chaplain or a gentleman' if he constantly denounced sin and attended to the lowly needs of lowly people, but added: The opposition and contempt you met with were for the Gospel's sake.³⁸

A letter written by Newton to Johnson a week and a day after Wesley's death was perhaps intended to remind him that he was indeed a true son of Wesley, worthily engaged in the labours of the World Parish. For us this may well seal the value of Johnson's troubled yet triumphant pioneer ministry: 'You are, I trust, planting for the next century. I have a good hope that your oaks will one day spring up and flourish, and produce other acorns, which in due time will take root, and spread among the islands and nations in the Southern Ocean.'³⁹

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³⁵ John Venn. *Annals of a Clerical Family*, London, Macmillan. 1904. 44-64; during Richard Venn's incumbency, 1725-39, when he knew John Wesley personally. St Antholin's alone sufficed for a substantial living.

³⁶ HRNSW 11.245.

³⁷ HRNSW 11.27.

³⁸ HRNSW 11.299.

³⁹ HRNSW 1.445.