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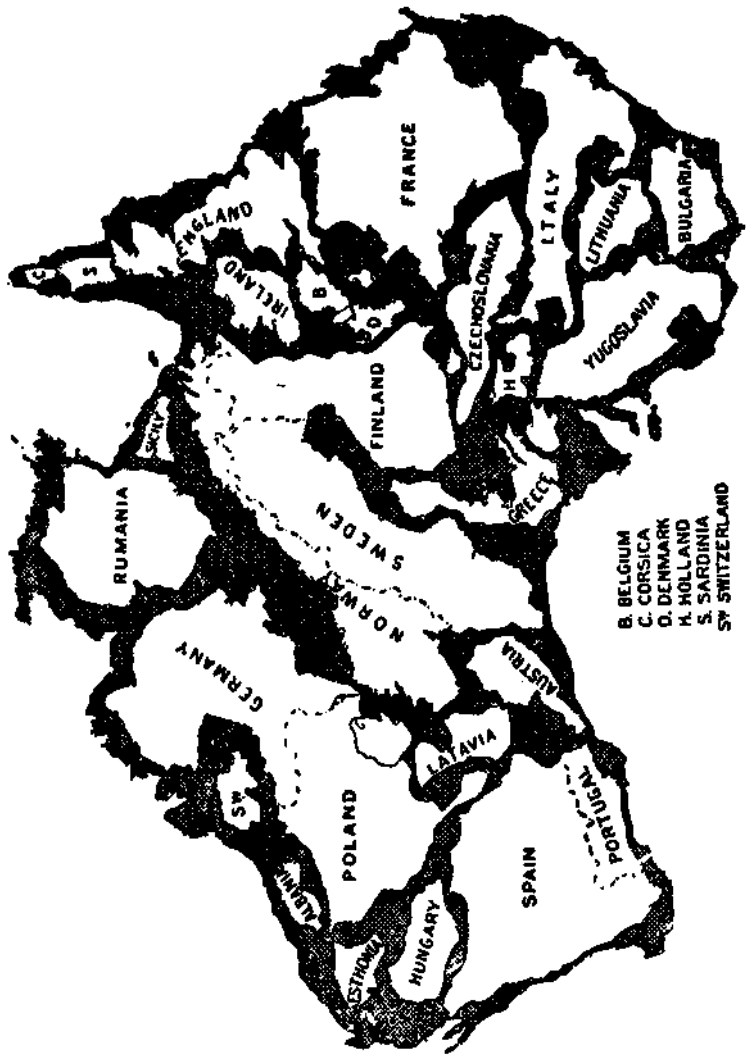
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# HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA



AUSTRALIA SHOWING ITS SIZE IN RELATION TO EUROPE

# HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA

FOR

## COMMONWEALTH SCHOOLS

BY  
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*British History for Primary Schools, Proper Words in Proper Places, First Steps in the Study of Poetry, and English for Primary Schools*

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## PREFACE

THIS text-book has been written to meet the requirements of Commonwealth schools. It is based on authentic records, which are frequently quoted throughout the work. While the footnotes give authorities for the statements to which they refer, they are intended to serve another purpose also, namely, to draw attention to books that will prove useful to teachers and to students engaged in private study. No historical information appears in any footnote.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to many friends\* for helpful suggestions, especially to Captain F. J. Bayldon, R.N.R., Messrs R. H. Cambage, C.B.E., R. H. Croll, and L. N. Rose, M.A., who have not only helped me to avoid errors in statement, but have drawn my attention to erroneous beliefs that have hitherto received general acceptance.

The publication that has proved of most assistance is the *Australian Encyclopaedia*. It is a treasury of valuable information on Australia and all matters Australian, and should, therefore, be given a prominent place in every school library.

J. P.C.



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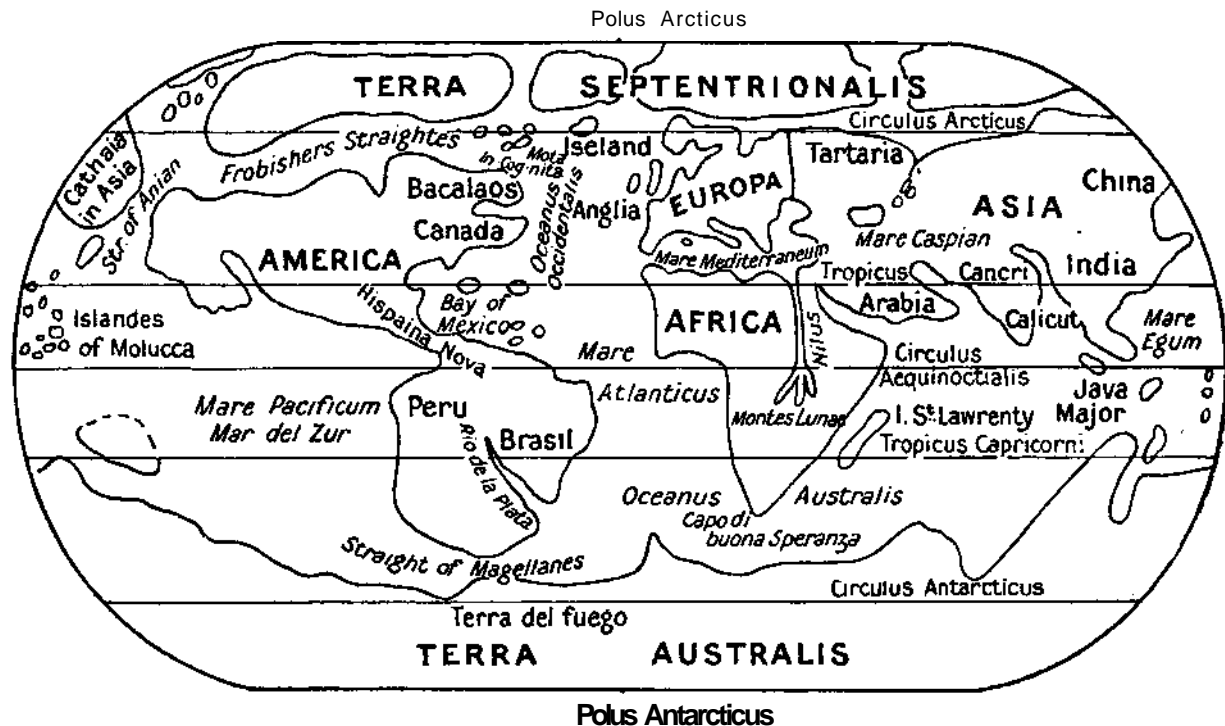
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MAP OF WORLD PUBLISHED WITH THE ACCOUNT OF FROBISHER'S VOYAGES, 1578

## PART I.—DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALIA

### CHAPTER I

#### TERRA AUSTRALIS

ALTHOUGH the science of Geography had its beginnings far back in the days of the early Greek philosophers, its development did not begin until the close of the Middle Ages. Aristotle (B.C. 384-322) placed it on a firm foundation when he proved the sphericity of the world and brought into prominence the theory that divided its surface into a northern and a southern hemisphere, which were again divided into climatic zones.

#### **Early Greek Beliefs**

Of the southern hemisphere nothing was definitely known; no man dared to face the unbearable heat of the middle, or Torrid, zone in an attempt to discover what might lie beyond it. Many believed that a great mass of land, equal in weight to that situated in the northern, occupied a part of the southern hemisphere; for how, otherwise, could the balance of the globe be maintained? Thus arose the belief in Antipodes—in a great South Land lying far away on the other side of the world.

However, there were many philosophers who did not agree with Aristotle's 'sphericity' theory, and many of those who did and who also believed in the existence of Antipodes refused to believe that the unknown South

Land was inhabited by human beings. Could it be possible, they asked, for men to live 'upside down/ as it were, on the lower surface of the globe—indeed, could men remain on the lower surface at all? But what was the use of arguing about something that could not be definitely known so long as the Torrid zone remained an impassable barrier. The more practically minded were content to leave such discussions to others, and directed their attention towards things that lay within the immediate range of their knowledge.

### Expansion of Trade

Until the rise of European nations and the consequent competition in trade, geographical science made little progress. By 50 A.D. the world as then known did not extend so far south as the equator, or beyond Africa on the west and India on the east; and even by 150 A.D. this area had been increased only by the inclusion of an eastern 'silk-land' and, probably, the Malay Peninsula.\* The Indian Ocean at that time was believed to be a land-locked sea.

The period extending from the 2nd to the end of the 13th century was barren as far as physical science is concerned. It was the period that saw a united Christendom break up into a number of nations, and the beginning of an unscrupulous struggle for political supremacy. The belief that the possession of gold alone meant strength—that the strongest nation was that which at the moment had most coin in its coffers—became universal and as a consequence international rivalry in trade became very keen. During the **Middle Ages** the demand for eastern commodities steadily grew, and spices from Indian seas became one of **the** principal European imports.

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\*See G. Arnold Wood, *The Discovery of Australia*, p.6

Eastern merchandise was taken mainly through Alexandria until the 13th century, when Constantinople became the chief mart where East and West met. There it was handed over to the merchants of the different nations, principally to those of Italy, and sold in Europe. The long overland journey was dangerous, since bands of robbers infested the caravan routes, and so it became highly desirable that another way of getting goods to the Mediterranean should be found. When, in 1453, Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, who closed that thoroughfare to Western nations, the discovery of a new route became imperative.

### **Diaz and Magellan**

The necessity of finding a sea route to the East led both Spain and Portugal to show a maritime boldness hitherto unknown. By the middle of the 15th century, apprehensions regarding the Torrid zone had gone, and Portuguese ships little by little made their way down the west coast of Africa. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and opened the way for Portugal's trade by sea.

In 1492 Christopher Columbus sailed westward to find a sea route to the Spice Islands. The expedition was fitted out by the King of Spain, whom Columbus had convinced that, owing to the sphericity of the world, the eastern islands could be reached by sailing westward across the Atlantic. Columbus was unsuccessful in his quest. The islands that he discovered and believed to be the East Indies were really the West Indies.

The years 1498-1512 saw the Portuguese establishing themselves in eastern waters. In 1498 Vasco da Gama made his famous voyage from Lisbon to India and back via the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1511 Albuquerque

reached Malacca. A settlement was made in the Moluccas during the next year.

In the meanwhile the Spaniards continued their endeavours to reach the east by crossing the Atlantic. The 'new world' was a barrier that hindered Spain from sharing in Portugal's rich eastern trade, and Spanish navigators sought a passage through it to the Pacific. In 1502 Amerigo Vespucci searched for a strait on the east coast of South America; but it was not until eighteen years later, when Ferdinand Magellan sailed off on a similar quest, that Spain's efforts met with success. In 1520 Magellan passed through the strait that now bears his name and made his way northward to the Philippines. Unfortunately, he was killed there by the natives. After taking in a cargo of spice, one of his ships proceeded to Spain by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and thus made the first voyage round the world.

### **fiarly Maps**

It is doubtful whether anything was definitely known of Australia at this time. It is true that a chart drawn for the Dauphin of France and published about 1530 shows to the south of the island of Java a large piece of land, Java Ia Grande, of which parts of the coastline resemble northern parts of Australia, but if Australia was known to the original maker of this chart it certainly was not known to the world in general. In those days nations kept their knowledge of wealth-producing regions as close a secret as they could. It is certain that in 1578 Frobisher knew nothing about that chart, for the map that accompanies an account of his voyages contains no trace of Java Ia Grande, but shows an enormous continent marked 'Terra Australis,' which occupies the greater part of the southern ocean. Another map, published in 1589, also shows a '**Terra**

Australis,' which embraces the South Pole and extends up to New Guinea and along the shores of the Strait of Magellan. A third, by Plancius, published at Amsterdam in 1594, again assumes the existence of a great South Land which is almost identical in shape with that of 1589. No doubt all these maps were based on one prepared by Gerhard Mercator (Gerhard Kremer) in 1569, which contains the outline of an enormous southern continent, drawn not from any supposed knowledge of its existence, but solely with the object of giving the drawing an air of balance. A map published by Cornelius Wytfliet in 1597 shows New Guinea as an island apart from 'Terra Australis,' but in no other respect is it a better guess than the earlier ones.

So we may assume that at the end of the 16th century nothing about Australia was known generally, and very little secretly. The belief in the existence of a great South Land had its origin only in the old map-makers' desire for symmetry.

### **Is there a 'Terra Australis'?**

In the early 17th century certain cosmographers began to doubt the correctness of these old maps, seeing that recent discoveries in southern seas could not find a place on the outline of Terra Australis. This led to publications that ignored the supposed continent, and showed instead only the outlines of actually known lands. (Shakespeare, in *Twelfth Night*, refers to one of these 'with the augmentation of the Indies,' published in Vol. 1 of *Hakluyt's Voyages*.) There is little doubt that had de Quiros not claimed to have found a part of the South Land the belief in 'Terra Australis' would have been abandoned long before the days of Cook.

In 1606 Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, a Portuguese in the service of the King of Spain, sailed **down with**

three ships past Tahiti and came upon an island of the New Hebrides group. He mistook it for a part of the supposed southern continent, and named it 'La **Australia** del Espiritu Santo' (Australia of the Holy Spirit). A few weeks later (June 12) he suddenly set sail on the return passage to Peru, leaving behind him **Luis de Torres** with the remaining ships. Why de **Quiros** returned to Peru at this stage we do not know. Some accounts attribute his departure to a mutiny. However, the important point is that de **Quiros** sailed off firmly believing that he had discovered a part of the **great South Land**.

This voyage of 1606 is interesting for another reason. When de **Quiros** had departed, **Torres** decided to continue the voyage alone. He soon found that **Espiritu Santo** was an island, and so no part of the southern continent. Whether **Torres** told de **Quiros** the true facts about **Espiritu Santo** is not known, but in 1610 de **Quiros** published an account of his voyage, in which he persisted that he had succeeded in his quest of 'Terra Australis.' It was mainly de **Quiros**'s statement that kept the 'Terra Australis' belief alive, and led to the division of cosmographers into two hostile parties.

After leaving the New Hebrides, **Torres** made his way across to New Guinea, and although he passed through the strait that has since been named after him, he kept so closely to the New Guinea coast that he failed to sight any part of Australia.\* So **Torres** unconsciously sailed through a strait that the Dutch later on spent much time in trying to find.

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\*See *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. xi, pp. 158-94.

## CHAPTER II

### DRAWING THE OUTLINE OF AUSTRALIA

ALTHOUGH the Terra Australis controversy did not end until the close of the 18th century, by 1700 a fairly accurate knowledge of the Australian coastline had been acquired. The early discoveries of parts of the mainland were the work of the Dutch, and often were accidental.

#### **Dutch East India Company**

The Dutch East India Company, founded by charter from its Government in 1602, was granted sole rights of Dutch trade eastward from the Cape of Good **Hope** to the Strait of Magellan, together with the full control of its oversea stations. It established factories (i.e. trading-stations) on the Asiatic coast and in South Africa, but the trade from these, although considerable, was insignificant compared with that from its possessions in the Malay Archipelago, especially from Java and the Spice Islands. In 1677 a fleet of seven ships, carrying crews to the number of seven hundred men, brought to Holland a cargo worth £1,400,000 from the East Indies, India, and Persia. It consisted of pepper, nutmeg, mace, cinnamon, raw silk, silk and cotton textiles, indigo, borax, saltpetre, shellac, and many kinds of valuable woods.

It should be noticed that neither tea nor coffee is included in the above list: these commodities were **not**

regularly shipped to Europe until the 18th century. A cargo of 1739, consisting of tea, coffee, pepper, sugar, mace, nutmeg, camphor, indigo, and cloves, shows to what extent the opening up of trade with Eastern Asia and the cultivation of new products in Java affected European imports.\*

But it must not be thought that the Dutch owed their commercial supremacy in the seventeenth century mainly to oversea trading. As a matter of fact, most of their commercial activities were confined to home waters. One-half the number of Dutch ships that left Holland each year were bound for ports in either the North or Baltic Seas. Australian history, however, is concerned only with the activities of that nation in southern waters.

#### DUTCH IN AUSTRALIAN WATERS

Our interest in Spanish exploration ends with the passage of Torres through Torres Strait in 1606; and our interest in Dutch exploration then begins.

#### The 'Duyfken'

In March, 1606, Willem Jansz sailed down the eastern shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria in the *Duyfken* (Little Dove). In April, owing to a shortage of fresh water, a landing was attempted in a cove close to Cape Keerweer (Turn Again), but scarcely had the long-boat touched the beach before it was surrounded by hostile natives. A number of the Dutchmen were captured before Jansz could push off again. That unfortunate incident ended the cruise of the *Duyfken*, and Jansz returned to Java. His rough charts of the coast along which he had sailed proved useful to later navigators in north Australian waters.

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\*See Dr Clive Day, *History of Commerce*, p. 192.

The important thing to remember about this cruise is that Jansz believed that he had been examining the western coast of New Guinea. He had crossed the western entrance to Torres Strait without knowing that that strait existed. Had he perceived it, there is little doubt that the Dutch would have discovered the eastern coast soon afterwards.

### **Brouwer's New Route**

Before 1614 the Dutch East India Company's ships followed the route that the Portuguese had taken to the East, viz., that which hugged the coast of South Africa round the Cape of Good Hope to Madagascar, then north-eastward to India and the Spice Islands. This was a long passage and took from twelve to eighteen months to complete. In 1611 Hendrik Brouwer sailed eastward from the Cape for about four thousand miles before striking to the north. On this course he experienced more favourable winds, and, as a consequence, made the passage from Holland to Java in seven months. In 1614 three of the Company's ships left Holland for the East Indies. Two took the old route and arrived at Java in sixteen and eighteen months respectively, but the third, which adopted Brouwer's course, reached its destination in six months.\* Since the saving of time meant the saving of money and an increase in the volume of trade, from that time the Company's captains were ordered to take the longer, but quicker, route.

### **Dirck Hartog's Discovery**

The science of navigation in the 17th century was not in the advanced stage that it is in to-day. While latitude could be reckoned with a fair degree of accuracy, the finding of longitude was a difficult matter; in fact it was more or less guess-work and for that

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\*See G. Arnold Wood, *The Discovery of Australia*, p. 226.

reason rarely correct. Since the distance from the Cape of Good Hope to the Leeuwin is less than 4500 miles, it was only to be expected that vessels would overrun the limit to the eastward course, and sooner or later come upon the Australian coast. That is what Dirck Hartog (Theodorik Hertogs) did in 1616.

On a voyage from Holland to India in the *Eendracht*, Hartog ran before a fair wind past the four-thousand mile mark and reached the island that now bears his name. There, on its northern extremity (Cape Inscription), he nailed to a post a pewter dish on which he had scratched the following words in Dutch: 'A.D. 1616 on the 25th of Octr, there arrived here the ship den Eendraght of Amsterdam; supercargo Gillis Miebaïs of Liege; skipper Dirck Hartog of Amsterdam; she set sail again for Bantam on the 27th do; subcargo Jan Steyn, upper steersman Pieter Ledocker van Bil.'

(This dish was found in fair condition by Captain Vlamingh in 1697 and forwarded by him to Amsterdam. In its stead he placed another, bearing a similar inscription together with a statement announcing his own visit to the island. The original dish is now in the States Museum at Amsterdam, but Vlamingh's, which Freycinet found in 1801 and sent to Paris, has been lost.)

Hartog's accidental discovery was useful to navigators, for it offered a means of fixing longitude. The Company now ordered ships to proceed direct to Dirck Hartog Island before turning northward on the final run to Java.

Hartog sailed along and examined the Australian coast from Shark Bay to a point near North-West Cape. This is the part marked 'Eendrachtland' on Dutch maps.

### **Dedelsland**

In July, 1619, when attempting to make Dirck Hartog Island, Frederik Houtman, in the *Dordrecht*, reached a point a little to the south of Fremantle. After a week passed in unsuccessful attempts to land on different parts of the surf-beaten coast, the *Dordrecht* again stood out to sea. On the 28th she was in the vicinity of the reefs and shoals known as Houtman's Abrolhos (Look Out!), but on the 31st once more came in sight of the mainland, which she followed as far as Dirck Hartog Island. As a result of Houtman's error in estimating his latitude, the country for about 100 miles northward from Fremantle was named 'Dedelsland,' presumably after Jacob Dedel, supercargo on one of the vessels sailing with the *Dordrecht*.

### **Leeuwin**

The part of the mainland next discovered was in the extreme south-west. In March, 1622, the *Leeuwin* (Lioness) sailed past the cape that has been named after her and proceeded eastward as far as King George's Sound.

The Dutch East India Company's interest in Australian waters was increased in 1622 by the wreck of the *Trial* (the first English vessel, as far as we know, to come to these parts), which occurred somewhere to the north-west of Dirck Hartog Island. This disaster, following on Houtman's unfavourable report of the locality, convinced the Company that navigation in accordance with their sailing-directions was dangerous, and that a careful examination of the southern region should be made.

### **The Gulf of Carpentaria**

The ambitious plans of exploration that were drawn up were not carried out, owing to a shortage of vessels.

In January, 1623, Jan Carstensz was sent in command of the *Pera* and the *Amhem* to the Gulf of Carpentaria in order to complete the work begun as early as 1606 by Jansz in the *Duyfken*.

After sailing along the southern shores of New Guinea, Carstensz turned to the south, and on the 12th of April sighted Cape York Peninsula. Making use, presumably, of the *Duyfken* chart, he proceeded down the west coast of the peninsula until, on the 24th, he was off the Gilbert River. At this stage the *Amhem*, the crew of which had been troublesome, deserted the *Pera*. Carstensz's seamanship now made him suspect that he was reaching the end of a gulf, and, as the winds were blowing shoreward and fresh water was hard to obtain, he decided to go no farther, but to make his way back to port again. He returned by the route he had taken on the outward passage and reached Amboyna early in June.

The insubordination of the crew of the *Amhem* led to another voyage of discovery. Heavy gales drove the vessel to the north-west, and before many days had passed she was making her way along that part of the coast which came to be known as 'Arnhem's Land.'

Wherever Carstensz had landed, his surroundings were barren, the natives hostile, and fresh water scarce, and as a consequence his report of the country was very unfavourable. From the point of view of trade it was evidently valueless, so the Company, bearing in mind earlier reports of the western mainland, decided that money spent on further exploration in the south would be money wasted. However, Carstensz's description of waters in the vicinity of New Guinea made them suspect the presence of Torres Strait.

### **The Great Australian Bight**

The first mention of the south coast of Australia is

connected with the voyage **of** the *Gulden Zeepaert*, under the command of Francois Thyssen. **In 1627 that** little ship, carrying Pieter Nuyts, a high Dutch official, sailed eastward past the extreme south-western **part of** the mainland to a point near Streaky Bay. On the way, the coast was examined and two islands discovered—the islands, St Pieter and St Francois (named after Nuyts and Thyssen respectively). To the whole stretch of coastline the name 'Nuyts' Land' was given.

### **De Witt's Land**

In the next year (1628) the *Vyanen*, commanded by Gerrit Frederickszoon de Witt, when returning to Holland from India found herself off the stretch of territory that became known as 'De Witt's Land.'

### **Wreck of the 'Batavia'**

In 1629 a memorable wreck occurred off the west coast. In the previous year Captain Francis Pelsart left Holland for the Dutch East Indies in command of the *Batavia* (a Dutch warship) and a fleet of eleven vessels. At the Cape of Good Hope his ship became separated from the others, and early in June was close to the Australian mainland. On the 4th she struck a reef fringing Houtman's Abrolhos and soon afterwards went to pieces. Pelsart managed to land his crew on two small islands, then set off for Batavia in a long-boat to obtain assistance. There a frigate was placed at his disposal, and he returned to the scene of the wreck. In his absence a mutiny broke out **and more** than eighty of the crew were murdered. When Pelsart reappeared in September, the mutineers attempted to seize the frigate, intending to set out on a voyage **of** piracy, but before long their bodies were dangling **from** the yard-arms. Two of them were spared **and set ashore on the mainland.**

## CHAPTER III

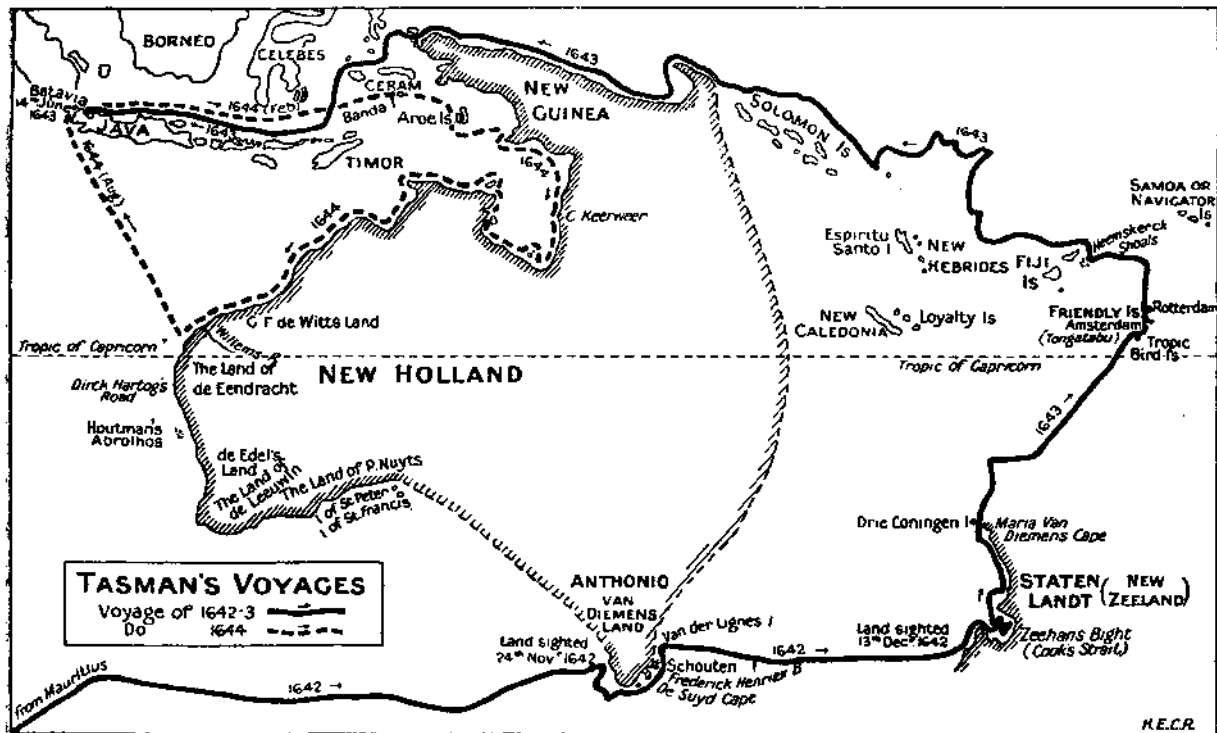
### TASMAN'S VOYAGES

IN 1636, Anthony van Diemen became Governor-General of the Dutch possessions in the east, and Dutch interest in exploration was revived. On his arrival in Java, van Diemen made particular enquiries about the country that was soon to be known as New Holland. He was a keen man of business, and his judgment had so gained the respect of his co-directors in Amsterdam that when he proposed the fitting out of another exploring expedition his proposal was at once agreed to. Without delay preparations were put in hand, and by August, 1642, two ships (the *Heemskerck* and the *Zeehaen*) were ready to sail under the command of Abél Tasman.

#### **Abel Janszoon Tasman**

Abel Janszoon Tasman was a native of Groningen, born at Luytjegast, probably in 1603. We know very little about his career up to 1634, when we find him engaged in the East-India island trade, sailing principally between Batavia and Amboyna. In 1642, at the time a captain in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, he was chosen by van Diemen to command the expedition then about to sail for the newly-discovered country in the south.

Van Diemen may have entertained ideas of building up a Dutch colonial empire, but his main interest in the expedition was due to his desire to extend the



TASMAN'S VOYAGES OF 1642 AND 1644

Company's trade, and also to learn whether a sea route to the Southern Pacific existed through, or to the south of, Australia. At this time the Dutch were contemplating trade with South America in opposition to the Spanish, who were already established there, and so regarded the question of a short route to Chile as one of first importance. Moreover, the Thirty Years War was then raging in Europe, and wherever Dutchman and Spaniard could meet, fighting took place. All that was preventing the Company from attacking the Spanish colonies was the distance of South America from the East Indies.

#### VOYAGE OF 1642

On the 14th of August, 1642, Tasman sailed from Batavia, with Franz Visscher as pilot. A westerly course was set for Mauritius, which island was reached on the 5th of September. There the expedition remained until the 8th of October while the ships, which were already giving alarming signs of their old age, underwent repairs.

On leaving Mauritius it was Tasman's intention to run south to a latitude of 52 degrees, but bad weather prevented him from getting beyond 49. When back again in latitude 42 degrees, an easterly course was set, and in this direction they ran before the wind until, on the 24th of November, a faint trace of the Tasmanian coastline (probably a part just north of Macquarie Harbour) appeared on the horizon. This was the first land that they sighted in southern seas, and in honour of the Governor-General they named it Van Diemen's Land.

#### **Van Diemen's Land**

The interval between the 24th of November and the 1st of December was passed in sailing down the west

coast, rounding the south of the island, and making northward as far as Frederick Henry Bay (named after Prince Frederick Henry, at that time ruler of the Dutch Republic). On the 2nd, anchor was dropped and a landing effected.

Next day Tasman decided to take possession of the country in the name of the Dutch nation. A pole with the 'Company's mark' carved into it and a 'Prince-flag' were placed in a long-boat to be taken ashore. But the high sea that had arisen overnight prevented the boat from reaching the beach. If the flag was to be displayed on the land stretching before them, it was clear that someone would have to swim ashore with it. That honourable, but in the circumstances unpleasant, duty fell to the carpenter of the *Heemskerck*. He bravely faced the waves, and before long the flag was hanging from the pole on a spot clearly visible from the ship.

On the 4th of December the expedition again set sail.

### **New Zealand**

Tasman continued to follow the coast northwards and passed two islands, and a peninsula which he mistook for a third island. One island he named Maria (in honour of van Diemen's wife) and the other, Schouten (in honour of a Councillor of the Company); to the peninsula he gave the name Verdelius (in honour of another Councillor). Here the mainland fell away to the north-west, and he decided to resume an easterly course until the longitude of the Solomons should be reached.

A little more than a week's sailing brought the ships close to the South Island of New Zealand and again within sight of land. The course was then changed to a northerly one, and before another three days had passed they were standing off the cape that Cook after-

wards named Cape Farewell. By the 18th of December they were at anchor in Golden Bay, on the other side of the Cape. The name they gave to that sheet of water was Murderers' Bay, for there the quartermaster of the *Zeehaen* was murdered by Maoris.

Tasman had passed along the south of New Holland and, as a consequence, he knew that that country was not part of the fabled Terra Australis, but he firmly believed that the land just discovered was a projection of it. In 1616 another Dutchman, Le Maire, had come upon a small island near Tierra del Fuego, and thinking that it was a part of Terra Australis named it Staten Landt (as a possession of the Dutch States General). Tasman thought that New Zealand was a continuation of Le Maire's discovery, and for that reason called it Staten Landt on his chart. The stretch of the Pacific between Van Diemen's Land and his Staten Landt he named Abel Tasman's Passage. (The word 'passage' shows that he mistook it for a strait.)

### **The North Island**

The voyage was resumed, and soon the expedition was close to Cook Strait. Had it continued on its easterly course it would have found a new route to South America, but Tasman came to the conclusion that they were cruising in a large bay, so turned about to make for the open sea.

For nine days they kept in touch with the west coast of North Island, and on the 4th of January (1643) came to its northern extremity, which they named Cape Maria van Diemen (once more in honour of the Governor-General's wife). Tasman was sure that only the ocean now lay before him, and sailed on without bothering to examine the land that fell away to the south-east. Thus a second time he missed his chance

of finding his way to Chile, although he rightly assumed that an easterly course from the cape would lead to South America.

### **Back to Batavia**

The rest of the voyage has little historical interest. While trying to make the Solomon Islands the expedition came unexpectedly on the Tonga group—the largest islands of which they named after the Dutch towns Amsterdam and Rotterdam. On the 5th of February they were at the Fijis. Not knowing exactly where he was, Tasman next steered to the north, then to the west in order to get to the northern side of New Guinea. Had he steered westward instead of northward he might have discovered the eastern coast of Australia nearly 130 years before Cook came upon it. But he wished to reach waters to the north of New Guinea, as he was not sure that a passage to Batavia existed to the south of the island, and, further, both he and Visscher feared that easterly winds might drive them into dangers from which it would be difficult to escape.

In April they were off the northern shores of New Ireland and New Hanover, and on the 14th of June reached Batavia.

Although Tasman's voyage of 1642 is of great importance from the point of view of Australian discovery, it was a waste of money as far as the Company was concerned. It neither furthered trade nor did it bring to light a new route to South America. Tasman believed that such a route lay to the north of New Zealand, but he had not actually proved it. However, the Council was so impressed by his arguments that it decided to send a second expedition to settle the question.

## VOYAGE OF 1644

As a preliminary to the Chile voyage, Tasman and Visscher set off in February, 1644, with instructions to seek a passage between New Guinea and Australia, and also one through Australia from the Gulf of Carpentaria to Van Diemen's Land.

From the Company's standpoint, Tasman's second voyage was as unprofitable as the first. He coasted along the west and south shores of New Guinea, crossed Torres Strait without knowing of its existence, sailed down Cape York Peninsula into the Gulf of Carpentaria, round Arnhem's Land, and on to De Witt's Land. There he turned northward and made for home. What, the Councillors asked, has this expedition achieved? Nothing that will help to fill our coffers. All were agreed that Tasman and Visscher had not proved themselves equal to the work entrusted to them. Such undertakings, they said, should have been given to men of sterner stuff—to men who are not afraid to explore unknown lands and risk unknown dangers.

In the next year (1645) van Diemen died; and with his death the period of Dutch exploration in Australia closes. The governors who followed him were not interested in New Holland (as the country was called after 1644), and the directors in Europe were unwilling to lay out more money on any but a purely trade undertaking. But, useless as Tasman's discoveries were held to be, they were for long kept a close secret.

Despite Tasman's failures, he was raised to the rank of Commander in October, 1644, and in the following month was made a member of the Council of Justice in Batavia. At some time before 1653 he quitted the sea and resigned his position with the Company, but he did not leave Batavia. There he lived a wealthy land-

owner until his death, which occurred, it is believed, early in 1659.

### **Decline of the Company**

Eventually the Dutch lost the leading position in maritime enterprise, and this loss reacted disastrously on the affairs of the Dutch East India Company. At the same time other circumstances were working for its downfall. Some of the Company's Asiatic stations had grown into small colonies, where civil and military establishments had to be maintained. This proved very costly, and to ensure financial stability a quick turnover at high prices was necessary. As time went on, English trade increased, and at last, money, in ever-increasing amounts, had to be borrowed to keep up the usual high rate of dividend. For nearly two hundred years shareholders had received interest at rates varying from 12½ to 50 per cent, and the average, rate for the whole period (1602-1798) was 18 per cent. In 1782 the last dividend was paid. In 1798 it became clear that the truth could not be kept from the public any longer, so in that year the Company declared its inability to carry on. Its debts, which amounted to more than £40 000,000, were taken over by the Dutch Government.

## CHAPTER IV

### DAMPIER'S VOYAGES

FROM the 15th to the end of the 17th century piracy flourished. Pirates roamed every ocean, and some seas were infested with them. The main strongholds of these maritime plagues were the West Indies, the Ladrone (Marianna) Islands, and the Philippines. For mutual protection, ships fully armed usually sailed in fleets, and this practice led to the formation of the early trading companies. Of course, many vessels had to venture forth alone, in which case only the bravest could be induced to join their crews. One of these, a merchantman from Stralsund, we are told, in 1391 captured single-handed a whole band of pirates. When the vessel returned to port, the townsfolk flocked to see arranged on the deck row upon row of casks to the number of 100, in each of which was packed a pirate with his head protruding through a hole cut in the top.\*

But pirates after all belonged to no definite class in society. In mediaeval days an ordinary and otherwise peaceful merchant was not above turning pirate upon meeting craft weak enough for him to plunder. A worthy mayor of Winchelsea and also a holy man of Canterbury were at least once guilty in this respect. Again, the six vessels sent to protect Berwick and the Cinque Ports from the raids of sea-robbers passed the

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\*See Dr dive Day, *History of Commerce*, p. 36,

time in preying on the commerce of all nations (including their own) that came into the vicinity.

So profitable was piracy that in the 16th century there were several highly-organized bands of corsairs. The 'Victual Brothers,' for instance, were so powerful that it took a fleet of thirty-five vessels to overcome them near their stronghold in Gotland. It is said that the famous Christopher Columbus was once a member of a band that plundered ships in the vicinity of Lisbon. The business became even more profitable in the 17th century, when commerce had extended to seas far away from the more frequented courses of navigation.

### WILLIAM DAMPIER

William Dampier, the first Englishman to land in Australia and record his experiences there, was a buccaneer—a sea-rover who attacked only Spanish coastal towns and vessels—not a pirate. Moreover, he was a buccaneer not for the sake of profit or from choice, but because of his insatiable desire for knowledge of distant lands.

Dampier was born at East Coker (Somerset) in 1652. At the age of 16 he was left an orphan, and in the next year took to the sea. Soon afterwards he sailed in an East-Indiaman to Java, where he stayed for two months. On his return to England he enlisted in the navy and took part in the Dutch War. At the close of the war in 1674 he became sub-manager of a Jamaica plantation, but being of a roving disposition, he resigned at the end of six months and crossed to Campeachy, where he started in the log-wood industry. Timber-cutting at Campeachy was carried on mainly by buccaneers in intervals between voyages of plunder, and as a consequence Dampier soon found himself in the midst of doubtful characters. Before long he, too, became involved in a buccaneering enterprise, and so,

when scarcely 25 years of age, was a buccaneer in name, although certainly not by nature.

### First Visit to New Holland

The greater part of the next eight years was passed in raiding towns and vessels along the South American coast. In September, 1684, when sailing under a certain Captain John Cook in a stolen ship, *The Bachelor's Delight*, he made the acquaintance of Captain Swan, the master of the *Cygnets*. Swan had been sent out by London merchants to trade with Spaniards, but his crew had forced him to join with the buccaneers, and in 1684 he joined forces with Cook.

In 1686 Dampier transferred his services to Swan and sailed off with him to cruise in Mexican waters. There, however, the Spanish proved particularly active in hunting down enemies, and as a consequence the *Cygnets*' course was changed for the Philippines.

This alteration in plans did not meet with the approval of the entire crew, for many of the men feared that their provisions would not last the voyage to Manila. Fortunately Guam was reached without serious trouble, and the passage continued to Mindanao. At the last-mentioned place Swan and 36 of his men involuntarily parted company from the malcontents. According to Dampier, Swan had kept a Journal, and in it had made several bitter statements about a certain John Read and other members of the crew. At Mindanao that Journal fell into Read's hands, and by way of revenge he plotted to sail off one night when Swan and his friends were ashore. The plot succeeded. Dampier happened to be aboard at the time of the vessel's departure and so found himself sailing under a new master. Swan, we are told, attempted to make his way to England, but was murdered by natives on the Malay Peninsula,

After a short cruise in the neighbourhood of **Manila**, Read decided to proceed to Cape Comorin. Since the Strait of Malacca might contain superior forces of Dutch and English ships, a course was set past the Spice Islands on to Timor. By this time the *Cygnets* was so badly in need of an overhaul, that when within an easy run of New Holland, Read continued southwards.

On the 4th of January, 1688, land came into view. It was, we are told, Cape Leveque, which is the southern point of King Sound (Cygnets Bay), near the cluster of islands now known as Buccaneer Archipelago. In the 'bay' anchor was dropped and a landing made. Dampier has recorded his experiences at this time with remarkable accuracy and a wealth of detail.\* The surroundings, he tells us, were uninviting, being dry and dusty, almost bare of vegetation, and lacking in fresh water.

'The inhabitants of this country,' he writes, 'are the miserabest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a nasty people . . . are gentlemen to these, who have no houses and skin garments . . . And setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall, straight-bodied and thin; with small, long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. Their eyelids are always half-closed to keep the flies out of their eyes, being so troublesome here that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's face, and, without the assistance of both hands to keep them off, will creep into one's nostrils, and mouth too if the lips are not shut very close. So that from their infancy . . . they do never open their eyes as other people, and therefore they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads as if they were looking at something over them.'

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\*Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* (Argonaut Press Reprint, 1927), p. 312.

'They have great bottle-noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths. The two fore-teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them . . . neither have they any beards . . . They are long-visaged, and of a very unpleasant aspect . . . Their hair is black, short, and curled, like that of the negroes . . . The colour of their skins is coal-black. . .'

After describing the rude shelters and certain habits of the tribes, he goes on: 'We anchored . . . January the 5th, and seeing men walking on the shore, we presently sent a canoe to get some acquaintance with them; for we were in hopes to get some provision among them. But the inhabitants, seeing our boat coming, ran away and hid themselves. We searched afterwards 3 days in hopes to find their houses; but found none . . . In all our search we found no water, but old wells on the sandy bays.

'At last we went over to the islands and there found a great many of the natives . . . The men at our first coming ashore threatened us with their lances and swords, but they were frightened by our firing one gun, which we purposely fired to scare them . . . We went directly to their camp. The lustiest of the women, snatching up their infants, ran away howling, and the little children ran after, squeaking and bawling, but the men stood still.'

In the end the blacks became friendly, and Read thought to make use of them by setting them to carry water. To induce them to work, Dampier says, 'we gave them some clothes; to one, an old pair of breeches; to another, a ragged shirt; to a third, a jacket that was scarce worth owning.' But the ruse was a dismal failure. 'We put them on them, thinking that this finery would have brought them to work heartily for us . . . but all the signs we could make were to no purpose, for they stood like statues, without motion, but grinned

like so many monkeys, staring one upon another, for these poor creatures seem not accustomed to carry burdens . . . So we were forced to carry our water ourselves, and they very fairly put the clothes off again, and laid them down as if clothes were only to work in.'

Though the island natives became friendly, the tribes on the mainland remained hostile, and at times caused the party considerable anxiety.

It was evident that little in the way of provisions was to be obtained from the district, so, after overhauling the vessel, Read put to sea again and continued the passage to Cape Comorin.

Dampier's experiences in southern seas convinced him that he could make a fortune by trading in the islands, and as time went on he became more and more dissatisfied with his occupation. The opportunity of ending it came when the *Cygnets* reached the Nicobar Islands, in the Bay of Bengal. There he persuaded Read to set him ashore.

Dampier was marooned on the Nicobars for some time. At last he obtained a canoe from some natives and daringly made his way to Sumatra. From there he set off alone for Bencoolen, where he boarded the *Defiance* and sailed for England. On the 16th of September, 1691, he stood once again on English soil.

## DAMPIER'S SECOND VOYAGE

Although Englishmen knew very little about New Holland, when Dampier reached England they were by no means without interest in the southern continent—indeed, in official circles a rapidly growing interest in the Dutch discoveries was clearly evident. The spirit of adventure inherent in the race had led to many exploits that brought unknown lands to the knowledge

of the people, and the stories told by travellers had often so much of the magic of romance about them that they awakened a desire to know more about distant countries. Again, the merchant class, who at this time had entered on a period of great prosperity, was ever ready to hear about new lands that might bring them additional wealth.

### **17th Century Views on Colonization**

By this time England had adopted a very decided attitude with regard to colonization, and her possessions in the New World were constantly in the national mind. The Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660 show her determination to attain to mercantile supremacy.

The years 1660-75 saw colonization undertaken with a vigour hitherto unknown in English history. Shaftesbury, and Clarendon, especially, looked on the colonies as sources of trade and aids to national defence, and their arguments found favour with statesman and trader alike. During 1675-90 the colonies were neglected, but when the Whig Revolution of 1688 placed the House of Commons in the hands of the mercantile class colonial affairs once again became of the highest importance.

In 1691, news of the Dutch discoveries in southern seas began to leak out, and the lack of definite knowledge about them soon gave rise to a good deal of speculation. Official circles were desirous of knowing whether New Holland contained any stores of hidden wealth in the form of rare stones or precious metals; whether its inhabitants were sufficiently advanced in civilization to benefit English trade—whether, in short, it was a land worth colonizing. Such questions as these were engaging the minds of politicians and merchants when Dampier returned to England and published an account of his south-sea experiences in A

*New Voyage Bound the World.* The first part of the book was dedicated to the president of the Royal Society, Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, one of the most influential men of the day.

### **Dampier and Colonization**

Dampier's writings gained him many friends at Court, and to them he proposed a scheme of colonization in the southern hemisphere. It did not take long to convince the Admiralty of the soundness of his proposition, but the question of finance proved a rather serious obstacle. In the end, such men as Harley, Halifax, and Pembroke came to the rescue, and under their patronage an expedition was organized to gather information with a view to forming an English settlement in New Holland.

The *Roebuck*, a small and very old vessel, was purchased by the Government, and in January, 1699, Dampier, with the rank of Captain, was placed in command. At the outset he made a fatal mistake as far as promoting colonization was concerned—a mistake which rendered the undertaking as decided a failure as it might otherwise have been a success. His original intention was to round Cape Horn and approach Australia on its eastern side, but, after putting out to sea, his crew plainly showed their discontent at having to face the cold and stormy passage round the Horn, and to prevent any chance of mutiny, he decided to proceed by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Thus it was brought about that once again the exploration of a comparatively barren portion of Australia was undertaken.

### **Back in New Holland**

On the 31st of July the expedition sighted land near Houtman's Abrolhos. At this stage Dampier made a second mistake. Instead of sailing to the south, round-

ing Cape Leeuwin and crossing the Great Australian Bight, he set a northerly course, intending to approach the eastern coast from the direction of New Guinea. His reason for doing this was simply to avoid the cold southern waters during midwinter. On the 6th of August he reached the western mainland and dropped anchor in a large bay behind Dirck Hartog Island. A huge shark was caught soon after the arrival of the ship, and the place named Shark Bay. As the adjacent country was altogether unsuitable for the planting of a settlement, the *Roebuck* again set sail.

The next two months were spent in the west and north-west amid surroundings consistently disappointing. Everywhere fresh water was scarce and the country barren. As far as natives were concerned, not one was met with until the end of the first month, and those who then appeared were no improvement on those encountered during the earlier voyage. They were the same repulsive type of fly-covered creatures, and, if anything, more hostile. On one occasion, without the slightest warning the party was attacked and narrowly escaped a shower of 'wooden lances.' After shooting one aboriginal, the crew rushed to the boats and made off for the ship. This occurred at Roebuck Bay, the last part of New Holland at which Dampier touched.

### **New Guinea**

The expedition left Roebuck Bay for New Guinea on the 15th of September, and after a stay of more than a month at Timor, proceeded eastward. The north coast of New Guinea was sighted on the 1st of January, 1700. Continuing eastward Dampier came to New Britain (which he named) and discovered Dampier Strait. In this way he proved New Britain to be an island.

## End of the Voyage

Here Dampier's progress ended. His ship was in a bad condition and his crew eager to return home. In these circumstances he could do nothing but turn back. On the 25th of April he reached the western end of Geram, and on the 3rd of July anchored at Batavia. The repairing of the *Roebuck* was not completed until the 17th of October.

Cape Town was reached without mishap in December, and St Helena on the 2nd of February, 1701. When in the neighbourhood of Ascension Island, on the 23rd, the *Roebuck* sprang a leak. So old was she that the carpenters were unable to keep the water under control, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that she was kept afloat. On reaching the island the vessel foundered. Two months later the party was picked up by an English man-of-war.

Thus ended Dampier's second, and last, voyage to Australia.

## Dampier's Last Years

The old buccaneer's exploring days were now over. Although his second voyage had been disappointing to its promoters—instead of leading to English colonization in southern seas it positively discouraged it for nearly a century—we hear of his being commissioned in April, 1703, to take two privateers south of the equator. Trouble on this voyage led to the marooning of Alexander Selkirk, the mate of one of the privateers, on Juan Fernandez Island, and not long afterwards Dampier himself was captured and imprisoned in a Dutch East India colony.

In 1707 he was again in England, but finding himself out of favour in official circles, he offered his services as pilot to Captain Woodes Rogers, then about to set

off on another privateering venture. After rounding Cape Horn, Rogers sailed for Juan Fernandez and rescued the marooned Selkirk, then carried out a number of successful raids on South American towns. The homeward passage was made by way of Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope, and London was reached on the 14th of October, 1711.

Dampier's last days were passed in obscurity. Indeed, so completely did he efface himself that neither the time nor the place of his death has been definitely ascertained. It is believed that he died in London in March, 1715.

Directly and indirectly, the domain of literature owes much to Dampier. His descriptions of lands little known in his day are remarkably accurate. He was a close observer of nature in all her forms, and recorded his observations in such a vivid manner that 'his travels are to this hour foremost among the best-written and most interesting in the language.'<sup>\*</sup> It has already been said that when sailing under Woodes Rogers he rescued Alexander Selkirk, on the recital of whose adventures Defoe built up his *Robinson Crusoe*. Swift also may have been indebted to Dampier for certain descriptions in *Gulliver's Travels* through reading Defoe. His well-known satire was written slowly and 'during its progress he probably read *Robinson Crusoe*, for Defoe's work, we know, speedily reached Ireland, and this may have given him some hints and stimulated his activity.'<sup>†</sup> It is said that Swift's hero, Lemuel Gulliver, was a relative of Dampier.

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<sup>\*</sup>Clark Russell's *William Dampier (English Men of Action)*, p. 188.

<sup>†</sup>Amy Cruse, *English Literature Through the Ages*, p. 310.

## CHAPTER V

### CAPTAIN COOK'S VOYAGES

DAMPIER'S voyage had convinced Englishmen that New Holland was not worth another thought, and this conviction was strengthened by the fact that the Dutch, who were settled beside it, had not attempted to do anything with it. Every navigator who had touched its coasts described the country as barren, and for the most part uninhabitable. In the early years of the 18th century there was no reason why the ordinary Englishman should take any interest in such a place.

But though interest in New Holland had weakened, interest in 'Terra Australia' remained as strong as ever in scientific circles. De Quiros's claim to have reached the South Land was greatly strengthened by Tasman's discovery of New Zealand, and so obtained wider recognition. Voyages of discovery had revealed new lands in southern seas and led to the publication of books on the subject, and these, in turn, revived interest in colonization during the 18th century.

The Dutch possessions in the East Indies had proved wonderfully productive, and navigators *had* discovered other islands that promised to be as remunerative as the East Indies. For example, Dampier's report of New Britain had been highly favourable, while Roggeveen's statements of 1721 with regard to the Falkland Islands, Juan Fernandez, and Easter Island were particularly interesting to European merchants. At last

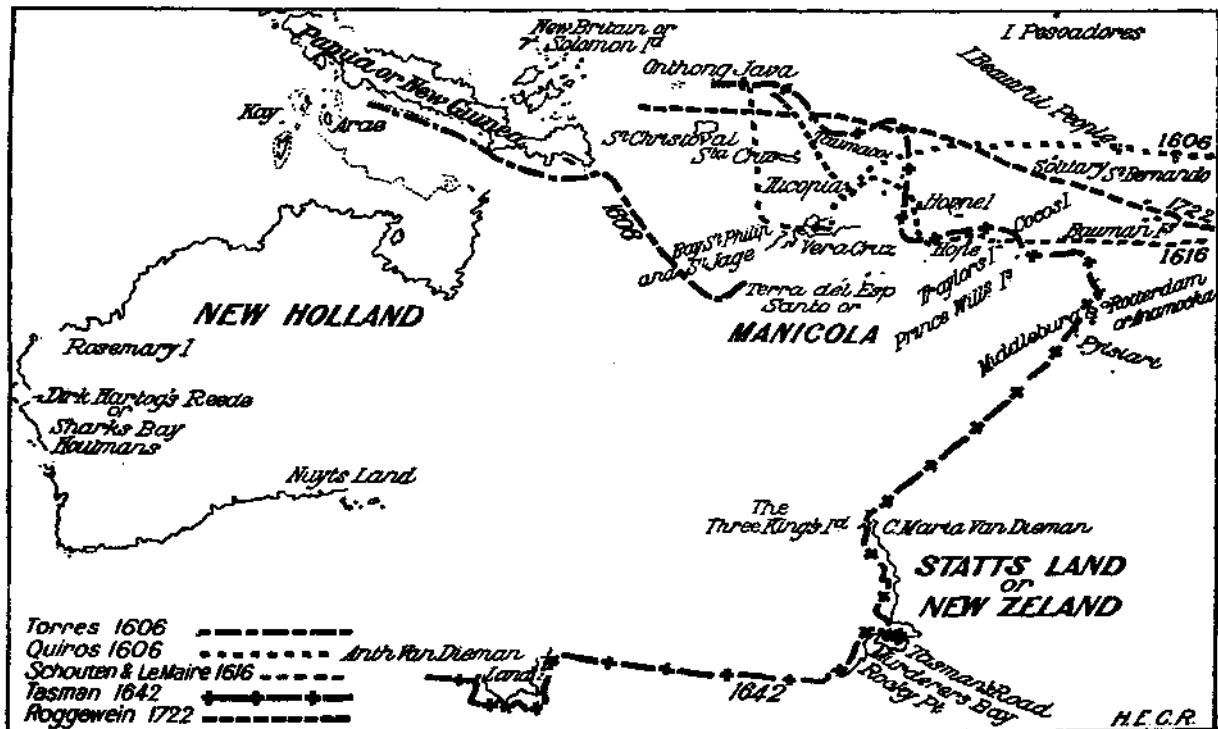


certain men in England and in France came forward and advocated the settlement of lands in the South Seas, and once again the possibility of New Holland as the site of a colony became discussed. Was it really as worthless as it seemed to be? Were all parts of it as barren as the western coast was reported to be? The fact that nothing was yet known about its interior now received special emphasis.

### **Alexander Dalrymple**

One of the strongest supporters of the Terra Australis theory was Alexander Dalrymple, who had been in the employ of the English East India Company from the age of 15. After living for seven years in Madras he accompanied an expedition to the East Indies, and spent the next two years cruising about that region. A brief return to Madras was followed by a two years' cruise in East Indian waters, then by a trip to England. In 1767 he printed his *Account of Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean before 1764*, which, however, was not published until 1769. Within the next two years he also published his *Historical Collection of Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*. This book was the result of a long and painstaking examination of old documents dealing with south-sea voyages, and contained strong arguments in support of the 'Terra Australis' theory. In the interests of trade as well as of science, it advocated a diligent search for the supposed continent.

By 1768 his skill as a hydrographer and his knowledge of old voyages in the Pacific had brought him under the notice of the Royal Society (a learned society founded in 1662 that originated in the assembly of a few men who met weekly to 'discourse of science and other parts of human learning'). The Admiralty, just then, was fitting out a ship, the *Endeavour*, to take



DALRYMPLE'S CHART OF SOUTHERN PACIFIC SHOWING DISCOVERIES BEFORE 1764

scientists to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus, which would take place in June, 1769, and now the Society requested that the *Endeavour* while in southern waters should be allowed to seek the South Land. The request was granted, but when the Society proposed that Dalrymple should lead the expedition the Admiralty unhesitatingly rejected the proposal. Lord Howe had no objection to Dalrymple's accompanying it as an observer, but he would not allow him to command a ship of the navy. The leader of the expedition must be a naval officer. Dalrymple refused to sail except as commander, and there the matter ended as far as he was concerned. Eventually the command was given to Lieutenant James Cook, who was also appointed chief observer of the transit.\*

### JAMES COOK

James Cook was born at Marton-in-Cleveland (Yorkshire) on the 27th of October, 1728. At the age of 17, after working on a farm, he was employed by a grocer in business near Whitby. Within twelve months he tired of the life and entered the service of Mr John Walker, of Messrs Walker Brothers, shipowners, of Whitby, † The next nine years were passed in trading between Newcastle and ports in the Baltic Sea.

At the outbreak of the Seven Years War, Cook, at the time mate of the *Friendship*, volunteered for active service, and soon afterwards was appointed master's mate of H.M.S. *Eagle*. He was present at the taking of Quebec in 1759, in H.M.S. *Pembroke*. His work during this period brought him under notice of the Admiralty; for he was specially mentioned for 'in-

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\*See *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. xiii. pp. 41-59.

†See Kitson, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (1912), p. 6.

defatigable industry in making himself master of the pilotage of the River St Lawrence.' This praise and that given to his work in Newfoundland waters led to his being appointed to survey the coasts of Newfoundland and adjacent islands. That kept him occupied from 1763 until 1768. In 1766 he observed an eclipse of the sun, and wrote an account of it that was warmly praised by the Royal Society. In 1768 he was appointed to the command of H.M.S. *Endeavour* and to take observations of the approaching transit of Venus from Tahiti. (In passing it may be mentioned that there was already an H.M.S. *Endeavour* on the navy list, and that Cook's ship was entered as H.M.S. *Endeavour Bark* to distinguish the one ship from the other.)

#### VOYAGE OF THE 'ENDEAVOUR'

On the 26th of August, 1768, the expedition left England, bound for the Pacific by way of Cape Horn. Cook was ordered to proceed to Tahiti, then, after the astronomical work was completed, to sail down to a latitude of about 40 degrees Ho prosecute the design of making discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean'—that is to say, to search for 'Terra Australis.' If unsuccessful in finding land in that region, he was to make for New Zealand, explore its coasts, then return to England by whichever route he might consider to be the best.

Tahiti was reached on the 13th of April, 1769, and the transit observed on the 3rd of June. The *Endeavour* then sailed off to the south and for seven weeks kept a zigzag course near the prescribed latitude. No land having been sighted, Cook at last headed for New Zealand. The next six months were occupied in charting and exploring the coasts of North and South Islands.

## New Zealand

On the 9th of October the *Endeavour* came to anchor in Poverty Bay, on the east side of the North Island of New Zealand, and a little to the north of Hawke's Bay. Evening was setting in when Cook, Mr Joseph Banks (a young botanist who later plays an important part in Australian history), Dr Solander (a celebrated Swedish naturalist), and others rowed in the pinnace a short distance up a small stream flowing into the bay (now the site of Gisborne). They landed and left the boat in the care of the coxswain and several boys. A number of Maoris watched them step ashore, and when Cook and his party were out of sight rushed down upon the boat. Fortunately, the boys recognized their danger in time and pushed off quickly. The Maoris gave chase, and to save the pinnace the coxswain was forced to fire at them. One was killed outright, and the others made off in alarm. The sound of the shooting brought the explorers back to the stream, and after seeing the dead Maori and hearing the account of the attack, they returned to the ship without delay.

While in New Zealand waters Cook tried to keep on amicable terms with the Māoris, but with varying success. On occasions, they set out in canoes to attack the ship as she sailed along the coast. Many tribes, however, were distinctly friendly, and with these Cook left pigs, geese, and different kinds of vegetables. The live stock ran wild and increased in the forests, and the vegetables were extensively cultivated.

From Poverty Bay the expedition sailed south as far as Cape Turnagain, then changed its course and, skirting the shores of Hawke's Bay, continued to follow the coastline northward. After rounding Cape Maria van Diemen the *Endeavour* proceeded down the west coast of North Island, passed through Cook Strait (which Tasman had mistaken for a bay), then **headed north**



once more and eventually arrived back at a point near Cape Turnagain.

The North Island having thus been circumnavigated, a course was set down the east coast of the South Island, round the south end, and up the west coast. By the 27th of March the party was again in Cook Strait. In this way New Zealand was shown to consist of two islands, and the hopes of those who had believed it to be part of 'Terra Australis' were shattered.

### NEW HOLLAND

Cook was now free to return to\* England, and by any route that he cared to take. He decided to go eastward to New Holland (if possible to Van Diemen's Land) and examine the coast as far as its northern extremity. The passage home might then be made by way of the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. Up to that time nothing at all about the east coast of New Holland had been placed on record, and although the north, west, and south had been more or less carefully explored, knowledge of the east did not go beyond the assumption that there was an eastern side to the continent.

On the 1st of April, 1770, the expedition left New Zealand at Cape Farewell, but when about two days' sail from the Australian mainland it encountered a heavy southerly gale that forced it to run northward, and so destroyed all chance of its making the coast of Van Diemen's Land. The part of Australia that Lieutenant Hicks sighted on the 20th of April was the present Cape Everard (just within the Victorian border).

### **Botany Bay**

Sailing north from this point (which he called Point Hicks) Cook sighted and rounded Cape Howe (named

after Admiral Lord Howe), and also named Pigeon House Mountain; on the 29th of April he dropped anchor in Botany Bay. Cook, Banks, and Solander, accompanied by Tupia (a Tahitian boy), went ashore to speak to a number of natives who had assembled on the beach. As soon as the party landed, two natives, each armed 'with a lance about ten feet long and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to throw the lance,' came down towards them. It was clear that they intended to dispute the landing, but after an exchange of shots and 'lances' they ran away.

Admiral Isaac Smith, a cousin of Cook's wife, was at the time a midshipman on the *Endeavour*, and according to the story, he was in the bow of the long-boat as it approached the beach. When within jumping distance, Cook called out to him, 'Now then, Isaac, you go first!' He sprang off on to a rock, and thus founded a claim to be the first Englishman to land in New South Wales.

Cook at first called the place 'Stingray Harbour,' on account of the size of the stingray there, but later he changed the name to Botany Bay, owing to the number and variety of plants that Banks and Solander collected in the neighbourhood.

### **The Voyage Resumed**

At the end of a week the voyage was continued. On the 7th of May the *Endeavour* was off the entrance of a large harbour. Without entering it, Cook named it Port Jackson (after a Secretary of the Admiralty) and sailed on. On the 12th he named an inlet farther to the north Port Stephens (after the other Secretary).

Moreton Bay was reached on the 17th. Cook named the island at its entrance Morton Island (after the Earl of Morton, at that time president of the Royal Society), but in 1799 Flinders adopted the present form of spell-

ing the name, as given by Hawkesworth in his *Voyages*. Without waiting to examine the opening, Cook sailed on, and arrived at Bustard Bay on the 23rd. The country not being more promising than that surrounding Botany Bay, the stay there was short.

On the night of the 11th of June, the *Endeavour* struck and stayed fast on a bed of coral near Cape Tribulation. More than forty tons of material were jettisoned to lighten the ship, but without effect. As a last resort, anchors were dropped, the capstan manned, and the vessel dragged into deeper water. A sail with oakum attached was passed under the keel over the damaged part; they then slowly made for the shore. On the 22nd of June the vessel was beached in the Endeavour River (now the site of Cooktown) and there she remained until early in August.

### Possession Island

After a dangerous passage through reefs and shoals, Possession Island was reached on Wednesday the 22nd of August. On that day Cook wrote: 'Before and after we anchored we saw a tribe of people upon this island, armed in the same manner as all the others we have seen, except one man who had a bow and a bundle of arrows, the first we have seen on this coast.' But the natives were quite peaceful. 'After landing I went upon the highest hill . . . Having satisfied myself of the great possibility of a passage through which I intend going with the ship, and therefore may land no more upon this eastern coast of New Holland . . . Notwithstanding I had in the name of His Majesty taken possession of several places upon this coast, I now once more hoisted English colours and in the name of His Majesty King George the Third took possession of the whole eastern coast . . . by the name of New Wales.\*

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\*Wharton's edition of Cook's Journal (London, 1893).

In another copy of the *Journal* and in Cook's letters, the name 'New South Wales' is used instead of 'New Wales.' The longer term must have been familiar to him, for a part of North America was so named on official maps.

As soon as possible the *Endeavour* sailed away for Batavia, where repairs could be completed. In Java, Cook altered his ship dates to conform with those kept in east longitude. The homeward passage was then begun. A course was set for the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 12th of July, 1771, after nearly three years' absence, the ship reached England.

The success of this memorable voyage was in no small measure due to the quality of British seamanship. Cook's crew consisted entirely of experienced sailors, many of them being Deal boatmen, who well knew how to take a boat through surf. No important post in the British navy could be obtained by political influence: every officer had to prove his ability to carry out the work attached to his rank before he received his appointment. Further, the health of all aboard the vessel while at sea shows how thoroughly Cook made provision against the maladies that in those days usually attended prolonged voyages. Not one fatal case of scurvy occurred on the *Endeavour* during the period of Cook's command. At Batavia, however, twenty-three of the company died of fever contracted while there.

In recognition of his work on this voyage Cook was promoted to the rank of Commander.

### COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE

Although no trace of the supposed southern continent had been found, Dalrymple and his followers still argued for its existence. The search, they said, had not been sufficiently thorough; only a **comparatively**

small area had been explored, while the higher latitudes were almost entirely neglected. These assertions were true. Mainly through Court influence Cook was sent out a second time, on this occasion to scour the Southern Pacific. He sailed in the *Resolution*, accompanied by Furneaux in the *Adventure*.

As far as finding the 'South Land' goes, this cruise was as unsuccessful as the first. The ships left Plymouth on the 13th of July, 1772, and passed the years 1773 and 1774 in making zigzag courses in southern waters. During this time Norfolk Island and New Caledonia were discovered and the New Hebrides group charted. In November, 1774, the homeward passage was begun, and on the 29th of July, 1775, the *Resolution* again reached England. The controversy about 'Terra Australis' was now ended—clearly Terra Australis was a myth.

As a reward for his work, Cook was promoted to the rank of Captain and appointed Governor of Greenwich Hospital. That appointment, however, he did not take up. An expedition to find a passage from the Pacific around the north coast of America was being fitted out, and in February, 1776, he offered to sail in its command. Cook's offer was accepted, and in July he again left England in the *Resolution*, accompanied by Captain Charles Clerke in the *Discovery*.

### THIRD AND LAST VOYAGE

This, the third of Cook's voyages south of the equator, was his last. He proceeded via the Cape of Good Hope to Tasmania, then on to New Zealand. The year 1777 was passed in cruising in the Pacific, and early in 1778 the Sandwich Islands were discovered. Soon afterwards he set off to survey the west coast of North America, but after charting it to the northward of Behring Strait

he decided to return to the Sandwich Group until the winter was over. Karakakoa Bay (in Hawaii) was reached on the 17th of January, 1779.

The natives, who before had been friendly, now proved decidedly hostile. In addition to stealing whatever they could carry away, they made off with the ship's cutter, and when Cook landed, on the 14th of February, to protest to the native king, he was driven back to the beach. There he was attacked from behind and fatally stabbed. His body had to be left in the possession of the natives, but on the 21st a part of the skull, the scalp, the hands, and the bones of the limbs were sent to Captain Gierke, who buried them at sea.

## PART II—THE EARLY GOVERNORS

### CHAPTER VI

#### EFFECTS OF THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

THE Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years War with France, was signed on the 10th of February, 1763, and Canada, the Valley of the Ohio, and all French territory on the east side of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans, passed into the hands of England. Many Englishmen doubted the wisdom of this agreement. Some saw in it only an extension of Empire; others regarded it as a grave danger to Empire, for the removal of the French menace in America removed the need for the dependence of the colonies on the Mother Country. Lord Mansfield, a judge renowned for his political sagacity, argued that it would have been good policy to restore Canada to France and to obtain an equivalent for it in the West Indies.

Vergennes, ambassador of France at Constantinople, said: 'The consequences of the entire cession of Canada are obvious. I am persuaded England will, ere long, repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of protection; she will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence.\*' The prophecy of Vergennes was fulfilled in 1783.

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\*Quoted by Egerton In *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*, p. 178.

## Feeling in the American Colonies

Three facts must be remembered when considering the War of American Independence: first, neither England nor the colonies were free from blame with regard to its causes; secondly, the majority of malcontents were smugglers and other lawless persons; thirdly, anti-British feeling was a thing of slow growth.

Franklin, on the eve of the war, declared that 'there remains among the people so much respect, veneration, and affection for Britain that, if cultivated prudently, they might be easily governed still for ages without force, or even considerable expense.' In reference to intercolonial jealousy he asks, 'if they could not agree to unite against the French and Indians who were perpetually harassing their settlements, burning their villages, and murdering their people, can it reasonably be supposed that there is any danger of their uniting against their own nation?' There is no doubt that loyalty to the Crown was very strong. Galloway said that in 1775 not one-fifth of the colonists sought independence.

The American Revolution began with a negative purpose, and only during the war did anything like patriotism arise. The Declaration of Independence was the work of a minority. Williamson writes: 'Every State had its loyalists, and the doubters and waverers were still more numerous. Washington, even in the early years, had hard work to keep his soldiers together, and the difficulty increased as time went on. They deserted to the English in hundreds, and to their own homes in thousands. The active loyalists fought on the British side.\* They numbered some 20,000, and no fewer than thirty regiments were recruited mainly from them. But many loyalists were not disloyal to the colonies—they firmly believed that the colonies' future welfare depended on their remaining a part of the Empire.

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\*Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion*, p. 441.

The discontented minority proved to be surprisingly energetic. At the outbreak of hostilities they disarmed the loyalists and set about persecuting them. The 'Sons of Liberty' not only imprisoned those who refused to take the oath that they demanded, but tarred and feathered them also.

Actual fighting began with the skirmish at Lexington Green on the 8th of April, 1775. On the 4th of July the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the American Congress. In 1778, France, and in 1779, Spain, entered the struggle on the side of the rebels.

### **The Loyalists' Predicament**

The treaty concluded in 1783 between England and the United States did not protect the loyalists in any way. The American Commissioners promised to stop all personal persecution and the confiscation of property, but only South Carolina made any attempt to keep the promise. It is estimated that 60,000 left the country, 35,000 settling in Canada and in other parts of North America, the remainder crossing over to Great Britain. England did what she could for them at the time, but after all it was very little. Relief was slow in coming, and in the meanwhile many once wealthy colonists died in poverty and distress.

The American loyalists were experienced colonists and would have been happy to settle in any other British possession, but where could they be sent to? In 1783 James Maria Matra, a Corsican who, under the name of James Magra, had sailed with Cook in the *Endeavour*, came forward with a proposal. As one having a first-hand knowledge of New South Wales he wrote to Lord Sydney, then Secretary of State for Home Affairs, and suggested that the Government should meet its moral obligations in the matter by settling the dispossessed Americans in New Holland.

'There,' he said, 'the climate and soil are so happily adapted to produce every various and valuable production of Europe, and of both the Indies, that with good management, and a few settlers, in twenty or thirty years they might cause a revolution in the whole system of European commerce, and secure to England a monopoly of some part of it, and a very large share in the whole. . . . This country may afford an asylum to those unfortunate American loyalists to whom Great Britain is bound by every tie of honour and gratitude to protect and support, where they may repair their broken fortunes, and again enjoy their former domestic felicity. '\*

### A More Pressing Problem

The settling of the unfortunate colonists was certainly an urgent problem, but at the moment England was faced with one even more urgent, namely, that of convict transportation. America could no longer be used as a dumping-ground for English felons, yet transportation remained the punishment for a great number of offences. By 1784 the gaols were full to overflowing. Edmund Burke, in 1786, informed the Commons that there were more than five hundred prisoners in Newgate gaol alone. Many thousands were under sentence of transportation, and to relieve the congestion the male convicts were placed in hulks on the Thames. Very soon these vessels, too, became overcrowded.

At last the Government sent the sloop *Nautilus* to south-west Africa to find a spot suitable for a penal settlement. Her quest, however, was unsuccessful, for yellow fever raged all along the Gold Coast, and in the south the Dutch protected against Cape Town being used for such a purpose.

As early as 1779 the Commons appointed a committee

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 1-2.

to enquire into the state of English prisons, and Mr Joseph Banks (he was not created baronet until two years later) was asked whether he could suggest a place oversea to which long-sentenced convicts might be sent. He had no hesitation in recommending Botany Bay. He pointed out that its position made escape difficult; that the land was fertile enough to support a settlement; that fresh water was easily procurable; that the natives were too cowardly to be troublesome; that only one year's provisions would be needed to support the convicts while crops were being grown; and that later, when the settlement grew, English merchants might benefit greatly by trading with it.\* This recommendation and also Matra's proposal were before Lord Sydney in 1783.

After conversing with the Secretary of State, Matra amended his original scheme by proposing that both loyalists and convicts should be settled at Botany Bay. In drawing up a plan for such a settlement, he wrote: 'Do you wish . . . to reclaim offenders? Show by your treatment of them that you think their reformation extremely practicable, and do not hold out every moment before their eyes the hideous and mortifying deformity of their own vices and crimes. A man's intimate and hourly acquaintance with his guilt, of the frowns and severities of the world, tend more powerfully, even than the immediate effects of his bad habits, to make him a determined and incorrigible villain/ Further, he urged, 'Give the convicts a few acres of ground as soon as they arrive in New South "Wales, in absolute property, with what assistance they may want to till them. Let it be here remarked that they cannot fly from the country, that they have no temptation to theft, and that they must work or starve. I likewise suppose that they are not, by any means, to be

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\*See 'Report of Select Committee on Returns presented to the House of Commons respecting Convicts.' (This is an extract from the *House of Commons Journal*, 1779.)

reproached for their former conduct. If these premises be granted me, I may reasonably conclude that it is highly probable they will be useful; that it is very possible they will be moral subjects of society.\*

At the time, colonization in the ordinary sense of the term was not in the mind of the Government—the revolt of the American Colonies had put all Empire-building schemes out of favour—and so Matra's proposal was rejected. Lord Sydney was satisfied that Botany Bay was the most suitable site for a prison, but, as far as he was concerned, it was to be nothing more than a prison.

On the 18th of August, 1786, the Cabinet adopted Sydney's recommendation, and instructed the Admiralty to fit out a fleet for the transportation of criminals to Botany Bay.

### Colonial Affairs

Towards the close of the eighteenth century colonial affairs were considered of little importance. Even in 1815, when the British Empire had reached considerable proportions, the House of Commons was content to leave the administration of colonies in the hands of the Home Secretary. This policy was not altogether successful. Between 1827 and 1840 no fewer than ten different Secretaries of State controlled oversea affairs, and of these some were hopelessly incompetent, and scarcely any had the slightest knowledge of colonial conditions or of past colonial administration. Each had to rely on the judgment of a permanent official in the Department. As a consequence it was really this official who represented the Mother Country and decided the fate of the colonies on all questions. For this reason Charles Buller aptly styled him 'Mr Mother-Country.'

'Doubtless' says C. H. Currey, 'he was a man of

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. i, pt. 2, p. 7,

great diligence, intimately acquainted with the business of his office and unremitting in the discharge of his official duties, but such a man was not equal to the task of governing an empire. Sheltered from all responsibility to public opinion, with little personal interest in those whose fortunes he might so definitely determine, obliged to rely on second-hand, and possibly one-sided, information, exposed to those sinister influences which are dissipated by freedom and publicity, "Mr Mother-Country," even if possessed of the highest qualifications, could not manage the local affairs of so many diverse communities either efficiently or effectively.\*

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\*Currey, *British Colonial Policy, 1783-1915*, p. 21.

## CHAPTER VIII

### FOUNDATION OF NEW SOUTH WALES

CAPTAIN ARTHUR PHILLIP, R.N., was appointed governor of New South Wales on the 12th of October, 1786, and commanded the First Fleet, consisting of the *Sirius*, the *Supply*, six transports, and three store ships. He was a naval officer experienced in handling men of all classes, and in the Seven Years War and the later war with France had proved himself to be a man of outstanding ability.

Phillip's authority applied 'to the territory extending from the northern cape or extremity of the coast, called Cape York, in the latitude of 10° 37' south, to the southern extremity of the said territory of New South Wales, or South Cape, in the latitude of 43° 39' south, and of all of the country inland to the westward as far as the one hundred and thirty-fifth degree of east longitude, reckoning from the meridian of Greenwich, including all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean, within the latitude aforesaid . . .'\* and he was instructed to found a penal settlement 'at the port on the coast of New South Wales, situated in the latitude of 33° 41', called by the name of Botany Bay.'†

#### **The First Fleet**

Food and farming implements necessary for beginning the settlement were to be purchased in England before leaving, but live-stock was to be obtained from the Cape of Good Hope. On the 13th of May, 1787, the fleet sailed from England, carrying 771 convicts, 695 officers,

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 62.

†*ibid.*, p. 86.

marines, and sailors, and 16 children—**1482** persons in all.\* Captain John Hunter was second-in-command; Major Robert Ross, in command of marines; **and** Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins, judge-advocate.

After calling at Rio de Janeiro and Cape Town (where live-stock and a scanty supply of provisions were obtained), the ships reached Botany Bay on the 20th of January, 1788—a passage of eight months and one week over a distance of 15,063 miles.

### **Botany Bay**

Within a few days of landing, Phillip took it upon himself to set aside that part of his Instructions which ordered him to found a settlement at Botany Bay, as that particular spot was quite unsuitable for such a purpose. In a despatch to Lord Sydney on the 15th of May, 1788, he says: 'I began to examine the bay as soon as we anchored, and found that, though extensive, it did not afford shelter to ships from the easterly winds; the greater part of the bay being so shoal that ships of even a moderate draught of water are obliged to anchor with the entrance of the bay open, and are exposed to a heavy sea that rolls in when it blows hard from the eastward.'

Writing of the mainland: 'I did not see any situation to which there was not some very strong objection. The best situation that offered was near Point Sutherland, (named after Forby Sutherland a seaman who died near there when sailing with Cook in 1770), where there was a small run of good water; but the ground near it, as well as a considerable part of the higher ground, was spongy, and the ships could not approach this part of the bay.' Moreover, the district was too swampy to be healthy. An officer of the

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\*See *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 109; also *Australian Encyclopaedia* (FIRST FLEET).

marines wrote: 'I am sorry to say the country for several miles round the bay does not afford a spot large enough for a cabbage-garden fit for cultivation.'

Phillip and Hunter set off in a cutter to examine the opening that Cook had named Port Jackson, and there they found 'the finest harbour in the world, in which a thousand sail-of-the-line may ride in perfect security.' After exploring a number of coves, they chose one (now called Circular Quay) for the site of the settlement, and named it Sydney Cove in honour of the Secretary of State.

### Laperouse

On the 24th of January, when preparations for leaving Botany Bay were nearly completed, the appearance of two strange ships on the horizon caused the community some anxiety. The departure of the First Fleet for New South Wales was no secret in Europe, and it was possible that these ships had been sent out to dispute its possession with the English. A lieutenant of the *Sirius* was despatched to investigate, and reported that they were vessels flying the French colours—more he could not see owing to a heavy mist. Any anxiety that Phillip may have entertained when the ships first appeared now vanished. He knew that a French exploring party was in the Pacific, and rightly concluded that these were the French explorers. Without awaiting their arrival he took advantage of a favourable wind and, in the *Supply*, again set off for Port Jackson, leaving Hunter to follow with the transports.

On the 25th, before Hunter was ready to sail, the French vessels reached the bay and dropped anchor. They were the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe*, under the command of the Comte de Lapérouse. After cruising in the Sea of Japan and in American waters of the Pacific, Lapérouse had reached the Samoan group. A party

under Captain De Langle of the *Astrolabe* landed at Tutuila to obtain fresh water and there was attacked by the natives. De Langle and 11 men were killed, 20 wounded, and two long-boats were destroyed. This calamity so decreased the number of the crew that any further decrease would necessitate the abandoning of one of the ships. Since long-boats were the only means of landing on surf-fringed islands, Lapérouse decided to seek a spot where he might build others to replace those lost. His knowledge of Cook's first voyage led him to select Botany Bay as the place most suitable for this work, and he made his way over to New South Wales as quickly as he could.

Lapérouse remained at Botany Bay on excellent terms with the English until the 10th of March, a little more than six weeks, when he again sailed off into the Pacific. That was the last ever seen of the expedition. In 1826 it was proved beyond doubt that both his ships were wrecked on the coral reefs of Vanikoro, in the Santa Cruz group, soon after leaving Australia.

### PORT JACKSON

On the 26th of January (now called Anniversary Day) Phillip began the work of clearing the land around Sydney Cove and erecting storehouses and living-quarters. 'The spot chosen for this purpose,' Collins tells us, 'was at the head of the Cove, near the run of fresh water, which stole silently along through a very thick wood, the stillness of which had then, for the first time since the creation, been interrupted by the rude sound of the labourer's axe and the downfall of its ancient inhabitants.\*' According to Phillip, the labour 'was greater than can easily be imagined by those who were not spectators of it. The coast, as well as the neighbouring country in general, is covered with wood;

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\*Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, p. 12 (Whitcombe & Tombs reprint).

and though in this spot the trees stood more apart, and were less incumbered with underwood than in many other places, yet their magnitude was such as to render not only the felling, but the removal of them afterward, a task of no small difficulty. By the habitual indolence of the convicts and the want of proper overseers to keep them to their duty their labour was rendered less efficient than it might have been.\*

In the evening, Phillip and his principal officers assembled near the landing-place, at the foot of a flagstaff on which the Union Jack had been hoisted. In the intervals between volleys fired by the marines, they drank the health of His Majesty and the Royal Family, and success to the new settlement; but the formal ceremony of founding the colony did not take place until a fortnight later.

### **Foundation Ceremony**

On the 7th of February the whole community was brought together on a piece of ground that had been cleared for the purpose. Judge-Advocate Collins read aloud the royal commission by which Phillip became Governor of New South Wales. The office of Lieutenant-Governor was then formally conferred on Major Ross.

(In passing, it may be mentioned that criminal jurisdiction was exercised by the Judge-Advocate and a jury of six military or naval officers; the court of civil jurisdiction, which did not come into being until some time later, was composed of the Judge-Advocate assisted by two civilians.)

After those concerned had taken the oaths demanded by the law—which, by the way, included that of abjuration, then no longer necessary since Charles Edward Stuart (the Young Pretender) had died on the 31st of January, 1788—the Governor addressed the convicts. His

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\*Phillip's *Voyage* (1789), p. 67.

speech was short and to the point. In terse but kindly language he made it clear that any laxity in discipline would be punished severely, and that laziness would not be tolerated. On the other hand, he promised that rewards would be bestowed where they were deserved.

### Early Troubles

It is only in recent times that people have begun to recognize how difficult Phillip's work really was. The dragging of the young settlement through its earliest years would have been very much easier for him had all on whom he had a right to depend stood firmly behind him. But this they did not do; in fact, the conduct of some was directly opposed to the success of the colony.

Soon after the landing we hear a complaint about the quality of the stores shipped in England. On the 9th of July, Phillip wrote informing Nepean that 'not only a great part of the clothing . . . is very bad, but most of the axes, spades, and shovels are the worst ever seen. Of the seeds and corn sent from England, part has been destroyed by the weevil.' Again, stock was lost through the inclemency of the weather and also through the carelessness of those attending it. Heavy storms occurred, and there was danger of the lightning firing the two wooden buildings in which the provisions were stored. 'I am sensible of the risk,' Phillip wrote in the same letter, 'but have no remedy. . . . The greater part of the stock . . . is dead, and from the inattention of the men who had the care of the cattle, those belonging to the Government . . . are lost. With regard to the sheep, only a few remain.'

By October, 1788, provisions had run so low that the *Sirius* was sent to the Cape of Good Hope (by way of Cape Horn) to obtain flour, the community in **the** meantime being put on short rations. A number of

convicts were sent to the Norfolk Island settlement, which, according to his Instructions, Phillip had formed soon after his arrival. The *Sirius* did not return to Port Jackson until the 8th of May, 1789, and then she brought only a part of what had been expected. Further, at this stage the situation was aggravated by the arrival of the Second Fleet, with 750 more convicts. It was not until the arrival of the *Justinian* in June, 1790, that the rations again became normal in quantity.

Trouble was at first experienced with the natives, owing to the treatment that they received from the convicts. In the interests of public safety Phillip requested Ross to assist him in keeping the convicts in order, but Ross's officers refused to move in the matter. They argued that their duties as laid down by the Admiralty did not include any obligation to supervise convicts unless they were called out to do so at the head of their companies. They were soldiers, not warders. They even refused to sit as unpaid members in any court of judicature, because no such duty was imposed by the terms of their engagement. In short, they gave little assistance in anything that was not for their own personal benefit.

Ross had never placed himself wholeheartedly behind the Governor, and as time went on he sided more and more with his officers. At last, when a convict-guard set over the stores, which were being stolen nightly, stopped a soldier who was acting in a suspicious manner, Ross assumed an attitude of open hostility to Phillip. He asserted that the marines, as a body, had been grossly insulted, and virtually demanded an apology. Friction now arose in almost every quarter, and continued until Ross was sent to take charge of the Norfolk Island settlement.

### **The New South Wales Corps**

It was clear that the British Government would have to make different arrangements for garrisoning the place, and in 1790 it recruited a special body of 300 men, known as the New South Wales Corps, to replace Ross and the marines. The Corps arrived in Sydney, under the command of Major Francis Grose, at the end of the year. Grose was also appointed Lieutenant-Governor in succession to Ross. A fourth company consisting of volunteers from the marines was raised in the colony and placed under Captain George Johnston.

### **Departure of Phillip**

In 1792 Phillip's health broke down under the strain, and he was compelled to resign office. He left for England in the *Atlantic* on the 31th of December, leaving the administration of the settlement in the hands of Major Grose. Little is known of his later life beyond the fact that in 1793 he received a pension of £500 a year in recognition of his magnificent work in New South Wales and that he died at Bath on the 31st of August, 1814, and was buried in the church of St Nicholas at Bathampton.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE COLONY UNDER MAJOR GROSE (1792-1795)

WHEN Grose assumed control, the settlement had grown to be a self-supporting community of about 4000 persons. At Parramatta (formerly called Rose Hill) 1640 acres were under cultivation, and on Norfolk Island, which then had a population upwards of 1000, no fewer than 2620 acres. The first settler at Parramatta was James Ruse, an ex-convict who had proved himself a very industrious man. Phillip had given him a few acres of cleared land, a hut, a quantity of seed, two sows, six hens, and rations for eighteen months, and before long he became a prosperous farmer. His success led to the making of land grants to others.

Exploration in this period was not extensive. Within two months of landing, Phillip had examined Broken Bay, and in April he set out for the Blue Mountains, but returned to Sydney without having crossed that barrier. In July, 1789, he again set out, this time for the Hawkesbury River, the course of which he traced from Broken Bay to Richmond Hill.

Phillip had been persistent in his requests to the Home Office for free settlers. He argued that if the community was to become independent of outside assistance, more land would have to be put under cultivation—in other words, that the settlement would have to become something more than a penal establishment. The Home Government, however, was slow in

giving effect to his requests, and although it at last consented to the sending out of free settlers, they did not reach New South Wales during his administration.

## THE CONVICT SYSTEM

### (a) **Transportation**

Breaches of the law for which transportation was **the** sentence ranged from trivial offences to most heinous crimes. Hunter, in giving evidence before the Committee of the Commons in 1812, said that among the convicts of the First Fleet were some of 12 and 13 years of age, and some of more than 80. The Rev. John West records the transportation for life of a child of seven, and the arrival in Tasmania in 1829 of a prisoner of ten, together with sixty other convicted children. In 1832 Governor Arthur stated that there were prisoners in Van Diemen's Land serving the following sentences: seven years each for stealing, respectively, a pewter-pot, a pair of shoes, a coat, 3 lb. of pork, a hand-saw, two hats, a frock, a cow's heart, a pot of honey, and a saddle; fourteen years each for stealing, respectively, a tea-pot, spoons, a turkey, and a sheep; and a life sentence for the theft of wearing-apparel.

When it was decided that a batch of prisoners should be sent to 'Botany Bay/ tenders were called for the fitting out of a ship. The owners and also the captain and officers placed themselves under a bond to keep those aboard in safe custody until delivered up to the Governor of the settlement.

Every space available was utilized, and the consequent overcrowding of transports led to the outbreak of disease and so to many deaths while at sea. Of 502 convicts **on** the *Neptune* (of the Second Fleet) 158 died **on the** passage out. Ill-treatment by those in charge was another cause of misery **on** these vessels.

**(b) In the Colony**

Although prisons had been built in Sydney, they were not used for the detention of prisoners on arrival from the transports. The settlement itself was the prison; the strongly guarded log gaols were intended for those who broke the law after joining the community. When it is remembered that among those transported were many of the worst criminals in England, we must admit that Phillip's treatment of them was surprisingly humane. He allowed them the same freedom as others convicted of less serious crimes; but he visited any breach of law while in the colony with the utmost severity.

Although the labour of a convict belonged to the Government, all were given ample time in which to earn comforts for themselves. Those who were well behaved were not treated as social outcasts by the free, and considering the nature of the settlement, were allowed a considerable amount of latitude. As early as 1789 we find convicts producing the first play acted in Australia—Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*.

**Ticket-of-leave Men**

Among those transported were often to be found members of well-known English families, and others who had held high social positions. These, as a rule, were not taken into Government service on their arrival, but were given tickets of leave, which allowed them their freedom on the condition that they reported regularly at headquarters. They usually had the means to support themselves, and so were not a drain on the Government exchequer.

**Assignment System**

In earliest days, the officers of the marines had convicts assigned to them as servants and labourers

on their holdings. The first free settlers, who **arrived** in 1793, also had convicts assigned to them by special arrangement with the British Government. **The** assignees were maintained by those in whose control they had been placed, and so were no longer a charge on the authorities. This method of disposing of prisoners proved so advantageous to the revenue **that** before long it became the rule to assign all convicts not taken into Government service or given tickets of leave. They were bound to work only for the same number of hours each day as the ordinary convict, **and** for work done in their spare time they had to be **paid** a regulation wage.

The system, however, was not in the best interests of the colony. By 1804 convicts were handed over to anyone who had the means of supporting them, **and** as a consequence a time came when the Government had not sufficient convict labour to carry out the construction of public works. Again, the lot of the servant depended very much on the character of the master. The master had considerable jurisdiction over those in his charge, and a cruel master invariably meant unhappy servants. Finally, it became a practice for wives of convicts to come out as settlers and to have their husbands assigned to them. In this way the husbands became free **men** in almost everything but name.

### **Emancipists**

It was in the Governor's power to reward with a remittance of part of his sentence any convict who had proved himself remarkably well behaved and industrious. He could grant conditional, but not absolute pardons. Those rewarded in this manner were called 'emancipists' and enjoyed the same standing in the eyes of the **law** as 'expires' (those who had served sentences in full). Whatever restrictions society may have imposed on **their** actions, they had the legal status of free **settlers**.

### **Military Ascendancy**

On Phillip's departure in December, 1792, the rule of the New South Wales Corps began, and troubles of a new kind descended on the colony. Until its disbandment in 1810, the Corps was the centre of most of the disturbances that threatened the stability of the settlement.

Grose began his regime by freely granting land and assigning the pick of the convicts to his officers, who retained them at the government expense. The land was taken up wherever the officers desired, and thus Phillip's plans for forming a well laid-out township were frustrated. To give the Corps full control in administering the law, Grose destroyed civil authority by making a court martial supersede all other courts.

His most pernicious piece of work, however, was that which cast the colony into a long period of degradation. Phillip had been most careful to guard against the abuse of spirituous liquor in the settlement, but Grose allowed the introduction of liquor in large quantities. Owing to the scarcity of money, payment to labourers was made in kind more often than in coin, and soon after Grose came into power rum (as all strong drink was called) was handed out in return for services. A fortnight after Phillip's departure, Grose allowed his officers to purchase 7597 gallons of spirits from the American ship *Hope*, which was then in Port Jackson. Before long it was being secretly manufactured by the officers and sold at an exorbitant figure. Maurice Margarot, one of the political prisoners known as the 'Scottish Martyrs,' when giving evidence before a committee of the Commons in 1812, stated that as early as 1797 the officers of the Corps had combined for the purpose of purchasing the stores from ships and retailing them at prices fixed by themselves. We are told that rum costing 7s. 6d. a gallon was sold for £3 a gallon!

Writing of the commercial activities of the Corps in 1795, Mrs John Macarthur says: 'For such as have many (labourers) in their employment it becomes necessary to keep on hand large supplies of such articles as are most needed by these people—for shops there are none. The officers in the colony, with a few others possessed of money or credit in England, unite together and purchase the cargoes of such vessels as repair to this country from various quarters. Two or more are chosen from the number to bargain for the cargo offered for sale, which is then divided amongst them in proportion to the amount of their subscriptions.'\*

No wonder that some of those in authority soon amassed large fortunes while the settlers were kept almost at poverty-point.

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. ii, p. 512.

## CHAPTER IX

### GOVERNOR HUNTER (1795-1800)

GOVERNOR JOHN HUNTER was the Captain John Hunter of the *Sirius*, who came to the colony with Governor Phillip in 1788. He returned to England in 1792, and when Phillip resigned the governorship of New South Wales, applied for the appointment. His application was successful, and he arrived in Sydney to take up his duties on the 7th of September, 1795.

He found the settlement in a deplorable condition as far as government was concerned. The officers of the New South Wales Corps had formed an autocracy that was not at all conducive to the country's welfare. Justice, the rum trade, and the sale of the necessaries of material existence were in their hands. There were scarcely any provisions in the Government stores, and no convicts were available to carry out necessary public works. So badly had this state of affairs reacted on the morals of the community that Hunter, when writing about the populace in general, said, 'a more wicked, abandoned, and irreligious set of people have never been brought together in any part of the world.'

Without delay he set about cleaning things up, and before long had reintroduced the legal system of civil magistrates that Grose had cast aside. Naturally, this brought him into conflict with the military autocrats, and henceforth they did all in their power to hamper his administration.

There was much to complain about also in the bearing of the rank and file of the Corps. Many of the soldiers were no more law-abiding than the worst of the convicts. They were the 'undesirables' of British regiments. Hunter stated facts when he wrote on the 10th of August, 1796: 'Soldiers from the Savoy and other characters who have been considered as disgraceful to every other regiment in His Majesty's service have been thought fit and proper recruits for the New South Wales Corps . . . They are sent here to guard and keep in obedience to the laws when force may be requisite, a set of the worst, the most atrocious characters that ever disgraced human nature, and yet we find amongst these safeguards men capable of corrupting the heart of the best disposed, and often superior in every species of infamy to the most expert in wickedness amongst the convicts.'<sup>7</sup>\*

His official report of the disgraceful case of John Baughan fully supports this statement.

### **Case of John Baughan**

John Baughan, the foreman of the carpenters in Sydney, had had a dispute with a private of the Corps who was working with him. Some time later the soldier was on sentry duty at a storehouse while Baughan was working within a building a short distance away. The soldier set his arms against the walls of the storehouse, wandered over towards the building, and entered into a loud conversation with a friend standing near by. Baughan was the subject of the conversation. Baughan slipped out of the back door unperceived, went to the storehouse, took up the discarded musket and delivered it to the sergeant of the guard. The soldier was reported for a breach of the regulations.

'The next day, February 5, at half-past nine o'clock

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*\*Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. iii, pp. 66-7.*

in the forenoon, the whole of the Corps off duty at this place assembled and in the most public and tumultuous manner proceeded to the dwelling of John Baughan, broke open his gates, doors, and windows, entered his house and chopped the corner-posts of it, broke his bedsteads and bedding, chairs, window-frames, drawers, chests, and, in short, completely demolished everything within his possession to a considerable amount, for the man had by great labour and industry built himself a neat house and had it well furnished.

'Upon their first approach, having had a few minutes notice he armed himself with a loaded gun and defended himself by threat for some time, but their numbers were so many that they surrounded his paling-fence, which enclosed his house, which some tore down and entered on the opposite side to that which he endeavoured to defend, came behind him, secured and threw him down with his face to the ground, whilst one held an axe over his neck, and swore if he offered to stir he would chop the head from his body. During the time he remained in this situation they completed the ruin of his whole property, to the very great terror of the man's wife, after which they went off cheering, as if something meritorious had been effected, and marched in a body across the parade before their commanding-officer's house.

' After so daring an attack in the open day upon the dwelling of an inhabitant, and in direct defiance of all law, civil and military, they could only be considered as in a state of mutiny . . .' The Governor then issued an official statement in which he freely expressed his opinion of those who had taken part in the riot. Despite all his efforts, the ringleaders could not be discovered.

Hunter now proposed that the companies of the Corps should be relieved at regular intervals by other troops from England, but, owing to the outbreak of war with

France, this proposal together with the recommendation that a company of marines should be sent out immediately was not at the time seriously considered by the Home Authorities.

### **The Scottish Martyrs**

From the beginning of the French Revolution those in authority in England regarded with distrust all who advocated reform of any kind. Those who openly argued for changes that would increase the political rights of the artizan class were considered far too dangerous to be at large, and were shipped out of the country with all speed. This led to the transportation in 1794 of five political prisoners from Scotland—Thomas Muir, the Rev. T. F. Palmer, William Skirving, Maurice Margarot, and Joseph Gerrald. They are known to history as the 'Scottish Martyrs.'

In judging Pitt's action in this matter, it must be remembered that the French Revolution had had a great effect on the mind of the English nation, and that at one time thousands of Englishmen openly sympathized with the French rebels. For years the revolutionary spirit had been evident in the United Kingdom, and Pitt feared that very little would be needed to cast England into the disorder that France had experienced. As a consequence of these fears, he and his followers saw nothing but danger in the progress of workingmen's societies and societies to compel parliamentary reform. Since any attempt to break up these associations by force would inevitably lead to national disaster, the Government had to be content with hindering their activities by depriving them of their leaders. Government spies were sent among them, and the reports of these spies, though often untrustworthy, led to many prosecutions and to almost as many convictions.

With regard to sentences imposed in these cases, it

must **be** admitted that they were frequently illegal. The sentence imposed on the Scottish Martyrs is an instance of this, for transportation was not known to the law in Scotland; it was peculiar to English law, and so at this time could not be legally imposed by a Scottish court. The Act of Union of 1707 guaranteed that the legal system of Scotland should not be altered. Judge Braxfield certainly exceeded his powers when he sent the Scottish Martyrs to 'Botany Bay.'

### **Thomas Muir**

Muir was a lawyer of high standing and a prominent member of reform clubs. In the circumstances the Government regarded him as a dangerous citizen and for that reason Dundas, Secretary of State for the Home Department, was determined to lay Muir by the heels.' A letter, supposed to have been written by Muir and containing a boast that its writer had circulated a number of revolutionary pamphlets with satisfactory results, came into the hands of the Government. The lawyer was arrested, but soon afterwards was released on bail. He then went to London.

While he was in London news arrived of the trial of the French king, Louis XVI, and without delay he crossed the Channel to use his influence with the Convention on behalf of Louis. On his arrival in France he wrote to friends in Scotland asking them to notify him as soon as the date of his trial had been fixed, so that **he** might return in good time. But soon afterwards **war** broke out between England and France and he found it impossible to get out of French territory. In his absence his case was called, his bail forfeited, and his person outlawed. His name was then struck off the roll of Scottish advocates.

Later, in 1793, Muir managed to get back to Scotland and gave himself up to the authorities. He was taken **to Edinburgh and charged before the notorious Judge**

Braxfield and a jury alleged to have been selected from members of the anti-reform party. He was accused, first, of having circulated Paine's pamphlet, *The Rights of Man*, second, of having delivered seditious speeches; third, of having publicly read and also circulated a paper called *The Address of the United Irishmen*. A verdict of guilty was returned on each charge, and he was sentenced to transportation to Botany Bay for fourteen years. He reached Port Jackson in the transport *Surprize* on the 25th of October, 1794.

Soon after arrival, Muir purchased a farm at Gore Hill, which he named 'Hunter's Hill' after his old home in Scotland, but he did not remain in the colony long enough to work it extensively. The trial of the Scottish Martyrs aroused great indignation in the United States, and early in 1796 an American ship, the *Otter*, arrived in Port Jackson, ostensibly to obtain supplies, but really to effect Muir's escape. At the first opportunity he was smuggled aboard, and on the 11th of February the ship sailed off for America.

At Nootka Sound (in Alaska) he was wrecked. From there he worked his way to Mexico, where he boarded a vessel bound for Cuba. From Cuba he set out in a Spanish frigate for Cadiz, but, on the passage across, the ship fell in with a part of Lord Howe's fleet and was captured after a running fight. Muir was wounded in the face, and being mistaken for a Spaniard was handed over to the Spanish authorities. At the request of France he was released and allowed to go to Paris. He died from the effects of his wound, at Chantilly (near Paris), on the 27th of September, 1798.

### **The Rev. Thomas Fyshe Palmer**

Palmer was the founder of the Unitarian Church in Dundee. In 1793 he became associated with the 'Friends

of Liberty,' a political reform society that consisted mainly of the artisan class, and edited a pamphlet criticizing the policy of the Government. It was published in July, 1793, and in August he was arrested, taken to Perth, and charged with seditious practices. On the 12th of September he was sentenced to transportation for seven years. He sailed for Port Jackson with Muir in the *Surprize*.

In Sydney, Palmer bought a farm near Muir's at Gore Hill. With a friend named Ellis, who had voluntarily accompanied him to New South Wales, he carried on a small trade with Norfolk Island, and at the expiration of his sentence he and Ellis bought a vessel for the purpose of returning to England and trading with ports on the passage over. After many exciting adventures in south seas they were at last driven on to the Ladrone Islands (the Mariannes), which belonged to Spain, and, as Spain was at war with England, were held prisoners by the Governor. There Palmer fell ill, and died on the 2nd of June, 1802. In 1804 his body was exhumed and transferred to the cemetery at Boston, in the United States of America.

### **The Other Martyrs**

Joseph Gerrald lived only a few months after his arrival in New South Wales. He had been ill ever since his arrest, and on the passage from England became worse. He died of consumption in Sydney on the 16th of March, 1796.

William Skirving also took up farming at Gore Hill, but the first harvesting proved too heavy for him and he became ill early in March. He died three days after Gerrald's death.

Maurice Margarot was the only one who saw his native land again. He was a man of doubtful character, and both Hunter and King found that he was not to

be trusted. His presence in New South Wales was especially dangerous, because, being a political prisoner and not an ordinary felon, he was entitled to a greater amount of freedom than other convicts. In 1804 there was an attempted revolt at Castle Hill, and King's suspicions of Margarot's influence in the settlement deepened. In the next year he was exiled to Tasmania. In 1807 his sentence expired, and he returned to England. In 1812 he was called to give evidence before a committee of the Commons that was enquiring into the conditions of the colony. Three years later he died in poverty.

### **Recall of Hunter**

No one determined to overthrow the military caste could at this time be popular in New South Wales, and Hunter's many enemies were working behind his back. The friends in England of those whom he was holding down in the colony carried false reports to the Secretary of State, and those reports led to his recall in 1800.

His permanent work in New South Wales is connected mainly with maritime discovery, his encouragement of Bass and Flinders being especially memorable.

## CHAPTER X

### EXPLORATION BY SEA

#### **George Bass**

George Bass was born at Aswarby (Lincolnshire) in 1763. When his father died, his mother moved to Boston (a town near by) and there apprenticed him to a surgeon. After obtaining a diploma in London he started as an apothecary, but his roving spirit did not allow him to remain long in that occupation. He obtained a commission in the royal navy, and, as surgeon, sailed for Australia in H.M.S. *Reliance* on the 15th of February, 1795. Aboard the same ship were Governor Hunter and midshipman Matthew **Flinders**.

Bass and Flinders were similar in temperament and alike in their love of adventure, and, as a consequence, a lasting friendship sprang up between them. As soon as the *Reliance* reached Port Jackson they started off together on the first of their voyages of exploration.

In October, 1795, they explored Botany Bay in an eight-foot boat, the *Tom Thumb*. So delighted were they with this achievement that they had another, and slightly larger, boat built (the second *Tom Thumb*), in which, in March, 1796, they sailed southwards in search of the mouth of a river. During the night a strong current carried them past Bulli and forced them to make for the 'Five Islands' (an early name for a part of Illawarra). As they landed, the surf drenched their stores, and they decided to remain on the **shore until**

their powder was again dry. In the meanwhile Flinders kept the blacks peaceful by cutting their hair and beards with a pair of scissors. On the 1st of **April** they examined Port Hacking, and next day returned to Sydney.

Flinders, now promoted lieutenant, was engaged for some time in repairing the *Reliance*, so Bass had to undertake his next two adventures without his friend. On the 8th of February, 1797, the *Sydney Cove*, bound for Port Jackson from India, was wrecked on Preservation Island, one of the Furneaux group. Seventeen of the crew made for Sydney in a long-boat, but were again wrecked, on this occasion somewhere near Cape Everard. They then set off for their destination on foot, but by May only five of them were alive. Three were found by fishermen in a pitiable condition a little to the south of Botany Bay. In the course of narrating their experiences, they said that they had left their two companions, who were too weak to proceed farther, a short distance down the coast. Hunter lost no time in sending a whaleboat to rescue the two men, but nothing but blood-stained articles that had belonged to them could be found.\* Undoubtedly, they were murdered by blacks.

The three survivors had mentioned the presence of coal to the south of Botany Bay, and Bass was sent to test the truth of their statement. He examined the district and found good coal about 20 miles south of the Bay. Thus the Illawarra coalfields were discovered.

### **Discovery of Bass Strait and Western Port**

The wreck of the *Sydney Cove* had increased Bass's interest in the southern coast of Australia, and he now asked Hunter to provide him with a boat in which

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\*See *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. III, p. 276.

he could proceed to the south. He was given a whale-boat manned by six bluejackets, and a liberal supply of provisions.

At six o'clock in the evening of Sunday, the 3rd of December, 1797, the little party sailed out of Port Jackson. The Shoalhaven (which Bass discovered and named) was reached on the 7th of December, Durras Inlet, which he mistook for Bateman Bay, on the 14th, Twofold Bay on the 19th, and Cape Howe on the 20th. The coast became less promising as they proceeded, and to ensure a supply of water, Bass landed at a spot just north of Ram Head and filled the water-casks. On the 22nd a heavy gale set in and kept them ashore for eight days.

On the 31st they again put to sea, and on the 1st of January, 1798, were off the Ninety-Mile Beach. Early in the following morning Wilson's Promontory was sighted. In his Journal,\* Bass writes: 'I now found that we had filled up the before unexplored space between what is called Point Hicks, a point we could not at all distinguish from the rest of the beach, and the land seen by Furneaux in latitude 39°, for this high hummocky land could be no other than the land seen by him.' By four o'clock in the afternoon they had rounded the promontory and were in the entrance to Bass Strait.

As Bass hoped to obtain provisions from the cargo of the *Sydney Cove*, a course was now set almost due south in order to reach Preservation Island. However, an easterly wind arose and drove them westward. At this stage the whaleboat began to leak 'through the boat's side pretty plentifully near the water-line abaft.' Owing to the heavy weather, a landing could not be made until the 5th, when 'a very extensive harbour' was reached. 'I have named the place,' Bass wrote,

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\*Bass's Journal is reprinted in *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. iii,

'from its relative situation to every other known harbour on the coast, Western Port.'

During the stay at Western Port, which lasted until the 18th, a careful observation of the currents and tides in the vicinity led Bass to believe that Van Diemen's Land was not part of the Australian mainland, and this belief he imparted to Hunter on his return to Sydney on the 25th of February.

### **Matthew Flinders**

Matthew Flinders was born at Donington (Lincolnshire) on the 16th of March, 1774. His father was a surgeon, and it was hoped that Matthew would follow his father's profession. But Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* awakened his adventurous spirit, and he decided on a naval career. Through the influence of Captain Pasley, in 1789 he joined the H.M.S. *Alert* as lieutenant's servant. In 1790 Pasley took him aboard his own ship, the *Scipio*, and later, as midshipman, aboard the *Bellerophon*. In the next year he was transferred to H.M.S. *Providence*, and sailed with Bligh on his second voyage to bring breadfruit-trees from Tahiti to the West Indies.

In 1793 he again joined the *Bellerophon*, and on the 1st of June, 1794, was present at the naval victory off Brest. At the close of the war with France, the fifth lieutenant, Henry Waterhouse, was appointed to command H.M.S. *Reliance*, then being prepared to take Governor Hunter to New South Wales, and Waterhouse arranged that Flinders should sail with him. In this way it came about that in 1795 Flinders sailed for Australia as midshipman in the *Reliance*.

### **Circumnavigation of Tasmania**

While Bass was examining the southern coast in the whaleboat, Flinders was sent in the *Francis* to rescue

the survivors of the wreck on Preservation Island. Observations in the neighbourhood of the Furneaux Group made him, as well as Bass, believe that Van Diemen's Land was an island, and soon after his return Governor Hunter decided to send Flinders and Bass on a twelve weeks' cruise to settle the matter.

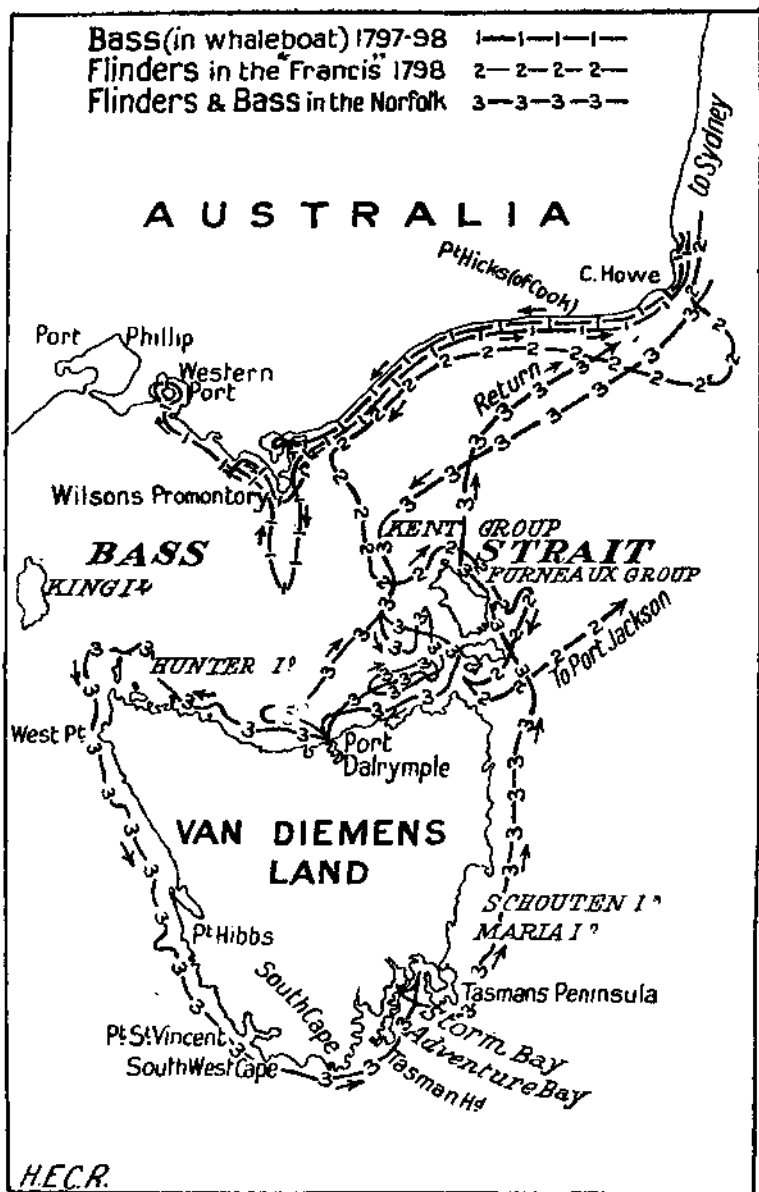
The expedition started at daylight on the 7th of October, 1798, in the sloop, *Norfolk*. In an endeavour to reach the Furneaux Islands, on the 17th they came upon Kent's Group. Two days later they were at the Chappell Islands, and later in the day at Preservation Island. On the 1st of November they arrived off Cape Portland. Another two days' sail brought them to the entrance of 'a large basin or bay' (which Governor Hunter afterwards named Port Dalrymple, in honour of Alexander Dalrymple), and there a stay was made until the 3rd of December. By the 8th they were off Hunter Islands on the north-west of Van Diemen's Land, and there the presence of a heavy swell and the direction of the tide gave almost conclusive proof that they had passed through a wide strait.

The west coast was not inviting, and as time was becoming short, the passage to South-West Cape was made in less than a fortnight. On the 21st of December the *Norfolk* was at the mouth of the Derwent, and at the end of the next fortnight the homeward run was begun. On the 3rd of January, 1799, Flinders wrote: 'Early on Thursday morning we sailed from Pruen Cove for Port Jackson, it being then the fourth day after the expiration of our limited twelve weeks. It was not without regret that I was obliged to leave this interesting part of Van Diemen's Land so imperfectly examined.'\*

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\*Flinders's Journal, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. iii, p. 812.

Bass (in whaleboat) 1797-98    1—1—1—1—  
 Flinders in the "Francis" 1798    2—2—2—2—  
 Flinders & Bass in the Norfolk    3—3—3—3—



VOYAGE OF FLINDERS AND BASS IN THE NORFOLK

By the 8th they were close to the Sisters (islands off the north of Flinders Island), and next day they sighted the Australian mainland near Ram Head. On the morning of the 12th they 'made the harbour of Port Jackson and laid the sloop alongside of his Majesty's ship *Reliance*.'

### **Departure of Bass**

About May of this year, Bass, for some reason that we do not know, left for England. He returned to the Pacific in 1801 as part-owner of a vessel, the *Venus*, in which he intended to trade in the South Seas, and on the 28th of August arrived once more in Sydney. Unfortunately, his trading venture was not a success, and in 1803 he sailed for the west coast of South America. Of his subsequent movements we know nothing. His fate is a mystery that has defied all investigation.

### **Flinders Sails North**

On the 8th of July, 1799, Flinders was sent to sea again. His course now lay along the Queensland coast, where he was to examine Glasshouse and Hervey Bays. The whole voyage took only six weeks. During that short time he gave names to several physical features shown on the charts—Shoal Bay, Sugar Loaf Point, and Point Skirmish. It was while on this trip that he adopted Hawkesworth's spelling of Morton Island (namely, 'Moreton' Island). The *Norfolk* arrived back in Port Jackson on the 20th of August.

## CHAPTER XI

### GOVERNOR KING (1800-1806)

HUNTER'S successor was Captain Philip Gidley King. He had come to the settlement with Governor Phillip in the *Sirius*, and had proved himself an able administrator when in charge of Norfolk Island. He relieved Hunter on the 28th of September, 1800.

King entered office with a determination to restore New South Wales to the condition of law and order in which Phillip had left it. In this, although not wholly successful, he was more successful than Hunter and as a consequence made more enemies in the colony. Early in his career his efforts to stop the mercantile activities of government officials brought him into sharp conflict with the officers of the Corps, the most hostile of whom was John Macarthur.

#### **John Macarthur**

John Macarthur was born near Plymouth in 1767. At the age of fifteen he entered the army, but during the next year retired to a farm near Holsworthy, where he began to read for the bar. However, he retained his commission, and in 1788 was attached to the 68th (Durham) Regiment. His connexion with that body was short, for on the formation of the New South Wales Corps he decided to come out to Sydney. He arrived at Port Jackson as a lieutenant of the Corps on the 18th of June, 1790.

Soon after his arrival he was appointed Commandant at Parramatta, and on the 12th of February was granted 100 acres at Rose Hill by Lieutenant-Governor Grose. Twelve months later he received a second grant of 100 acres. In 1794 Grose made him superintendent of public works and paymaster of the Corps, but in 1796 he resigned the former position. Owing mainly to the fact that he placed agricultural and pastoral pursuits above his military duties, he entered into a long and bitter quarrel with Governor Hunter.

In 1797 he imported merino sheep from the Cape for the purpose of carrying out a series of experiments in wool production, and four years later went to England to study English methods of sheep-breeding. By this time his wealth, gained by trading, and the influence due to his wealth were so great that on the 8th of November, 1801, Governor King wrote, 'if Captain McArthur returns here in any official character it should be that of Governor, as one-half the colony already belongs to him, and it will not be long before he gets the other half.\*' Macarthur was not without friends in England, but as a consequence of King's reports about him, he had little influence at the Colonial Office. He returned to Sydney in 1801 more convinced than ever of the great future before wool-growing in New South Wales.

Immediately on his arrival he resumed duty in the Corps. Colonel Paterson was then its commander and, in conjunction with the officers in general, Paterson at times felt bitterly towards King. With Macarthur's help he wrote a letter of complaint to Sir Joseph Banks (who at this time really directed the colony's affairs in England). Before the letter could be sent off, Macarthur and Paterson quarrelled, and Macarthur made the contents of the letter known to King. A duel

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. iv, p. 614.

between Paterson and Macarthur followed, in which Paterson was severely wounded by a shot in the shoulder.

Macarthur was placed under arrest but, to smooth matters over, King released him, and ordered him to go to Norfolk Island. Macarthur, however, refused to be released except as the result of a court martial. As a court martial held in Sydney in such circumstances might easily produce serious disorder, King sent him to England for trial. The Authorities in England refused to have anything to do with the case, seeing that all the witnesses were in New South Wales, and reprimanded King for not facing the situation more boldly. Since King had released him, Macarthur was a free man and consequently was ordered back to his regiment. It was at this stage that, in 1805, he decided to resign his commission, and he did so without delay.

Before leaving England he succeeded in arousing the interest of the Colonial Office in his wool experiments, and the samples that he had taken over with him convinced many influential business men that wool was a commodity that could be grown better in New South Wales than in any other part of the world. But Sir Joseph Banks was not enthusiastic in the matter, and advised that the grant of 10,000 acres that the Government was prepared to give Macarthur should be reduced to 5000. Much to Macarthur's annoyance this was done.

When he returned to Sydney, he produced his grant of 5000 acres to be selected wherever he wished, and chose 5000 acres of the Cowpastures (the land on which the government cattle were grazed). This drew a loud protest from King, but, seeing that the grant was direct from the Home Government, he could do nothing in the matter. Macarthur transferred the **greater part of** his stock from Elizabeth Farm (near Parramatta), to-

gether with sheep that he had purchased **from** His Majesty's stud farm, to his new run, which he called \*Camden' after Lord Camden, the Secretary of State who had made him the grant. (Elizabeth Farm, the oldest home in Australia, is still in existence. Maeathur named it after his wife, Elizabeth, in 1793.)

The breach between King and Maeathur was **now** wider than ever. Since Maeathur was better able to support the Corps against the Governor as a civilian than as an officer, the attitude of the Corps became even more hostile towards King.

### **Irish Political Prisoners**

The first batch of political prisoners from Ireland arrived in Sydney during Governor Hunter's time. In 1791 Wolfe Tone founded the Society of United Irishmen to compel political reform in Ireland, and when England became engaged in war with France this society gained in importance. Owing to its influence, serious risings broke out in 1795, and many who took part in them were transported to New South Wales.

Hunter found these political prisoners very different in character from the Scottish Martyrs. Before they had been long in the country he wrote to the Duke of Portland (on the 15th of February, 1798) : 'I have to inform Your Grace that the Irish convicts are become so turbulent, so dissatisfied with their situation here, so extremely insolent, refractory and troublesome that without the most rigid and severe treatment it is impossible for us to receive any labour whatever from them.'\*

In the same letter, speaking of an attempt of some of them to escape from the settlement, he says: 'they have conceived an opinion that there is a **colony** of white people in some part **of this country in which**

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. iii, p. 359.

they will receive all the comforts of life without the necessity of labour . . . . A correspondence it seems has been carried on . . . from one district to another, and plans have been projected for their escaping from the colony, and a few have attempted by land, as well as by water, and for the want of our having early information they have succeeded.' Some thought that they could reach China on foot from Port Jackson, and were determined to try to do so. There was somebody in the settlement in league with these people, for Hunter found that they had been supplied with information about the outlying districts that would help them in an attempt to get beyond the limits of civilization. Most of those who did get clear of Sydney perished in the bush. A party of seven got as far south as Wilson's Promontory, where two were rescued by Bass in the whaleboat; the five others were never heard of again.

After the Irish rebellion of 1798 great numbers were transported to New South Wales, some of whom proved extremely dangerous to the community. They had been political agitators in their own land and they did their best to make trouble in their new surroundings.

Not all the political prisoners, however, were to be classed as 'obstinate and depraved;' many of them should never have been detained within prison walls. Transportation in some instances had been an act that cannot be reconciled with English justice. Hunter complained that political prisoners often arrived without any record of their sentences being sent to him. King discovered that many were merely suspects: they had not been charged with any offence. Others had been rushed before a military tribunal and sentenced to transportation under martial law—they had not been tried, much less convicted, in an ordinary court of law. Was it any wonder that men who had been so treated

by His Majesty's Government at **home** did **not** feel kindly towards His Majesty's representatives **abroad**.

The attempts at mutiny and the rising at Castle Hill in 1804 led to a more rigid treatment of convicts. The cat and the gallows were then in constant use.

The refractory attitude of political prisoners **made** King recognize that his authority in the settlement depended on the New South Wales Corps, and since his hold on the Corps was steadily weakening, he decided to resign his position. In 1803 he tendered his resignation to the Home Authorities, but he was not relieved of his duties until the 13th of August, 1806.

#### FURTHER EXPLORATION BY SEA

A spirit of adventure had moved both Bass and Flinders to investigate the land in which they found themselves, but in 1800 the British Government decided to carry on the work of marine exploration systematically. It commissioned Lieutenant Grant to proceed to New Holland in the *Lady Nelson* (a 60-ton brig) for the purpose of 'prosecuting the discovery and survey of the unknown parts of the coast . . . and of ascertaining . . . the hydrography of that part of the globe.' He was to approach Port Jackson by way of Bass Strait.

With him sailed Ensign Barrallier, and to this officer most of the scientific work fell. Grant was no true explorer; he himself says: 'All that I aimed at was the making of an eye sketch of the coast, and laying down as accurately as I could with a journal of all occurrences, nature, history, soil, with such remarks and observations as I might be able to make.\*' When Grant reached Sydney in 1801 it was found that he had done little more than give names to certain physical features on the Victorian coast. He missed the entrance

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\*Quoted in Turner, *A History of the Colony of Victoria*, vol. 1, p. 18.

to Port Phillip—indeed, he added very little to the knowledge of the mainland from Cape Otway to Cape Schanck.

In November, 1801, he returned to England, and Lieutenant Murray, who had been his chief officer, was placed in command of the *Lady Nelson*.

### **Discovery of Port Phillip**

Governor King, not at all satisfied with Grant's survey, now sent Murray to examine the south-east coast more minutely. Murray sailed from Port Jackson on the 12th of November and reached Western Port on the 6th of December, where he passed the next month in thoroughly investigating his surroundings. On the 5th of January, 1802, he put to sea again, and, following the coast westward past Cape Schanck, discovered the opening to Port Phillip. Night was coming on, and the appearance of a reef across the opening made him hesitate about attempting to enter the bay. By the morning, heavy weather had set in, and it kept him standing off and on for the next three weeks. On the 31st of January he was back at Western Port. Early next day he sent his chief mate, Mr Bowen, in a small boat with five men and provisions for a fortnight, to examine the newly discovered opening. Within three days Bowen was back again with the news that the harbour he had just examined was 'larger even than Western Port, with many fine coves and the appearance and probability of rivers.' So to Bowen fell the honour of being the first Englishman to enter Port Phillip. In passing, it may be said that we have no information about Bowen himself. We do not know his Christian name, or what he did before or after this voyage.

On the 15th of February the *Lady Nelson* ran out from the shelter of Phillip Island, and before 5 o'clock in the afternoon was at anchor within the port. (Murray

named the place Port King, but Governor King preferred that his old commander should be honoured and for that reason changed the name to Port Phillip.)

Murray stayed within the Heads until the 12th of March. On the 9th he hoisted the Union Jack, the flag that symbolizes the union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800, and took possession of the port in the name of His Majesty, George the Third. Three days later he left for Port Jackson. His exploration of Port Phillip was imperfectly done, and to account for his leaving at that stage, he says: 'We have now expended nineteen weeks and one day's provisions out of the twenty-four weeks we were victualled for, commencing on the 27th of October, 1801, and owing to the quantity of bread decayed, along with what the swans and other birds have ate, we are rather short, even what we have left is very bad; therefore it will not be in my power at this time to prosecute the object of our cruise.'

On the 24th of March the *Lady Nelson* reached Sydney, and Murray handed his reports to Governor King.

### **Circumnavigation of Australia**

In 1800 Flinders returned to England in the *Reliance*. On his arrival in London he handed the charts of his Australian expeditions to the Admiralty, and on the 25th of January, 1801, was promoted to the rank of Commander.

Sir Joseph Banks, whose influence in official circles was great, now proposed that the examination of the Australian coast should be completed. For this work the *Xenophon* was chosen, and her name changed to *Investigator*. Flinders was placed in command of the expedition, and in July again set sail for Australia. On this occasion he was accompanied by John **Franklin**,

a young relative and naval officer who was destined to become one of the most renowned of Arctic navigators.

The *Investigator* reached Cape Leeuwin on the 6th of December and slowly sailed along the southern coast. Flinders made detailed charts as he proceeded, taking care not to alter names given to physical features on that part of the coast which, in 1794, had been roughly explored by d'Entrecasteaux, the French navigator. On the 8th of April, 1802, after having discovered and surveyed Spencer and St Vincent Gulfs and Backstairs Passage, he unexpectedly came upon the French ship *Le Géographe*, under the command of Nicholas Baudin. Baudin also was engaged on a voyage of exploration. The English and French explorers parted on the friendliest of terms on the 27th, Flinders continuing to sail eastward. On the 9th of May he dropped anchor in Port Jackson. Throughout the cruise he was most careful to let the names given by original discoverers stand unaltered on his charts, and as a consequence French names appeared on a patch near the Leeuwin, on Kangaroo Island, and from Encounter Bay to Cape Banks (the part recently explored by Baudin).

On the 22nd of July he left Sydney to examine the east coast northward to Torres Strait and the western side of Cape York Peninsula. By the 28th of October he had discovered Port Curtis and Port Bowen (now known as Port Denison) and arrived at the entrance to Torres Strait. A week later he was in the Gulf of Carpentaria, where the *Investigator*, by that time almost unseaworthy, was careened. Her condition proved to be so bad that Flinders did not care to face the south-east winds that would be encountered in returning by the course that he had just taken so after finishing his survey of the Gulf of Carpentaria and putting in to Timor for repairs, he continued the voyage to Sydney by way of the west and south coasts. He left Timor

on the 12th of April and arrived once more at Port Jackson on the 9th of June. Thus he had sailed completely round Australia.

Flinders wished to lodge his charts with the Admiralty as soon as possible, and, as the *Investigator* was now only fit to be used as a storeship, he accepted Governor King's offer of a passage in the *Porpoise*. At this stage his misfortunes began. The *Porpoise* was wrecked on Wreck Reef, 230 miles from the Queensland coast, and on his returning to Sydney in a cutter he transferred to the *Cumberland*, a small and leaky vessel.

On the passage to the Cape unusually bad weather was experienced, and the *Cumberland* met with such heavy seas that Flinders decided to put in to Mauritius for repairs. This was a most unfortunate decision, for at the time the island was in the hands of the French, and France was again at war with England. Of the outbreak of hostilities Flinders was quite unaware, and although he had brought from England a French passport ensuring the safety of the *Investigator* from attack, it proved of little help to him. What protection it might have gained for the *Investigator* was denied to the *Cumberland*. He entered the harbour at Mauritius on the 15th of December, 1803, but did not sail out of it again for seven years. There he was detained as a prisoner by the governor, Decaen, until the 13th of June, 1810.

Immediately on gaining his freedom he sailed for England and arrived in London on the 23rd of October. It was then that he received a stunning blow, for on his arrival he found that two members of Baudin's expedition, Peron the naturalist and Lieutenant Louis de Freycinet, had already published charts of the south coast of Australia, and that the honour of his discoveries was claimed by the French. The disappointment **broke** .

down his health and clouded the remainder of his life. The rest of his days were passed in writing a book—*A Voyage to Terra Australis*—in which he gave an account of his experiences in Australian waters. But he never saw; the book in its final form, for on the 18th of July, 1814, when the first copy became available, he was unconscious. He died on the 19th.

(Professor Sir Flinders Petrie, the famous Egyptologist, is his **grandson**.)

### Naming of Australia

It is sometimes said that the name 'Australia' was invented by Flinders. This is not so. The name had been used for lands in distant seas during the 17th and 18th centuries, and in 1793 a *Zoology and Botany of New Holland* was published, dealing with the fauna and flora of 'the vast island, or rather continent, of Australia, Australasia, or New Holland, which has so lately attracted the particular attention of European navigators and naturalists,'\* The Dutch knew nothing about the eastern part of Australia, with the exception of the west coast of Cape York Peninsula, which they believed was a continuation of New Guinea and so called it by that name. The western part they called, at first, the South Land, then New Holland.<sup>t</sup>

Flinders reintroduced the present name. After having circumnavigated the continent he saw the need for a name to denote the whole area, and wrote to his brother on the 25th of August, 1804, 'I call the whole island Australia, or Terra Australis. New Holland is properly that portion of it from 135° of longitude westward; and eastward is New South Wales, according to the Governor's patent.' In his correspondence, official

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\*See Ernest Scott, *Life of Matthew Flinders*, p. 420, and *Australian Encyclopaedia* (AUSTRALIA, NAMING OF).

†See G. Arnold Wood, *The Discovery of Australia*, chap. xvi.

and private, from that time he used Australia when speaking of the island-continent.

As late as 1849 'New Holland' was officially used by the British Government when referring to the mainland, and 'Australia' only when the island of Tasmania was included in the reference. Gradually, however, Australia came into universal use.

## CHAPTER XII

### EXTENSION OF SETTLEMENT

DURING the governorship of King, visions of French colonization arose and led to further settlement in New South Wales.

In 1800 the population had increased to nearly **7000**, by far the greater part of which was concentrated in Sydney. There was a growing community at Parramatta, a small one on the Hawkesbury, and a third at Newcastle, which was formed soon after Lieutenant Shortland had discovered coal at the mouth of the Hunter River in 1797. But at this time nothing was known about the country inland, for the Blue Mountains had not yet been crossed.

France was England's principal enemy, and England regarded each movement of France with suspicion. Her interest in the south seas, especially in Australian waters, was a matter of concern to England. Australia was a vast country of which only one small area was occupied, and France had a perfect right to plant colonies in any unoccupied part. If Australia was to be a British possession throughout, it would have to be occupied more extensively by the British.

### VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

#### (a) **Risdon Cove**

King's ideas of French aggression were much the same as those of the **Colonial Office**, and seemed to be **founded**

on good grounds. The French expedition in the *Océographe* and the *Naturalists* under Captain Nicholas Baudin, whom Flinders had met in Encounter Bay, arrived at Sydney in June and stayed there until November, 1802. Throughout that time most cordial relations existed between Baudin and King, and so thoroughly were the French trusted that Peron, the naturalist of the expedition, had no difficulty in making plans of the settlement and learning all that an enemy about to attack it might need to know. In short, while in Port Jackson Peron played the part of a spy, and played it thoroughly.

Baudin's expedition sailed for Van Diemen's Land on the 18th of November. Soon after its departure King heard that one of Baudin's officers had said that the real object of their visit to Australia was the annexation of territory in Van Diemen's Land. This alarmed King, and without delay he sent acting-Lieutenant Robbins in the *Cumberland* to follow the French ships. At the same time he wrote a friendly letter to Baudin, in which he stated the report that he had heard and also his instructions to the bearer with regard to taking formal possession of the island as the first step towards its occupation.

Robbins found the expedition quietly carrying on its scientific work at Elephant Bay in King Island. After delivering despatches to Baudin he landed and hoisted the British flag, and 'with a rattle of musketry and loud cheers renewed the claims of his country to the invaded territory.\*' Obeying Governor King's instructions, he then sailed for Port Phillip.

At Port Phillip, Grimes, the Surveyor-General, who had accompanied Robbins, discovered the mouth of the Yarra and ascended both the Yarra and the Saltwater.

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\*Rusden, *History of Australia*, vol. i, p. 330.

On the 4th of February, 1803, Bobbins and Grimes were standing on the rise later known as Batman's Hill-

The occupation of Van Diemen's Land seemed such an urgent matter to King that he did not wait for instructions from England before planting a settlement there. On the 31st of August, 1803, he sent Lieutenant John Bowen to Storm Bay in command of the *Lady Nelson* with eight soldiers and the *Albion* with twenty-four convicts and a number of free settlers. Anchor was dropped in Risdon Cove, and there Bowen laid out a camp. He named the place Hobart, after Lord Hobart, at the time Secretary of State.

The settlement made no progress under Bowen's administration. He was unequal to the work of handling lazy convicts and discontented soldiers, and when the arrival of more prisoners and soldiers raised the population to 100, it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could maintain order.

### **(b) Port Phillip**

While Robbins and Grimes were examining Port Phillip the British Government was completing arrangements to establish a penal settlement there. Lieutenant-Colonel Collins (the Judge-Advocate of the First Fleet) was given charge of the undertaking and sailed in H.M.S. *Calcutta*, accompanied by the transport *Ocean*, on the 27th of April, 1803. The transport arrived on the 7th of October, and the *Calcutta* on the 9th.

Collins, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Port Phillip district, was not a success, owing mainly to the haphazard way in which he attacked his work. He landed the 400 persons under his control near the present site of Sorrento and, without attempting to discover whether there was a better centre for the settlement began to erect buildings. The letters that he wrote to the Secretary of State showed how unsuitable that position

was, but the statements that he made were not true of the district generally. According to him, there was little to choose between Sorrento and any other part of Port Phillip.

Soon after arrival a number of convicts escaped (among them being William Buckley, known later as 'the wild white man') and through the over-liberal allowance of rum the discipline of the marines was not all that could be desired. In the end Collins obtained permission from the Home Authorities to transfer the settlement to the Derwent. Thus Victoria was saved from beginning its career as a penal establishment.

### (c) **Hobart**

Collins arrived at the Risdon Cove settlement on the 16th of February, 1804, with 281 convicts, 20 free settlers, 16 children, and 116 marines—a total of 433 persons. He superseded Bowen in authority, but when soon afterwards he moved his community across the Derwent to the present site of Hobart, he left Bowen at Risdon as superintendent. Collins's new settlement was called Hobart Town which name it kept until 1881, when the Tasmanian legislature shortened it to Hobart.

At first the community had a hard struggle for existence. The stores that had been brought from England proved to be very inferior, and the settlement had to depend entirely on itself for provisions. No help could be expected from New South Wales, for Sydney had scarcely enough grain for her own needs. To prevent them from starving, Collins sent the convicts out to hunt kangaroos and emus and obtain what other food they could. Some of these convicts afterwards became the bushrangers who harried the settlers living in outlying districts.

**(d) Port Dalrymple**

The existence of a settlement in the south would not give a right of occupation to the whole of Van Diemen's Land, so in October, 1804, King sent Lieutenant-Colonel William Paterson (commandant of the New South Wales Corps) to form a settlement in the north, at Port Dalrymple. Paterson left Sydney on the 15th of October with 74 convicts, 40 free persons, and 67 soldiers—181 in all. As Lieutenant-Governor he held jurisdiction over the territory north of 42 degrees south latitude, Collins having jurisdiction over all south of that line. The British colours were hoisted at the port on the 11th of November.

The site of Paterson's first settlement was York Town (later called Yorkton), near the junction of the North and the South Esk, but as it was not altogether suitable for the purpose, within eighteen months the community moved up to Launceston. No trace of York Town now remains. King gave the name Patersonia to the new site, but at the beginning of 1807 it was changed to its present name, Launceston.

Van Diemen's Land was now administered by two Lieutenant-Governors, each independent of the other but both responsible to the Governor of New South Wales. This arrangement lasted until 1812, when the northern jurisdiction was absorbed by the southern and Hobart became the capital of the island.

**NORFOLK ISLAND**

Captain Cook discovered and named Norfolk Island in 1774. His description of it was so attractive that the East India Company wished to establish a factory there; but the scheme was vetoed by the Home Authorities. In 1787 it was decided that the island should be

a part of the 'Botany Bay' penal establishment, and Phillip was instructed to form a settlement on it as soon as possible. This he did shortly after his arrival. On the 15th of February, 1788, he sent over Lieutenant P. G. King (afterwards Governor King) and 22 others, of whom 15 were convicts, in the *Supply*. Ali were disembarked by the 8th of March, and the *Supply* returned to Port Jackson. It was hoped that the island would be highly productive of flax and cotton, and a quantity of flax- and cotton-seed was included in the stores.

Two days after their arrival, one of the convicts began to plot with a view to seizing the island, but his plans were discovered, and he was severely punished with the lash. In October the community was increased by the arrival of 32 convicts and a guard of marines. In the next month another plot to seize the island was discovered. Punishment on this occasion was increased from 40 to 50 lashes.

The place was quiet until 1790 and crops were grown in small quantities, the deficiency in provisions being made up by supplies from Port Jackson. In 1790 the crops on the mainland failed, and the Norfolk Island settlement was threatened with famine. Phillip sent over what provisions he could in the *Sirius* and the *Supply*, but before the *Sirius* could land her cargo she was driven by a strong wind on to a reef close to the settlement and became a total loss.

Among the passengers on the wrecked vessel was Major Ross. He had come to relieve King, who **was** being sent to England to report personally on the general progress of the settlement. Since more stores could not be obtained from Port Jackson for many months, the immediate future looked very black for the settlers, and Ross, fearing trouble, placed the island under martial **law**.

The population was now 298, and, to make the provisions last, rations had to be reduced again and again. Some died of starvation, and some were executed for robbing the store-house. Had it not been for the presence of great numbers of mutton-birds, probably all would have died. The situation did not improve until August, when store-ships arrived from Sydney.

King returned from England at the end of 1791. The next three years saw the place in a constant state of ferment. During his absence the soldiers had been allowed to mix with the convicts, and as a consequence trouble was continually arising among them. In 1796 a court of criminal jurisdiction was established and things then became quieter. King resigned office in the same year. In 1800 the island was placed under the control of Major Foveaux, who ruled it sternly until 1804.

In 1803 the Colonial Office decided to remove the Norfolk Island community to Port Dalrymple. At this time King was Governor of New South Wales, and in 1804 he gave the free settlers the choice of going to Van Diemen's Land or remaining where they were. As only ten were willing to go, in the next year he deported 250. This left the island a population of about 700.

These methods were too slow for the Colonial Office, so in 1806 it ordered Bligh to abandon the place at once. As a result, within another two years an additional 202 free settlers, 109 women, 220 children, and 23 male convicts were transferred to Van Diemen's Land.\* The settlers were allowed to choose between Port Dalrymple and the Derwent, and many of those who chose the latter district settled inland from Hobart at a place that they named New Norfolk. The remainder were withdrawn soon after the arrival of Governor Macquarie, and from then until 1825 Norfolk Island drops out of Australian history.

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\*See *Australian Encyclopaedia* (NORFOLK ISLAND).

## CHAPTER XIII

### GOVERNOR BЛИGH (1806-1809)

ALTHOUGH Governor King had, in 1803, written asking to be relieved, his successor was not appointed until 1805. On the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks, another naval officer, William Bligh, was chosen as the fourth governor of New South Wales. He arrived at Sydney on the 6th of August, 1806.

Captain William Bligh had had considerable experience in controlling men of all classes. He had worked his way up in the navy from an able-seaman, and had earned warm praise from the Admiralty for his services. At the battle of Camperdown he commanded the *Director*, and at the battle of Copenhagen, the *Glatton*. His work during the latter engagement gained him the personal thanks of Nelson.

#### **Mutiny of the 'Bounty'**

Bligh was by no means a stranger to southern seas. He had sailed with Cook on his last voyage of discovery during 1776-80. At that time he was only 23 years of age and was bidding fair to make a name for himself in the service. Moreover, he had already proved his ability as a navigator, and the excellence of his charts is universally admitted even to-day. It was Bligh whom Cook sent ashore to seek fresh water when first visiting Hawaii, and again, on the **16th of January, 1779, at** Karakakoā Bay, where Cook was murdered.

On each voyage Cook had touched at Tahiti, and so had become acquainted with the bread-fruit grown there. On his return to England he praised it to such an extent that many West Indian planters wished to import it into the West Indies, where it might be used as food for the slaves. A petition of the planters was considered by the British authorities, and as a result Lieutenant Bligh was placed in command of the *Bounty* and in August, 1787, sent to the Society Islands to obtain a number of young trees.

After a stay of nearly five months at Tahiti, during which 1015 bread-fruit trees were taken aboard, the *Bounty* was ready to set off for the West Indies. But life amongst the natives had demoralized the crew, and the sailors did not want to leave the island. Bligh's sternness gained him the upper hand, but only for the moment. The ship sailed on the 14th of April, and a fortnight later was close to Tofoa. Before sunrise next morning (the 29th) Bligh was awakened and found himself face to face with a body of mutineers. With 18 others he was placed in a boat and set adrift. As they had been given a fair supply of provisions, he decided to make for a western trading station. After traversing a distance of 3618 miles across the Pacific and through Torres Strait they eventually reached Timor. By this time the *Bounty*, under the command of the master's mate, Fletcher Christian, had returned to Tahiti. Eventually some of the mutineers removed to Pitcairn Island.

### **Bligh and the Corps**

There is no doubt that Bligh's want of tact in handling a delicate situation was the cause of the mutiny on the *Bounty*. On that occasion he was not dealing with officials used to wielding authority or persons hardened by crime, and a more tactful man in all probability

would have averted trouble! Now, as **Governor** of **New South Wales** he was to find himself in a settlement containing keenly antagonistic forces as well as criminals of the worst type, and as a consequence his administration was doomed to failure.

Bligh was quick-tempered and for that reason he made enemies at the outset of his career in Sydney. Then, too, he was a naval officer, and therefore regarded the military with a certain amount of contempt. Thirdly, he was a severe disciplinarian and was determined to succeed where Hunter and King had failed, namely, in putting down the rum trade and other mercantile activities of military officials. In these circumstances it is not surprising that at an early date he found himself in conflict with the New South Wales Corps and a large section of the community. Indeed, within fifteen months of his taking office he had made bitter enemies in most classes of society. Writing to King on the 25th of October, Dr Harris says: 'It gives me much pleasure to hear almost every person speaking in your praise. Even those who were most vehement against you are now your strongest advocates . . . Indeed, my dear friend (flattery apart), the difference between you and Bligh is so great that any fool must readily see the great balance in your favour.'

In another part of the same letter he says: 'He **has** executed more men by three in his short time than you did the whole time you were with us . . .', and in a letter to Mrs King, 'He has turned every person who held the least appointment from Governor King from any situation, and is surrounded by a few who find it their interest to do whatever he may dictate . . . He has been every day getting worse and worse, and if some steps are not soon, nay, very soon, taken, this

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*\*Historical Records of New South Wales, vol, vi, p. 341.*

place is ruined. Caligula himself never reigned with more despotic sway than he does.'

Although much evidence that must be discounted was given against him after his deposition, there is no denying that Bligh was a despot. He interfered in an arbitrary way with the internal affairs of the Corps and spoke disparagingly of its officers in public. He arrested those who offended him, allowed excessive sentences to be carried out, and withdrew leases from private persons just as it pleased him. On the other hand, when stocks of grain and crops on Hawkesbury and Nepean farms were destroyed by floods, he acted most humanely by slaughtering government stock and giving it to those in distress, and by issuing government orders on the public stores.

### **Bligh and Macarthur**

Friction between Bligh and Macarthur first occurred in July, 1807. It was concerned with a promissory note given to Macarthur by the bailiff of Bligh's farm on the Hawkesbury. The matter was taken to court, and decided in favour of the bailiff. Macarthur appealed against the judgment, but Bligh dismissed the appeal.

Three months later there was more trouble. Without Macarthur's authority, his agent in London sent a spirit still to him. When it arrived, Bligh ordered it to be returned to England by the next homeward-bound vessel, but allowed Macarthur to take possession of the copper, which was filled with medicines. When the copper was emptied, it, too, was seized by a Government officer and shipped away. An action for wrongful seizure of property was then brought against the officer who had merely obeyed Bligh's order, and Macarthur won the case on a technical point.

We now come to the dispute that culminated in the

deposition of Bligh. In June, 1807, the schooner *Parramatta*, belonging to Macarthur and a London firm of merchants, sailed for Tahiti having aboard John Hoare, a convict undergoing a life-sentence. At Tahiti, Hoare landed and made his way to India. On the return of the *Parramatta* to Sydney, a civil court decided that the owners' bond of £900, which shipowners were required to give as security against their shipping convicts out of the settlement, should be forfeited. A naval officer then took possession of the schooner and her papers, and placed two police officers aboard. At this stage Macarthur informed her master and crew that he had abandoned the vessel to the authorities and that they were no longer to look to him for pay or provisions. The master and crew at once came ashore, and by so doing broke the Port Regulation that forbade members of crews to land without the Governor's permission. Bligh held Macarthur responsible for their action, and the Judge-Advocate, Atkins, summoned him by letter to answer the charge. He refused to obey the summons, and was arrested on the 16th of December. On the next day he was committed to take his trial before a criminal court, and admitted to bail.

Before the date appointed for the trial, the 25th of January, 1808, Macarthur demanded payment of a long-standing debt from Atkins, and when Atkins stated that he was not prepared to pay it, Macarthur appealed to Bligh. But Bligh refused to render him any assistance, and curtly answered that the court-house was the place in which such things were settled. Atkins, however, would not have the matter discussed in court before Macarthur's trial and for that reason Macarthur held that Atkins was a person interested in his conviction and therefore not a suitable man to act as judge in the case. Here Bligh again showed a lament-

able want of tact, for in the face of strong public opinion he refused to appoint anyone in Atkins's place for the occasion.

On the morning of the 25th a court consisting of Atkins and six officers of the New South Wales Corps was appointed. After the officers had taken the required oath Macarthur formally protested against being brought to trial before Atkins. His protest received the support of the six officers, so that when Atkins ordered him to prison, the rest of the court admitted him to his former bail. At this stage Bligh intervened and ordered that Macarthur should be arrested on an escape-warrant, and charges of treason drawn up against the officers. This order sealed Bligh's fate. To save themselves and the reputation of the Corps, the officers now decided to persuade Major Johnston, who was in command during Paterson's absence in Van Diemen's Land, to depose Bligh.

### **The Mutiny**

Johnston required little persuasion, for when in response to a summons from the Governor he reached Sydney from his home, Annandale, where he had lain ill for several days, he found the place on the verge of rebellion. Giving evidence in England in 1811, he said: 'On my arrival, as I passed through the streets everything denoted terror and consternation; I saw in every direction groups of people with soldiers amongst them, apparently in deep and earnest conversation. I repaired immediately to the barrack, and in order to separate the military from the people made the drum beat to arms. The soldiers immediately repaired to the barrack-yard, where they were drawn up, and where they remained. In the meantime an immense number of the people, comprising ail the respectable inhabitants, except those who were immediately con-

nected with Governor Bligh, rushed into the barrack and surrounded me, repeating with importunate clamour a solicitation that I would immediately place the Governor under arrest. They solemnly assured me, if I did not, an insurrection and massacre would certainly take place, and added that the blood of the colonists would be upon my head.'

Johnston ordered Macarthur to be taken from prison to the barracks and released. From Government House Bligh saw Macarthur leaving the gaol, and guessing that more than ordinary trouble was in the air, set about collecting his private and official papers.

When Macarthur heard of Johnston's intention of arresting Bligh, he advised Johnston not to do so without a public request drawn up in writing, and asked for a pen and gaper. Resting the paper on a gun in barrack-square, he wrote:

'January 26, 1808.

'SIR,

'The present alarming state of this colony, in which every man's property, liberty, and life is endangered, induces us most earnestly to implore you instantly to place Governor Bligh under an arrest, and to assume the command of the colony. We pledge ourselves at a moment of less agitation to come forward to support the measure with our fortunes and our lives.\*

After a few signatures had been affixed, Johnston marched at the head of the troops to Government House. In the meanwhile Bligh concealed himself in his private quarters but after a diligent search he was found and arrested.

### **Bligh Deposed**

Bligh was kept under close arrest, Atkins was removed from office, and new magistrates were appointed.

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. vi, p. 434.

Johnston assumed supreme command of the colony, and on the 2nd of February wrote to his senior officer, Colonel Paterson, who was still at Port Dalrymple, stating what had taken place.

Macarthur was brought before a criminal court, tried for the offences formerly alleged against him, and acquitted. On the 12th of February he was made a magistrate and the Secretary of the Colony.

When Colonel Foveaux, the Lieutenant-Governor at Norfolk Island, returned from England in July, 1808, he took over the administration of the settlement until Colonel Paterson arrived from Van Diemen's Land on the 1st of January, 1809. Paterson set about getting the deposed Governor back to England. Bligh promised that, if allowed to sail in H.M.S. *Porpoise*, he would return to England by a direct route and refrain from touching at any part of the Empire on the way over. On these conditions he was given his liberty.

He embarked on the *Porpoise* on the 20th of February, and having assumed command of the ship, deliberately sailed on the 17th of March for the colony on the Derwent. There he asserted that he was still Governor of New South Wales, as he had not been removed from office by His Majesty's Government. Collins was in a dilemma, for Paterson had issued orders that communication with Bligh was not to be held. Eventually he decided to obey Paterson and began to treat Bligh with coolness. Bligh took alarm and betook himself to the ship, where he remained for the most part until news of Lieutenant-Colonel Macquarie's arrival in Sydney reached Hobart. He then proceeded to England.

Soon after Bligh had sailed, Johnston **and Macarthur** left for England, hoping to be able to interview **the** Secretary of State before Bligh **arrival**.

## Macquarie's Appointment

News of the mutiny, and of the arrest of the Governor reached England in September, 1808, but at the time England was too much concerned about Napoleon's successes on the Continent to pay serious attention to the matter. After the Convention of Cintra (August 30), by which the French evacuated Portugal, the Colonial Office began to look round for someone strong enough to restore order in New South Wales. With the exception of Phillip, naval governors had not been very successful, and as a consequence it was decided that the person next appointed should be a military officer, and that the New South Wales Corps should be recalled.

Castlereagh offered the governorship to Brigadier-General Nightingall, and ordered his regiment, the 73rd, then in Scotland, to make ready for departure. Nightingall, who had just served with distinction in Portugal, accepted the offer, but fell ill at the last moment. After some discussion Lieutenant-Colonel Lachlan Macquarie, of the same regiment, received the appointment. He sailed for Sydney with his men and Judge-Advocate Ellis Bent in May (soon after Paterson had relieved Foveaux), and reached Port Jackson on the 28th of December, 1809. His official landing took place two days later. He carried with him instructions from the Home Authorities, which were, briefly, that Bligh was to be reinstated as governor for one day; the 73rd Regiment was to take the place of the New South Wales Corps, which was to be sent back to England and to be known as the 102nd Regiment; and all appointments, grants, and trials, since Bligh's deposition were to be cancelled. Bligh was not in Sydney when Macquarie arrived, consequently he was not reinstated.

**Johnston and Macarthur in England**

When it was known that Johnston and Macarthur were on their way to England it was decided that they should be placed on trial for the parts they had played in the mutiny. The trial of Johnston was begun at Chelsea Hospital on the 7th of May, 1811, and lasted until the 5th of June. Although found guilty of 'mutiny,' which was a serious crime, he was only cashiered. He returned to Sydney as a private citizen, and died on his estate at Annandale, near Sydney, in 1826. Macarthur was not brought to trial, but was not allowed to return to New South Wales until 1817.

Bligh, who in 1810 was due for promotion in the navy, was raised to the rank of rear-Admiral in July, 1811, and vice-Admiral in June, 1814. He did not hold any public office after leaving Australia.

## CHAPTER XIV

### GOVERNOR MACQUARIE (1810-1821)

THE arrival of Governor Macquarie marks the beginning of a new period in the history of the colony. Hitherto it had been administered as a penal settlement only; now it begins to show itself as a part of England beyond the seas. The jealousy that existed between the Army and the Navy was no longer to be seen in the half-veiled opposition of a military commandant to a naval governor. Macquarie's men were strangers to the country and so had no interests that conflicted with their official duties. They had been sent out to restore order, and knew that success in that direction would add to their reputation in military circles. It is true that 300 members of the New South Wales Corps enlisted in the 73rd Regiment, but their influence for evil had no effect on the 73rd.

#### **Character of Macquarie**

Governor Macquarie proved to be no less arbitrary than the governors who had preceded him, but his dignified bearing, his kindly nature, and his gentlemanly manners did much to disguise the despotism of his rule. He had a full sense of his duty and responsibility both to the British Government and to the people under his control. Indeed, so seriously did he regard his office that he was unwilling to suffer any divided control. In 1812 the Commons rejected a recommend-

ation that the Governor should be assisted by an advisory Council and in their decision he fully concurred. The interests of councillors, he said, would on occasions differ, and for that reason lead to the formation of political parties, and consequently to confusion.

### His Energy

Macquarie's energy was remarkable. His first despatch, addressed to Lord Castlereagh on the 6th of March, 1810, shows that on his arrival he lost no time in making himself acquainted with his surroundings and in setting to work in the interests of the community. After describing the ceremony of landing, he gives a detailed account of the settlement. 'I found the public stores almost entirely empty of dry provisions,' he writes, owing principally to 'the last dreadful and calamitous inundation of the Hawkesbury. . . . I am sorry to inform your Lordship that I shall be under the necessity of putting the Crown to very considerable expense in the erection of barracks and other essentially necessary public buildings, those I find here being in a rapid state of decay . . . I shall . . . immediately set about building new substantial ones to contain 1000 men . . . There will be an absolute necessity for building a new general hospital as soon as possible, the present one being in a most ruinous state . . . Granaries and other public stores, as well as barracks for the reception of the male and female convicts on their arrival in this country, are very much wanted, and must be built as soon as the barracks for the officers and soldiers are finished.'\*

He next directed his attention to the planning of Sydney. He divided it into five districts, ordered that the main streets should be 50 feet wide, renamed some of them, and had the names displayed on boards. He

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. vii, pp. 300-8.

set aside an area (Hyde Park) for recreation purposes, and a larger one (Centennial Park) for the public grazing of cattle.

Between the 6th of November and the 13th of December he visited as much of the country inland as was easily accessible, and marked the sites of the future townships of Liverpool, Richmond, and Windsor.

In 1811 he visited Van Diemen's Land. As a result of his visit, he recommended that the dual control of the island should be abolished. At this time the administration of the south was in the hands of Lieutenant Edward Lord, who had succeeded Collins at Hobart on his sudden death in 1810.

### **Progress of the Colony to 1820**

During Macquarie's administration, ship after ship arrived at Port Jackson and landed large numbers of convicts and immigrants. In 1810 there were 10,452 persons in New South Wales, of whom 1437 were prisoners, 2088 soldiers and members of administrative staffs, 6927 emancipists, ex-convicts and immigrants; by 1821 the population had increased to 31,775, of whom 14,927 were convicts, ticket-of-leave men, and those who had received conditional pardons, 4199 were ex-convicts and emancipists, 1812 were soldiers and members of administrative staffs. The number of inhabitants had increased by 21,323, and the number of free persons by 7833.

This rapid growth in the free (and freed) population brought about changes in the general life of the community. Settlement on the land demanded the making of roads, the extension of business necessitated the establishment of banks, and the growing number of children required the building of public schools. Macquarie had sufficient foresight to perceive the needs of the future. In 1809 Paterson had established a Post Office in Sydney,

and in the next year its scope was widened. In 1810 also, the first free school was established. In 1814 the civil court was separated from the criminal. During the next year the first steam-engine was at work in Sydney. In 1816 the Sydney botanic gardens were laid out, and a 'very elegant and strong stone tower and light house' begun at South Head. In 1817 the Bank of New South Wales was established. A savings bank (popularly known as Campbell's Bank) was started in 1819. During this period the customs revenue, which amounted to about £8000 at its beginning, had gradually risen to more than £38,000 at its close.

On the 27th of July, 1822, Macquarie wrote to Lord Bathurst: 'I found the colony barely emerging from infantile imbecility, and suffering from various privations and disabilities; the country impenetrable beyond 40 miles from Sydney; agriculture in a yet languishing state; commerce in its early dawn; revenue unknown; threatened by famine; distracted by faction; the public buildings in a state of dilapidation and mouldering to decay; the few roads and bridges, formerly constructed, rendered almost impassable; the population in general depressed by poverty; no public credit nor private confidence; the morals of the great mass of the population in the lowest state of debasement, and religious worship almost totally neglected . . . I left it, in February last, reaping incalculable advantages from my extensive and important discoveries in all directions including the supposed insurmountable barrier called the Blue Mountains . . . and in all respects enjoying a state of private comfort and public prosperity. . . .'\*

### The Emancipist Trouble

It must not be thought that Macquarie's path was

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\**Historical Records of Australia, Series I, vol. x, p. 671 et sqq.*

at all times smooth. Few found fault with him as a **man**, but many were dissatisfied with him as an administrator. The cause of most of his troubles lay in his treatment of emancipists and ex-convicts. (Both ultimately were termed 'emancipists.')

Reformation, even more than punishment, of wrongdoers was in the minds of those responsible for the despatch of the First Fleet to Botany Bay, but up to 1810 very little had been done in the way of reformation and much in the way of punishment of criminals. Macquarie saw that the colony could not make any real progress so long as things were allowed to remain as they were. If the criminal was to be reformed he must first of all, after receiving his freedom, have a chance of leading a normal life as an ordinary member of society. The determination to give him this chance led Macquarie to favour, sometimes unreasonably, the cause of ex-convicts, and brought him into conflict with a large section of the free community. For twenty-two years a sharp distinction had been made between persons who came out under sentence and those who came of their own free will.

Not all who came out under sentence had been guilty of committing serious crimes. For example, James Meehan and the Rev. Henry Fulton were political prisoners who had been convicted of insignificant offences during the Irish rebellion of 1798; Dr William Redfern had been sent out for taking a minor part in a naval mutiny; Andrew Thompson for setting fire to a haystack; Michael Robinson for writing a threatening letter; and Francis Howard Greenway, for failing to disclose assets in a bankruptcy case. Moreover, many political prisoners had not been guilty of any crime, but were merely suspects in a time of panic. Among these were members of well-known English families, and others highly educated and refined.

Soon after his arrival, Macquarie began to invite ex-convicts of the more presentable type to Government House. While this was warmly approved by the Home Authorities it led to much trouble in the colony. It divided the community into two parties, which were known as 'Emancipists' and 'Exclusives,' respectively. As early as the 30th of April, 1810, he wrote to Lord Castlereagh: 'I was very much surprised and concerned, on my arrival here, at the extraordinary and illiberal policy I found had been adopted by all the persons who had preceded me in office respecting those men who had been originally sent out to this country as convicts, but who, by long habits of industry and total reformation of manners, had not only become respectable, but by many degrees the most useful members of the community. Those persons have never been countenanced or received into society. I have, nevertheless, taken upon myself to adopt a new line of conduct, conceiving that emancipation, Avhen united with rectitude and long-ried good conduct should lead a man back to that rank in society which he had forfeited, and do away, as far as the case will admit, all retrospect of former bad conduct.'\*

Undoubtedly this spirit was a very laudable one, but Macquarie allowed it to dull his better judgment. The possession of wealth raised men in his estimation, and his favours were often bestowed on men of large possessions whose private lives would not bear deep investigation. In effacing a man's past he too frequently effaced his present, and admitted to his friendship persons whose private lives were justly open to censure.

Even ex-convicts made a distinction where Macquarie made none. Those transported for trivial offences refused to associate with convicted criminals, however praiseworthy the bearing of the latter might have been

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\**Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. vii, p. 356.

while in the colony. So when ex-convicts of that type were admitted to the magistracy trouble occurred.

### **Ellis and Jeffery Bent**

Atkins, the Judge-Advocate, had been superseded by Ellis Bent, described by Castlereagh as 'a barrister of eminence.' He was the first lawyer to hold this office. Bent was commissioned to report on the system of justice in New South Wales, and after a careful investigation he advised the separation of the civil from the criminal court, the division of civil jurisdiction into two courts, and the appointment of a judge. Macquarie recommended Ellis Bent for the judgeship, but it was given to his younger brother, Jeffery Hart Bent.

While Ellis Bent was on the bench things went smoothly enough, but when in 1814 his brother entered upon office serious trouble arose over the employment of ex-convicts as attorneys. Jeffery Bent refused to allow them to practise in his court. He rejected the applications of three who had been lawyers before their transportation, on the ground that a lawyer convicted of a felony was debarred for all time from practising in a British court of law. Macquarie interposed on behalf of the applicants, but the Judge and the Judge-Advocate refused to alter their decision. This led to a serious dispute between Macquarie and the two brothers, with the result that Jeffery Bent closed the doors of the Supreme Court and awaited instructions on the matter from England. It took two years for the reply to reach the colony, and during that time Ellis Bent died.

The Home Authorities upheld the brothers in their decision, but ordered Jeffery Bent's recall for closing the Supreme Court and so putting the community to great inconvenience. On his return to England, Bent complained bitterly of his treatment in New South Wales.

## Macquarie Resigns

It was only to be expected that the free settlers who had voluntarily come to the country would find much to grumble about in Macquarie's emancipist policy. Their protests against it were strongly supported by the officers of the 46th Regiment, which replaced the 73rd in 1814, and later by those of the 48th. Another matter for grievance was the way in which he regarded many of the free settlers. By no means all were desirable characters, and the air of superiority that many of them assumed met with a sharp rebuke from him. Besides, his autocratic nature jarred on those in authority and often led them to side with his opponents. Through letters from colonists his high-handed actions became known in England and did much towards hindering immigration.

Macquarie cared little for the opinion of those around him, but when Lord Bathurst in 1817 censured him for interfering with the legal decision of Jeffery Bent regarding the admission of emancipist lawyers, his pride was sorely hurt and he tendered his resignation. Bathurst wrote requesting the withdrawal of the resignation, but his lordship's letter, which no doubt was intercepted by the exclusives, never reached Macquarie.

## Enquiry of Commissioner Bigge

Long before 1816 Macquarie's enemies were pouring their grievances into the ears of officials in England, but with little success. At last they found an opportunity of making themselves heard effectively. Macquarie had enclosed the government domain, **and** ordered that any trespasser was to be prosecuted. Several offenders were arrested and brought before the magistrates, but received only very light punishment. In 1816 two ex-convicts and a free immigrant, named Blake, were arrested, and Macquarie decided to **deal** with them himself. Without bothering to **hold a magis-**

terial enquiry, he ordered that each should receive twenty-five lashes. This was a violation of the civil rights of subjects, and raised a loud protest from the settlers. Samuel Marsden and Jeffery Bent provided Blake with money to go to England and personally report his case to the Secretary of State.

Blake's protest, coming after so many other protests, made the Colonial Office decide on an enquiry into the administration of the colony. In 1819 John Thomas Bigge, recently Chief Justice at Trinidad, was commissioned to make a full investigation of affairs in New South Wales, and Macquarie was directed to put into effect any recommendations that Bigge might make in the course of his enquiry. The Commissioner arrived at Sydney on the 25th of September, 1819.

Bigge and Macquarie disagreed at the outset on the emancipist question, and as time went on their relations became less cordial. At the end of seventeen months Bigge sailed for England and prepared his report.

The Report was divided into three sections—state of the colony; agriculture and trade; and judicial establishments. The first was handed to the Colonial Office in 1822, but the second and third were not printed until 1823.

In the meanwhile, Macquarie, annoyed at not having received a reply to the letter containing his resignation, wrote again to Lord Bathurst in February, 1820, and asked to be relieved of his duties as soon as possible. In November, Bathurst notified him of the appointment of his successor, Sir Thomas Brisbane.

On the 1st of December, 1821, the new Governor reached Sydney, and in February, 1822, Macquarie sailed for England. He died in London on the 1st of July, 1824.

## CHAPTER XV

### EXPLORATION BY LAND

FROM the earliest days of the settlement, the more adventurous longed to know what lay beyond the rugged blue-tinted range that confined them to a narrow strip of coast. Up to Macquarie's time four serious attempts had been made to reach the western plains, but all were failures. The first was that of William Paterson (of the New South Wales Corps) who, during the administration of Grose, ascended the Hawkesbury and discovered the Grose River. Ten miles higher up, when Mount Hay was in sight, the journey came to an end owing to the unnavigable course of the river and the rugged nature of the surrounding country. The party was back in Sydney within ten days of its departure.

During the next year Henry Hacking set out. The details that we have of his journey are not sufficient to lay down his route definitely. He is supposed to have passed Springwood ridge.\*

In 1796, George Bass started off fully equipped for travelling over rough country. But he was not more successful than the others had been. He is supposed to have worked along the north side of the Grose as far as Mount Tomah.

In 1804 George Caley also worked along the **north** side of the Grose. He reached Mount Banks before re-

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\*See Collins, *An Account of New South Wales*, p. 232 (Whitcombe & Tombs reprint).

turning to Sydney. For the time being, Caley's report discouraged other explorers from attempting to penetrate the mountains.

### **The Blaxlands**

Macarthur's success in agricultural and pastoral pursuits directed the attention of English farmers to New South Wales, and the Colonial Office received many enquiries about the conditions it was prepared to offer to settlers in the colony. The brothers John and Gregory Blaxland were among those who wrote to the Secretary of State with a view to taking up land in the settlement. Their application was made on the advice of Sir Joseph Banks, and therefore it received special consideration.

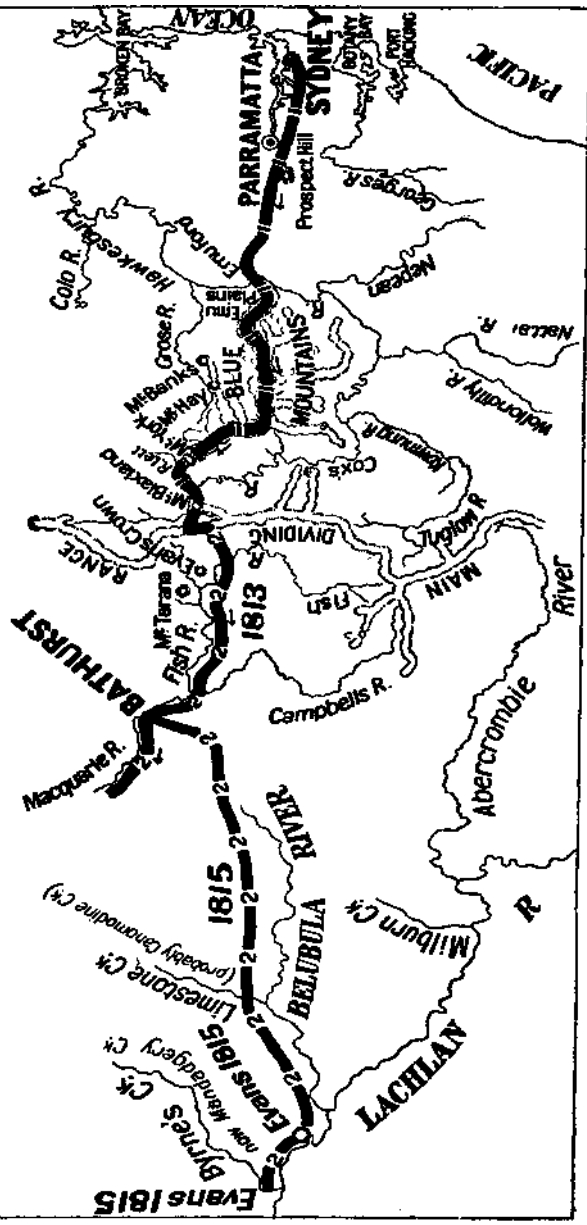
By this time capital was badly needed in the colony, and to obtain it the British Government was ready to make large grants of land to wealthy farmers who would go out there. The Blaxlands undertook to invest £6000 in consideration of receiving a grant of 8000 acres, together with the use of 80 convicts for 18 months at the colony's expense and free passages and freight for the members of the family and their goods.

Gregory Blaxland arrived in Sydney in April, 1806, and John in April, 1807. Before long they were settled near Penrith and engaged in the raising of stock. At this time agriculture was regarded as the only occupation profitable to the community, and as the Blaxlands paid little attention to the growing of crops, their enterprise was not at all favoured by Bligh or Macquarie. Bligh complained that 'they turned their whole attention to the lazy object of rearing cattle,' and Macquarie, who was opposed to throwing the settlement open to free settlers, was annoyed because they had cost the Government a large sum for upkeep, and their land was showing very little in return for it.

By 1812 their stock had increased so much that they

Blaxland, Lawson, and Wentworth, 1813

Evans, 1813 and 1815



JOURNEY ACROSS THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

required more pasturage. They made applications for additional grants, but all were curtly refused. It was evident that they had no chance of expanding within the settlement; if they were to have more land it would have to be an area beyond the present limits of settlement. For this reason they directed their attention to the western barrier.

### Over the Blue Mountains

The failure of crops in 1812, due to drought, made it clear that more land was required for cultivation. The growth in population and the increase in the colony's flocks made the acquisition of more agricultural and pasturable land imperative. It was now that Gregory Blaxland announced his intention of making an attempt to reach the country on the far side of the Blue Mountains.

On the 11th of May, 1813, a party including Blaxland, Lieutenant Lawson, and William Charles Wentworth started out, and after crossing the Nepean at Emu Island began the ascent of the first ridge. For the next fortnight they laboured on, always keeping as much as possible to the top of the ridges, and on the 28th reached Mount York. From there they descended into a well-watered valley, which could 'support the stock of the colony for the next thirty years.\*' The kind of country sought had at last been found, and the party made its way back to Sydney. Although the main range had not been crossed, the obstacle of the Blue Mountains had been overcome, and to reach the western plains would now be a comparatively easy matter.

On returning to Sydney, Blaxland handed his report to Macquarie, who was delighted with its contents. On the 19th of November Deputy Surveyor-General George

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\*Unless otherwise stated, the quotations in this chapter are from the journals or diaries of the explorers concerned. For general accounts see articles in the *Australian Encyclopaedia*.

W. Evans was sent off to verify his statements and to continue the exploration of the range, and on the 26th he reached Blaxland's turning-point. Striking southwards he reached the Fish River, and after following it to the main stream, which he named the Macquarie continued on through grassy plains for the next 20 miles. Being then 100 miles beyond the terminus of Blaxland's party, Evans turned and made his way back to Sydney. The problem of agriculture and pasturage had been solved.

### **Sydney-Bathurst Road**

Macquarie hastened to take advantage of the discovery. He appointed William Cox, a wealthy farmer and magistrate who had come to the colony as a lieutenant in the New South Wales Corps, to the position of works manager, and ordered him to construct a road on the Blaxland-Evans route. Within six months 101 miles of it were finished, and within eighteen months the Governor, Mrs Macquarie, Cox, the artist Lewin, Oxley, Evans, and Redfern drove over the range and reached the site of Bathurst. (Bathurst was founded in May, 1815.)

The construction of this road was a remarkable piece of work. The rapidity of its progress was no doubt largely due to Macquarie's promise to set free every convict engaged on it if it were completed within a certain time. Seeing what an easy means of escape it would afford convicts, it was not meant to be a public thoroughfare, but one to be used only with the special permission of the Governor. Guards were stationed at intervals throughout its length to examine the permits of travellers.

As a reward for their services, Blaxland, Lawson, and Wentworth each received a grant of 1000 acres in the new district. Evans, having been appointed 'assistant-

surveyor at Port Dalrymple,' was granted 1000 acres in Van Diemen's Land.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE RIVERS

The course of the Macquarie aroused much speculation, and in May, 1815, Evans was sent to examine the country south-west of Bathurst. On this occasion he discovered a vast river valley. 'I never saw a more pleasing country/ he wrote, 'I cannot express the pleasure I feel in going forward.' The river he named after the Governor's son, Lachlan.

In passing, it may be mentioned that Evans was the first to record the presence of snow in Australia. On his way back to Bathurst on the 8th of June, he wrote: 'The mountains I saw bearing north-west are covered with snow; I thought on my way out that their tops looked rather white. To-day it was distinguished as plain as ever I saw snow on the mountains in Van Diemen's Land. I never felt colder weather than it has been some days past. We have broken ice full two inches thick.'

To the question concerned with the course of the Macquarie was now added a similar one with regard to the Lachlan. Whither did they flow? The answer was not given definitely and completely until many years later. John Oxley was the first to attempt to trace the courses of these rivers.

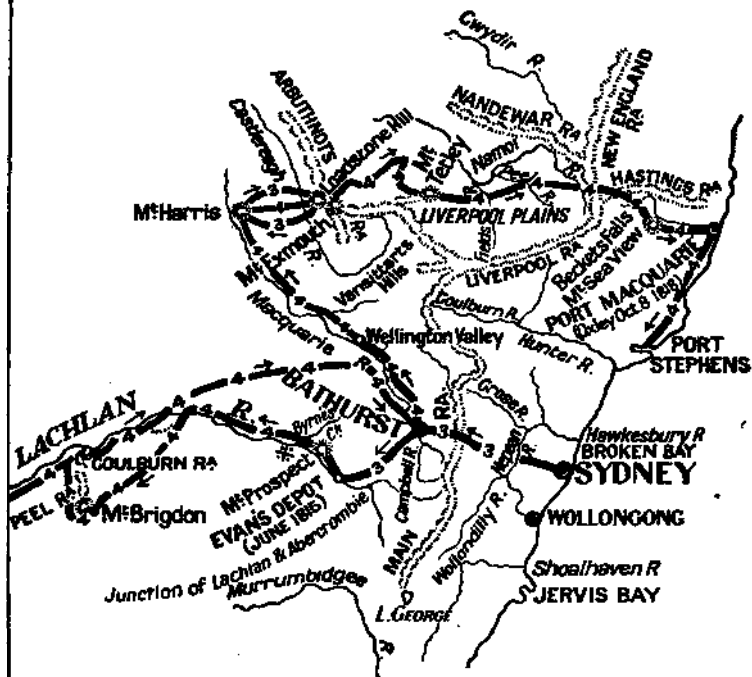
### Oxley's First Expedition

John Oxley was a lieutenant in the navy when he reached Sydney in 1812 to fill the position of Surveyor-General. Soon after his arrival he showed an enthusiasm for exploration, and this led to his being sent out in 1817 to find the outlet of the Lachlan. On this

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\*See Favenc, *The Explorers of Australia*, p. 20.

Evans 1815 — 3 — 3 — 3 —  
 Oxley 1817-1818 — 4 — 4 —



\* *Byrnis Ck is now Mandagery Creek.*

H.E.C.R.

occasion he was accompanied by Evans, Allan Cunningham, and Charles Frazer. (Cunningham is sometimes referred to as 'the King's botanist'<sup>7</sup> because he was a collector of plants for the Royal Gardens at Kew.)

The party set off on the 1st of May from a point south-west of Bathurst (Byrne's Creek). After tracing the Lachlan for some days they were surprised to find it suddenly become a large marsh. They tried in vain to find the main channel through the marsh, so struck southwards. On the 4th of June they turned northwards and again came upon the Lachlan, to the west of the place where they had left it. (The Murrumbidgee was then only a two days' journey away.) Soon more marshy country was reached, so Oxley crossed the river and struck in a north-easterly direction for Bathurst. This brought the party to a stretch of very fertile land bordering the Macquarie. Bathurst came into view soon afterwards. The journey had taken nineteen weeks and covered twelve hundred miles.

### **Oxley's Second Expedition**

The Macquarie valley had been so promising that Oxley set out again on the 6th of June, 1818. Evans, Frazer, and Dr John Harris accompanied him on this expedition. At a point about 125 miles beyond the starting-place, the Macquarie, too, became little more than a vast marsh. (From this point the junction of the Macquarie and the Darling was only a short distance away.) Once again Oxley turned from the river that he had intended to examine. Now he struck eastward and eventually came to the coast at Port Macquarie. On this journey the Warrumbungle Ranges were crossed, the Castlereagh River, Liverpool Plains, and the rivers Peel (or Namoi) and Hastings discovered.

By this time provisions had run short, so the party was forced to make its way as quickly as possible to

Port Stephens. From Port Stephens, which was reached on the 1st of November, they went by sea to Newcastle, then on to Sydney.

In 1819 Oxley sailed in the *Lady Nelson* to survey Port Macquarie, which he had discovered at the mouth of the Hastings.

So by the end of Governor Macquarie's rule a considerable area had been explored. Its fertility made it suitable for settlement and therefore removed the fears that had clouded the minds of farmers and pastoralists in the coastal districts. However much subsequent Governors may have wished to retain New South Wales for the benefit of freed convicts, such was impossible. The news of these discoveries attracted settlers from England in large numbers, and before long the penal aspect of the colony disappeared.

## PART III.—END OF THE CONVICT SYSTEM

### CHAPTER XVI

#### FIRST STEPS TOWARDS FREEDOM

THE discovery of fertile country inland from Port Jackson made the British Government continue the emigration policy that it had adopted, but on Macquarie's advice had almost relinquished. This meant that New South Wales could no longer be regarded solely as a penal settlement. The Colonial Office now turned to the reports of Commissioner Bigge for guidance in the making of necessary reforms.

#### **The Convict System**

Macquarie's methods of dealing with the convicts were open to adverse criticism. On the arrival of a transport he was accustomed to address the newly-arrived prisoners and give them to understand that no account would be taken of their past, but that their treatment in the colony would depend entirely on their conduct while there. This meant that no difference in the crime committed would lead to any difference in the 'hardness' of labour, so that as far as conditions of living went, the trivial offender and the hardened criminal were on the same footing.

Secondly, the increase in the number of convicts raised the problem of their employment. To keep them occupied, Macquarie either assigned them to settlers or other inhabitants as labourers or servants, or drafted them into gangs to be employed on public works. Since

the erection of buildings and the construction of roads and bridges required skilled workmen and involved the hardest of labour, many convicts deliberately concealed their former trade. Those with money tried their best to be assigned to the poorer settlers, for they would then be able to obtain freedom from work of every kind by paying their master a small weekly sum. Again, to mitigate the harshness of transportation, husbands were desirous of being assigned to their wives, and wives to their husbands. Educated prisoners who could support themselves usually received tickets of leave, and were thus for the most part freed from discipline.

Thirdly, convicts resided in houses scattered about the settlement—the gaols housed only those re-convicted after their arrival—and this, together with the freedom allowed by the assignment system, meant that a great many of the worst criminals were at large after dark. In the circumstances the keeping of law and order was difficult. It was not until June, 1819, that convict barracks were opened (near Hyde Park). Newcastle and, at the end of Macquarie's rule, Port Macquarie, were the strictly penal establishments, but only the re-convicted were sent to them.

This system was changed by Governor Brisbane. He took considerable account of each convict's past life and the crime for which he had been transported, and according to his past so his future was determined. The worst characters were sent to the gaols outside Sydney. This reversal of Macquarie's policy of treating all alike on their arrival soon brought the emancipist grievance to an end.

Brisbane made sweeping changes in the assignment system also. He discontinued Macquarie's practice of assigning mechanics to government officials, **and hired** them to settlers at 3s. 6d. a week plus the cost of their maintenance. **This not only saved the Government the**

expense of supporting convicts at £16 a head, but increased the revenue by £3712 16s., making a total gain of £10,240 16s. for the year.

To free Sydney as much as possible from the presence of convicted persons, Brisbane adopted the recommendation that they should be employed in the country. At the request of any settler, he sent one or more gangs, consisting of an overseer and twenty-two convicts, to clear country holdings. The charge for this service was six bushels of wheat for each acre cleared, the wheat to be lodged in the Government stores. This saved the cost of maintaining 1150 convicts for two years, and resulted in the clearance of 11,503 acres in that time. Moreover, Brisbane developed agriculture on the Government's account at Emu Plains and made the Government farms there highly remunerative.

## Land

Another outlet for convict labour was provided by Brisbane's system of land grants. He made it compulsory for the grantee to maintain one convict for each 100 acres granted to him. This further relieved the Government expenses and at the same time ensured the working of the land. In the past, Governors had procured the goodwill of influential settlers by giving them land, supplying them with convict labour, and buying the produce at a fixed price. After 1822 there was no chance of corruption in this way. The owner of land had either to make the land pay for the upkeep of the convict labourers, or to pay for their maintenance out of his pocket.

The practice of buying produce at a fixed price was discontinued. Brisbane called for tenders before purchasing grain, and bought only enough to last for three months.

In 1824 the selling of Crown lands was begun. This

had been recommended by Bigge, who thought he saw in it a means of increasing revenue. In this, however, he was wrong, for the receipt of revenue from land alienated in this way depended entirely on the industry of the owner. The quit-rent of 2s. a year for each 100 acres produced comparatively little in itself.

### **First Step Towards a Constitution**

In 1819 William Charles Wentworth published a book entitled *A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of New South Wales*. Wentworth was the son of D'Arcy Wentworth (Macquarie's friend) and was born on Norfolk Island about 1790. In 1813 he accompanied Blaxland and Lawson on the expedition over the Blue Mountains, and in 1817 went to London to study law. He was called to the bar in 1822. Wentworth's book was written while he was a student-at-law, and in it he strongly advocated the introduction of free political institutions into New South Wales together with the encouragement of emigration to that colony. Great interest was taken in Wentworth's arguments, and the recommendations of Commissioner Bigge were often in harmony with them.

It was clear to the British Government that, owing to the influx of free settlers, changes were necessary in the administration of New South Wales, but the question was, how far should it go in the matter of granting self-government. The subject of appointing an Advisory Council to assist the Governor had been discussed, and rejected, some years earlier; it was now brought up again.

In 1823 the New South Wales Judicature Act was passed. By its provisions the Governor was to be assisted by a Legislative Council in the making of laws for 'the peace, welfare, and good government' of New South Wales. The number of its members was **not to**

be fewer than five or more than seven. It was to be appointed by the Crown, but, as the Colonial Office had to depend on the advice of the Governor in the appointment of its members, in practice it was a Council nominated by the Governor.

As far as its powers were concerned, it was a body that could do little more than express approval or disapproval of laws. The initiation of legislation remained the right of the Governor, and, provided he certified that he believed it to be necessary and had the support of one councillor, he could make any direction he wished a part of the law. In time of danger to the colony, such as rebellion or threatened rebellion, he could make ordinances in opposition to the wishes of a unanimous Council. However, no measure could be brought before the Council or passed into law before it had been formally declared by the Chief Justice to be not repugnant to the laws of England. The right to revise, and to veto, colonial legislation still remained with the Crown.

We see, then, that the Council could hinder the legislative wishes of the Governor only in normal times, and even then only when it acted as a unanimous body. Still, speaking generally, 'this Act laid the foundation of a new order of things. Law was substituted for caprice. In the last resort a governor was still uncontrolled on the spot, but the forms imposed upon him in making Orders brought about a graver and more methodical mode of action than could exist under former governors.'

### Judicial Changes

The criminal and civil courts were separated during Macquarie's administration. The criminal court continued to consist of a Judge-Advocate and six **naval**

or military officers,- the civil was divided into two—a Supreme Court, consisting of a Judge appointed by the Colonial Office and two magistrates appointed by the Governor, which heard cases involving sums over £50; and a Governor's Court, conducted by the Judge-Advocate and two inhabitants appointed by the Governor. Appeal lay to the Governor, assisted by the Judge-Advocate as assessor. This tribunal considered appeals in cases involving sums from £300 to £3000—when more than £3000 was in question appeal lay to the Privy Council in England. The system was faulty, owing mainly to the absence of juries, and to the fact that in criminal cases the Judge-Advocate, who judged the case, was also the person who prosecuted for the Crown.

The Act of 1823 was intended to remedy these faults as far as the circumstances would allow. The office of Judge-Advocate was abolished, the work of the Judge being allotted to one person and that of the Advocate to another. Criminal cases were to be heard by a Judge and seven military or naval officers, but the officers were now subjected to the right of challenge. The Supreme Court was to be presided over by a Chief Justice (Francis Forbes was the first to hold this office) assisted by two or three Judges. In civil cases, if both parties to the suit so desired, a jury of 12 freeholders was to be empanelled. Thus the first step was taken towards regular trial by jury. A juror had to be the holder of 50 acres or the possessor of a dwelling worth not less than £300. A Court of Bequests also was established in which disputes involving £10 or less were to be settled by magistrates.

In 1825 Van Diemen's Land was proclaimed a separate colony, but although it received a Constitution similar to the above, it was not granted full independence. It was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor, who was subordinate to the Governor of New South Wales.

## Freedom of the Press

In 1803 Governor King allowed the first journal in the colony to be established—the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*—and on the 5th of March the first issue was available for circulation. Two months later King gave his reasons for taking this step: 'It being desirable that the settlers and inhabitants at large should be benefited by useful information being dispersed among them, I considered that a weekly publication would greatly facilitate that design, for which purpose I gave permission to an ingenious man, who manages the Government printing press, to collect materials weekly, which, being inspected by an officer, is published in the form of a weekly newspaper.\* The 'ingenious man' was George Howe, a prisoner whom King pardoned in 1806. The *Gazette* was the property of Howe, who edited and printed it under great difficulties. Paper was always scarce, and Howe had to make the ink for himself. Referring to the scope of the journal, Howe says: 'We have courted the assistance of the Ingenious and the Intelligent . . . We open no channel to Political Discussion or Personal Animadversion. Information is our only Purpose.' The information, however, was only that which the Government was willing should be made public. The *Gazette* is the only record of current events up to 1824.

On the 14th of October, 1824, the first issue of the *Australian* appeared. It was a venture organized by W. C. Wentworth and Dr Wardell, who came from England with Wentworth in 1824 for the purpose of editing the paper.

Governor Brisbane did not know how to treat this new weekly publication. He was doubtful whether he had the authority to forbid its continuance, so decided

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\**Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, vol. lv, p. 85, and notes, pp. 661-2.

to say nothing about it until he saw how it was conducted. Howe, when he learnt that the *Australian* was being produced free from all government restraint, applied for the removal of the censorship from the *Gazette* also. Brisbane considered his application favourably. 'As I considered the same opinion alike applied to both,' he wrote to Lord Bathurst on the 14th of January, 1825, 'the censorship was removed; and several months' enjoyment of this privilege to the editor has impressed me that the measure has been productive of more benefit than disadvantage to the public.'\*

This freedom led to abuse, and the next governor, Lieutenant-General Ralph Darling (1825-31), was instructed by Bathurst to prepare a law to control the press. When a Bill that made licences resumable at the Governor's pleasure was placed before Chief Justice Forbes he refused to certify that it was not repugnant to English law (because there had been no licensing of the press in England since 1695) and the measure was abandoned. To regulate the press, the laws of libel and treason would have to be used. So we may say that in 1824 the principle of Freedom of the Press was established in Australia. Thenceforth, newspapers could be used in the struggle to obtain a fuller political freedom.

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\**Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, vol. xi, p. 471.

## CHAPTER XVII

### EXPLORATION IN NORTH AND SOUTH

THE expeditions of Oxley in the north and Hume and Hovell in the south add to the importance of Sir Thomas Brisbane's period of government. At the end of 1815 the known territory of New South Wales was, roughly, the area bounded by the coast from Port Stephens to a spot a little to the south of Port Hacking and a semi-circumference having Bathurst as its most westerly point. By the end of 1824 the western limit had been removed as far again from the coast, the northern to Moreton Bay, and the southern to Port Phillip. In the south-east, only the strip of coast bounded by the Australian Alps remained to be examined.

#### **Oxley's Third Expedition**

The necessity of finding suitable sites for other penal establishments led to Oxley's being sent, on the recommendation of Commissioner Bigge, to examine certain openings on the northern coast. He left Sydney in October, 1823, in the *Mermaid*, bound for Moreton Bay, Port Curtis, and Port Bowen. After calling at Port Macquarie, where a settlement of convicts had been founded in 1821, the vessel sailed slowly along the coast and came to a river which Oxley named the Tweed.

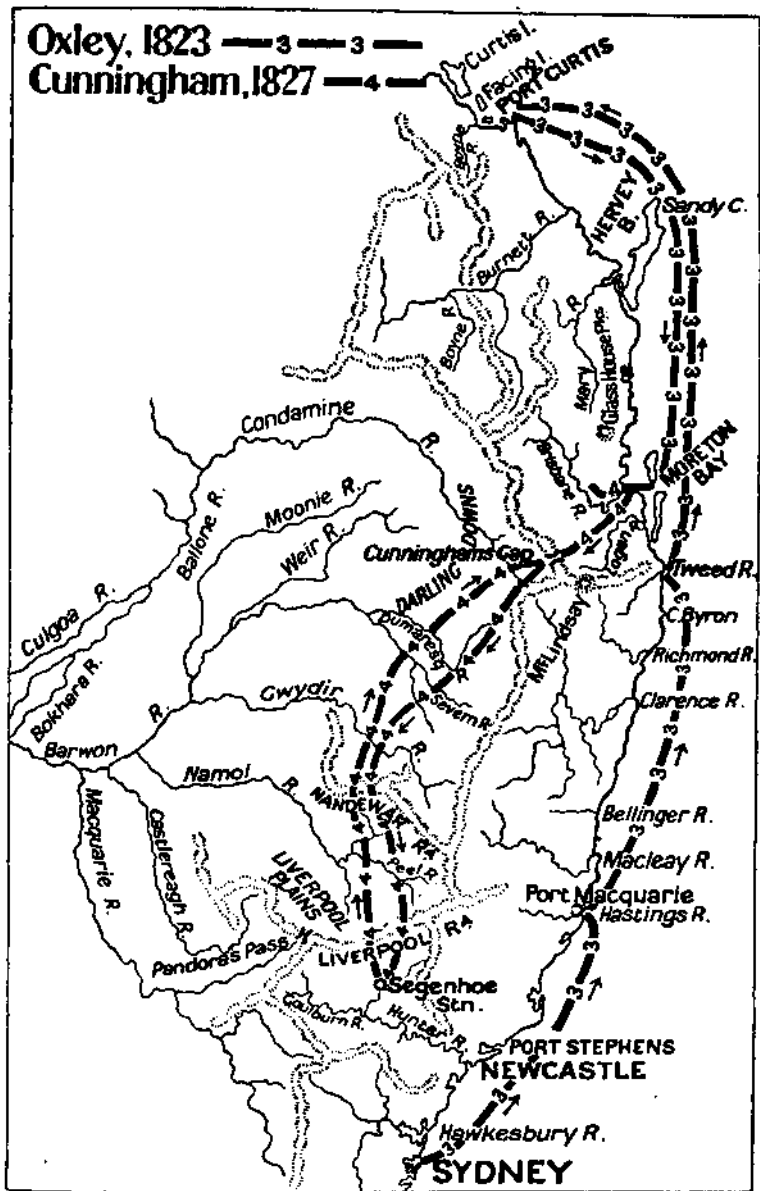
Port Curtis was reached on the 6th of November, but the site did not seem at all suitable for settlement. The party agreed to leave the examination of Port Bowen until a cooler season, and sailed southwards.

The anchor had scarcely been dropped in Moreton Bay before a number of natives appeared on the shore. Among them was a man more noticeable than the others owing to the light colour of his skin. On the next day Oxley landed and found that he was a white man named Pamphlett, who, according to his own story, had set out from Port Jackson with three others to obtain cedar from the Five Islands. They were blown out of their course and suffered for days in an open boat without fresh water. One of them died of thirst. At last the survivors were cast ashore on Moreton Island, where they were befriended by a tribe of blacks. Pamphlett and his companions in distress, Finnegan and Parsons set out for Sydney on foot, but after they had proceeded about fifty miles Pamphlett returned to the Bay. A few days later he was rejoined by Finnegan, who had quarrelled with Parsons.

Oxley made the acquaintance of Finnegan, and among other things learned that a navigable river flowed into the south of the Bay. Next morning he set out in a whaleboat to verify this information, and was delighted to discover the Brisbane River. After ascending it for about twenty miles he landed, and from the top of a hill obtained a wonderful view of the surrounding country. Oxley was satisfied that this was the place for a settlement. Without delay he returned to Sydney, arriving there on the 13th of December. This ended Oxley's share in Australian exploration.

### **Allan Cunningham**

Allan Cunningham was born near London in 1791. His inclinations tended towards an outdoor life and he became interested in botany. At the age of twenty-three he was on the staff of the Royal Gardens at Kew, where his work came under the notice of Sir Joseph



ROUTES OF OXLEY AND CUNNINGHAM

Banks. As a result of Banks's favour, he was sent to collect botanical specimens in Brazil, and on his return was appointed for service in New South Wales. He arrived at Port Jackson at the end of 1816.

\* Cunningham's first inland expedition was that which Oxley led to the Lachlan in 1817. During 1818-22 he made four voyages in the *Mermaid* and one in the *Bathurst*, and in that way became acquainted with parts of the Australian coast. One result of these surveys was the publication: *A Few General Remarks on the Vegetation of Certain Coasts of Terra Australis*.

### **Pandora's Pass**

In 1818 Oxley discovered the Liverpool Plains by crossing the Arbuthnot Range on their west. In 1822 Lawson and Scott made unsuccessful attempts to reach them from the south by crossing the Liverpool Range. On the 31st of March, 1823, Cunningham started from Bathurst and headed north-east until he came to the main range, then followed it as it curved northward to join the southern barrier to the Liverpool Plains. On reaching its northern extremity he turned to the east and followed the valley at the foot of the Liverpool Range for some considerable distance, but being unable to find an opening, turned about, ascended the south side, then worked his way westward along an elevated ridge. At last his efforts were rewarded, for he came upon the pass that he named Pandora's Pass, which made direct communication between Bathurst and the Liverpool Plains an easy matter. Somewhere in this locality he buried a bottle containing information for the first 'who may venture to advance as far to the northward as this vale.' The bottle has not yet been found, although several persons have sought it in the position given by Cunningham.\*

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\*See Appendix to C. Brunson Fletcher's *Coolah Valley*.

## Hamilton Hume

Hamilton Hume was born at Parramatta in 1797. He was the first Australian explorer born on the mainland. Most of his early boyhood was passed rambling in the bush with his brother, and in his seventeenth year he, his brother, and a black boy set off to explore the country around Berrima, where they discovered good pastoral land. In 1818 he accompanied Meehan and Throsby, who started out to explore the valley of the Shoalhaven. Before they had gone far they altered their plans. Throsby made for Jervis Bay via the Kangaroo and Shoalhaven rivers, and Hume and Meehan worked to the west. On this expedition they discovered Lake Bathurst and the Goulburn Plains.

## Expedition of Hume and Hovell

In 1824 Sir Thomas Brisbane was very desirous of learning the nature of the country to the south of Port Jackson, and to this end he seriously considered the landing of a party of convicts on Wilson's Promontory and letting them find their way back to Sydney. Hume prevented the perpetration of such an inhuman act by offering to lead an expedition from Lake George to Port Phillip on the condition that the Government should render him the necessary assistance.

Brisbane accepted the offer, but failed in the matter of finding the necessaries for the journey. However, the situation was saved by William Hilton Hovell, a retired sailor farming at Narellan, who came forward and offered to provide half the required number of horses and cattle. The Government then made a feeble move towards fulfilling its promise, by granting 'six pack-saddles and gear, one tent of Parramatta cloth, two tarpaulins, a suit of slop clothes apiece for the men, and an order to Hume to select 1200 acres of land for himself,'\*

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\*Favenc, *Explorers of Australia*, p. 46,

Hume and Hovell set out from Lake George on the 14th of October, 1824. They were accompanied by six men, who looked after five bullocks, three horses, and two carts. On the 18th they discovered the fertile district then known to the aborigines as Yarh (the present Yass), and named it McDougairs Plains. At this time the Murrumbidgee was in flood, but they crossed it in a cart made into a punt by detaching the wheels and covering the body with tarpaulin. Before long the roughness of the country brought about the abandonment of the carts, and the rations were packed on the bullocks. Continuing in a south-westerly direction the party crossed the Tumut, the Hume (since called the Murray), the Mitta-Mitta, the Ovens, and the Hovell (since called the Goulburn), and at last came to a peak in what is now known as the Hume Range, which they named Mount Disappointment.

After crossing the mountain at a low elevation, the party continued its way on to the shores of Corio Bay. On the 16th of December they were encamped on the site of Geelong, but believed that they were at Western Port. This mistaken belief was due to an error of one degree in Hovell's calculations. During the last month excellent agricultural and pastoral country had been discovered, that around Corio appearing to be equal to any on the northern side of the Australian Alps.

Unfortunately, this journey did not strengthen the friendship of the two leaders. They were continually disagreeing, and in later years jealousy led them to air their grievances in the *Gazette* and *Australian*. But, while at Goulburn, a few years before their death they became reconciled.

#### FURTHER SETTLEMENT

Visions of France's making further attempts at colonization arose once more between 1817 and 1829. In 1817

Captain Louis de Freycinet visited the west coast of Australia and two years later reached Port Jackson with a number of fresh, carefully drawn charts in his possession. In 1822 Duperrey was sent to examine the Pacific and called at Sydney in 1824. Before Duperrey had returned to France, the South Seas were visited by another expedition, that under Baron de Bougainville, which touched at Tasmania. From 1826 to 1829 Dumont d'Urville, in the *Astrolabe*, was engaged in cruising in southern waters. After examining the Australian coast from King George's Sound to Port Jackson (paying particular attention to Western Port) he sailed for New Zealand.

#### Moreton Bay Settlement

At this time France had colonizing schemes in mind, and her active interest in the Pacific aroused Britain's suspicions and fears. The north of Australia, the west, and the mainland in Bass Strait were unoccupied when Governor Darling arrived. The settlement farthest to the north, Brisbane, was founded almost immediately after Oxley's visit to Moreton Bay, but its foundation had been due to the needs of the colony. In stating why he lost no time in giving effect to Oxley's recommendations, Governor Brisbane wrote, on the 21st of May, 1825: 'As Port Macquarie has become almost useless as a penal settlement from the many facilities afforded to the escape of prisoners by the extension of settlers along Hunter's River, and as Norfolk Island would not be sufficient to contain the persons whom it is found necessary to remove for minor offences to remote parts of the colony, I thought it would not be assuming an unsound discretion if I should take measures for immediately preparing Moreton Bay for the reception of prisoners; and I have adopted this step with the less diffidence, as the establishment of penal depots

is the best means of paving the way for the introduction of free population, as the example of Port Macquarie abundantly testifies.\*

Norfolk Island was again brought into use. Brisbane wrote: 'Norfolk Island is confined; the access to it is difficult; and consequently it is not suited to receive many prisoners or frequent transportations. I have, therefore, thought it advisable to reserve that place for capital respites and other higher class of offences. . . . the felon who is sent there is for ever excluded from all hope of return.'

### Melville Island Settlement

The establishments at Port Macquarie, Moreton Bay, and Norfolk Island were direct results of Bigge's Report, but the settlement formed on Melville Island in 1824 was, like that of Port Phillip under Collins, the work of the British Government and due solely to fear of French colonization.

In February, Lord Bathurst informed Governor Brisbane that H.M.S. *Tamar* was about to sail under Captain Bremer Ho the north-west coast of New Holland for the purpose of taking formal possession in the name of His Majesty of that part of the said coast contained between the western coast of Bathurst Island and the eastern side of Coburg Peninsula.' This meant that the western boundary of New South Wales was moved five degrees beyond that given in Governor Phillip's Instructions in 1787. Bathurst considered a settlement on the north coast advisable 'both in a commercial and military point of view,' and he disclosed what was in his mind when he directed Bremer, 'in the event of any other power having anticipated His Majesty's intention with regard to this part of New Holland, and having actually taken possession of either of the Islands or the Peninsula herein mentioned, to abstain from any act of hostility . . . †

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\**Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, vol. xi, p. 604.  
†*ibid.*, p. 229.

The settlement did not prosper, and after being in existence for two years it was transferred by Captain Stirling to Raffles Bay on the mainland. To give Governor Darling jurisdiction over the increased territory, his Commission placed the western boundary of New South Wales at the 129th parallel of east longitude.

### **Western Port and King George's Sound**

As soon as possible after d'Urville's visit to Western Port, a settlement was founded there. Hume and Ho veil had discovered an overland route to the Port Phillip district, and their praise of the place they thought was Western Port, and of the country lying to the north of it, misled the Government into believing that a settlement at Western Port would serve a commercial as well as a strategic end. The newspapers discussed the fertility of the land that the explorers had passed through, and so drew attention to the south-east of Australia. Tasmanian settlers, in particular, became interested, for pasturage in Van Diemen's Land was becoming inadequate to support the increasing flocks.

On the Hth of December, 1826, twenty soldiers, twenty convicts, and some of the soldiers' wives landed near Settlement Point and began the building of huts. Captain Wright, who was in charge of the company, reported unfavourably on the locality. 'The very small quantity of good land,' he wrote, 'and the sterile, swampy, and impenetrable nature of the country surrounding Western Port . . . lead me to believe that it does not possess sufficient capabilities for colonization on a large scale.' Darling forwarded this report, and also another equally unfavourable from Captain Wetherall, to the Secretary of State. The Colonial Office regarded them as reliable and directed that the settlement should be abandoned. This direction was carried

out soon after it was received in Sydney, in 1828. It was in April, 1827, that Batman and Gellibrand, two Tasmanian settlers, applied for land grants at Western Port. Governor Darling informed them that no grants of land there could be made until the fate of the settlement was determined by the Home Authorities. The removal of the community in 1828 led to the definite refusal of the application.

The party that was to take possession of the west of Australia sailed from Sydney for King George's Sound early in November, 1826, under Major Lockyer. He was accompanied by a detachment of the 39th Regiment and a number of convicts. According to Darling's instructions, if he found the French already in possession of that part he was to inform them that 'the whole of New Holland is subject to His Britannic Majesty's Government;' if the French came after he had taken possession of the Sound, they were to be made understand that Britain claimed all New Holland, and that any division of it, such as New South Wales, was 'merely ideal and intended only with a view of distinguishing the more settled part of the country.'

Lockyer landed on Christmas Day and sought a site for the settlement. He chose the spot where Albany now stands. On the 21st of January, 1827, he formally took possession of the territory, then returned to Sydney, leaving Captain Wakefield in command.

Isolated from other civilized centres, and dependent on Sydney for information and supplies, the settlement struggled on until 1831, when its administration passed to the Swan River authorities. By that time, however, the establishment had served the purpose of publishing Britain's claim to the whole of Australia.\*

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\*See Battye, *History of Western Australia*, p. 62.

### **Stirling and the Swan River**

Progress reports from Melville Island were unfavourable, and in April, 1826, the Secretary of State ordered the removal of the community to some place farther eastward. Darling instructed Captain Stirling, of H.M.S. *Success*, to carry out this work as soon as possible. As the season was not favourable to such an undertaking Stirling asked to be allowed in the meanwhile, to explore the Swan River in Western Australia. His request was granted, and on the 17th of January, 1827, he set off for the west coast. On the 6th of March he reached the mouth of the Swan, the region examined by Baudin's expedition in 1801.

Stirling was deeply impressed by the possibilities of the country from the standpoint of colonization. In his report he says: 'In delivering my opinion on the whole of the lands seen on the banks of the Swan, I hesitate not in pronouncing it superior to any I have seen in New South Wales eastward of the Blue Mountains, not only in its local situation, but in many existing advantages that it holds out to settlers.' The advantages he sets forth were: superiority of soil; the comparatively open state of the land, 'the trees not averaging more than ten to the acre;' the presence of a large number of freshwater springs, and the resulting permanent humidity of the ground; and the existence of a water-way, which allows the carriage of settlers' goods 'to their own doors.'

On the strength of this report Darling recommended the establishment of a settlement on the Swan River also. He urged the Colonial Office to take immediate action in the matter, seeing that Stirling's opinion of the district might become known in France; but on the ground of economy the proposal was rejected.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### EXPLORATION 1827-1839

ON the 2nd of May, 1827, Allan Cunningham began the journey of discovery that was to bring the infant settlement at Brisbane into touch with the western plains. Accompanied by six men, with eleven horses and provisions for fourteen weeks, he left Segenhoe, on the Hunter River, and proceeded in a northerly direction. A little more than a week later he reached Oxley's track of 1818, at the foot of the Nundewar Range, and entered country hitherto untraversed by white men.

#### **The Darling Downs**

Little difficulty was experienced in crossing the range. On the other side he descended into the valley of the Gwydir, which, despite a severe drought at the time, he described as 'the most luxuriant pasture we had met since we had left the Hunter.' But soon the country lost its verdure and at last became so arid that Cunningham decided to set a more easterly course. Travelling in the new direction, on the 28th the party came upon the Dumaresque River (pronounced Dumerrick) and named it after the family 'to which His Excellency the Governor is so intimately connected.' A week later they were standing on an elevation overlooking the Darling Downs. 'A hollow in the forest ridge immediately before us,' Cunningham writes (on the 5th of June), 'allowed me distinctly to perceive that at a distance of eight or nine miles, open plains or downs of great extent appeared to extend easterly to the base of a lofty range of mountains, lying south and north, distant by estimation about thirty miles.' Here was

country that would assure the future prosperity of Moreton Bay. Cunningham pushed on until he reached the Condamine, which he named in honour of the Governor's aide-de-camp.

### **Peel's Plains and Canning Downs**

Continuing to the northward, the party came to 'a truly beautiful apple-tree forest.'. From an elevation near by were to be seen 'large cleared patches of land lying to the north of Darling Downs.' These were named Peel's Plains, 'whilst others, bearing to the S. and S.E. . . . were entitled Canning Downs, in honour of the late Right Hon. George Canning. The extent of these downs easterly we were unable from the point on which we stood to observe, but on the south they were bounded by a lofty ridge of hills lying nearly east and west, which was named Harris Ranges.\*

The question as to how this wonderful country could be made accessible to the settlement on the coast now arose in Cunningham's mind. After climbing the highest spur of the eastern barrier he was able to see part of the Moreton Bay district, and came to the conclusion that it would not be difficult to construct a road from Brisbane to the Downs through a gap that was plainly visible.

On the 8th of June he began the journey back to Segenhoe, and arrived there on the 28th of July.

### **Expedition from Moreton Bay**

In the next year (1828) Cunningham started westward from Moreton Bay in an endeavour to reach the Darling Downs. On this occasion he was accompanied by Captain Logan, the commandant at Brisbane. His first attempt to identify the gap that he had seen in the previous year failed, but a second met with success.

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\*Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*, p. 79 ; see also pp. 80-126,

Shortly afterwards, a road was made through this gap—Cunningham's Gap—but although it was used until the advent of the railway, the Darling Downs were usually approached from the western side of the range.

This was Cunningham's last expedition. He went back to England in 1831 and remained there until 1837. On his return to Sydney he took over the control of the Botanic Gardens, but resigned soon afterwards. In 1838 he crossed over to New Zealand, but on falling ill six months later was brought back to New South Wales. He died in Sydney on the 27th of June, 1839, and was buried in the old Sydney cemetery (now the site of the Central railway station). In 1901 his remains were removed to the Botanic Gardens and placed within an obelisk erected to his memory.

### THE RIVER SYSTEM

Charles Sturt was 'the first, the boldest, and by far the most unfortunate' of the explorers who sought to solve the problem of the eastern river system of Australia. He arrived at Sydney in 1826, as captain, with a detachment of the 39th Regiment. Before long he was acting as private secretary to Governor Darling, and was promoted to the rank of Major. His interest was aroused in the river problem as soon as he arrived, and in 1828, Oxley, then on his death-bed, recommended that Sturt should be sent to investigate the lower course of the Macquarie.

#### **Sturt's First Expedition**

For two years the country had been suffering a severe drought, so severe that 'in the creeks weeds had grown and withered, and grown again; and young saplings were now rising in their beds, nourished by the moisture that still remained; but the large forest trees were



drooping, and many were dead. The emus with outstretched necks, gasping for breath, searched the channels of the rivers for water in vain; and the native dog, so thin that he could hardly walk, seemed to implore some merciful hand to despatch him.\* It was thought that such a time would be most favourable to tracing the course of the streams that, owing to marshes, had baffled Oxley in 1817 and 1818; but who could lead an expedition into the drought-stricken interior? Darling's choice fell on Sturt, with Hamilton Hume second in command.

The party, consisting of Sturt, Hume, two soldiers, and eight convicts, started off for the Macquarie on the 10th of December, 1828. On the 20th they reached Mount Harris, the terminus of Oxley's 1819 survey, and there formed a depot. From this point Sturt started in a boat to follow the course of the stream, while Hume set out northwards to reach the Macquarie at a spot higher up. Sturt's success was no greater than Oxley's had been: the channel disappeared in reeds and marshes. Hume came upon a stream but soon it, too, was swallowed up in a swamp.

On the last day of December they separated again, Sturt going to the north-west and Hume to the north-east. Before long Sturt reached a river, which he called New Year's Creek (now known as the Bogan River), and after a short rest proceeded to an elevation, which he named Oxley's Tableland. From its summit he could see nothing but a monotonous plain, so on the next day turned and retraced his steps. Hume's experiences were as disappointing as those of his leader.

The united party next made their way to New Year's Creek and began to follow its course. On the 1st of February, 1829, the bank of 'a noble river' was reached, but the delight that its discovery had given rise to was

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\*Sturt, quoted by Favenc, *Explorers of Australia*, p. 60.

lessened when it was found that its water was salt. (The saltiness was due to the prolonged drought. The contribution of the brine springs in the banks exceeded the quantity of fresh water.) For six days they followed this river, the Darling, then, owing to the lack of fresh water, were forced to turn back. At Mount Harris they found a relief party that had been awaiting them for three weeks.

On the 7th of March, Sturt and Hume started northwards for the Castlereagh River (discovered by Evans in 1818), the channel of which was now quite dry. They worked along it, and on the 29th of March again came upon the Darling, at a spot about ninety miles above the place where they had first reached it. Lack of fresh water compelled them to abandon further exploration, and they returned to Mount Harris on the 7th of April. This was the end of the first expedition.

### **Sturt's Second Expedition**

There was now little doubt about the course of the Macquarie, but the outlet of the Darling raised a new problem. To attempt its solution, Sturt, accompanied by George Macleay, was sent out in 1829.

On this occasion it was decided to begin with the Murrumbidgee, since it promised a more plentiful supply of water, and settlement had extended nearly as far as Gundagai. Sturt and his party left Sydney on the 3rd of November and reached the Murrumbidgee at Jugiong three weeks later. After passing the junction of the Tumut and also the site of Wagga, they at length came within twenty miles of Oxley's terminus in 1819. (This shows how near Oxley had been to discovering the Murrumbidgee.)

The junction of the Lachlan and Murrumbidgee was passed on the 7th of January, 1830, and a week later they came upon a river which Sturt called the Murray

(in honour of Sir George Murray, Secretary of State in 1828), but which was really the Hume, discovered by Hume and Hovell. This, however, Sturt did not know.

The journey along the Murrumbidgee had been made in a boat, the parts of which had been brought from Sydney, and owing to the narrowness of the stream, it had been both slow and tiring. The river they were now on was wide enough to allow the use of sails, and as a consequence their progress was quicker and the work less exhausting. Had it not been for the blacks, the next fortnight would have passed quite pleasantly, but the tribes in that region proved so hostile that on several occasions the lives of the explorers were in danger. It was just after one of the most exciting encounters that, on the 23rd, they came to the junction of 'a new and beautiful stream, coming apparently from the north.' After proceeding up it for a short distance Sturt correctly assumed that it was the Darling. So the problem of the Macquarie, Lachlan, and Darling had at last been solved.

The remainder of the journey down the Murray was anything but pleasant. The oars were again in almost constant use, and progress was frequently hindered by tribes of blacks. Moreover, rations were running low, and the want of food was beginning to tell on the men.

On the 9th of February the mouth of the Murray was reached. There Sturt saw before him a stretch of water that appeared to be a lake, and named it Alexandria (after the princess who, seven years later, became Queen Victoria). On examination it turned out to be little more than a mud flat; and all endeavours to cross it to reach Encounter Bay failed. The return journey by way of the Murray was then begun.

By this time the men were weak from want of food, but they heroically faced the ordeal of labouring at the

oar for many days against an adverse current. On the 13th of March they re-entered the Murray, and on the 17th reached the junction of the Murrumbidgee. A week later they were back at their starting-point, all nearly dead from starvation. Their troubles, however, were not yet over, for the relief party had not arrived at the depot. Their misery was prolonged for another six days.

Thus ended one of the most heroic journeys ever made into the unknown parts of any country. Sturt and his brave companions received little recognition for their work. Shortly afterwards Sturt was sent to Norfolk Island with a detachment of his regiment. In 1832 he temporarily lost the sight of one eye (owing to strain undergone on the Murray) and obtained permission to go to England. There the sight of both eyes failed, and he retired from the army. Fortunately, his affliction was not permanent. In 1834, having been granted 5000 acres in New South Wales, he returned and for a time settled at Mittagong.

### THOMAS LIVINGSTONE MITCHELL

At the age of sixteen Thomas Mitchell volunteered for active service in the Peninsula War. From his earliest years he showed an aptitude for map-drawing, and was soon singled out by the army authorities to draw sketches of battlefields. In 1811 (then nineteen years old) he became a lieutenant, in 1822 a captain, and in 1826 a major. His work obtained for him an appointment in New South Wales at a salary of £500 a year. Of three positions offered him, he chose that of assistant to Oxley, the Surveyor-General, and came out to the colony in September, 1827. Oxley died in May, 1828, and Mitchell was appointed in his place.

During his period of office he worked energetically at the making of new roads and the improvement of old ones, the survey of eastern Australia, the laying out of towns, and the division of settled areas into counties. But his name is best known in connexion with certain expeditions that added much to the knowledge of geology and plant-distribution in inland areas.

Sturt's appointment as leader of the 1829 expedition was galling to Mitchell, and he showed a detestable spirit by doing all he could to belittle the work of that gallant explorer. While he doubted the truth of most of Sturt's assumptions, he was particularly anxious to prove Sturt wrong in believing that the Darling joined the Murray.

### 'Australia Felix'

His explorations of 1831 and 1835 did little in the way of opening up new country. The first of these revealed the presence of the Macintyre River, but the second added nothing to the map. On this journey Mitchell proceeded down the Darling from its point of junction with the Bogan for three hundred miles.

On the 17th of March, 1836, he led an expedition from Orange to the Lachlan. Hoping to prove that Sturt had mistaken the Lachlan for the Darling, he followed Oxley's route of 1817, but on finding that Sturt's statement was correct, struck across to the Murray, and traced it to its junction with the Darling. Next, he returned to the Murray-Murrumbidgee junction, then proceeded along its southern bank to Swan Hill, where he camped on the 30th of June. Near by was Mount Hope, which he ascended and from which he obtained a view that made him decide to travel to the south-west. The country around him appeared to be a veritable Garden of Eden, and so deeply was he

impressed by its beauty that a great part of his Journal from this date is taken up in recording his delight as he moved southwards through what he called 'Australia Felix.'

On the 8th of July the Loddon was reached, and on the 10th the Avoca. He now struck off to the south-west to learn more about the district. At length he came to the Wimmera, and on the 31st of July to the Glenelg. Following this river towards its mouth, the party reached the coast near Cape Northumberland.

The journey homewards was now begun. Mitchell moved off to the east, but was soon stopped by the sight of a settlement of white men at Portland Bay. From the hills he saw 'a mass of white objects, which might have been either tents or vessels.' This was the settlement of the Hentys, who had crossed over from Van Diemen's Land two years earlier and were now engaged in sheep-raising and whaling. It was not the only community that by this time had settled in 'Australia Felix' without the permission of, and unknown to, the authorities in Sydney, for in 1835 John Batman, also from Launceston, founded a settlement on the Yarra—the settlement that eventually became the city of Melbourne.

From the Hentys the explorers received supplies, then continued the journey back to Sydney. After crossing the Pyrenees they came to Castlemaine, and from there proceeded to Mount Macedon, from which elevation Port Phillip was clearly visible. All possible haste was now made for the Murray. The river was crossed near Albury, and Mitchell hurried on to Sydney. His glowing report of the land that he had passed over immediately aroused the interest of graziers and farmers, and was mainly responsible for the settling of Victoria during the next fifteen years.

## GEORGE GREY

George Grey was born at Lisbon in 1812. When seventeen years of age he joined the army, and four years later received the commission of lieutenant. But his heart was not in military work; he longed to go abroad and indulge a spirit of adventure. Consequently, in 1836 he proposed that he should be sent to explore the north-west coast of Australia. His proposal was favourably considered by the Colonial Office, and he was instructed to proceed to Prince Regent River and work his way down to the Swan River. He was to investigate the territory from an economic and a physiographic point of view, to collect specimens of natural history, and to make the natives familiar with the name of Britain and British habits of living.

**First Expedition**

Grey, accompanied by a Lieutenant Lushington and a small party, sailed for Australia, and on the 2nd of December, 1838, reached Hanover Bay. After stores were landed, the *Lynher*, which had been chartered at the Cape of Good Hope, sailed for Timor to procure horses. She returned late in January, 1839, when the party set out with twenty-six wild Timor ponies and a few sheep and goats. The country was rough and the members of the expedition altogether inexperienced. To make matters worse, before a month was over a hostile tribe of natives appeared, and in the ensuing collision Grey was wounded.

Continuing on their way, they at last came upon a river, which they named the Glenelg. A sandstone range ran parallel to it, and for many days they plodded on, sometimes along the bank of the river, sometimes at the foot of the range. At last a flooded tributary blocked their course. While trying to find a passage

over the mountains Grey discovered a number of caves containing remarkable aboriginal drawings and paintings on the walls, and also a head in profile cut in the face of a sandstone rock.

Grey's wound was troubling him, so he decided to leave the exploration unfinished for the time being. The party now retraced its steps, and again reached Hanover Bay on the 15th of April. Close at hand, H.M.S. *Beagle* was lying at anchor.

The *Lynher* then set sail for the Isle of France, where the party soon recovered their strength and spirits. Grey decided to obtain the advice of Stirling before again tackling the west coast, and in August proceeded to the Swan River.

### **Second Expedition**

The second expedition turned out to be a long series of misfortunes. On the 17th of February, 1839, Grey and eleven others sailed for Shark Bay in a whaler, taking several whaleboats with them. They landed on Bernier Island and erected a depot. The whaler then sailed off. That night a heavy sea dashed one of the boats on to the rocks and half a ton of stores were lost. On reaching the mainland two days later, the party found itself at the mouth of a river, which Grey named the Gascoyne. After proceeding by boat northwards and losing more of the stores, they decided to return to Bernier Island. On arrival there they were dismayed to find that a storm had swept the island during their absence and destroyed what provisions they had left at the depot. All that now remained was twenty pounds of damaged flour and twelve pounds of salt pork. In the circumstances there was nothing to be done but to return to the Swan River.

The passage to the mainland again proved a dangerous

one. The boats were damaged beyond repair by a heavy gale that had set in, but on the 31st of March the party managed to land without serious accident at Gantheaume Bay. The exhausted and half-starved little band was now faced with a 300-mile tramp through unknown country to Perth.

Footsore and exhausted they managed to keep together for the first one hundred miles, but by the time that distance had been covered few were in a condition to keep up the rate of travelling. Since their lives depended on speedy assistance, Grey and some of the least exhausted pushed on, leaving the others to follow. After days of great suffering he reached the Perth settlement. Relief parties were at once sent out to rescue the remainder of the expedition. Difficulty was experienced in finding them, for, half-maddened by privation, they had wandered apart. In the meanwhile one of them died. This expedition ended Grey's career, as an explorer.

The result of these attempts at exploration was small. The Glenelg and the Gascoyne, and the other rivers crossed (and named) farther to the south (Murchison, Hutt, Bower, Buller, Chapman, Greenough, Irwin, Arrowsmith, and Smith) were added to the map, but nothing more was made known about the country south of the Murchison.

Grey arrived in England in 1840. Soon after his arrival he was offered, and accepted, the governorship of South Australia in succession to Colonel Gawler.

## CHAPTER XIX

### COLONIZING WESTERN AUSTRALIA

THE opening of the interior of New South Wales led to a change in the policy of the Colonial Office. The success of Macarthur as a wool-grower turned the attention of English pastoralists to Australia, and the discovery of rich pastureland in the interior gave rise to a vigorous policy regarding migration. This, as we have seen, was stoutly opposed by Macquarie. During his administration the complaints of settlers were many and frequent, but they helped little to remedy grievances. Although the Home Authorities encouraged migration to New South Wales, they took practically no interest in the settler when once he had left England. It was very difficult to gain the ear of the Secretary of State. On this subject Charles Buller wrote:

'There are rooms in the Colonial Office with old and meagre furniture, bookcases crammed with gazettes and newspapers, tables covered with baize, and some old and crazy chairs scattered about, in which those who have personal applications to make are doomed to wait until the interview can be obtained. Here, if perchance some day you should be forced to tarry, you will find strange, anxious-looking beings, who pace to and fro in feverish impatience, or sit dejected at the tables, unable in the agitation of their thoughts to find any occupation to while away their hours, and starting every time that the door opens, in hopes that the mes-

senger is come to announce that their turn has arrived. These are men with colonial grievances. The very messengers know them, their business, and its hopelessness, and eye them with pity as they bid them wait their long and habitual period of attendance. No experienced eye can mistake their faces, once expressive of health and confidence, and energy now worn by hopes deferred, and the listlessness of prolonged dependence. One is a recalled Governor boiling over with a sense of mortified pride and frustrated policy; another, a judge recalled for daring to resist the Compact of his colony; another, a merchant whose whole property has been destroyed by some job or oversight; another, the organ of the remonstrances of some Colonial Parliament; another, a widow struggling for some pension on which her hopes of existence hang; and perhaps another is a man whose project is under consideration. Every one of these has passed hours in that dull, but anxious attendance, and knows every nook and corner of this scene of his sufferings. The grievance originated probably long years ago, and bandied about between colony and home, or by letter or by interview, has dragged on its existence thus far.

'One comes to have an interview with the Chief Secretary; one, who has tried Chief and Under-Secretaries in their turn, is now doomed to waste his remonstrance on some clerk. One has been waiting for days to have his first interview; another, weeks to have his answer to his memorial; another, months in expectation of the result of a reference to the colony; and some reckon the period of their suffering by years. Some are silent; some utter aloud their hopes or fears, and pour out their tale on their fellow-sufferers; some endeavour to conciliate by their meekness! some give vent to their rage when, after hours of attendance, the messenger

summons in their stead some sleek contented-looking visitor, who has sent up his name only the moment before, but whose importance as a Member of Parliament or some powerful interest or society obtains him an instant interview. And if by chance you should see one of them at last receive the long-desired summons, you will be struck at the nervous reluctance with which he avails himself of the permission. After a short conference you will generally see him return with disappointment stamped on his brow, and quitting the Office, wend his lonely way home to despair, or perhaps to return to his colony and rebel. These chambers of woe are called the "Sighing Rooms," and those who recoil from the sight of suffering should shun the ill-omened precincts.\*

When the 'gaol' aspect of the colony had disappeared, the British Government found no difficulty in inducing people to settle there. In 1821 over three hundred assisted immigrants reached Australia, and year by year the number increased until, in 1829, it reached two thousand. Two years later, when labour conditions in England were bad, the working classes also were encouraged to make homes in the colony. It was in the matter of migration that the Home Government most clearly showed its incapacity and lack of organization.

'The vessels,' we are told, 'were ill-ventilated, ill-provisioned, over-crowded, and almost unseaworthy . . . The ships' food, which was coarse and unwholesome, could only be supplemented at exorbitant prices by the needy travellers.' The emigrant ship was really worse than the convict ship. The ships' doctors, for example, were usually worse than useless. On one occasion, we are told, a captain strained the muscles of his arm. The doctor examined the injury, and having

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\*Wrong, *Charles Bullet and Responsible Government*, pp. 160-1.

come to the conclusion that it was badly fractured, banded it. When the vessel reached port, the ship's medical officer discussed the case with another doctor and informed him that without doubt both the 'tibia and fibula' (which are bones in the leg) were broken! In the circumstances it is not remarkable that many died on the voyage and that few arrived free from fever. In the words of Charles Buller: 'Emigration aimed at little more than the shovelling out of paupers to where they might die without shocking their betters with the sight or sound of their agony.'

However, when syndicates were formed in England for taking up land in the colonies, many of these evils were avoided, for the syndicate managed the transportation of its own settlers overseas.

### SPECIAL LAND GRANTS

Grants of land were made to syndicates by special Acts of Parliament. On the 21st of June, 1824, an Act was passed approving of the formation of the *Australian Agricultural Company*. This company was founded in London by John Macarthur, jun., Joseph Hume, Wilberforce, the Duke of Wellington and eight other English capitalists. It was to provide £1,000,000, mainly for wool-growing, and was to receive a grant of one million acres in New South Wales, together with the convict labour necessary for working it. Oxley recommended that it should select land either on the Liverpool Plains or at Port Stephens. The latter place was chosen, and on the 26th of June, 1825, Robert Dawson left England with 80 settlers, 720 sheep, 15 thoroughbred horses, and 12 head of cattle. They arrived in January, 1826, and in the following May were settling at Port Stephens.

Neither the district nor the methods of management

were suitable to the purpose in hand, and the Company was on the point of failure when the British Government handed over to it 2000 acres situated on the Newcastle coal-fields, and what was really a monopoly of coal production for thirty-one years. It surrendered 500,000 acres of the Port Stephens grant and received an equivalent area on the Liverpool Plains. From then onward the Company prospered. It is still in existence.\*

Another large grant made by the British Parliament at this time was that received by the *Van Diemen's Land Company*. In 1820 James Dixon, as master of the *Skelton*, brought a number of free settlers to Tasmania. The good fortune of the Australian Agricultural Company led him to propose the formation of a syndicate to obtain land in the north-west of the island. Capitalists in London took the matter up, and in 1824 formed the Van Diemen's Land Company. They applied for 500,000 acres, but Lord Bathurst was prepared to grant only 250,000 at a quit rent of £468 a year. His offer was accepted, and in 1826 a block of 20,000 acres was selected at Circular Head. As a result of exploration during 1827, an additional 230,000 acres were taken up, spreading over Woolworth (near Cape Grim), Hampshire Hills, Middlesex Plains, Surrey Hills, and on Robbins, Walker, and Trefoil Islands. Within seven years of its formation the Company was holding more than 400,000 acres of Tasmanian land.

Just as the Australian Agricultural Company was highly beneficial to New South Wales, so the Van Diemen's Land Company was highly beneficial to Tasmania. It did a great deal in the way of making roads, improving stock, and extending cultivation. It was reorganized in 1853 and is also still in existence.

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\*See Greg'son, *The Australian Agricultural Company 1824-1875*, which contains much historical information on the period.

## SCHEME OF THOMAS PEEL

When Thomas Peel (a near relative of Sir Robert Peel) had read Stirling's report on the Swan River district and learnt that the British Government had no intention of giving effect to Darling's recommendation to make a settlement there, he and a number of his friends decided to form a syndicate to send settlers to Western Australia. In return for a grant of 4,000,000 acres they offered to send out 10,000 settlers and enough stock for their needs. They proposed to raise sheep, horses, and cattle, and grow produce that would find a ready market in England, such as flax, sugar, cotton, and tobacco.

The British Government, however, was not prepared to alienate such a large area. The syndicate had guaranteed to find £300,000 for the venture, reckoning the cost of taking the settlers over at £30 a head, which the Colonial Office thought was far too high a figure. Again, 4,000,000 acres exchanged for £300,000 meant the alienation of land at the price of 1s. 6d. an acre, which might be far too low a figure. The Colonial Office then announced its terms of settlement:

Each settler would be granted 40 acres for every £3 in money or goods 'invested,' but nothing would be allowed for transportation or maintenance. Further, this land would not become the freehold property of the settler unless he could prove that within the first three years he had spent at least 1s. 6d. on each acre by way of improving it. Settlers were to form groups of eleven, of whom five were to be women. All payments by the British Government were to be made in land grants.

By this time Peel's friends had one by one dropped out of the syndicate, and he alone was left. He was now offered 250,000 acres on the condition that he landed 400 settlers before the 1st of November, 1829. Any

additional capital invested would be balanced by additional grants up to 750 000 acres. This offer he accepted, and, having already purchased a vessel to take settlers out, continued the outlay of his entire fortune of £50,000.

Early in December, 1828, Captain Fremantle, in H.M.S. *Challenger*, was sent off to take possession of the Swan River and lay claim to 'all that part of New Holland which is not included within the territory of New South Wales.' This he did on the 2nd of May, 1829. Captain Stirling was placed in charge of the settlement as lieutenant-governor, and in-lieu of salary received 100,000 acres. Fremantle was sadly disappointed in the country, and saw nothing but disaster ahead for the settlers. What Stirling had viewed from a distance looked very different at close quarters. But it was too late to save the situation, for settlers were already on their way from England. On the 1st of June, 1829, Stirling reached the mainland, in the *Parmelia*, and fixed the sites of Fremantle and Perth. By the end of the year 18 vessels had arrived, bringing out 850 immigrants. This raised the population to 1290.

### **Failure of Peel's Settlement**

Peel did not reach the Swan River until December, 1829, nor did he bring more than 300 settlers with him. For these reasons he failed to fulfil the conditions of his grant. However, 250,000 acres had been provisionally allotted to him, and his right to this area was confirmed in 1834.

The first settlers had a very trying time. After narrowly escaping shipwreck they eventually landed on the unsheltered and inhospitable Garden Island. There they were compelled to remain for some months enduring great privation while parties carried out a survey

of the mainland. Meanwhile ship after ship arrived laden with more immigrants.

The only port at hand was a weather-beaten opening (Fremantle), and the only spot suitable for a settlement was miles away. It was there that the township of Perth later arose, on the Swan River. Very few of the heavy articles brought out ever reached Perth. Expensive goods, such as pianos, carriages, costly furniture, and books, were useless to pioneers and had been brought from England only because it was understood that each £3 of their value would entitle the owner to 40 acres. As soon as their commercial value had been proved they were usually abandoned. By the end of 1830 over 1300 persons were in the settlement.

Fate was against the venture from the start, but wise administration might have prevented it from becoming the failure that it turned out to be. At the outset Stirling destroyed all chances of success by giving the first choice of land to holders of the largest grants. All land around Perth was soon taken up in 50,000- and 100,000-acre blocks, with the result that those entitled to smaller holdings were pushed out into the wilds, miles away from the central market. Moreover, these unfortunate settlers were almost entirely at the mercy of hostile tribes of blacks.

Peel and many others were ruined. Agriculture proved a failure, and the stock dwindled away. Believing that the colony had failed beyond hopes of recovery, the colonists who still had the means to get away did so. Some returned to England, but more set out for the eastern settlements. Among the latter were the Hentys, who made their way over to Launceston. The population, which had reached 4000, had fallen to 1500 by 1832.\*

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\*See Mills, *The Colonization of Australia (1829-42)*, chapter MI.

The breakdown of the undertaking was due mainly to the Imperial Government's ignorance of colonization and colonial conditions. Success cannot result from the laying down of rigid rules of administration without regard to circumstances of time and place. Western Australia was quite fit for settlement, but it required financial help from the Home Government. Again, Stirling showed a lack of even common sense in his allotment of land. He might have known that by granting very large holdings in one district he was merely tying up great areas that would remain in an unimproved condition, and that he was bringing certain ruin to the small settler. The fault was not always in the land or in the type of settler; the failure of the Perth settlement was due mainly to the foolishness of the Colonial Office and Governor Stirling.\*

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\*Dr Battye's *History* is the standard authority on Western Australia.

## CHAPTER XX

### PORTPHILLIPSETTLEMENT

STIRLING'S report on the Swan River district came under the notice of Thomas Henty, a Sussex pastoralist, and led him to send his three sons (James, John, and Stephen) to the Swan River Settlement in May, 1829. They arrived at Perth in the following October, bringing with them labourers and 147 sheep, and claimed land to the value of £6000 (i.e., 80,000 acres). By this time the best and most accessible land had been allotted, so they were compelled to accept an area inferior in quality and far removed from the centre of civilization. By 1831 the failure of the Hentys was so patent that they decided to forsake the district and try their fortune in Van Diemen's Land. James and John proceeded to Launceston, leaving Stephen in Perth to wind up their affairs.

#### **The Hentys at Portland Bay**

In 1832 Thomas (the father), Edward, and the rest of the family joined the two brothers in Launceston. Before long they found that they were little better off there, for the price of land was high and the available pasturage small. As a consequence they turned their eyes towards the mainland on the farther side of Bass Strait. After examining Spencer Gulf, in June, 1833, Edward Henty reached Portland Bay. Since that district appeared to contain desirable land, it was visited

by his father in December. Early in the next year Thomas Henty applied for a grant of 20,000 acres, offering 5s. an acre, but his application was refused. After discussing the matter with his sons he decided to settle at the Bay without a grant.

On the 14th of November, 1834, Edward sailed from Launceston in the *Thistle*, with 17 head of cattle, many kinds of seeds, and a number of fruit-trees. At this time Portland Bay was a resort of whalers, but when Edward arrived there on the 19th he found the place deserted. The other members of the family followed him in December, and when the whalers returned in the next year they were surprised to find the work of establishing a settlement well in hand. Not only was a large area under cultivation, but cattle and merino sheep (the first to reach Victoria) were grazing on fenced-off land.

Stephen came over from the Swan River in 1836, and induced his brothers to add whaling to their other occupations. It was soon after this that Mitchell discovered the settlement. Owing to Mitchell's description of the Wannon, the Hentys in the next year began to pasture sheep on Merino Downs.

### JOHN BATMAN

Two Tasmanian settlers, John Batman and J. T. Gelli-  
brand, in 1827 applied to Governor Darling for grants  
of pasture land at Western Port, but their application  
was refused. Batman, however, kept his eye on the  
district while his Tasmanian flocks increased and Tas-  
manian pasturage decreased. He was a native of Parra-  
matta who, in 1821 (being then twenty-one years of  
age), had gone to Tasmania in search of a fortune, and  
had settled down as a sheep farmer, at first near Ben  
Lomond, Being a lover of adventure, he had an oppor-

tunity of making a name for himself in the troubled period through which Tasmania passed after Davey's administration ended. The weak government that followed could not cope with bushranging bands and hostile aboriginal tribes, and, as a consequence, beyond the limits of the town every colonist had to look to his own defence. We are told that the capture of Matthew Brady, the leader of a notorious gang of bushrangers that caused the district great anxiety, was due to Batman.

### **Batman at Port Phillip**

When Batman learnt that Hume and Hovell had mistaken Port Phillip for Western Port, he gave no further thought to Western Port but concentrated his attention on Port Phillip. In 1834 a syndicate of fifteen Launceston men, including Batman and Gellibrand, fitted out a small expedition to examine the country on the farther side of Bass Strait, and on the 10th of May, 1835, Batman set out in the schooner *Rebecca* with three white men and six New South Wales aborigines. On the 29th they reached the Victorian mainland, entered Port Phillip, and landed at Indented Head. Batman was delighted with all that he saw in that part and decided to examine the district inland. On the 3rd of June he wrote in his journal: 'We left the vessel about 9 a.m. and proceeded in a boat up the river (Saltwater) for about five miles . . . The land was of the best description, equal to anything in the world . . . '\*

The party went on until sundown, by which time they had gone twenty-six miles. 'As we were preparing to camp on the bank of the river.' Batman continues, 'I caught sight of a damp place, and on sending one of my men, Gumm, to make a hole with a stick to the depth of

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\*For selections from Batman's Journal, see Swinburne, *A. Source Book of Australian History*, pp. 120-6,

two feet, we had, in the course of an hour, a plentiful supply of good water . . . I have named this place "Gumm's well." '

On the 6th of June he wrote: 'We made an early breakfast and resumed our journey in order to reach the camp of the blacks, the smoke of whose fires we had seen yesterday. We travelled over land equal to any we had seen. . . . After travelling eight miles we struck the trail of the natives, which in a short time led us to a branch of the tribe consisting of one chief, his wife, and three children—fine, plump, chubby, healthy-looking urchins they were. To this distinguished royal chieftain of the prairies I gave one pair of blankets, handkerchiefs, beads, and three pocket-knives; upon the receipt of these presents he undertook the part of guide. . . . Our new guide informed us that he would take us to his tribe, at the same time naming many of its chiefs.

'After travelling about eight miles, we were surprised to hear a number of voices calling after us, and on looking round encountered six men, armed with spears fixed in their wommeras. We stopped and they at once threw aside their spears, and came up to us in the most friendly manner possible. We all shook hands, and I gave them knives, tomahawks, etc., whereupon they took the lead, and brought us back about a mile, to where we found huts, or gunyahs, and a number of women and children. We sat down in the midst of these sooty and sable aboriginal children of Australia, amongst whom we ascertained were eight chiefs belonging to the country near Port Phillip . . . . The three principal chiefs were brothers. Two of them were fully six feet high and tolerably good-looking; the third was not so tall, but much stouter than the others. The other five chiefs were equally fine men.'

## A Business Transaction

Batman made the natives understand that he had come to Port Phillip to purchase land from them, and he soon arrived at a satisfactory agreement with the chiefs.

'I purchased,' he says, 'two large blocks or tracts of land, about 600,000 acres, more or less, and, in consideration thereof, I gave them blankets, knives, looking-glasses, tomahawks, beads, scissors, flour, etc. I also further agreed to pay them a tribute or rent yearly. The parchment or deed was signed this afternoon by the eight chiefs, each of them at the same time handing me a portion of the soil, thus giving me a full possession of the tracts of land I had purchased.'<sup>7</sup>

The treaty with the natives had been drawn up by Gellibrand. The price of the land was, actually, 40 pairs of blankets, 130 knives, 42 tomahawks, 40 looking-glasses, 62 pairs of scissors, 205 handkerchiefs, 18 red shirts, 4 flannel jackets, 4 suits of clothes, and 150 lb. of flour. The annual rent consisted of similar goods to the cash value of about £320. Each chief made his mark against his name—the three brothers Jagajaga, next Cooloolock, Bunjarie, Yanyan, Moolokop, and Mommarmalar—last, beneath all, came the signature, 'John Batman.' The area purchased stretched from the main range to Geelong, and on to include the Queenscliff peninsula.

'This most extraordinary sale and purchase took place by the side of a lovely stream of water (Batman's Creek) from whence my land commenced . . . A tree was here marked in four different ways to define the corner boundaries . . . Our negotiation was terminated by my Sydney natives giving our newly-acquired friends a grand corroboree at night, much to their delight . . . ,

'Sunday June 7: I woke this morning with the agreeable consciousness of my being able . . . to say: "I am monarch of all I survey; my right there is none to dispute" . . . I had made preparation for departing when two of the principal chiefs approached and laid their royal mantles at my feet, begging my acceptance of them. Upon my acquiescing, the gifts were placed around my neck and over my shoulders by the noble donors, who . . . begged of me to walk a pace or two in their (now my) princely vestments. I asked them to accompany me to the vessel, to which request I received a rather feeling reply, by their pointing first to their children, and next to their own naked feet, importing that they could not walk so fast as ourselves, but would come down in a few days . . . About 10 a.m. I took my departure . . .'

After recrossing the creek, Batman passed through some lightly-timbered country and again came upon the river. Proceeding down the bank he reached 'a large marsh' (site of West Melbourne) and beyond it a dense tea-tree scrub. On the other side was another river 'much larger than the one we had originally gone up.' Since it was nearly sundown he decided to camp on that spot.

By the 8th of June the party were aboard the *Rebecca*. As the wind was unfavourable for making Indented Head they once more took to the boat and rowed up the larger river 'coming from the east' (the Yarra). Batman writes: 'After examination six miles up' (a spot just below Prince's Bridge) 'I was pleased to find the water quite fresh and very deep. This will be the place for a village' (the site of Melbourne to-day).

Leaving Gumm, Dodds, Thompson, and three of the natives—Bungit, Bullet, and Old Bull—at Indented Head Batman returned to Launceston, which he reached on the 11th of June, and made a confidential

report to the syndicate. On the 25th a memorial was presented to Governor Arthur (of Tasmania) asking for his confirmation of the purchase, and promising a definite scheme of colonization. But Arthur could not confirm Batman's treaty with the natives, because it had to do with land in New South Wales. However, despite the absence of any legal authority, preparations were begun for the migration of families, and flocks and herds to the recently acquired lands across the strait.

### JOHN PASCOE FAWKNER

The news of Batman's experiences at Port Phillip reached the ears of John Pascoe Fawkner at Launceston, and aroused his interest. Fawkner and the rest of the family had come to Port Phillip in the transport *Calcutta*, his father having been sentenced to transportation for receiving stolen goods. When Collins failed to establish a settlement at Sorrento, the Fawkners were taken to Hobart. The younger Fawkner was then eleven years of age. Twelve years later he aided some prisoners in their escape and was deported for three years to New South Wales. He returned to Hobart in 3 817 and led a precarious existence until 1819, when he went to Launceston. There he engaged in business successively as a baker, timber-seller, butcher, and bookseller, and in 1824 opened an hotel. He prospered, and in 1829 founded the *Launceston Advertiser*. By 1835 he was one of Tasmania's most influential inhabitants.

While Batman was interviewing Governor Arthur at Hobart with a view to having his treaty-claim confirmed, Fawkner was forming an association to take up land in the south-east of Victoria. In this undertaking he was joined by five of his friends. At his own expense

he chartered the schooner *Enterprise* and loaded her with everything necessary for the founding of a small settlement.

The *Enterprise* left Launceston on the 29th of June, 1835, but owing to rough weather was still in sight of the Tasmanian coast three days later. When Fawcner became so sea-sick that he had to be put ashore, Captain Lancey took charge of the expedition.

### **Hobson's Bay**

At last Western Port was reached, but, as the surrounding country was uninviting, Lancey sailed off for Hobson's Bay. Soon after dropping anchor (on the 20th of August) the party left the schooner and proceeded in a rowing-boat up a stream, the mouth of which lay close to the vessel. Before long, they turned off into a small tributary. Since the water remained salt as far as they went, they called this stream the Salt-water.

Next morning they made another start from the bay, and reached the site of Batman's 'village,' where the city of Melbourne now stands. They decided to make their settlement there, and twenty-four hours later the *Enterprise* was moored opposite the spot where the Melbourne Customs House now stands.\*

Fawcner arrived at the settlement on the 10th of October. By that time the first regularly built wooden house had been erected on an allotment that forms part of Elizabeth Street. It was believed that Batman had built the first brick chimney in the district and for that reason he was said to have laid the foundation-stone of the State. It is now known that that chimney, which adjoined a wooden hut, was not erected by Batman, but by William Buckley, a convict who escaped from Collins's settlement at Sorrento.

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\*See Turner, *A History of the Colony of Victoria*, vol. 1, p. 121.

**William Buckley**

While the land was being cleared, one of Batman's men from Indented Head arrived and was surprised to see a strange vessel in the bay. He was much more surprised when he found Fawkner's party busy building huts and ploughing Batman's land. Although distressed on learning the truth of the situation, no doubt he and his companions were relieved to know that they were no longer the only white men in the district. They had lived for months more or less at the mercy of the blacks who roamed about the country, and while some of the tribes were friendly, others were by no means well-disposed towards them. Indeed, on one occasion the white men were in grave danger of an attack.

Early one morning they were alarmed by the appearance of a tall figure running towards their hut. The stranger was from one of the blacks' camps, but he was not at all like an ordinary blackfellow—his skin was brown, not black, and his features were those of a European. He turned out to be William Buckley, 'the wild white man/ the only survivor of three convicts who had escaped from Collins's settlement at Sorrento in 1803. For thirty-two years he had been living the life of an aboriginal with Port Phillip tribes. By chance he had heard that certain Geelong tribes intended to sweep down and murder the white men at Indented Head, so he hurried off to give them warning of their danger. Buckley's warning saved them.

This remarkable person was clothed and generally well-treated by the men in the hut, and for some time he was contented to remain with them and act as their interpreter. The roving life, however, had too strong a fascination for him, and at last he again bade farewell to every form of civilization and went back to his friends in the bush. Later he returned to civilized

society and was given small government positions in Tasmania, where he died in 1856.

#### GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

Batman claimed the land on which Fawkner had settled; for that reason he withdrew his men from Indented Head and encamped them beside Fawkner's. The schemes of Batman and Fawkner soon spread settlers over the Yarra district, and before the close of the year, nearly 150 persons had arrived, and over 25,000 sheep were being pastured on the grass-lands. Before long the country extending from Geelong to Sunbury was also drawn into occupation. In that part the blacks proved troublesome; they were not at all satisfied with the result of Batman's treaty, and were determined to take revenge on the settlers.

In 1836 there were three communities in the Port Phillip district, all of which were trespassers in the eyes of the Government. None could show any legal right to the land it was occupying. Governor Arthur had been unable to ratify Batman's treaty with the black chiefs, while Bourke, in whose jurisdiction the land in question was, not only refused to help him, but declared the treaty null and void. But although Bourke denounced the settlers as trespassers on Crown lands, he had no intention of attempting to dispossess them. The Home Authorities had repeatedly refused to sanction any further extension of settlement, but Bourke pointed out that what had already been done could not be undone without great trouble and, probably, great danger. He declared that any oppression of, or even opposition to, the illegal settlements would undoubtedly result in further expansion. The only course now open was to make an official settlement at Port Phillip, and so bring the trespassers under direct legal control.

In May, 1836, Bourke sent a magistrate, George Stewart, to make a report on the settlement. In the district he found no fewer than 177 persons and stock consisting of 26,500 sheep, 57 horses, and 100 head of cattle (total value £80,000). The settlers, he reported, had drawn up a set of rough and ready regulations for the preservation of peace and good order, and as a consequence there was very little friction among them.\* The blacks in the neighbourhood, who preyed on the sheep, were a cause of trouble, and in some instances, he found had been outrageously dealt with.

In the following September, Bourke took it upon himself to send Captain William Lonsdale, in the *Battle-snake* (commanded by Captain Hobson), to organize the settlement, and in March, 1837, the Colonial Office ordered him to recognize the community officially. This he did in person on the 16th of April, 1837.

Bourke's forecast of future development was far from being correct. He thought that the site near the anchorage (Gellibrand's Point) was the position containing the greatest possibilities, and for that reason named it Williamstown in honour of His Majesty King William IV. The 'village' he named Melbourne after Lord Melbourne, at the time Prime Minister of England. Leaving Lonsdale as Administrator, he returned to Sydney.

Batman's treaty having been annulled, and the district placed under regulations governing in New South Wales, the early settlers had no legal claim to a single square foot of land. However, in return for pioneering services Batman's syndicate was granted £7000 worth of land (the sum that it had spent in improvements). At the first land sale it purchased 9500 acres near Geelong for £7919, of which £7000 was refunded. Batman bought eight lots within Melbourne, and these

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\*See Turner, *A History of the Colony of Victoria*, vol, i, pp. 148-53,

constituted his whole estate in Victoria; his personal claim to outside land was not recognized in any way. He died in 1839.

The Hentys at Portland were treated almost as shabbily. After years of labour they were refused all rights to the land on which they had settled, and were allowed only £1638 for their improvements on it.\*

### Rapid Progress

By 1838 Geelong was a thriving township, and settlers occupied land even as far as Colac. Business was growing so quickly in the district that it soon became too extensive to be managed from Sydney, and, as a consequence, in 1839 C. J. Latrobe was appointed 'Superintendent' of the Port Phillip district.

Before Fong signs of municipal life appeared, A police office, a court house, and, later, a post office were built, in addition to other government offices and municipal buildings. In 1838 Fawkner edited a weekly newspaper—the *Melbourne Advertiser*—consisting of four handwritten pages. After nine issues old type was obtained from Tasmania, and the tenth was printed. At that stage it was suppressed on the ground that it did not fulfil the press laws. Fawkner then produced the *Port Phillip Patriot*, which lasted until 1843. On the 22nd of November, 1840, he established the *Geelong Advertiser*, which is to-day one of the best-known country newspapers in Victoria.

On the 8th of November, 1836, the population was 224; in 1839, 5000; in 1840, 10,291; and by the end of 1841, 20,416.t

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\*See Robert\*, *History of Australian Land Settlement*, pp. 193-5.

†See Turner, *A History of the Colony of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 250.

## CHAPTER XXI

### THE REFORMERS—SOUTH AUSTRALIA

COLONIAL policy during the first quarter of the nineteenth century aimed at centralization. There were no special reasons for this: the Colonial Office was managed by men who had no intimate knowledge of colonial affairs. Secretaries of State did not hold office long enough to become more than slightly acquainted with colonial conditions, and the permanent officials were little wiser in the matter. The discharge of their duties was ruled by tradition and red tape. It was necessary that colonies should at first be governed from England, but it was ridiculous to expect that government by the Colonial Office could be carried on successfully when the needs of colonies had become complex and were due to local conditions.

#### **Constitution of 1828**

On the 20th of December, 1825, the Executive Council came into existence. It consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice, the Archdeacon, the Colonial Secretary, and three civilians. Although the four official members were also members of the Legislative Council, the Executive Council was not otherwise connected with the legislature. The Legislative **Council** was concerned only with the making of laws, **the Executive** only with the carrying out of laws—and neither had much power even in its own province. **The Governor** was responsible only to the **Imperial Parlia-**

ment for his actions, and so was not bound to accept the advice of his Executive Council in matters of administration; but if he acted against its advice and the result was unsatisfactory the censure of the Home Government would certainly be severe.

This state of affairs was not compatible with British ideas of freedom, and it was hotly opposed by the free section of the community. Under the leadership of William Charles Wentworth began the struggle to obtain free political institutions in Australia. In 1827 a petition praying for an elective House of 100 members was forwarded to the Commons. It was refused, but in the next year (1828) important changes were made in the administrative and judicial systems.

*The Legislative Council:* The number of members was increased from ten to fifteen. They were\* still nominated by the King and held their seats at the Governor's pleasure, and the initiation of legislation still remained with the Governor. The increased number of members, however, made it harder for the Governor to legislate against the will of the Council, and so indirectly reduced his powers.

The power of vetoing a proposed law was taken from the Chief Justice. By the 1828 Act, laws were first to be made, then to be submitted to the judges as a body, who should consider their validity on the ground of their agreement with or repugnance to the laws of England. Thus the judiciary could do no more than protest against the enforcement of a law, which the Governor, if he wished, could keep in force until the Imperial Government had given a decision on its validity.

*Judicial Changes:* The Court of Appeal, which had consisted of the Governor and the Chief Justice, was abolished, and appeals now made to lie from the Supreme Court to the Privy Council in England. No progress,

however, was made in the direction of trial by jury. It was not until four years later that civilian juries were introduced into trials for certain crimes. (In 1832, the Court had to direct the empanelling of a jury of twelve civil inhabitants in trials involving military or naval officers. In 1839 military and naval juries were abolished, and from then on, all crimes were tried before a jury of twelve civil inhabitants.)

### **Spirit of Reform**

These changes were small, but the fact that they were made at all shows that the arguments of English reformers were gaining ground in England. The columns of the *Australian* supplied them with much food for thought as far as New South Wales was concerned, and what was true of New South Wales was for the most part true of other British colonies.

Reforms were being advocated in every department of English political and social life, and as a consequence the principles that governed conditions in New South Wales came in for a large share of adverse criticism. It was argued that the system of colonization there, far from reforming convicts, depraved nearly all who were transported; that as a rule the brutal criminal became more brutal than ever. In support, the reformers quoted the words of Judge Burton: 'Let a man be what he will, when he comes here he is soon as bad as the rest; a man's heart is taken from him, and there is given to him the heart of a beast.' They also attacked the assignment system, arguing that the brutality of masters was so common that many assigned servants would have been better off in an English dungeon. The presence of convicts also lowered the moral tone of the community, and it had been shown that 'more immorality prevailed in Sydney than in any other town of the same size in the British Dominions.'

The strongest argument against the system was that which accused it of discouraging emigration. There is no doubt that many people who would have been of great use to the colony remained in England because they were unwilling to join a community that consisted mainly of convicts. Most Englishmen refused to believe that any penal settlement could ever reach a stage in which it could be entrusted to manage its own affairs, and, as Englishmen, they would not contemplate residence in any country that did not enjoy the right of self-government.

### **The Wakefield Theory**

Despite the fact that the American colonies had been lost through granting them a degree of liberty that led to their assertion of independence, the reformers of this period were loud in their cries for the political freedom of every Englishman throughout the Empire. The best-known names connected with the 'Liberty' movement are those of Lord Durham, Sir William Molesworth, Charles Buller, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield. As far as Australia is concerned, the last mentioned is the most important.

Wakefield was a man who moved in high social circles in England until 1826, when he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in Newgate Gaol for secretly marrying a young heiress at Gretna Green. While in prison he had time to think about the conditions of his day, and before long turned his thoughts to colonization. In 1829 he anonymously contributed to a London newspaper eleven 'Letters from Sydney,' and before the end of the year these appeared in book form as *A Letter from Sydney, the principal town in Australia . . . together with the Outline of a System of Colonization*, published under the name of Robert Gouger.

The realism of this book induced people **to believe** that it was the work of a colonist, and **for that** reason it had a far-reaching effect on colonial policy. According to Wakefield, New South Wales was **a land** devoid of refinement simply because there was no inducement for the leisured class to live there. Land was so low in price that any labourer could become a landowner, with the result that the only servants obtainable were convicts—and no gentleman would have convicts under his roof.

How was this state of affairs to be rectified? Only by raising the price of land so that the earnings of years would be required to purchase it. Let the Government sell Crown land at 'a sufficient price,' then labourers would remain labourers for many years because they would not have the means to become landowners. The 'sufficient price' would not only induce capitalists to go to New South Wales, but would also provide a fund for bringing more of the working class to the colony. The presence of the two classes of society would lead to the migration of others equally desirable as colonists.

Wakefield also advocated short leases of pastoral land, which could be renewed and renewed until the **land** was required for agricultural purposes. It would then be sold at the 'sufficient price.'

Finally, he was strongly in favour of granting the colony not merely representative, but responsible government. In conjunction with many reformers, he held **that** if colonies were to remain parts of **the Empire they** would have to be allowed to manage their **own affairs** in their own way.

As the political atmosphere in England demanded a change in colonial policy, the Colonial Office **was willing** to consider Wakefield's **recommendations**. **Here**

again the incapacity of those in authority becomes evident. They decided to adopt them, and did so without first consulting the colonists on the subject. Was the author of *A Letter from Sydney* an experienced colonist? No, he was not—for all his vivid manner of writing he had never even visited New South Wales, or any other colony, British or foreign. Was Sydney in need of labourers? Not at this time—the biggest industry, the wool industry, required little labour, but much land. What would be the result of fixing a price—the 'sufficient price'—of land? Nothing less than wild speculation. Since the quality of Australian land varies greatly even within a small area, to offer it at a uniform price would lead to a rush of speculators to buy up the best land in order to sell it later at their own price. Moreover, the adoption of Wakefield's proposals meant additional English legislation to deal with Australia's purely local affairs.

### South Australian Association

In 1830 Wakefield was free again. Soon he had collected round him a large number of converts to his theory, among whom were several men of influence. These formed the National Colonization Society. Wakefield, however, had to keep in the background until time should remove the stigma of a three years' sojourn within the walls of Newgate.

It did not take long for the Society to make the Government acquainted with its views on colonization, and as a result of activities in political quarters the New South Wales Government was informed in 1831 that the policy of land grants had been abandoned, and that land was to be sold by auction at a minimum reserve price of 5s. an acre. These changes pleased **Wakefield's supporters, although the principle of sale**

by auction was no part of his system, which advocated sale at a fixed 'sufficient price.'

Sturt's expedition of 1829 had brought the Murray district under the notice of English capitalists. In 1833 certain members of the National Colonization Society approached the Government to induce it to form a settlement there, and before the year was out the South Australian Association had come into existence. Its principal members were Charles Buller, William Molesworth, George Grote, Robert Torrens, and Henry George Ward. Although Wakefield influenced the actions of this body he was not ostensibly connected with it.

Owing mainly to the Duke of Wellington's interest, on the 15th of August, 1834, a bill was passed to establish the colony of South Australia. By its provisions the Imperial Government was permitted to found a colony or colonies between the 132nd and 141st degrees of east longitude, and between the Southern Ocean and the 26th parallel of south latitude.

General authority was vested in officials appointed by the Colonial Office, but the control of land and proceeds from land sales was placed in the hands of a body in England appointed by the Crown and known as the Colonization Commissioners of South Australia. This body was to appoint a resident Commissioner in the colony, who should act under its instructions.

No convicts were to be sent to the colony. Public lands were to be sold, not by auction, but at a uniform price (not less than 12s. an acre), and the proceeds used in bringing out labourers. When the population reached 50,000 the colony might be granted a constitution.

The Colonial Office was to be free from expenses of administration, and to ensure this freedom the settlement was not to be undertaken before the Commissioners

had invested £20,000 in Government Stock and had sold in England £35,000 worth of South Australian land.

Although the Act was passed in August, 1834, the Commissioners were not appointed until May, 1835. Among them were Colonel Torrens and George Fife Angas. The price of land was fixed at £1 an acre, but little was sold. Angas now offered to form a Company to buy land to the amount required by the Colonial Office, provided the price was reduced to 12s. an acre and special surveys of 4000-acre blocks allowed. His conditions were agreed to, and after forming the South Australian Company, he resigned from the Board of Commissioners to become the Company's director.

### **Foundation of South Australia**

Before the Colonial Office had completed its arrangements—even before the departure of the official surveyors—Angas sent out three vessels with settlers. Two arrived at Kangaroo Island in July, and the third on the 16th of August, 1836. William Light, in charge of the surveyors, arrived on the 21st of August. (His father was captain of an East Indiaman and his mother the daughter of a Malay chief. The island of Penang was part of his mother's dowry, and was renamed Prince of Wales Island and handed over to the East India Company by his father.)

Light decided that Kangaroo Island would not be suitable as the capital of the colony, so he crossed to the mainland and chose the present site of Adelaide, on the lower Torrens. The Governor, Captain Sir John Hindmarsh, and the Resident Commissioner, J. H. Fisher, landed from H.M.S. *Buffalo* at Holdfast Bay on the 28th of December, and there the foundation of the colony was officially proclaimed.

Almost at once friction arose between Hindmarsh and

Fisher, and it continued until 1838, when both were recalled. It was quite clear that a dual control as provided by the Act of 1834 would never result in a successful or harmonious administration, consequently Hindmarsh's successor, Colonel George Gawler, was commissioned to carry out the duties both of Governor and Resident Commissioner. Gawler arrived in October, 1838.

By this time the evils of Wakefield's system were becoming evident. The population of the colony was then 3680, most of whom were within the boundaries of the capital. In reality the South Australian Company had degenerated into an organization of speculators. In 1840 the population had reached 14,600, and in 1841 only 2500 of the 299,000 acres that had been sold were under cultivation. The rapid growth in unemployment compelled Gawler to spend large sums on public works, and between 1839 and 1841 he had issued bills on the Commissioners to the value of £357,615, whereas the revenue for that period was only £75,773. In 1840 the work of the ten Commissioners was transferred to a body of three who were appointed to control emigration to all colonies of the Empire. They tried to raise a loan of £120,000 to meet Gawler's bills, but failed. Gawler was then informed that no more bills would be honoured. Those drawn after the date of the Commissioners' decision were returned dishonoured. At once the ranks of the unemployed swelled enormously. To relieve distress, Gawler resumed the construction of public works, and to pay for them drew on his own private fortune.

The first period of South Australia's history now comes to a close. Creditors began to press for payment, and the colony had no alternative but to declare itself insolvent. Its liabilities were nearly £400,000.

The rush of settlers to get out of the place resulted

in a fall in the price of land—a circumstance that saved the colony from complete disintegration, for at the lower figure labourers were able to purchase land, which they soon began to cultivate.

In May, 1841, Gawler was replaced by Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey, and a Select Committee was appointed to enquire into the affairs of the colony. The Committee recommended that the dual control of the Colonial Office and Commissioners should be abolished and the administration brought into line with that of the other colonies. An Act of 1842 gave effect to this, and granted the Governor a Legislative Council.

Before long the area under cultivation had considerably increased. In 1840 the population was 14,610, of whom 6121 were engaged in cultivating 2503 acres; in 1843 the population was 17,266, and more than 23,000 acres were being cultivated by 11,259 persons.

#### LAND SALES 1839-41

South Australia had suffered greatly from the application of Wakefield's principle of fixing the price of land. In 1831 an acre could be bought in the Port Phillip district at a minimum price of 5s., but in South Australia it could not be obtained for less than 12s. This caused capital to flow eastward from the new colony. In the interests of South Australia, Sir Robert Torrens requested that land in the Port Phillip district should be raised to a minimum of 12s. an acre, and his request was granted in 1839. Two years later he succeeded in having sales by auction abolished in the Port Phillip district and the price of land there raised to £1 an acre.

At the same time the Colonial Office took a step that was grossly unfair to Port Phillip by directing that anyone with £5120 should be entitled to a special survey

of 5120 acres in New South Wales. Only a few months previously 337 acres near Portland had been sold for £17,245, which gives an average price of £51 3s. 6d. an acre. Seven persons in Australia and one in England came forward almost immediately with the required £5120 and obtained special survey. Thus 40,960 acres were sold for £40,960. Fortunately for New South Wales, the fixed price system and also the granting of special surveys came to an end before they had been twelve months in force. This was due to the recommendation of Governor Gipps.

It was becoming clearer each day that the progress of the colonies depended on their being allowed to manage their own affairs in their own way.

## CHAPTER XXII

### VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR Collins died suddenly in 1810, but his successor, Lieutenant-Governor Davey, did not arrive in Hobart until 1813. In the meantime the position was filled by three military officers in succession—Lieutenant Lord, Captain Murray, and Lieutenant-Colonel Geils.

#### **Thomas Davey**

Davey was a very remarkable man. In 1788 he came to New South Wales as a lieutenant of marines, and returned to England in 1792. Through influence he attained to the rank of colonel and received the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land in succession to Collins. This appointment was forced on the Colonial Office, and Lord Bathurst warned Macquarie that Davey's honesty in financial matters was doubtful.

Although appointed in September, 1811, he did not leave England until June, 1812. He reached Sydney in October, and idled there until the end of January, 1813. Eventually he crossed over to Hobart, arriving on the 4th of February. 'Landing from the ship in the afternoon of a sultry day/ he 'walked along the streets to Government House with his shirt sleeves exposed, while his coat was carelessly slung across his arm.'\* Before long he showed himself to be devoid of

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\*Fenton, *History of Tasmania*, p, 40.

refinement and defiant of public opinion. His administration, however, was progressive.

At this period Van Diemen's Land was the place to which the worst type of criminal was sent, and consequently it was the most severe of the penal settlements. By throwing Hobart open to all merchant vessels Davey took advantage of the removal of the restriction that had made Sydney the first port of call for ships discharging cargoes. From that moment the prosperity of the island was assured. Free settlers began to arrive from England and many came down from New South Wales. At the end of four years the population had risen to 3114, and Van Diemen's Land was not only self-supporting, but was sending grain to Port Jackson. In 1815 it shipped 1770 bushels of wheat to Sydney, and in 1816 no fewer than 13,135 bushels.

In February, 1817, the foundation-stone of the first church in the colony—St David's—was laid at Hobart. In this period, too, Andrew Bent established the *Hobart Town Gazette*.

Davey's private life was scandalous, and certain incidents in it caused Macquarie, who had never liked him, to advise his recall. He was succeeded by Colonel William Sorell, who arrived on the 8th of April, **1817**.

### **William Sorell**

Sorell's administration also was progressive. He granted land to free settlers and encouraged them to work their holdings to the utmost. Wheat was now exported not only to Port Jackson but also to Brazil, and both cattle and wheat were sent to Mauritius. The area under cultivation rose from 3000 acres in **1817** to 14,000 in 1821, and the population in the same time increased from 3000 to 7400. Wool-growing became an industry in 1819, and in 1821 there were **about 180,000**

sheep on the island. Twelve months after Sorell's arrival, the Hobart-Launceston road was finished and direct communication was thus established between north and south.

In 1819 a Supreme Court was set up in Hobart, so that important cases had no longer to be sent to Sydney for trial. They were dealt with annually by a Judge from New South Wales. The first Supreme Court was opened by Barron Field.

Despite all this prosperity, the period was a very troubled one. A penal settlement for the most hardened criminals was established at Macquarie Harbour in December, 1821. Escapees from this establishment roamed the bush and swelled the number of Tasmanian bushrangers. One gang escaped in 1824, and under the leadership of Matthew Brady captured the township of Sorell and threatened Launceston.

The trouble with the aboriginal tribes, which began about 1810 and grew to large dimensions in Lieutenant-Governor Arthur's time, developed in this period. It originated in the brutal treatment of the blacks by bushrangers and whalers. The Oyster Bay tribe was the first to retaliate and sought revenge by indiscriminately murdering and robbing white settlers. Later, this led to hostilities between white and black throughout the island.

### **George Arthur**

In May, 1824, Lieutenant-Colonel George Arthur replaced Sorell. Arthur had shown ability as Administrator of British Honduras, and the Imperial Government believed that he would be able to set Van Diemen's Land free from its troubles.

Despite the fact that immigrants were arriving in large numbers each year and that the prosperity of the island was growing, Van Diemen's Land was still looked

on as a dumping-ground for the scum of New South Wales criminals. This drew a loud protest from the settlers, but Arthur refused to help them in the matter. He pointed out that the island was in the first instance a penal settlement, and held that, as things were, it was necessary to keep it a penal settlement. This attitude was at the root of his unpopularity.

Soon after the exploration of the west coast in 1821, Macquarie Harbour was set aside as a prison for criminals who could not be trusted with any degree of freedom. As the treatment of prisoners there depended on the character of the Commandant, there were periods in which the life of a convict was prolonged misery. 'From the moment of their landing, the prisoners were kept to the most exhausting labour, while their food was reduced to the lowest amount consistent with life. There was no pretence of comfort in the huts—the men were not sent there to be comfortable—and the possession of such minor treasures as a fish hook or an inch of tobacco was a penal offence. It was, in fact, an attempt to deprive human beings of the advantages of savagery and civilization alike.'\*

Governor Arthur changed all this. He regarded reclamation as the principal object of the penal system, and he saw that cruelty would never bring that about. After an attempted rising in 1824, he ordered that agriculture and other useful occupations should be introduced at Macquarie Harbour, and also persuaded Mr Schofield, a Wesleyan missionary, to extend his sphere of work to include the establishment. As a result, within a few months it had ceased to be a place of utter despair, although in many respects it remained a settlement of severe correction.

The increase in the number of settlers on the west coast made it necessary to remove the penal quarters

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\*Jenks, *The History of the Australian Colonies*, p. 82.

from the Harbour to Port Arthur, in the south-east. There prisoners 'were treated with less rigour and consequently were less troublesome.' Much has been written about the horrors, but little about the other side of convict life at Port Arthur. Relics of this time give ample evidence of the torture to which prisoners were subjected, but records show that on the whole the administration, though severe, was just. The kind and amount of labour exacted depended on the nature of the convict. On the man who had shown himself to be little more than the personification of brute strength the most arduous work was imposed, but the labour demanded from others was graded in severity according to the seriousness of their offences. Further, in the interests of reform, churches and a school for younger prisoners were established.

In 1830 what is known as the Black War began. The Tasmanian natives had acquired many of the white man's vices. Humanely treated they were faithful to the settlers, but when treated cruelly they were vindictive. They did not discriminate between persons: an injury done to a native by a white man stirred his tribe to revenge itself on any white man. This led to antagonism between the races, and by 1830 settlers were being murdered by the tribes at the rate of one a week. Governor Arthur saw that drastic action on the part of the Government had become necessary. His scheme to induce the natives to settle in one district from which white men would be excluded failed, and the only course open to him then was to attempt to drive them down to Tasman Peninsula and keep them there. A cordon was drawn across the eastern districts and a forward drive begun. It was a failure. At the end of two months only two aborigines had been captured, the others having slipped through the lines—a poor result for an expenditure of £30,000. The placing of **the**

natives on Flinders Island was the work of a government official, George Augustus Robinson. Being well acquainted with the Tasmanian dialects, he set off with several Bruny Island natives, and at great personal risk went among the tribes and persuaded them to agree to their expatriation. As a result of his work, by 1835 most of them were living on Flinders Island. But in the confined conditions they pined, and so many died that in the end the survivors were allowed to cross over to the Oyster Bay district, where a large number of them formerly lived.

It was during this period that the Van Diemen's Land Company came into existence and began its work on the island.

When Arthur retired in 1836, he left a colony that was well on the road to prosperity. Its population had increased to more than 40,000; its exports had risen to nearly £500,000; the area under cultivation had grown to four times that of 1821; and it had obtained its independence of New South Wales. The Governor of New South Wales was the supreme authority only when actually on the island.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### RISE OF THE WOOL INDUSTRY

SUPREME importance in the world's wool industry is perhaps the last thing that an early visitor would have predicted of Australia. The few hair-covered sheep that Phillip brought with him were placed in a country that seemed to be unsuitable for their growth. The climate affected them seriously, and both sickness and dingoes kept their numbers low. It was John Macarthur who first saw the possibility of making wool an important Australian product.

#### Macarthur's Experiment

Phillip encouraged the raising of stock as well as the growing of crops so that the colony's food supply might be ensured. Before his departure he gave two ewes to each settler for breeding purposes, but 'as soon as his ship had sailed, the officers of the Corps bought every ewe, except those belonging to one settler, at the uniform price of five gallons of rum per head.\* Not long afterwards a few English sheep found their way into the settlement and were placed on farms with the airy Bengal and Cape sheep.

Macarthur noticed that the cross-bred lambs were stronger than the other lambs and that their covering was more the texture of wool than of hair. Without delay he began to experiment at Elizabeth Farm with the object of producing a better class of wool. In 1797 he

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\*Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia*, vol. I, p. 94.

obtained three pure-bred Spanish merino rams and five ewes of the same class from the Cape. Again the resulting cross-breeds were highly satisfactory in every way. Within three years the Rose Hill farm was producing sheep bearing a fine wool.

In 1800, Macarthur, then about to proceed to England after the Paterson duel, offered the farm and live-stock to the Government for £4000, and King strongly advised the Home Authorities to accept the offer. But the Duke of Portland (then Secretary of State) was not prepared to sanction the purchase of anything but the English cattle and Spanish sheep. In his reply to Governor King he took the opportunity of censuring Macarthur's farming activities. 'Considering Captain Macarthur in the capacity of an officer on duty with his regiment/ he wrote, 'I can by no means account for his being a farmer to the extent he appears to be, and **I must** highly disapprove of the Commanding Officer of the Corps to which he belongs allowing him or any other officer to continue in such contradictory situations and characters.'\*

Before the purchase could be made, Macarthur **bought** the entire flock of Colonel Foveaux, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island. This made King decide to abandon the transaction, for Macarthur's large flock had now been increased **by 1400** sheep and several head of cattle. King's despatch to the Under Secretary on the subject shows Macarthur's business capability very clearly:

'But Captain Macarthur has thrown a great objection in the way of Government making that purchase/ King wrote on the 14th of November, 1801, 'as he has **not** only purchased up 1400 sheep within a few days before he embarked, and several head of cattle, in addition to the great number he had before, **which he has signified**

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\* *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. iv, p. 425.

his determination of being considered as included in his proposals at the prices stipulated—i.e., £37 a head for the cattle, and £2 10s. for the sheep, including those he has lately purchased. The present price for cattle, according to contract with Mr Campbell, is £28 per head for the cattle, and not more than two pounds was given by Captain Macarthur for the 1400 sheep he purchased lately, with 1000 acres of land included. He has also informed me that supposing I am authorized to make the bargain for the stock contained in the proposals, and should choose to take to myself the responsibility of purchasing the great quantities of stock he has since purchased and its increase, that nothing can be concluded on until he is informed thereof from this country, and until his answer is received, which would consume at least two years before the bargain could be closed, at which time I have no doubt but that the price of cattle and sheep will be reduced one-half; but according to his proposals he is to be paid £37 a head for his 3attle, when they may not be worth more than £1 10s. This, calculating the common increase of the stock, will occasion a demand of at least £19,000 on the public. Such is the compound interest Captain Macarthur loubtless has in view from the line of conduct he has pursued on this occasion, which compelled me previous ;o his departure, and before the receipt of His Grace's ast despatch, to relinquish any design of treating any urther on behalf of the Crown for his extensive concerns on my own responsibility.\*

While in England, Macarthur submitted samples of is wool to woollen manufacturers. The quality of the eeces immediately aroused interest. The only person f influence who was not warm in his praise of the amples was Sir Joseph Banks. He refused to see any ature for Australia in the wool industry, and classed

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\* *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. iv, pp. 617-8.

the fleeces that had been sent to him as 'equal to Spanish wools of the second or third rate piles.' But since the most eminent manufacturers considered the best of the samples superior to Spanish wool in many respects, the Government decided to do something towards encouraging wool production in the colony, and therefore made Macarthur a grant of 5000 acres. They had been prepared to grant him 10,000, but on the advice of Banks had reduced it by one-half.

Macarthur now resigned his commission in the Corps. Before returning to New South Wales he visited King George's stud farm at Kew and purchased seven merino rams and one ewe. After the purchase was made, someone drew the Government's attention to an unrepealed statute of Edward I that forbade the exportation of sheep from England under penalty of the loss of the right hand and the branding of the forehead. Lord Camden used his influence on Macarthur's behalf and obtained a special dispensation of this law. In June, 1805, six of the rams and the ewe reached New South Wales.

Macarthur's stock was now transferred from Rose Hill to the Camden estate on the Cowpastures. From that moment the production of Australian wool progressed by leaps and bounds. In 1803 the total number of sheep in the colony was 10,157; in 1810 it had risen to 25,888; and in 1813 it was more than 50,000. After the opening of the Bathurst plains the flocks increased still more rapidly, and in 1821 New South Wales contained no fewer than 290,188 sheep. The export of wool to England began in 1807, and increased annually. By 1820 the annual export was about 90,000 pounds weight.

Another breeder of sheep worthy of notice was the Rev. Samuel Marsden. However, his magisterial and religious duties prevented him from giving more than a small part of his time to the production of wool. He

had purchased some of the pure-bred merinos obtained from the Cape in 1797, and, like Macarthur, had experimented with them in the hope of improving his stock. Marsden's real interest in this work dates from Macarthur's return to the colony in 1805 after his successful meeting with the English manufacturers and merchants.

### **The Squatters**

In earliest times, when the settlement was small, the value of land depended mainly on its fertility from the agricultural point of view, but when the settlement grew and the raising of flocks and herds became an industry, another basis for land valuation came into existence. A time came when pasturage within the limits of settlement was not sufficient to support the stock. The discovery of the rich plains on the other side of the Blue Mountains and those equally rich to the north and south solved a problem that was becoming more and more difficult for pastoralists.

By 1836 the colony had been divided into nineteen settled districts; the rest was 'beyond the boundaries of occupation.' Since much of the unoccupied land was suitable for pasturage, it was only natural that pastoralists should turn their stock on to it. The formality of obtaining a grant from the Home Government was rarely one through. Flocks in charge of assigned servants were driven into the interior without any official permission.

It must not be thought that the Government regarded this practice of 'squatting,' as it was called, in silence, from the beginning the authorities looked upon these pastoralists as trespassers on Crown lands. Although the areas had not been settled and were not likely to be settled for many generations, they were legally possessions of the Crown, and therefore under the administra-

tion of His Majesty's representative in New South Wales. Only a government grant or purchase from the Government gave a colonist any claim to an area. But by this time the Wakefield theory had led to the abolition of large grants and had brought about the fixation of price of all Crown land. The agriculturist, who required only hundreds of acres, might be able to buy a suitable holding, but very few pastoralists, who required thousands of acres, could afford to purchase the area necessary for a sheep run. The squatters argued that, as the pastoral industry was most important to the colony, they had a right at least to the use of unoccupied land. While the matter was being thrashed out in Sydney, flocks and herds were being driven farther and farther into the interior.

Among the earliest squatters were many expeires whose characters had not been improved by residence in the colony. The first official use of the word 'squatter' was made in the Report of a Select Committee in 1835, which says: 'The nefarious practices of these men are greatly facilitated by the system of taking unauthorized occupation of Crown lands, or squatting, which now prevails. It appears that many convicts who become free by servitude, or who hold the indulgence of tickets-of-leave, take possession of Crown lands in remote districts, and thus, screened from general observation, erect huts for their temporary purposes, and become what is generally termed squatters.'\* It was stated in evidence in the 1815 enquiry that 'these persons are almost invariably the instigators and promoters of crime, receivers of stolen property, illegal vendors of spirits, and harbourers of runaways, bush-rangers, and vagrants.' Macquarie had this class of settler in mind when he refused to open the Sydney-Bathurst road to the public.

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\*Quoted by Rusden, *History of Australia* (1883), vol. ii, p. 141.

Governor Brisbane knew that the practice could not be put down, so attempted to regulate it by issuing 'tickets of occupation' to those who could be trusted to live beyond the sphere of direct control. This did not give the holder any claim to a fixed tenure of the area occupied; it merely freed him from a charge of trespassing.

The Government foresaw a decrease in the sale of grazing areas, but it did not expect a decrease in the sale of other land. As a matter of fact, by 1827 the sale of all kinds of Crown land had practically ceased. Grazing was a profitable occupation, and since the grazier could obtain the use of land by merely applying for a 'ticket of occupation,' the number of graziers swelled enormously while the number of agriculturalists shrank in proportion. As a consequence, Lord Bathurst directed that the issuing of 'tickets' should be abandoned. This, however, did not improve matters; it only resulted in an increase in the number of unauthorized squatters.

Governor Bourke perceived that steps would have to be taken to put down the lawlessness that squatting had introduced into the outlying districts. To this end, in 1836 he divided New South Wales into three pastoral districts (a northern, a middle, and a southern), and granted temporary licences to squatters—at £10 each—which might be renewed annually. The revenue so obtained in any district was to be used in protecting the licence holders in that district. This is an important point, for it foreshadowed the separation of Queensland and Victoria from the Mother Colony.

But Bourke's licences did not give the squatter any stronger tenure than Brisbane's 'tickets' had given him. The renewal was at the discretion of the authorities. The better class of squatter was not at all satisfied **with** this state of affairs and repeatedly sought to **have his**

position improved. Again, there was no fixed limit to areas of occupation. This led to inequality in the size of runs, which was another ground for complaint. Governor Gipps found that three pastoralists held, collectively, 305,920 acres at an annual rental of £30 (three licences), which works out at 1s. for 510 acres, while three others held altogether only 13,440 for the same rent, which is roughly 1s. for 22 acres.

Gipps tried to reorganize the system. He directed that from the 1st of July, 1845, each grazier should take out annually a £10 licence for each of his stations; that a station should in ordinary circumstances cover an area of twenty square miles; and that the total stock that might be pastured under any one licence should be 500 head of cattle and 7000 sheep. Such a storm of protest greeted the announcement of these terms that they never became law. The resolution passed against them at a meeting of stockowners makes the feeling of the squatters very clear. It ran: 'That the system of granting licences for so limited a period as twelve months is highly objectionable; that, in addition to the evil arising from so short a term, its injurious consequences are aggravated by the right of occupancy being uncertain, and rendered liable to change at the will or caprice of the Executive Government, either by alteration in the regulation of the stations, or by increase in the charge for occupation. That, consequently, this uncertainty of right of occupancy of Crown lands has a ruinous tendency upon the most valuable property in the Colony, has a very demoralizing effect on the entire community, and must continue so, until a fixity of tenure is granted to the occupier.' From this it will be seen that uncertainty of tenure was the root of all the trouble.

Long before this, the term 'squatter' had lost its taint. Grazing had proved so profitable that it became the

principal occupation of capitalists. Men of wealth in England invested money in the wool industry, and representatives of well-known families were to be found on Australian stations. Moreover, the acquisition of wealth led many who had been among the lawless trespassers to forsake the old life and become respectable law-abiding settlers. By 1840 the evil associated with the term had disappeared, and, socially, the class was equal to any in the colony. The influence of graziers may be seen in Lord Grey's Despatch of 1846, which granted the squatter a leasehold tenure of fourteen years, which might be renewed, and also the right to purchase the run held at any time before the expiration of the lease.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### LAND OCCUPATION

ALTHOUGH colonization, in the ordinary sense, was not intended by those who sent the First Fleet to New South Wales, the settlement was to be a permanent one. Convicts were sent out at the public expense, but no provision was made for their return to England at the expiration of their sentences. Since the majority of transportees were without private means, and so were unable to find the passage money required to take them back, they had to remain for at least a considerable time in the colony after gaining their freedom. Phillip had been given detailed instructions as to how he was to provide for these people. His Commission gave him 'full power and authority to emancipate and discharge from their servitude' convicts 'who shall from their good conduct and a disposition to industry, be deserving of favour,' and with regard to them and others who had served sentences in full, the Instructions continue, 'it is our will and pleasure that in every case you do issue your warrant to the Surveyor of Lands to make surveys of and mark out in lots such lands . . . as may be necessary for their use.'

Each male was to receive 30 acres if single, 50 if married, and an additional 10 for each of his children on the settlement at the time that the grant was made. The area allotted was to be free of all fees, taxes, and quit rent for ten years, after which a quit

rent was to be charged. The grant was revocable if the grantee did not live on and improve the area. Further, to provide for those who had not the means to cultivate and improve the land, 'it is our will **and** pleasure that you do cause every such person you may so emancipate to be supplied with such a quantity of provisions as may be sufficient for the subsistence of himself, and also of his family, for twelve months, together with an assortment of tools and utensils, and such a proportion of seed-grain, cattle, sheep, hogs, etc., as may be proper and can be spared from the general stock of the settlement.'\*

In a despatch of the 22nd of August, 1789, Phillip was directed to make grants free of all costs and rent for ten and five years, respectively, to marines who desired to remain in the colony after the expiration of their service, and to all free settlers who might arrive. After these periods a quit rent of Is. a year was to be charged for every 10 acres. Each settler and non-commissioned officer was to receive 130 acres, and each private, 80. Married men were to receive an additional 20 acres, and 10 for each child. All were to be provided with convict labour 'sufficient to answer their purpose, on condition of their maintaining, feeding, and clothing such convicts.' From this it will be seen that, although the settlement was to be a penal establishment, it was not intended that free settlers should be excluded from it. Indeed, Phillip was most desirous that free settlers should be encouraged to come out.

The first on the list of settlers was an ex-convict, James Ruse, who received 30 acres at Parramatta on the 30th of March, 1791; the second, Robert Webb, 'seaman, late of His Majesty's ship Sirius,' who on the same date was granted 60 acres 'on the north side of the creek leading to Parramatta;' the third, **William**

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\**Historical Records of Australia, Series I, vol. i, pp. 14-15.*

Reid, also a seaman from the *Sirius*, who received 60 acres near Webb's land; and the fourth, Philip Schaffer, 'sent out as a Superintendent,<sup>7</sup> who was a widower with one child and received 140 acres (the largest grant on the list) also on the 'creek leading to Parramatta.' Of the 87 grantees recorded for the year 1791, 44 were ex-convicts; the rest discharged seamen and marines, 34 of whom were settled on Norfolk Island.\*

Governor Phillip wrote to England asking for authority to grant holdings to commissioned officers also. (He had set aside small allotments for their temporary use soon after his arrival.) The permission to do so arrived on the eve of his departure, and Major Francis Grose, Lieutenant-Governor pending Hunter's arrival, hastened to take the fullest advantage of it. On the 4th of October, 1792, Phillip wrote to Dundas, 'I have not received any instructions respecting the quantity of land which may be intended to be given to an officer on . . . becoming a settler/ and four months later Grose informed his Lordship that he had granted each officer who applied for land 100 acres, 'which,' he added, 'with great spirit, they, at their own expense, are clearing. Whether their efforts result from the novelty of the business, or the advantages they promise themselves, I cannot say, but their exertions are really astonishing; and I absolutely expect, if they continue as they begin, that in the space of six months the officers will have a tract in cultivation more than equal to a third of all that has ever been cleared in the colony. As I am aware that they are at this time the only settlers on whom reliance can be placed, I shall encourage their pursuit as much as is in my power.' This marks the beginning of military rule in New South Wales. Later, these officers, among whom was John Macarthur, purchased the land of other persons and so obtained con-

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\*See *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, vol. 1, pp. 279-82.

siderable estates. By 1802 Macarthur held over 6000 acres and was the largest landholder in the colony.

### **Increase in Size of Grants**

The only change in Hunter's time was an increase in the size of areas granted to the 'meritorious and well-deserving.' King, on finding that much of the land granted to settlers was passing into the hands of officers, began the practice of making grants to the children of settlers, who could not alienate the land without the Governor's permission before they became twenty-one years of age.

In 1804, after the colony had been sixteen years in existence, the Home Government changed its policy. Macarthur's visit to England awakened the Government's interest in Australian wool production, and its desire to encourage the industry led to an era of large grants. Macarthur returned to Sydney with an order entitling him to 5000 acres and convict labour sufficient to work the holding. Captain Woodriff received 1000 acres in 1804, and in 1808 Bligh made one grant of 2000 acres (to George Johnston, the son of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston), one of 1000, two of 600 each, four of 500 each, and several others of smaller size. In the period between Bligh's deposition and Macquarie's arrival the military authorities alienated another 80,000 acres.

The Colonial Office now revived the evil practice of promising land to people on the sole condition of their settling in the colony, and for years to come the colonial Government was irritated by the presentation of written promises. To satisfy these orders, Macquarie had to alienate not only Crown reserves, but also land in Sydney. Throughout his administration Macquarie was reluctant to issue grants, and when he did so he required

that a certain area should be cleared and cultivated within a definite time.

The principles governing in New South Wales were enforced in Norfolk Island and in Van Diemen's **Land**. As long as the Governor of the Mother Colony was responsible for the administration of Van Diemen's Land the area alienated was small, but when the full control fell into the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor the number and size of the grants increased enormously.

### **Era of Land Companies**

After the crossing of the Blue Mountains, capitalists in England directed their attention to the agricultural and pastoral possibilities of Australia, with the result that immigrants soon began to arrive in considerable numbers. Governor Brisbane was instructed to give all possessing a capital of more than £250 one square mile of territory for every £500 available for its improvement, but no grant was to exceed 2560 acres. Later, all with capital were to be provided with land. When the problem of reducing the expenses of the penal establishment became pressing, the alienation of Crown land carried with it the expense of maintaining convicts, the number varying according to the size of the grant. In 1824 an additional 100 acres was allowed for each convict maintained above the number specified for the original area; but this so decreased the amount of land available for settlement that Governor Darling was forced to discontinue the practice.

The formation of the Australian Agricultural Company in England in 1824 was due mainly to Bigge's Report. Its shareholders included the Chief-Justice Forbes, Brougham, Hume, Wilberforce, and twenty-four other members of Parliament, the Chairman and nine directors of the Bank of England, and the Chairman and six directors of the East India Company. **It was granted**

1,000,000 acres in New South Wales, and began its operations in the Port Stephens district. Later, it obtained 2000 acres of coal-bearing land at Port Hunter for a period of thirty-one years, and later still, large pastoral areas in the fertile interior plains.

At this time, too, the Van Diemen's Land Company came into existence and received a grant of 250,000 acres in different parts of Tasmania. It eventually held more than 400,000 acres.

### Land Sales

Rarely did a grant give absolute ownership of the area granted, but that made to Peel's Company in 1829 gave 1,000,000 acres on the Swan River 'in fee simple (free of quit rent).' After the failure of Peel's settlement, the principle governing the disposal of Crown land came in for a lot of adverse criticism in England. Its chief opponents were Wakefield's adherents. Partly on account of this criticism, and partly because many settlers were requiring larger areas than the Government was prepared to give them, it was decided that settlers should be allowed to purchase the full ownership of holdings. However, the system of making grants subject to quit rents was not abolished—a circumstance that explains why full ownership was so rarely purchased.

In 1831 the grant system was replaced by sale at public auction. In settled districts land was not to be sold for less than its value at the time of the sale; in unsettled areas the upset minimum price was fixed at 5s. an acre. Anyone might select unoccupied land and have it put up to auction. The terms of sale were an immediate deposit of ten per cent of the purchase price (determined by competition of bidders), and the balance within one calendar month.

In 1839, at the instigation of the South **Australian**

Company, the minimum price of land was raised to 12s. an acre. Glenelg's excuse for this increase was his desire to prevent the community from spreading itself over the country. In 1840 New South Wales was divided into three districts: the Moreton Bay, the Port Jackson, and the Port Phillip districts. In the central and northern the land regulations were not altered, but in the southern the price of all lands outside Melbourne was raised to a minimum of £1 an acre. This was a move in the interests of South Australia at the expense of Port Phillip.

An Imperial Act of 1842 brought all the colonies into uniformity as far as land alienation was concerned. Its main provisions were: free grants were no longer to be made; auction sales were to be conducted in each colony or district at least once a quarter; the minimum upset price was to be £1; land was to be classified as town lots, suburban lots, or country lots, the upset price of town and suburban lots to be decided by the Governor; country lands sold by auction but not paid for within the required time, and also specially surveyed blocks of 20,000 acres, might be sold by private treaty.

This Act was in force when New South Wales was granted representative government.

## CHAPTER XXV

### ABOLITION OF TRANSPORTATION

As the number of free settlers increased, opposition to the influx of convicts grew stronger. As early as 1830, colonists started a movement to bring about the abolition of transportation to Australia and in this were strongly supported by many influential persons in England, especially by supporters of the Wakefield theory. For many years Dr Richard Whately (Archbishop of Dublin) had written and preached against the system, and his protests, added to the allegations by the colonists, so aroused public interest that the House of Commons was forced to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the matter.

The Select Committee of 1837 sat under the presidency of Sir William Molesworth, a staunch disciple of Wakefield, and others of its members were Sir Robert Peel, Charles Buller, Sir George Grey, Lord Howick, and Lord John Russell. Its report was not completed until 1838. The Committee found that much truth lay in the colonists' charges, and that conditions in New South Wales were, generally, such as tended to make convicts worse instead of better. The Report stated that the fate of an assignee depended almost entirely on the character of the person to whom he was assigned, and consequently was always a doubtful one; that the presence of convicts or ex-convicts lowered the moral tone of the community; and that, as a deterrent of crime, the system had failed, while as a reformatory power it exerted very little influence. The Committee

agreed that the intermarriage of criminals was a menace to colonial society, and that a penal settlement was not a place that attracted the better class of colonists, since it was not one that could expect to receive the privilege of self-government. On these, and other grounds, they strongly recommended the abolition of transportation as soon as practicable.

### **Administration of Convict Settlements**

The evidence reviewed the administration of settlements from their earliest days and disclosed many revolting facts about convict life in certain Australian prisons. There is no denying that the administration was often exceedingly harsh, but we must remember that the early governors were men of the quarter-deck or camp, not of the Court or drawing-room, and that a large percentage of the convicts were criminals of the worst type—persons who had been fortunate in escaping the gallows in England. Towards the end of the 18th century, the humanitarian spirit began to make itself evident in England, and under its influence the death penalty was frequently set aside in favour of transportation.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the harshness of some governors drove many who had been sent out for trivial offences into the ranks of the baser sort. When political agitators and revolutionaries arrived, men with grievances were often only too ready to assist them in any attempt to overthrow legal authority. In short, many a career of crime began in the settlement. The belief was common that, while England could afford to deal leniently with crime committed at home, the very existence of a penal settlement abroad depended upon the severity of those, in charge of it. It contained a large percentage of prisoners who were the exception in any gaol—prisoners

who in earlier times would not have been allowed to live.

Flogging was the commonest form of punishment in penal settlements. The 'cat' was similar to that used by the military and naval authorities in England, but, according to the Report of the Select Committee, the one employed at Macquarie Harbour was much more brutal. It was 'a larger and heavier instrument than that used generally for the punishment of soldiers and sailors. It was called the thief-cat, or double eat-o'-nine-tails. It had only the usual number of tails, but each of these was a double twist of whip-cord, and each tail had nine knots . . . a very formidable instrument indeed.'

The following sentences, imposed by the Rev. Samuel Marsden in his capacity as a magistrate at Parramatta, show the severity of punishments inflicted for minor offences: James Blackburn, for gambling, 'twenty-five lashes every morning, and be kept on bread and water, until he tells who are the four men that were gambling with him;' John Downes and Hugh Carroll, for stealing £6 14s., 'to be confined in a solitary cell on bread and water, and every second morning to receive twenty-five lashes, until they tell where the money is concealed.' In giving evidence before Commissioner Bigge in 1819, John Thorn, the chief constable at Parramatta, said that 'many punishments were ordered to be inflicted every second day. This order was always verbal, that the prisoners who were to receive it might be kept in the dark as to the number of lashes.' In 1833 the number of lashes inflicted in New South Wales for one month was at the rate of 108,000 a year.

The condition of assigned servants may be judged from passages that appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* of the 20th of November, 1830. From these we learn that: 'The prisoners of all classes in Government . . . were

fed with the coarsest food; governed with the most rigid discipline; subjected to the stern and frequently capricious and tyrannical will of an overseer; for the slightest offence, sometimes for none at all, being the victim of false accusation—brought before a magistrate, whom Parliament had armed with the tremendous powers of a summary jurisdiction; and either flogged, or sentenced to solitary confinement, or re-transported to an iron-gang, where he must work in heavy irons, or to a penal settlement, where he will be ruled with a rod of iron. If assigned to a private individual, he becomes a creature of chance. He may fall into the hands of a kind and indulgent master, who will reward his fidelity with suitable acknowledgments; but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, he will find his employer suspicious, or whimsical, or a blockhead not knowing good conduct from bad, or a despot, who treats him like a slave, cursing, and abusing, and getting him flogged for no reasonable cause.

'He may be harassed to the very death. He may be worked like a horse, and fed like a chameleon. The master, though not invested by law with uncontrolled power, has yet great authority, which may be abused in a thousand ways precluding redress. Even his legal power is sufficiently formidable. A single act of disobedience, a single syllable of insolence, is a legitimate ground of complaint before the Magistrate, and is always severely dealt with. But, besides the master's power, the prisoner is in some measure under a dominion to the free population at large; any free man can give him in charge without ceremony. If seen drunk—if found tippling in the public-house—if met after hours in the street—if unable to pay his trifling debt—if impertinent—the free man has nothing to do but send him

to the watch-house and get him punished; the poor prisoner is at the mercy of all men.'\*

Further, the Committee found that many in authority were in the habit of oppressing ordinary convicts who had any means at all, and recorded that 'the police made a considerable revenue by blackmailing convicts in business.'

Although these conditions drove some to attempt to escape from the settlement, laziness and love of change were mainly responsible for the desire of others to get beyond the reach of the law. A few made for the north, hoping eventually to reach China; a few for the west, seeking the Dutch trading stations at Batavia. Geography had not been a part of their education, and all they knew of the countries of the world had been told them by sailors or by friends of sailors. They had heard of Batavia, Singapore, and Hong-Kong, and knew that those places existed somewhere to the north or west of Sydney. But the majority had no desire to go to another sphere of civilization—they wished only for freedom from discipline. They would be content to end their days in ranging the bush, provided they remained out of the reach of legal authority. To all of these escapees the name 'bushranger'<sup>1</sup> was given. (In Van Diemen's Land they were generally known as 'bolters'.)

In its earliest days the Norfolk Island settlement was the most lawless of all. It was established as the long-sentence gaol for the mainland reconvicted convicts, and as such was governed in the harshest manner. Wit\*\* regard to conditions there, Judge Forbes gave evidence before the Committee in August, 1838. He said: 'The experience furnished by the penal settlement has proved that transportation is capable of being carried to an extreme of suffering such as to render death desirable,

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\*Boxall, *History of the Australian Bushrangers*, pp. 6 and 7.

and to induce many prisoners to seek it under its most appalling aspects . . . I have known cases in which it appeared that men had committed crimes at Norfolk Island, for the mere purpose of being sent to Sydney to be tried, and the cause of their desiring to be so sent was to avoid the state of endurance in which they were placed in Norfolk Island.' Cases are on record of convicts bringing the edge of the hoe with which they were working down on the heads of warders, so that they might be certain of speedy execution. 'They did this without malice, and when charged said it was better to be hanged than to live in such a hell.' In later days each of the establishments, Norfolk Island, Port Arthur, and Macquarie Harbour was known to convicts as 'the Hell.'

In view of all this, it may at first seem strange that attempts to escape were not more numerous than they were, but it must be remembered that in earliest days the escapee was faced with the Blue Mountains on the west, and the sea on the east. Although he could move with comparative ease to the north and south, the absence of orchards or cattle in either of these directions threatened him with starvation. It was only in Van Diemen's Land that 'bolting' was attempted on a large scale, and, as a consequence, it was on that island that the worst phases of bushranging were experienced.

On the whole, the evidence given before the Committee makes gloomy reading. It gives a vivid account of existence in exceptionally severe establishments governed by exceptionally severe men, and provided the material for Marcus Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life*, and Charles Reade's *It's Never Too Late to Mend*.

When judging any organization of the past, all facts must be taken into account. It must be remembered that an institution may, and often does, outgrow its

utility, so that one beneficial to a certain age may be harmful to another age—the transportation system is a case in point. By 1840 it was hindering the colony's progress, but without it the colony would never have come into existence. It brought Australia into England's possession, and it provided the necessary labour for raising New South Wales above the status of a penal settlement. The value of convict labour may be estimated from the fact that in 1834 Western Australian settlers requested that transportation might be directed to their shores.

Even in 1840 the colonists of New South Wales were not unanimous in regarding the abolition of the old system as an unmixed blessing. The squatters, for example, saw in the departure of the convict a serious obstacle to the progress of the pastoral industry; and it was due to their arguments that attempts were made later to introduce the system in a modified form.

### **New Experiments**

Although the regular shipment of convicts from England to New South Wales ended in 1840, transportation to Australia did not cease until 1868. After 1840, they were sent direct to Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island, and in 1850 transportation to Western Australia began.

Before long the Imperial Government was faced with another problem. Between 1840 and 1846 the number of criminals in Van Diemen's Land had increased by nearly 24,000, with the result that the amount of convict labour available prevented free settlers from earning a living and therefore forced them to transfer their homes to the mainland. Further, the fact that the island was now primarily a penal settlement and looked on as 'the sink of English iniquity' turned the stream of

immigration away from it. It was clear that, in fairness to those who had invested their money in the place, such a state of affairs could not be allowed to continue. The revival of transportation to the mainland seemed to be the only solution.

The Report of the Select Committee of 1838 had recommended the establishment of penitentiaries in England for the reformation of short-sentence prisoners. In these they could be taught trades so that at the expiration of their sentences they might become useful citizens. One was established at Parkhurst (mainly **for** juveniles) and another at Pentonville. In theory the system was good, but in practice it did not come up to expectations. Its success was marred by the fact that prisoners on regaining their liberty found it very difficult to obtain work. In the circumstances the Government decided that they should be encouraged to go to the colonies, where they would have a better chance of finding employment. This led to a reorganization of the system. Prisoners were henceforth to be kept at Pentonville for a period of two years, during which the authorities would note the industry and general behaviour of each. Those who gave unmistakable signs of reformation were to be granted conditional pardons and sent to the colonies—the condition being that they should not return to Great Britain until the original sentence had expired. In other words they were to become exiles for the unexpired balance of their sentences. Incurable prisoners were to be transported as usual to Van Diemen's Land.

This arrangement, it was thought, would relieve the congestion at Hobart and at the same time supply the demand for labour in the mainland colonies. **Lord Stanley** arranged with a resident in the Port Phillip district for the placing of 21 'exiles,' and on the 6th of November, 1844, the *Royal George* reached **Melbourne**

with the first batch of 'Penton villains.' These, it is true, were soon absorbed, but the action of the Imperial Government was regarded with much disfavour by the greater part of the community.

Sydney people also were divided in opinion. When William Ewart Gladstone became Secretary of State in 1845 and proposed the re-introduction of transportation in a modified form, a Committee of the Legislative Council, under the chairmanship of Wentworth, approved of the scheme, provided that convicts and ticket-of-leave men were confined to country districts, and that as many free immigrants as convicts were sent out. Public protest, however, caused the Committee's report to be repudiated by the Council in 1847.

At this time Gladstone had a share in a sheep station in Victoria, and as a consequence was aware of the labour shortage in country districts. Soon after placing his proposal before Governor Gipps, he took steps to form a convict colony in New South Wales, north of 26 degrees south latitude, from which labourers might be obtained. It was to be known as 'North Australia.' A number of soldiers and settlers were sent out in advance to form the nucleus of the community, and the Superintendent, Lieutenant-Colonel George Barney, was instructed to choose a site on the coast that would be suitable for a capital. In June, 1846, Earl Grey became Secretary of State and Gladstone's scheme was abandoned. The township of Gladstone is the only evidence that remains of its having ever existed.

### **Earl Grey's Scheme**

In September, Grey notified the new Governor of New South Wales, Sir Charles FitzRoy, that he had decided that convicts who had served the greater part of their sentences in England should be given tickets of leave and sent to the colony. Evidently Grey did

not take any notice either of the fact that the colonists had forced the Legislative Council to reject Gladstone's proposal or of the heated protests that had arisen in the Port Phillip district on the arrival of the 'exiles.' In the face of colonial disapproval he proceeded with his scheme for the continuance of transportation.

On the 11th of June, 1849, the transport *Hashemy* arrived at Port Jackson. As the people of Sydney threatened violence if the prisoners were landed, FitzRoy sent the vessel on to Moreton Bay, where convict labour was wanted. On the 8th of August another transport, the *Randolph*, reached Port Phillip. Latrobe feared the consequences of allowing anyone to land, and sent her on to Sydney. Her stay in Sydney was short, for FitzRoy at once ordered her to proceed to Moreton Bay. The attitude of Port Jackson and Port Phillip residents was too pronounced to be ignored by the Home Authorities, and from then on, all ticket-of-leave men were despatched direct to Brisbane.

### **Anti-Transportation Associations**

Feeling ran so high in the colonies that anti-transportation societies were formed in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Launceston. Great Britain at last perceived the folly of acting against the colonists' wishes and after 1850 refrained from sending ticket-of-leave men to New South Wales (including Moreton Bay), but gave no promise that transportation to all places except Western Australia should cease also.

In February, 1851, an intercolonial meeting was held in Melbourne, and an Anti-Transportation League formed. The members of the League pledged themselves not to employ convict labour for any purpose. In 1852 certain prominent members publicly advocated separation from Britain unless the wishes of the colonists in this matter were respected, and by so doing **awakened**

the memory of previous events in America. England now recognized that her interference could be carried too far, and on the 14th of December, 1852, the Colonial Office yielded. On that date transportation to every part of Australia (except the colony of Western Australia) was abolished.

Fortunately, at about this time crime began to decrease in Great Britain. The number of persons committed for trial in Ireland between 1849 and 1856 was only three-quarters the number between 1842 and 1849, and from 1858 to 1861 not more than 300 convicts were available annually for sending to Western Australia. The system was completely abolished in 1868.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### EXPLORATION 1841-1847

IN 1840 nothing was known about the interior of Australia. Up to that time the only parts explored were Victoria, about one half the present territory of New South Wales, a few districts surrounding small settlements, and isolated patches on the north-west coast. Another forty years had to pass before the mapping of the interior approached completion.

#### EDWARD JOHNEYRE

Edward John Eyre was a Yorkshireman, born at Hornsea in 1815. He arrived in New South Wales in 1833 and immediately became engaged in squatting pursuits. In 1838 he took cattle overland, through the Port Phillip district, to Adelaide, and on that journey discovered Lake Hindmarsh, which he named after the Governor of South Australia. Soon after reaching the settlement he proceeded northward to examine the country, and from Mount Arden saw a great depression that he believed to be a dried-up lake. It was Lake Torrens, the obstacle to inland exploration for many years **to come.**

#### **Second Expedition**

On the 5th of August, 1839, Eyre, accompanied by four white men and two natives, set off from Port Lincoln to follow the coastline **westward. At the end of**



twenty days they had covered a distance of 300 miles across a waterless tract of mallee and tea-tree scrub, and were at Streaky Bay. Disappointed in the country, Eyre struck off towards the head of Spencer Gulf, and on the 29th of September was back on the site of his former camp at Mount Arden. On this occasion he named the huge depression to the north, which at the moment was filled with water, Lake Torrens, in honour of Colonel Torrens. 'As my time was very limited, and the lake at a great distance, I had to forgo my wish to visit it. I have, however, no doubt of its being salt, from the nature of the country, and the fact of finding the water very salt in one of the creeks draining into it from the hills.' He then returned to Adelaide.

It looked as if good pastoral land was not to be obtained in the country surrounding the settlement. Was it likely to be obtained beyond Lake Torrens? It was to settle this question that Eyre set out with a small party on the 18th of June, 1840.

### **Third Expedition**

Supplies were taken to the head of Spencer Gulf and from there carted to Mount Arden. Since the country was devoid of fresh water and mountains lay to the north-east and high land to the west, it appeared to be impossible to cross the salt-covered stretch of mud that barred the way into the interior. As stock could not travel over the arid and rocky land surrounding the depression, further exploration in that direction was abandoned.

### **The Great Australian Bight**

Eyre's next object was to discover whether a stock route could be made from Adelaide to Perth. He now broke camp at Mount Arden and set off for Port Lincoln,

Baxter (the overseer) and several other men were sent on to await him at Streaky Bay. After obtaining supplies from Port Lincoln and Adelaide he started out on the 24th of October to join up with Baxter.

Beyond the bay the country was so arid that to lessen the strain on provisions Byre sent all but Baxter and three native boys back home. Not long afterwards, a vessel reached the coast with an urgent message from Adelaide requesting him to abandon the desperate project. This he refused to do, so the vessel sailed off again.

The description of this perilous journey is a gloomy and monotonous one. Day after day the little band laboured through depressing country or over burning sands. As they proceeded, fresh water became scarcer until at last they were forced to quench their thirst with dew from the leaves of trees. The horses were dying one by one, and it seemed as if the party would soon have to proceed on foot. To attempt to return to Adelaide in their weakened condition was out of the question. At last, when two of the native boys deserted, Baxter almost lost heart.

On the night of the 29th of April, 1841, rain was threatening, and in the hope of obtaining water they pitched camp near some clefts in a rock. During the early hours of the morning Eyre was told that several of the horses had wandered away, and he went out in search of them. Suddenly the report of a gun broke the silence, and soon afterwards Wylie, the remaining native boy, rushed up and excitedly informed him that Baxter had been murdered by the deserters who had returned and plundered the stores. Unfortunately Wylie's story was correct.

For the next seven days Eyre and Wylie trudged along beside the skeleton forms of the horses until they reached Thistle Cove. There they were delighted to

find a French whaler at anchor. At last their troubles were over. Ten days later they left the little settlement, provided with new clothes, an ample supply of provisions, and freshly-shod horses. On the 7th of July, after a terrible journey lasting nearly ten months, the long-desired goal, King George's Sound, was reached.

On his return to Adelaide, Eyre received a public welcome. Subsequently he was appointed Police Magistrate on the Murray. From 1846-53 he was Lieutenant-Governor of the province of New Munster in New Zealand, under Governor Sir George Grey, and later, was Governor of Jamaica. He died at Steeple Aston in Oxfordshire in November, 1901.

#### CHARLES STURT

Sturt returned to Australia in 1835 and settled at Mitta-gong. His zeal for exploration was as strong as ever, and in 1838 he took cattle overland to Adelaide, following a part of his route of 1829. In the same year he attempted to enter the Murray from Encounter Bay, but failed. His failure convinced South Australian settlers that no large township would arise at the mouth of that river, and so brought about a rise in the price of Adelaide land. In 1839 he was appointed Surveyor-General (the appointment was changed to that of Assistant Commissioner of Lands) by Governor Gawler, and moved with his family to South Australia.

On the 10th of August, 1844, Sturt set out on an expedition into the interior. Eyre's reports had made people believe that Lake Torrens lay like a great horse-shoe enclosing Mount Arden and the Flinders Range, thus preventing access to the interior from the south. Sturt decided to outflank the lake by following the Darling to a point near Menindie and then striking **out** in a north-westerly direction. Extensive preparations were made for this expedition, **and among its members**

were James Poole, and McDouall Stuart who acted as draughtsman. Eyre (then resident magistrate on the Murray) accompanied the party as far as Lake Victoria.

Laidley's Ponds (Menindie) were reached on the 11th of October, when the north-western journey was begun. After the party had passed between the Barrier Range and Mount Lyell, camp was pitched beside what appeared to be a permanent creek (Rocky Glen Depot) on the 27th of January, 1845. In the meanwhile the drought dried up the waterholes, and to the north not a drop of water was to be found. In the circumstances the party had to remain at the depot until rain fell, which did not occur until the 17th of July. To lessen the strain on the provisions, Sturt now decided to send half of his men back to Adelaide. At this stage Poole, who had been ill for some weeks, died and was buried in the valley between Mounts Poole and Stuart.

The next depot was made at Port Grey, near Strzelecki Creek. Reconnaissance westward disclosed the presence of the salt Lake Blanche and strengthened the belief that Lake Torrens stretched right across that central area. Taking a few men and provisions for fifteen weeks, Sturt crossed Strzelecki and Cooper's Creeks and at length came to 'Sturt's Stony Desert.' On the 8th of September the outward journey came to an end beyond the salty spinifex ridges of Byre Creek ( $24^{\circ} 40'$  S. lat.  $138^{\circ}$  E. long.).

The first stage of the return journey was completed when, on the 2nd of October, the depot, which was 443 miles to the south-east, was reached. A week later Sturt again tackled the stony desert, but again want of water compelled his return. He was back at the depot on the 13th of November, but before that date the remainder of the party had fallen back on the water-hole at Rocky Glen. At the Rocky Glen depot Sturt went down with scurvy. On the 6th of December he

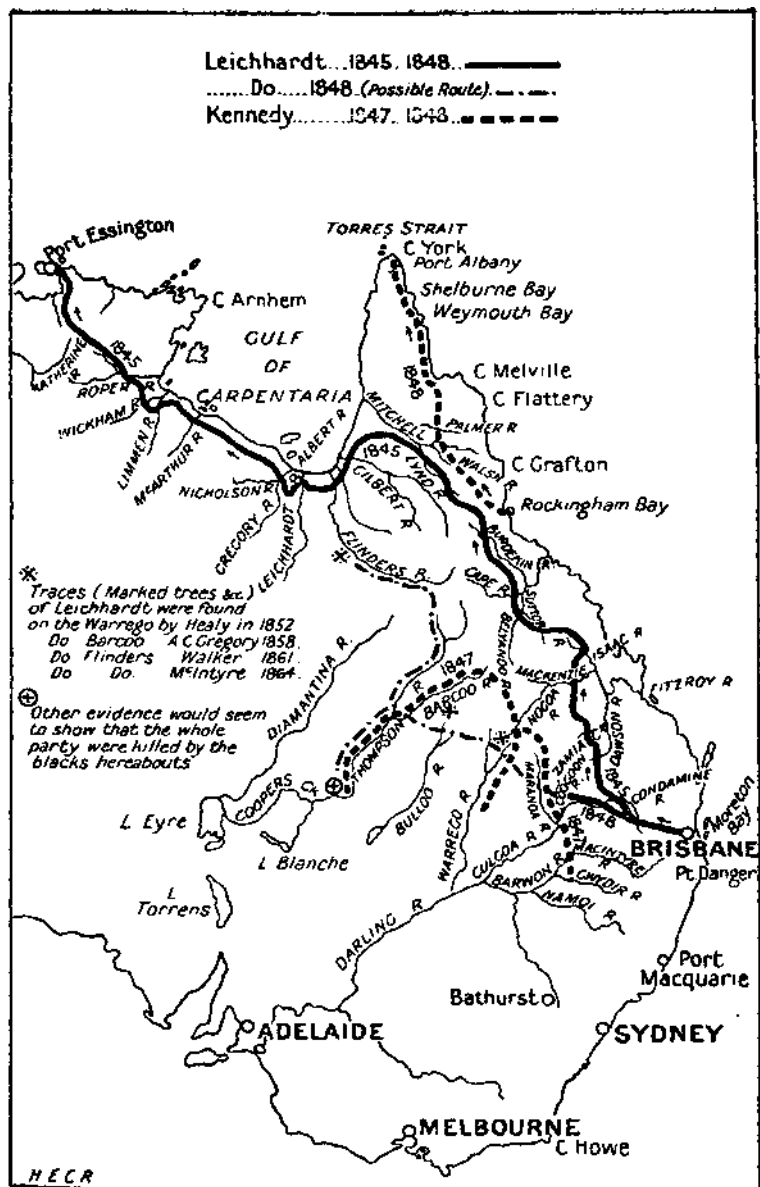
was placed in a dray and a start made for home. Adelaide was reached on the 19th of January, 1846.

Sturt's fortitude had been heroic, but in the matter of finding new pasture land the expedition was a failure. Evidently none existed in the interior of the continent. It was this belief that hindered the exploration of South Australia for many years.

### LUDWIG LEICHHARDT

Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig Leichhardt was born near Berlin in 1813. He evaded military service in Germany, and, being proclaimed a deserter, came to New South Wales in 1841. He was of a scientific turn of mind and spent two years studying the botany of Moreton Bay. In 1844 he made preparations for an examination of the interior of Queensland, and set out with a small party from Jimbour (Darling Downs) on the 1st of October.

His course took him northwards from the Condamine River to the Dawson (which he discovered and named) and on to the Isaacs and Suttor Rivers. In March, 1845, he discovered the Burdekin and followed it for a considerable distance. He then crossed the main watershed and came upon the Lynd flowing into the Gulf of Carpentaria. Near its junction with the Mitchell, on the 28th of June, the party was attacked by blacks. One white man was killed and two others wounded. After this the party was more awake to danger from the northern tribes and moved warily along the southern shore of the Gulf. The Flinders, Gilbert, and Roper were passed, but while crossing the last-mentioned river, four horses and Leichhardt's entire botanical collection were lost. On the 6th of August the Leichhardt River was discovered, and on the 17th of December the journey came to an end at Port Essington.



EXPLORATION IN THE NORTH

## Second and Third Expeditions

Leichhardt's first expedition was so successful that he decided to set out on another. His object on this occasion was to cross the continent from east to west. After making great preparations for a two years' absence, he started from the Condamine on the 10th of December, 1846. He followed his old track to the Mackenzie and Isaacs Rivers, then turned westward. Monsoonal rains now struck the party, and before long its progress was hindered by marsh and bog. As provisions were by this time running low, Leichhardt decided to abandon the undertaking for the time being. On the 6th of July, 1847, the party, most of whom were ill and all half-starved, were back on the Condamine. For this failure Leichhardt ungraciously and unjustifiably blamed his companions.

In 1848 he started off on a second attempt to cross the continent. The expedition was poorly equipped, and little is known of its personnel. The Rev. W. B. Clarke wrote: 'The parties that accompanied Leichhardt were perhaps little capable of shifting for themselves in case of any accident to their leader. The second in command, a brother-in-law of Leichhardt, came from Germany to join him before starting, and he told me, when I asked him what his qualifications for the journey were, that he had been at sea and had suffered shipwrecks, and was therefore well able to endure hardship. I do not know what his other qualifications were.'

A letter written on the 3rd of April, 1848, from Macpherson's station (Muckadilla Creek) on the Fitzroy Downs, contains all the information that we have of this undertaking. The party left Burrell's station on the Condamine on the 23rd of March and reached Macpherson's a week later. Nothing was ever heard of it after it left Muckadilla Creek. In 1852 Hovenden Hely

found camps with trees marked L on the Nivelles River; four years later A. C. Gregory set out specially to search for traces of the lost explorers but failed to find anything more than the sites of several of their camps.

#### EDMUND B. KENNEDY

Edmund Kennedy was a government surveyor in New South Wales, appointed in 1840. His ability as a bushman led to his accompanying Sir Thomas Mitchell as second-in-command on Mitchell's last expedition, which set out in 1846 to find a route from New South Wales to Queensland. On that occasion Mitchell discovered the head waters of the Barcoo, and assuming that he had come upon the Victoria River (which flows to the north-west coast) called it the Victoria. In the next year Kennedy was sent to verify Mitchell's assumption. He reached the river at the point at which Mitchell had turned to begin the homeward journey and followed it until it became lost in Sturt's 'stony desert.' It was certainly not the Victoria, and as the blacks knew it as the Barcoo, he renamed it accordingly.

#### **Cape York Peninsula**

On the 29th of April, 1848, Kennedy was placed in charge of a party of twelve that was sent to find a way to the north of Cape York Peninsula. His instructions were to proceed by sea to Rockingham Bay, and from there to work his way northward to Port Albany, where a schooner would be found awaiting him. The party reached Rockingham Bay on the 30th of May and began the overland journey.

Difficulties were met with on the first day out. Every step was hindered by lawyer vines and the stinging nettle of north Queensland jungles. Dense forests, 'marshy ground, salt water creeks, and high mountain

ranges, all inhabited by hostile natives, formed the pleasant prospect before Kennedy.\*

By the end of July the carts had been abandoned, and the stock was rapidly decreasing, owing to the sour coastal grasses. The ranges were tried, but they offered no easier route. One by one the horses died, and those still alive became too weak to carry baggage for any great distance. At last the party was compelled to supplement its scanty stores with horse-flesh.

On the 9th of November, Weymouth Bay was reached, and there Kennedy divided the party. After making a camp on the top of a hill clearly visible from the bay, and placing Mr Carron, the botanist, in charge of it, Kennedy, with three men *and* a blackboy known as Jacky-Jaeky, set off for Port Albany. For the rest of the story we have to rely on the account given by Jacky-Jacky. He said that they reached Shelburne Bay after three weeks spent in cutting through dense scrub and crossing creeks. There one of the white men accidentally shot himself. As another of the men was ill and the wounded man weak from loss of blood, Kennedy left the third to look after them, and pushed on with Jacky-Jacky.

When they reached the Escape River, and so were in sight of Albany Island, they met a number of blacks. Jacky-Jacky at once sensed danger and warned Kennedy not to trust any of them, however friendly they might appear to be. After dark these blacks were joined by others. Next day Kennedy and the boy went on their way, keeping a watchful eye, for they knew that they were being followed. At nightfall they were attacked. When Kennedy was about to enter a patch of scrub a spear flashed through the air and struck him in the back. He fell into the boy's arms. While being

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\*See Favenc, *The History of Australian Exploration, 1788-1888*, chap. vii,

dragged into a position of safety a second spear pierced his right leg, and a third entered his side. At this stage Jacky-Jacky was wounded in the eye.

When it was dark the boy buried Kennedy and set off for Port Albany alone. Although the port was close at hand it took him thirteen days to reach it. As soon as Jacky-Jacky had told his tale to the skipper of the *Ariel*, which was waiting for the party, the schooner made south for Shelburne Bay to rescue the three white men. No trace of them, however, was to be found. Articles that had belonged to them were recovered from a native canoe—a circumstance that made their fate quite evident. At Weymouth Bay only Mr Carron and a man named Dobson remained, the six others having died from starvation. The arrival of the *Ariel* was only just in time to save Carron and Dobson from falling into the hands of a hostile tribe that had surrounded them. Thus ended the second ill-fated expedition to the north.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS AND VICTORIA

THE activities of Wentworth and an Australian Patriotic Association had brought about the political and judicial changes of 1823 and 1828, but those changes did not go far enough to satisfy Wentworth and his friends. As yet the people had no voice in electing the members of the Legislative or Executive Councils, consequently they had not acquired any political rights. To remedy this the Association raised the cry for representative government and gave the Colonial Office to understand that colonists would not be satisfied until their demand was granted them. Years of patience and perseverance brought their reward. In 1842 the Imperial Parliament passed an 'Act for the Government of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.'

#### **Act of 1842**

By the provisions of this Act the number of Legislative Councillors was raised to 36, of whom 24 were to be elected by owners of freehold property worth two hundred pounds and householders paying an annual rent not less than twenty pounds. Of the twelve nominated members, not more than six were to be officials, and the qualification for members, nominated and elected alike, was ownership of freehold to the value of £2000, or returning an annual income of £100. The members were to elect one of their number as Speaker, who would preside **at all** their meetings. (The

first speaker was Alexander Macleay.) Since the Governor ceased to preside at Council meetings, he lost his privilege of initiating legislation, but he could direct the Council to consider any measures that he cared to place before it. In addition to initiating legislation the Council had the right to impose customs duties. It had to be assembled at least once each year, and, unless dissolved sooner, enjoyed a lifetime of five years.

This was a great step in advance of the earlier constitution, but it was still a long way from political freedom. The Council made the laws, but their \* administration was in the hands of others. The Executive continued to be nominated by the Governor, and its members held office only at his pleasure. In other words, partly-representative, but not responsible, government had been obtained. As long as the Executive were answerable for their actions only to the Governor, the real power remained in his hands. The fact that the Council had the power to increase its numbers as long as the elected members remained twice the number of nominated did not help the Legislature, for although absent from its sessions, the Governor influenced debate through the nominated members. Moreover, he still had the right to veto any measure passed by the Council; and, finally, he continued to control the sale of Crown lands and the disposal of the proceeds of sales.

Port Phillip was allowed six representatives—one for Melbourne and five for the remainder of the district. Before long it was found that the Port Phillip residents were placed at a great disadvantage owing to the distance of Sydney from Melbourne. Membership was an expensive business for a southern man, and since few were able to afford either the time or money, the Port Phillip people were compelled to elect Sydney residents to look after their interests. As far as the southerners were concerned, representative government was a farce,

and as a consequence a movement for the separation of north and south soon began. In passing it may be said that Earl Grey rather favoured the notion of separation.

### **Election of 1848**

On the 19th of July, 1848, (just a week before the elections of that year) it became known that Sydney politicians had persuaded a young man, Mr Adam Bogue, to offer himself as a candidate for the Port Phillip district. Melbourne immediately arose in indignation. The *Port Phillip Gazette* of the 19th of July voiced the general feeling in the community:

'The Elections.—The outrageous attempt to thrust Mr Adam Bogue upon the district as one of our members for the Legislative Council has displayed that we are looked upon as a refuge for the destitute; and that the opinion of Port Phillip in Sydney is that any beardless boy, without name, character, or property, may be raised upon our shoulders into an office of great influence and almost supreme importance. We have the welfare of the district sincerely at heart, and we advise electors to return no members from Sydney. Let them nominate Port Phillip residents whether they can go to Sydney or not.'

Mr J. L. Poster was nominated by a section of the Melbourne electorate; those opposed to his election nominated as his opponent none other than the Secretary of State, Earl Grey! This not only amused every one, both in the colony and in England, but showed what a farce the representative system could become. On the 26th the polling took place, with the following result: Grey, 295; Poster, 12. So Earl Grey was elected for Port Phillip by a majority of 192. Amid **frantic** cheering, the Mayor of Melbourne announced the result of the poll.

### Colony of Victoria

It was clear that this state of affairs could not continue for long. For some time the Port Phillip people had been agitating for complete separation from New South Wales, and the elections of 1848 brought their grievances very forcibly before the Imperial Parliament. As a result, the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations reviewed the Australian political situation, and on the 1st of May, 1849, handed in its Report. With reference to Port Phillip it ran: 'We observe that the cities of Sydney and of Melbourne, lying at a great distance from each other, form the respective capitals of districts of great extent separated from each other by diversities of climate and by some corresponding differences in their natural resources, and in the agricultural and commercial pursuits followed in each of them. The inhabitants of the southern districts have long and earnestly solicited that Melbourne should be made the seat and centre of a Colonial Government separated from that of Sydney; and so decided has this wish become of late, that on the recent general election of members of the Legislature of New South Wales collectively, the inhabitants of the southern district have virtually and in effect refused to make any such choice . . .

'We propose, therefore, that Parliament should be recommended to authorize the division of the existing Colony of New South Wales into a northern and a southern Province. Sydney would be the capital of the northern division, which would retain the present name of New South Wales. Melbourne would be the capital of the southern division, on which we would humbly advise that Your Majesty should be graciously pleased to confer the name of Victoria . . . '\*

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\*Egerton, *Federations and Unions in the British Empire*, pp. 171-2.

The recommendations of the Committee were adopted, and in 1850 the Imperial Parliament passed an Act 'for the better government of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies/ On the 1st of July, 1851, the Port Phillip districts became part of the Colony of Victoria. In 1855 the boundaries of the new colony were definitely settled. The northern was formed by the southern bank of the River Murray and a straight line drawn from Cape Howe to the nearest point on the Murray; the western was that already fixed on as the eastern boundary of South Australia.

### **Constitutions of the Colonies**

The Committee's Report also dealt with the constitutions of the colonies. In addition to recommending the formation of the colony of Victoria, it recommended that Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia should be granted representative government exactly as it was enjoyed at that time in New South Wales; and that Legislatures should be given the power not only to arrange for a bicameral (two-House) system, and to make (subject to Royal approval) 'any other amendments to their own Constitution which time and experience may show to be requisite,' but that they should also be given more control over public expenditure.

### **Act of 1850**

An Imperial Act of 1850 gave effect to each of these items. It lowered the franchise qualifications to include possessors of freehold worth £100, householders paying £10 a year in rent, holders of pasture licences, and holders of leases worth £10 a year and having not less than three years to run. It empowered the New South Wales Legislature to levy Customs duties without waiting for the Royal assent, but insisted on a non-preferential tariff for imports. Further, it promised to grant

Western Australia the same privileges as the other colonies if her free inhabitants petitioned for them, and it also sanctioned the formation of another colony in New South Wales north of 30 degrees south latitude."

As additional compensation for the loss of Port Phillip, Governor FitzRoy received a commission of Governor-General of Australia and commissions as Governor of each of the colonies. His authority superseded that of the Governors (who were really Lieutenant-Governors) of Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia only when he was actually within the territory of those colonies, but all their communications with the Crown had to be forwarded by him. Since this arrangement made Victoria more hostile than ever towards New South Wales, it was discarded in 1855; but the title of Governor-General was retained until Governor Sir William Denison's retirement in 1861.\*

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\**The Victorian Historical Magazine* contains valuable information concerning the early history of the colony.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### GOLD

As far as authenticated records show, gold was first discovered in Australia by James McBrien, who in 1823 found numerous particles near the Fish River, between Tarana (pronounced Tar-an-ah) and Bathurst.

In 1839 the Polish count Strzelecki found auriferous pyrites in the neighbourhood of Hartley. At the request of Governor Gipps, who had fears 'of the serious consequences which, considering the condition and population of the Colony, were to be apprehended' should the fact become known, Strzelecki kept his discovery secret. In 1841 and again in 1842 the Rev. W. B. Clarke found gold in New South Wales, and he made the fact generally known long before he reported it to Gipps. About this time, a shepherd named Macgregor was daily picking up small nuggets in the Wellington district.

Before the end of 1844 Strzelecki had shown specimens of Australian gold to Sir Roderick Murchison, an eminent geologist, and owing to the likeness between certain regions of Australia and the Ural Mountains, Murchison predicted that Australia would be found to contain gold in abundance.

#### **Edward Hammond Hargraves**

A vessel reached Port Jackson in July, 1849, bringing news of the discovery of gold in California. At the time, Hargraves was a pastoralist at Gosford; but the

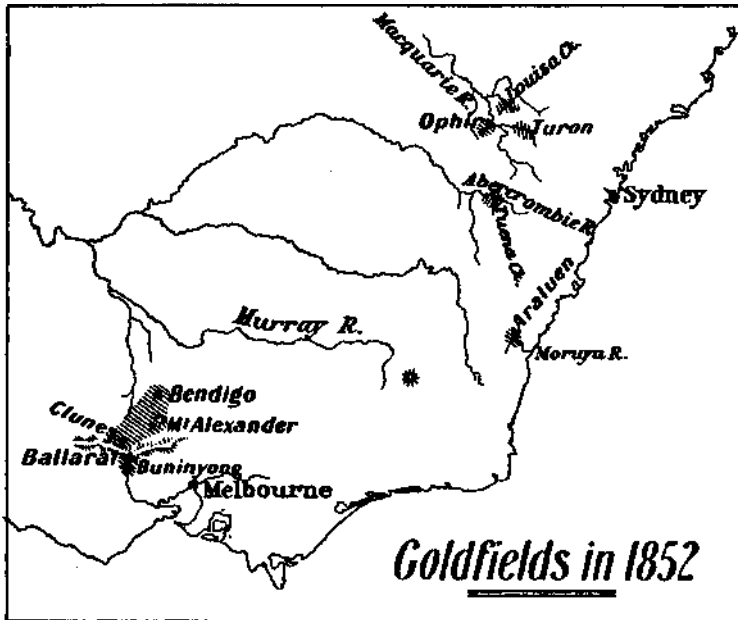
cattle industry was not flourishing and, as his income was not proportionate to his labours, he decided to try his fortune on the newly-discovered fields across the sea. On arriving at the Stanislaus valley, he was struck by the strong resemblance of his surroundings to parts of New South Wales which were well known to him. This led him to believe that Australia would also prove to be gold-bearing. As time went on the belief grew stronger, and as soon as he had made sufficient money to cover all expenses he returned to Sydney.

He reached Port Jackson on the 7th of January, 1851, and without even visiting his station at Gosford, struck out for the Bathurst district. At Guyong, he took a bushman, John Lister, into his confidence, and with him set out towards Summerhill Creek. On the 12th of February, when near the junction of Summerhill and Lewis Ponds creeks they obtained the first panful of gold-bearing gravel. The locality appeared to be a rich one, for every panful yielded a mixture of yellow dust and glinting fragments.

Hargraves now decided to examine other parts of the district, and for that purpose secured the services of James Tom, another bushman, who was engaged to act as guide. Hargraves, Lister, and Tom set off along the Macquarie valley. At Burrandong they separated, Hargraves making for Mitchell's Creek, Lister and Tom for the Turon district. During the next two months a strip of country about 70 miles long by 40 miles wide was examined. Almost every part of it showed the presence of gold. Hargraves now hastened to Sydney to strike a bargain with the Government.

On the 3rd of April he wrote offering to disclose the whereabouts of gold-bearing localities in New South Wales in return for a grant of £500. But the Government was not prepared to enter into any blind bargain.

The Colonial Secretary, Deas Thomson, informed him that no fixed sum would be promised, but that any localities that he cared to mention would be examined, and that he would be rewarded according to their yield of precious metal. Hargraves considered the Government's attitude fair enough, and disclosed the site of the first of his discoveries, and also localities in the



Bathurst and Wellington districts. Samuel Stutchbury, the Government geologist, was sent to the Summerhill site on the 8th of May. On the 14th he forwarded a report to the Colonial Secretary confirming Hargraves's statements.

### The Ophir and Sofala Fields

The news spread like wild-fire. Five days after the

contents of Stutchbury's report were made public, 400 people were at Ophir (the scene of the first 'find') and by the 25th of May more than 1000 were frantically seeking fortunes along the creeks. Nuggets varying in value from £2 to £200 were being unearthed daily.

Just as excited and even denser in its population was the Sofala community in the Turon district. There gold was obtained more easily than at Ophir, consequently those who wanted to become rich with the least expenditure of labour went to the Turon.

In one week no fewer than 2000 persons were counted on the road moving outwards from Sydney, while in the same period only 11 were proceeding in the opposite direction. Every creek was regarded as a place well worth examining, and wherever 'colour' showed, a settlement sprang up. Writing at this time, the Rev. David Mackenzie said:

<sup>1</sup> Hundreds of men, of all classes and conditions, threw up their situations, and leaving their wives and families behind them, started for the diggings. Whole crews ran away from their ships, which were left to rot in our harbours, the men having willingly forfeited all their wages, clothes, etc. Within one week the prices of the following goods rose twenty-five per cent in Sydney: flour, tea, sugar, rice, tobacco, warm clothing and boots. Throughout all the towns nothing was saleable but provisions and diggers' tools and clothing. Every man who could handle a pick or a spade was off, or preparing to be off, for the goldfields. The roads were crowded with travellers, carriages, gigs, drays, carts, and wheelbarrows; mixed up in one confused assemblage might be seen magistrates, lawyers, physicians, clerks, tradesmen and labourers.

'The building of houses and bridges, etc., was suspended for want of tradesmen, nearly all of them having

gone to the diggings. Many houses might be seen **half** finished for want of men to proceed with the work, though the owners or contractors were offering enormously high wages to any that would complete the work. The fields were left unsown, flocks of sheep were left deserted by their shepherds. With one stockholder who had twenty thousand sheep, there remained only two men. Masters were seen driving their own drays; and ladies of respectability and ample means were obliged to cook the family dinner. Servants and apprentices were off in a body, and even the very ' devils ' bolted from the newspaper offices; in short, the yellow fever seized on all classes of society. In twenty-four hours prices of provisions doubled at Bathurst and the neighbouring places. In all our steamers and trading vessels the rate of passage was raised, in consequence of the necessary increase in the wages of seamen. **All** the trades held their meetings, at which a new tariff of charges was agreed upon; and even the publicans raised at least twenty-five per cent the prices of their wines, beer, and spirits.

'Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand poured upon our shores shiploads of adventurers, attracted by the golden news; and South Australia is now almost drained of its labouring population, one of the consequences of which is that the shares in the famous Burra Burra copper mines there have fallen from £230 to £45, a fall which has entailed ruin on hundreds.

'In walking along the streets of Sydney or Melbourne you hear nothing talked about but gold; you see nothing exhibited in shop windows but specimens **of gold, or** some article of equipment for the gold-digger. In every society gold is the interminable topic of conversation; and throughout the colonies the only newspapers **now**

read are those which contain intelligence from our golden fields.\*

### GOLD IN VICTORIA

Melbourne, fearing lest her whole male population should disappear to New South Wales, offered £200 as a reward to anyone who might discover gold in Victoria. This offer arrested the migration northwards, and sent prospecting parties out to the river beds on the Victorian side of the border.

The first 'find' was made at Anderson's Creek, close to Melbourne, in July 1851. The second 'find' was made near Chines, and soon afterwards a third at Buninyong, near Ballarat in August. Of these, the discovery at Ballarat proved the most important. Within three weeks from the announcement of the discovery, the Ballarat diggings contained 2500 persons, and new arrivals were pouring in at the rate of 100 a day. At the 'Golden Point' diggers made from £30 to £40 a day each. But when, in November, the Forest Creek 'find,' near Castlemaine, became known, the Ballarat fields were more or less forsaken. At Forest Creek the metal was nearer to the surface, and so was easier to obtain. Before long Mount Alexander was crossed and diggers were settling down on the rich fields of Bendigo.

### Melbourne and the Gold Fever

The effects of the 'gold fever' are vividly described by Mrs Charles Clacy, who kept a diary of her experiences in Melbourne during 1852-3. After mentioning the difficulty she and her friends had in finding accommodation on their arrival in 1852, she goes on:

'Our party, on returning to the ship the day after

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\*Mackenzie, *The Gold Digger*, pp. 28-31. (See Swinburne, *A Source Book of Australian History*, p. 141.)

our arrival, witnessed the French leave-taking of all her crew, who, during the absence of the captain, jumped overboard and were quickly picked up and landed by the various boats about. The desertion of ships by the sailors is an every-day occurrence; the diggings themselves, or the large amount they could obtain for the run home from another master, offer too many temptations. Consequently our passengers had the amusement of hauling up from the hold their different goods and chattels; and so great was the confusion that fully a week elapsed before they were all got to shore.

'Meanwhile we were getting initiated into colonial prices—money did indeed take to itself wings and fly away. Firearms were at a premium. One instance will suffice; my brother sold a six-chambered revolver, for which he had given sixty shillings at Baker's in Fleet Street, for sixteen pounds, and the parting with it at that price was looked upon as a great favour. Imagine boots, and they were very second-rate ones, at four pounds a pair. One of our between-deck passengers who had speculated with a capital of forty pounds in boots and cutlery told me afterwards that he had disposed of them the same evening he landed at **a net profit** of ninety pounds—no trifling addition to **a poor man's** purse. . . Many a gentleman in this disarranged state of affairs was glad to fling old habits aside **and turn** his hand to whatever came readiest.'

Speaking of an acquaintance, Mrs Clacy continues: 'The diggings were too dirty and uncivilized for his taste, his capital was quickly dwindling away **beneath** the expense of the comfortable life he **led** at one of the best hotels in town, so he turned **to what as a boy he had learned for amusement, and obtained an addition to his income of more than four hundred pounds a year as house-carpenter. In the morning you might see him**

trudging off to work, and before night might meet him at some ball or soirée among the élite of Melbourne.'

Describing the condition of Melbourne at this time, she says: 'The first night on shore after so long a voyage could scarcely seem otherwise than strange . . . Dogs (Melbourne was full of them) kept up an incessant barking; revolvers were cracking in all directions till daybreak, giving one a pleasant idea of the state of society . . . The walking inhabitants are of themselves a study; glance into the streets—all nations, classes, and costumes are represented there. Chinamen with pigtailed and loose trousers; aboriginals with a solitary blanket thrown over them; Vandemonian pick-pockets, with cunning eyes and light fingers—all, in fact, from the successful digger in his blue serge shirt, and with green veil still hanging from his wide-awake, to the fashionably attired, newly arrived sent from London, who stares around him in amazement and disgust.'

Further, on the same subject: 'The town is very well laid out; the streets (which are all straight, running parallel with and cross one another) are very wide, but are incomplete, not lighted, and many are unpaved. Owing to the want of lamps, few, except when full moon, dare stir out after dark. Some of the shops are very fair; but the goods all partake too largely of the flash order, for the purpose of suiting the tastes of the successful diggers, their wives and families; it is ludicrous to see them in the shops—men who before the gold mines were discovered toiled hard for their daily bread taking off half a dozen gold rings from their fingers and trying to pull on to their rough, well hardened hands the best white kids, to be worn at some wedding party, whilst the wife, proud of the novel ornament, descants on **the**

folly of hiding them beneath such useless articles as gloves.\*

### VICTORIAN MINING CAMPS

By 1854 the honeycombing of vast districts in Victoria was well advanced. Mines were working in all the best known fields, and when a seam showed signs of giving out, parties of two or three set off to examine what they considered to be 'likely' localities. Although important discoveries were sometimes made in this way, the finding of gold was more often the result of chance or accident. Shepherds and servants in the country frequently came upon rich patches. As soon as their good fortune became known—and it always became known in an incredibly short time—hundreds of tents appeared on the spot, and a clearing of the timber began.

Within a few days a Government Commissioner, with a troop of foot and mounted police would be sent to the locality. 'These,' wrote G. H. Wathen in 1855, 'established a camp on some central elevated position, and an irregular, wide street of tents springs up like magic in the valley below. There are stores, large and small; butchers' shops, doctors' little tents, and innumerable refreshment booths, where, under the guise of selling lemonade and home-made beer, an extensive illicit trade is carried on in vile, adulterated, and often poisonous spirits. The blacksmith is always one of the first on the ground, and presently extemporises a forge out of a few loose stones or turf-sods. Flags are flying from the stores and shops, and give gaiety to the scene. The Union Jack floats proudly above the government camp on the hill, and military sentinels are on duty **before** the gold tent . . .

'A new goldfield is the favourite resort of horse-

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\*Swinburne, *A Source Book of Australian History*, pp. 137-9.

stealers, thieves, and miscreants of all kinds, who, **lost** in the crowd and confusion, here find ample opportunity for carrying on their nefarious practices. Their common haunts are the "sly grog shops" which spring up like weeds on all sides. Here they rendezvous and concoct those deeds of darkness which have given the colony such an unenviable fame.'

### **Miners' Licences**

To regulate the camps, the Government at Sydney, on 23rd of February, 1857, issued 'Licences to Dig and Search for Gold.' These, which cost thirty shillings each and had to be renewed monthly, gave their holders the right to 'dig, search for, or remove gold on or from any land, whether public or private.' All who applied for a licence had to prove to the satisfaction of a Commissioner that they were not persons improperly absent from hired service. Similar regulations were adopted in Victoria when the first discoveries of gold at Ballarat were made. The revenue obtained in this way was large, but it was not enough to cover the expenses of administering the mining areas.

The collection of licence fees proved a difficult matter, owing to the migratory nature of a mining population. Since diggers evaded payment whenever they could, the Police were accustomed to sweep down on the camps at irregular intervals and demand a show of licences. All unable to comply with the demand on the moment were arrested and dragged off under an armed escort of mounted troopers. Sometimes they would be left chained to a log in the blazing sun for hours before being brought before the local Commissioner. Such a system could not fail to lead to serious trouble, as well as prove inefficient. As soon as the police appeared, a cry of warning was raised throughout the camp, **and** wideawake defaulters made off into the surrounding **forests.**

## CHAPTER XXIX

### EFFECTS OF THE GOLD RUSH

THE rush of able-bodied men to the goldfields seriously disorganized life in the smaller colony of Victoria. Farms, shops, ships, and factories were deserted; **for** employers as well as employees forsook their posts and made off in pursuit of fortunes on the diggings. It is estimated that at Forest Creek alone 12,000 persons were encamped on an area of less than four square miles. While the 'yellow' fever raged, sheep remained unshorn, and it was feared that the harvest of 1851 would remain ungathered.

#### **The Criminal Element**

The criminal usually chooses the easiest path to crime; that path led first to the mining camps, then, later, back to the towns. Since the miners proved that they could look after themselves, and could, moreover, deal with criminals in a very effectual manner, men of the undesirable type gradually made their way back to the larger and now practically defenceless towns. Most of the Melbourne and the country police had abandoned duty, and Latrobe was compelled to send to Tasmania for help. Thirty soldiers **were** sent over from Hobart, and were used to escort the convoys bringing gold to Melbourne. In the meantime adventurers from all parts of the world poured into Australia, with the result that the camps became

more congested than ever. At last, many diggers came to the conclusion that a surer, though perhaps slower, way of acquiring a fortune was trading with lucky diggers, and as a consequence traders increased in number.

The lawlessness that was now reigning outside mining areas presented the Government with a difficult problem. The number of soldiers and ex-soldiers that could be got together to preserve order in the larger towns was insignificant, and of these many could not resist the temptations that lay around them. The drunken digger with pockets full of gold often fell an easy victim to the guardian of the law. More assistance had to be obtained from Tasmania, and an appeal to the Home Government led to the sending out of a regiment in October, 1852.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF GOLDFIELDS

The communities assembled on the goldfields contained representatives of every class of society and every type of mankind. By the end of the first six months their numbers had been increased by the arrival of ex-convicts and escapees from gaols of other countries. Men of this kind were, of course, hostile to every form of discipline, and only too ready to join in any agitation for the overthrow of legitimate authority. Few of them intended to settle permanently in Australia; it was merely a temporary refuge to be exploited to the utmost. Fortunately, their influence on those around them was weak. In the disorders that resulted from the Government's refusal to remedy the grievances that the diggers complained of, the part taken by the undesirables was small.

In February, 1853, the miners on the Turon threatened to rise if the licence regulations were not withdrawn,

or at least modified; but on the approach of a small body of soldiers the atmosphere cleared. The quelling of the disturbance was an easy matter, because the Turon field was small and isolated from the others. Comparatively, the New South Wales goldfields were sparsely populated and few in number—two facts that made organized revolt very difficult, if not impossible. The Victorian fields on the other hand, were densely populated and situated side by side. Anarchy in one field might easily extend into the next, and within a day or two from 30,000 to 50,000 Victorian miners could have been assembled.

### **Victorian Discontent**

The revenue from the Victorian fields was so much below the cost of administrating them that at last Governor Latrobe proposed that the licence fees should be doubled. This proposal raised an outcry from every mining camp in the colony. The Mount Alexander men assumed a threatening attitude, and drew up a number of outrageous demands to be presented to the Government. Latrobe, alarmed by these proceedings and fearing for the peace of the country, withdrew his proposal. His 'tact' was regarded by the miners as proof of the Government's weakness, and the discontented imagined that they had the upper hand. They decided that revolt should be the next weapon used by them.

Strong argument can be brought forward in support of the licence system, but little can be said in defence of the methods unavoidably used in collecting the fees. Frequent police raids on the camps led to the arrest of hundreds of miners who could not produce their licences. Not all of these were attempting to evade the law: many had actually paid the statutory 30s., but

could not produce their receipts. Diggers placed under arrest were all treated in the same ignominious manner: they were fastened to the trooper's stirrup and taken to the headquarters of a Commissioner.

## **Revolt**

Bendigo was the first place to offer combined opposition. Riots at the Ovens and the Castlemaine camps led to an organized revolt directed from Bendigo. There the executive of an Association of Miners drew up a list of demands and sent them to Latrobe. Among other things they demanded that the licence fee should be reduced to 10s. a month, and that armed police should not be employed in collecting it. Latrobe, knowing the limitations of his powers under the new Constitution, refrained from making any promises, but assured the deputation that he would bring the matter before his Council. The diggers were not satisfied with this. After deliberation they again addressed Latrobe and informed him that as they themselves had no voice on the Council, they would refuse to obey any unfavourable decision of that body.

A monster meeting of miners was then held in each of the camps, and resolutions were passed that miners should not pay more than 10s. a month for a mining licence, and that any miner who paid, or agreed to pay, more should be forcibly ejected from the field.

Latrobe recognized the gravity of the situation and suggested that the licence should be abolished in favour of a royalty on all gold transferred, whether through sales or by export. But to his wise advice the Council turned a deaf ear. Before long a reduction in the tax had to be made, and the rate was lowered from 30s. a month to 40s. for three months.

The gold licences disputes revealed the weakness of Latrobe's position. As a man he was courageous,

energetic, and well-meaning, but the real powers attached to his office under the new Constitution were not sufficient to support his responsibilities. The practical expression of his wisdom was hampered by the veto of his advisers, due to a lamentable lack of foresight and common sense. Since their shortcomings were attributed to the Governor, in whose name all actions were carried out, Latrobe decided to resign from office. This he did in 1853, and in 1854 Sir Charles Hotham was appointed in his stead.

It did not take Governor Hotham long to sum up the situation. He recognized that as long as miners were merely wanderers over the country they would continue to be more or less lawless persons, and saw that the only way to remedy this was to induce them to settle in the colony. Give the miner a vote in the government of the country—that is, direct representation in **the** Council—he argued, and many who had come merely to find gold would be induced to marry and make permanent homes for themselves.

Sentiments such as these made Hotham popular in the camps, and hopes of the restoration of law and order throughout the country began to run high; but that desirable state of affairs was still far away.

#### EARLY BALLARAT

Seventy years ago the Garden City of Australia was little more than a medley of wood and canvas structures, which served a strange mixture of humanity as dwellings, shops, theatres, bowling-alleys, dancing-saloons, hotels, and gin-shanties. It was one of the many country townships that sprang up overnight on a spot that yielded promising 'colour' to the turn of a spade.

Gold was first discovered at Ballarat on the 25th of August, 1851. Like wild-fire the news spread throughout

the colony, and within a fortnight 2500 men were feverishly turning up the soil at Golden Point, while others were arriving at the rate of over 100 a day. Before the end of September, Melbourne presented a sorry spectacle. The business life of the metropolis had come to a standstill. It was at this time that Governor Latrobe, almost in despair, complained that 'in some of the suburbs not a man is left.'

In 1854 more than 40,000 people were huddled together on the small area known as Golden Point, but despite the heterogeneous character of the community no more law-abiding body of fortune seekers was ever assembled on one spot. Although Ballarat was soon to become the scene of bitter civil strife, from its earliest days to within a few months of the actual rebellion it enjoyed the distinction of being the most zealous of all Victorian mining settlements in preserving law and order. It was a rough but prosperous community, and a staunch upholder of constitutional authority. That this, of all diggings should be suddenly transformed into a battlefield on which constitutional authority itself would be fiercely withstood is one of the many strange happenings in history.

Ballarat refrained from any attempt to redress its grievances by physical force, but joined whole-heartedly in the general protest against the hard conditions that oppressed them all. For all that, even in Ballarat there were many only too ready to condemn and ridicule the passive attitude of the majority. What was true of this camp was true of all mining camps—as ship-load after ship-load of immigrants arrived, the criminal and foreign elements considerably increased, and before long every shade of character and every complexion of political doctrine was to be found on the goldfields. There, in the scramble for wealth, the emancipated convict, the

criminal flying from the reach of the law, the anarchist and the malcontent from distant lands jostled with the educated, the cultured, and the industrious loyalist. In these circumstances the camps soon became fertile fields for seeds of rebellion. The shouts of agitators urging the violent overthrow of constitutional government were to be heard in every Australian mining settlement, and they were loudest of all in Victoria. It was these hot-heads who later on brought about the conflict at Eureka.

### **Murder of James Scobie**

In 1854 a structure known as the Eureka Hotel, kept by an ex-convict named Bentley, stood on a site adjoining the Eureka diggings. It was a popular resort of gamblers, and, as a rule, was the scene of excitement that lasted far into the early hours of the morning. On the night of the 6th of October it happened to be closed when James Scobie, a digger who had been there earlier in the evening, returned and, on seeing a light within the building, tried to effect an entrance. As he hammered on the barred door and filled the air with drunken threats, some one sprang out of the darkness and silenced him with a heavy blow. Next morning his body was found on the spot where it had fallen.

All evidence pointed to Bentley as the perpetrator of the crime, so he was arrested and charged with the murder. To the surprise of the whole community, he was promptly acquitted by the resident magistrate.

Before long it became known that Bentley had recently lent the magistrate a considerable sum of money, and the diggers rose in anger. On the 12th of October an indignation meeting was held outside the Eureka Hotel, at which the financial transaction was heatedly discussed. But on the whole the meeting was an orderly one, and passed off quietly enough. When the crowd

had almost dispersed, the police, who **had been at hand** to guard Bentley's property, took their departure.

### **The Riot**

It was **not until the gathering had dwindled to a mere handful** that anything untoward occurred. A youth 'in the reckless, unthinking spirit of untamed boyhood,' threw a stone at the lamp over the hotel door. The sound of crashing glass acted like a trigger in releasing the pent-up feelings of all who heard it. There was a general rush back to the spot, and in a few minutes nearly 1000 excited diggers had reassembled outside the building.

As the minutes passed the crowd grew more and more threatening, and soon the wilder spirits could only with difficulty be held in check. At last the fury of the mob defied all restraint, and with **a deafening shout** a rush was made for the entrance **of the hotel**. While the majority were trying to drag **down the front** of the building one of the rioters slipped **round to the back** and applied a lighted match to the **calico walls** of the bowling-alley. Wave upon wave **of** cheering rose as the flames leapt higher and higher **and burning** timber crashed to the ground. An hour later **the** Eureka Hotel had been reduced to **a** heap of smouldering ashes.

The immediate outcome of the riot was **the** arrest **of** three innocent men, all of whom were convicted **on the** charge of being ringleaders in **the** disturbance.

## CHAPTER XXX

### THE CONFLICT AT EUKEKA

THE verdict in the Bentley trial, as the trial of the three men was called, had a far-reaching and unforeseen result. It led to the formation of the Ballarat Reform League, a body determined to obtain what it considered to be justice for the community. Without delay it formulated a working platform and sent some of its members to wait on the Governor in Melbourne.

On the 27th of November the deputation reached Government House, and laid its demands before Sir Charles Hotham. In language fatal to success, it demanded the immediate release of the three recently-convicted prisoners; the right of the people to full representation in the government of the country; manhood suffrage; the abolition of the Goldfields Commission and of the diggers' and storekeepers' licence fees. But Hotham was not a man to be coerced; after hearing the demands, he curtly dismissed the deputation. From that moment the air became charged with the forces that make for revolution.

#### **Attack on a Convoy**

On the night of the 28th of November, the American Consul was the guest of the Ballarat authorities at a banquet, and while they were feasting, a convoy **with** military stores from Melbourne was on the point of

entering the township. When it was passing the workings at Eureka two diggers ran out and standing in the middle of the road, attempted to prevent the progress of the officer-in-command, Captain Wise. In an insolent manner they demanded full information about the contents of the waggons. Wise indignantly told them to mind their own business, and, after adding that he had no time to waste on rebels, spurred on his horse. A few minutes later a mob of diggers armed with stones and iron bars rushed out and threw themselves savagely upon the convoy. The waggons were upset and the soldiers put to flight.

The news soon reached the township, and a body of mounted troopers dashed off to the scene. Slashing right and left with their sabres, they charged into the middle of the mob. The rioters took to their heels leaving a number of wounded behind them.

That night, to guard against an unexpected attack, the diggers kept fires burning along the boundary of their holdings, while at irregular intervals until daylight they startled the neighbourhood with intermittent discharges of firearms.

## **Bakery Hill**

Next day a meeting was held on Bakery Hill. It was then that Peter Lalor, destined to become a well known figure in the Parliamentary history of Victoria, made his first speech in public. Twelve thousand men surrounded the platform, above which floated a roughly-made blue flag bearing a representation of the Southern Cross, and without a dissentient voice passed a resolution that all licences should be publicly destroyed. Suiting the action to the word, they lit a fire into which hundreds cast their licences. League membership tickets were then issued to the crowd. Revolution had come a step nearer.

On hearing of the public destruction of licences, the

Commissioners decided to conduct another 'digger hunt.' The military officials agreed, and so on the following day, troopers supported by a company of soldiers swept down on the Bakery Hill diggings. The diggers, unprepared for this move, took to their heels, but only to reassemble on an elevation a little farther down on the main Melbourne road. There they made a stand, sending shower after shower of stones on to the troopers' heads. At last the troopers crouching down on the horses' necks, dashed forward and broke up the gathering. The authorities had scored another victory, but the 'digger hunt' of the 30th of November was the last.

### **The Rebel Army**

For a second time the blue flag with the silver stars was hoisted on Bakery Hill. Beneath it again stood Lalor, this time with a gun in his hand. He addressed the diggers who knelt in silence around him, and when he stopped speaking, right hands were raised in quick succession and gruff voices swore an oath of mutual defence. Upon rising, each man gave his name to Lalor, and before sunset squads had been formed, and drill had begun in earnest. For the next two days military exercises constituted the principal activity at Eureka.

In the meanwhile a number of extremists retired to a store near by, and there drew up what they called a Declaration of Independence, in which Victoria was referred to as a 'Republic.' According to Shannahan, the keeper of the store, the principal persons present were the agitators Black, Vern, M' Gill, Raffaello, Curtin, Lessmann, and Kenworthy (an American medical man).

The news from Ballarat came as a shock to official circles in Melbourne. Governor Hotham ordered as many troops as could be spared to the scene of the trouble. They were accompanied by 'men-of-warsmen, horse and

foot police, four field-pieces, and a number of baggage and ammunition waggons.'

By this time the diggers had erected a barricade at Eureka, but if contemporary accounts are to be believed, it was not intended to be a fortification so much as a screen behind which a camp might be pitched and the insurgent forces drilled. There was still a large number, a majority in fact, who were not in favour of armed resistance to legitimate authority. In this, members of families agreed to differ, with the result that 'men of peace' were frequent visitors within the stockade. We are told that on the night of the 2nd of December when the insurgents were putting the finishing touches to their preparations for giving battle, there were almost as many pacifists as rebels within the camp.

Every one knew that the dread moment was fast approaching, but no one expected that it would arrive as soon as it, did. Another 24 hours at least must pass before the troops from Melbourne could reach the field, but the Ballarat officials, more and more alarmed as time went on, decided that it was advisable to attack the stockade without further delay. A night surprise was decided on, and the undertaking placed in the hands of Captain Thomas. The forces at Thomas's disposal numbered 276 in all, of whom 100 were mounted, the remaining 176 being mainly of Her Majesty's 12th and 40th regiments.

### **Government Preparations**

On the 1st of December the authorities took measures to meet a possible assault. Every Government employee was armed, and sentinels and vedettes were posted. The principal buildings of the camp were fortified with breast-works of firewood, trusses of hay, and bags of corn from the commissariat stores, and the women and

children were sent for safety into the store, which **was** walled with thick slabs, and accounted bullet-proof. A violent thunder-storm, with heavy rain, commenced as these arrangements were completed, and the mounted police, soaked through, spent the night standing by their horses, armed and with horses saddled ready for action. At 4 a.m. on Saturday the 2nd of December, the garrison was under arms, and soon after daylight a demonstration in force was made toward Bakery Hill without meeting opposition. In the meantime the insurgents were visiting the outlying stores and demanding arms.

### **The Conflict**

When it took place, the attack was so unexpected that there were not more than 150 persons, including 'men of peace and men of war,' within the stockade; but Lalor, Ross, Vern, Raffaello, and several other leaders were at hand.

The alarm was given by a digger working some distance beyond the barricade, who, on perceiving the approach of the troops, fired a shot in the air, and dashed off to the camp. This occurred at early dawn on the morning of Sunday, the 3rd of December. The actual fighting was bitter, but of short duration. Military stores were scarce in the rebel camp, and Lalor's pikemen, brave though they were, proved no match for the trained forces of the Crown.

Describing the events that followed, one of Lalor's captains says: 'I was on guard and saw the military at the same time that the alarm was given by a digger working on a brace nearby . . . I called out to Vern, and Vern called Lalor. We got under arms immediately, some 200 about. The first shot was fired from our party, and the military answered by a volley at 100-paces distant. Then there was a volley from the stockade. The military sent out scouts on foot, and the troopers

surrounded the stockade, the party on foot being covered by fire from the force posted on the high ground in the rear of the Free Trade Hotel. Captain Wise led the scouts on foot who broke into the stockade where Lalor was . . . They got in, and the firing and piking and bayoneting went on; and the "rebels" got into disorder and rushed into some tents and a blacksmith's shop on one side of the stockade. The troops fired the tents and the rest of the military now came up.'

### **Raffaello's Account**

Carboni Raffaello, an Italian extremist and one of the prime movers in the rebellion, has left a detailed account of his experiences at this time.

'I awoke,' he writes, ' Sunday morning. It was full dawn—not daylight. A discharge of musketry, then a round from the bugles, the command "Forward!" and another discharge of musketry was kept sharply on for a couple of minutes by the red-coats (some 300 strong) advancing on the gully west of the stockade. The shots whizzed by my tent. I jumped off the stretcher and rushed to my chimney facing the stockade. The forces within could not muster above 150 diggers. The shepherds' holes within the lower part of the stockade had been turned into rifle-pits, and were now occupied by Californians . . . some twenty or thirty in all, who had kept watch at the outposts during the night.

'Ross and his division northward, Thomas (a rebel captain) and his division southward, and both in front of the gully, under cover of the slabs, answered with such a smart fire that the military, who were now within range, did unmistakeably appear to me to swerve from their ground; anyhow, the command of Sergeant **Harris**

was put a stop to. Here a lad was really courageous with his bugle. He boldly took up his stand to the left of the gully and front; the red-coats fell into the right of this lad. The wounded on the ground behind must have numbered a dozen.

' Another scene was going on east of the stockade. Vera floundered across the stockade eastward, and I lost sight of him. Curtin, while making coolly for the holes, appeared to me to give directions to shoot at Vern; but a rush was instantly made in the same direction (Vern's) and a whole pack (of rebels) cut away off for (Mount) Warrenheip. There was, however, a brave American who had command of the rifle-pitmen, he fought like a tiger; was shot in his thigh at the very outset, and yet, though hopping all the while, stuck to Captain Ross like a man.

' The dragoons from south, the troopers north, were trotting in full-speed towards the stockade, Peter Lalor was now on top of the first logged-up hole within the stockade, and by his decided gestures pointed to the men to retire among the holes. He was shot down in his left shoulder at this identical moment: it was a chance shot—I recollect it well. A full discharge of musketry from the military now mowed down all who had their heads above the barricade. Ross was shot in the groin. Another shot struck Thomas exactly in the mouth and felled him on the spot. Those who suffered the most were the score of pikemen who stood their ground from the time the whole division had been posted at the top . . . under the slabs, to stick the cavalry with their pikes.

' The old command "Charge!" was distinctly heard, and the red-coats rushed with fixed bayonets to storm the stockade. A few cuts, kicks and pulling down and the job was done. . . . A wild "Hurrah!" burst out, and the "Southern Cross" was torn down, I should say from

their laughter, as if it had been a prize from a May-pole. Of the armed diggers some made off the best way they could, others surrendered themselves prisoners and were collected in groups and marched down the gully. The Indian dragoons (40th Regiment), sword in hand, rifle-pistols cocked, took charge of them all, and brought them in chains to the lock-up.\*

After a little more than twenty minutes' fighting, the conflict within the Eureka Stockade had come to an end; and with it ended the reign of the Reform League and of the 'Republic of Victoria.' The losses **on both** sides were considerable. Among those of Her Majesty's forces who fell was Captain Wise, the gallant officer who had led the attack. Of the insurgents 23 were killed, many were wounded seriously, and many more only slightly.

The prisoners were taken to Melbourne, and after a trial that stretched over several weeks were acquitted in defiance of all evidence. They were then set free. Peter Lalor, who, despite the prominent part he had played in the 'Eureka Massacre,' had not been captured, now entered the political arena. Before long Lalor 'the rebel' became Lalor 'the Champion of the Constitution'—one of the most honoured figures in Victorian politics. From 1855 to the time of his death he was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Victoria, and for many years held the office of Speaker of the House.

### ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

In 1855 a new Constitution Act embodied the desired reforms. Among other changes, the 30s. monthly licence was replaced by a 20s. 'miner's right,' renewable annually, which gave the holder a voice in parliamentary elections.

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\*Quoted by Withers, *History of Ballarat*, pp. 113-14.

Although the diggers' grievances were removed, their removal must not be attributed to the Ballarat rising. Sir Charles Hotham had made it quite clear to all that he would not be driven into conceding anything. As a matter of fact, a few months before the Eureka disturbance, recognizing the harshness and injustice of the mining regulations, he had appointed a commission to investigate the administration of the goldfields, but he refused to act on the report as long as diggers disputed the authority of the Crown. As a consequence of his attitude the withdrawal of the monthly licence and the substitution of the 'miner's right' did not take place until late in 1855. All that the Eureka conflict really did was to emphasize the necessity for a strong central Government.

## CHAPTER XXXI

### RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

IN 1837 the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada broke into rebellion. As in Australia, the colonists had suffered undue interference by England in the management of their affairs. In 1838 Lord Durham was sent over to establish order and to report on the situation, and in the next year the famous *Durham Report*—the 'Magna Charta of the Colonies'—was laid before the Commons.\* It stated that most of the troubles in the Provinces of Canada arose from the hostile relationship existing between the Legislature and the Executive, 'In all of them,' Durham said, 'the administration of affairs is habitually confided to those who do not cooperate harmoniously with the popular branch of the Legislature.' In his opinion, the only remedy was the introduction of the principles of Government that prevailed in the Mother Country—to 'facilitate the management of public affairs by entrusting it to the persons who have the confidence of the Representative body/ If that were done 'the Crown would henceforth consult the wishes of the people in the choice of its servants.'" So the *Report* recommended that 'the Governor, as the representative of the Crown, should be instructed that he must carry on his government by heads of departments, in whom the United Legislature shall repose confidence; and that he must look for no support from

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\*See Keith, *British Colonial Policy* for text of Lord **Durham's** *Report*.

home in any contest with the Legislature, except on points involving strictly Imperial interests.'

In 1840 the substance of Durham's *Report* was embodied in an Act for the Union of Canada.

### **Wentworth's 'Declaration and Remonstrance'**

The combined Acts of 1842 and 1850, though granting much, still left much to be desired. The Executive remained free from the control of the Legislature, by whom revenue and taxation were only partly controlled; and the Governor continued to exercise too great an influence in legislation. Further, the Imperial Parliament had given offence by instructing the Governor with regard to colonial appointments.

Responsible government had been granted to Canada, and Wentworth was determined that it should be granted to New South Wales also. Owing to his efforts, the retiring Council of 1851 and the new Council of 1852 passed a 'Declaration and Remonstrance' against the existing constitutional arrangements.

'That these grievances,' the document ran, 'having formed the subject of repeated representations and complaints from the former Legislative Council, all of which have met with neglect or disregard from Your Majesty's Colonial Minister, we owe it to ourselves and to our Constituents to denounce to Your Majesty, as the chief grievance to which the people of this Colony are subjected, the systematic and mischievous interference which is exercised by that Minister even in matters of purely local concernment.

'That whilst we are most anxious to strengthen and perpetuate the connexion which still happily subsists with our Fatherland, we feel it a solemn duty to Your Majesty and our fellow-countrymen in the United Kingdom, to declare that it will be impossible much longer to maintain the authority of a Local Executive which is

obliged by its Instructions to refer all measures of importance, no matter how great the urgency for their immediate adoption, for the decision of an inexperienced, remote, and irresponsible Department.

'That in order, however, that Your Majesty's Confidential Advisers may have no excuse for the continuance of these abuses, we unhesitatingly declare that we are prepared, upon the surrender to the Colonial Legislature of the entire management of all our Revenues, Territorial as well as General, in which we include Mines of every description, and upon the establishment of a Constitution among us similar in its outline to that of Canada, to assume and provide for the whole cost of our internal Government, whether Civil or Military, the salary of the Governor-General only excepted—and to grant to Your Majesty an adequate Civil List, on the same terms as in Canada, instead of the sums appropriated in the Schedules to the Imperial Act 13 and 14 Victoria, chap. 59.

'We, the said Legislative Council, therefore humbly pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to cause such measures to be adopted as may be necessary for the early redress of these grievances.'\*

The reply of the new Secretary of State, Sir John Pakington, was received on the 11th of May, 1853. He was quite prepared to consider the extension of constitutional liberty to the colony, seeing that unforeseen problems, such as those raised by the discovery of gold in Australia, had lately arisen, and also that the statesmen of New South Wales had shown themselves capable of managing their own affairs. He proposed that each colony should draft a Constitution for itself and submit it to the Imperial Government for consideration.

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\**Official History of New South Wales, 1788-1888*, pp. 184-5.

## Drafting the Constitution

On the 20th of May the New South Wales Council appointed a Committee, including Wentworth (as chairman), Deas Thomson, James Macarthur, Cowper, and Martin, to prepare a new Constitution. On the 28th of July the draft was completed. It provided for:

(a) An Upper House (Legislative Council) to consist of not fewer than 21 members nominated by the Governor on the advice of the Executive Council. At least 17 were to be chosen from the non-official class. The term of office was to be five years in the first instance, but after that period all nominees were to be appointed for life.

(Wentworth had suggested the creation of an hereditary nobility, as in the United Kingdom, who would be entitled to a seat in this Council, but so strong was the opposition that he withdrew the suggestion.)

(b) A Lower House (Legislative Assembly) to consist of 54 members chosen by the electors. Franchise was to be given to all owners of freehold worth £100, those receiving a salary of £100 a year, householders and occupiers of rooms paying an annual rent of £10, holders of a pasture licence, and those who paid £40 a year by way of board and lodging. No Crown official or minister of religion was eligible for election to the Assembly.

The Colonial Legislature was to control all revenues, which were to form a Consolidated Revenue Fund. Taxation and appropriation of revenue was to originate in the Assembly. The restrictions on taxation remained as before. Judges were to hold office for life, and to be removed from office only at the request of both Houses.

The Draft Bill met with the approval of the Legislature, and Wentworth and Deas Thomson were sent to England to explain its provisions to the Colonial Office.

After slight alterations had been made it received the Royal assent on the 16th of July, 1855. Thus Responsible Government was obtained.

It has been pointed out that no mention of control of the Executive was made in the draft. This control was implied; for the fact that the Legislature controlled the revenue, and so was responsible for the granting of supplies, placed the Executive in its power.\*

Principal changes since 1856: In 1858 secrecy of voting was obtained by the introduction of the ballot-box; in 1874 the life of a Parliament was limited to three years; in 1893 residence was made the qualification for franchise and so 'manhood suffrage' was introduced. At the same time the principle of 'one man one vote' was adopted. Women were enfranchised in 1902 and admitted to Parliament in 1918.

## OTHER COLONIES

Responsible government was granted also to Tasmania (as Van Diemen's Land was called after 1855), South Australia, and Victoria, so that in 1856 they were constitutionally on a level with New South Wales. They all adopted a bicameral system of government, which differed only slightly in details.

### Queensland

The Moreton Bay district remained a part of the Mother Colony until 1859, when it became the colony of Queensland. The causes of its separation were similar to those that brought about the separation of the Port Phillip district. In 1825 it began as a penal settlement for the better-class prisoners of Sydney; two years later Cunningham opened up the Darling Downs, and a period of squatting set in. By 1843 its

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\*See Cramp, *The State and Federal Constitutions of Australia*, pp. 59-60,

population was large enough for it to be made a distinct electoral division of New South Wales. From this, however, the Moreton Bay people gained nothing, for the principal polling-place was situated on the Hunter River in New South Wales.

The influx of free settlers made the Brisbane district sufficiently important in 1851 to return a member of its own, and by 1858 the 'Northern District of New South Wales' had nine representatives in the Parliament at Sydney. Victoria had scored well through breaking away from the Mother Colony, and now the northerners decided to do the same. Since the 1850 Act provided for the foundation of a new northern colony, little difficulty was experienced in bringing about the desired change, and in 1859 the territory east of the 141st meridian and north of the 29th parallel was by Letters Patent, constituted the colony of Queensland and granted responsible government.

### **Western Australia**

Although the colony at Perth came into existence in 1830, for a long time it made little progress, owing to the lack of agricultural workers. In 1850 transportation was directed to its shores, and during the next eighteen years it experienced the benefit, of convict labour. By 1868, when transportation was abolished, the colony was in a condition to receive certain constitutional privileges.

At first the territory was administered by a Governor and a small Executive Council, but in 1831 the Executive also acted as a Legislative Council. Eight years later the Legislature was increased to nine by the addition of four nominated unofficial members, but no further progress was made during the transportation period. Between 1870 and 1889 the colony made considerable

progress, and as a consequence it was granted partly representative government.

Agitation for responsible government began in 1873, but at the time the Imperial Parliament did not consider the population large enough to reap the full benefits of such a privilege. In 1887 agitation was revived, and on receiving the petition of a unanimous Council, the Imperial Parliament granted the request. Responsible government was inaugurated in 1890.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### EXPLORATION 1856-1875

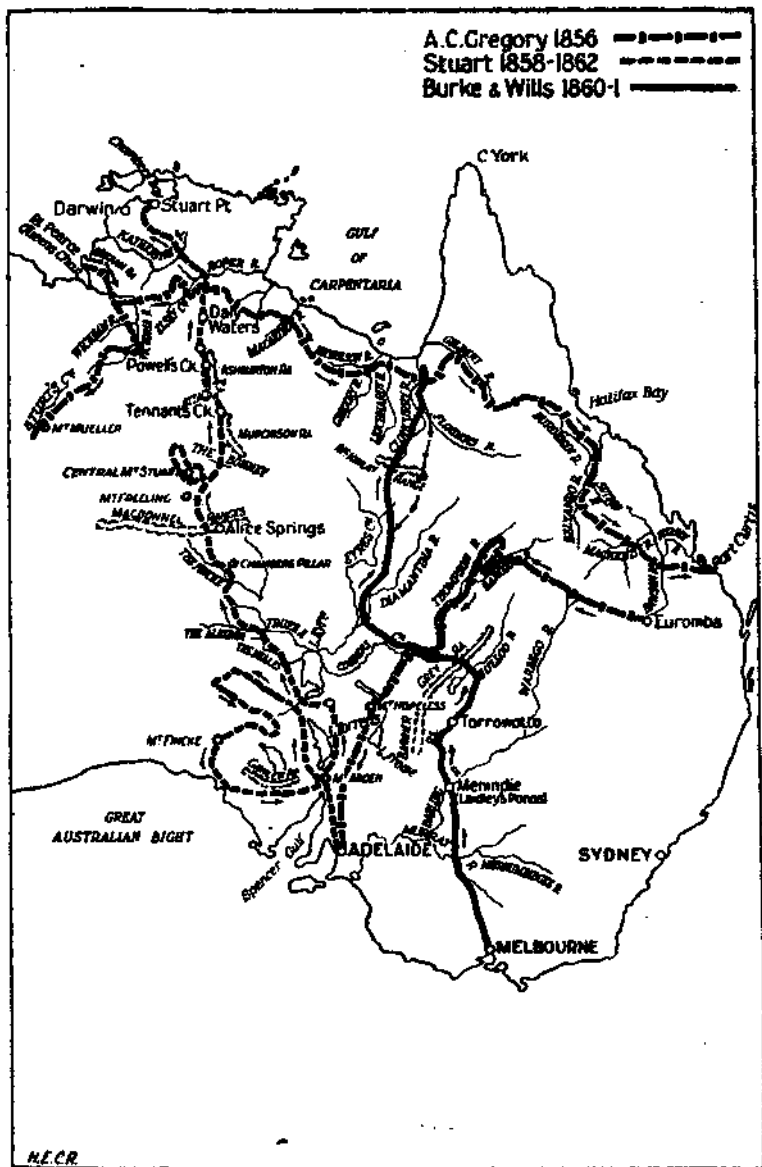
BY the middle of the nineteenth century English capitalists were keenly interested in Australia **and** desired to learn more about the interior. In 1855 the British Government voted £5000 towards defraying the expenses of an expedition inland. Seven years before this Augustus C. Gregory explored coastal districts of Western Australia, and the thoroughness of his work, together with the reputation of the Gregorys as expert bushmen, led to his being offered the command of the expedition.

### AUGUSTUS C. GREGORY

In 1829 Captain Gregory, of the 78th Highlanders, landed in Western Australia with his wife and five sons. He had been seriously wounded at El Hamed in Egypt, and in lieu of a pension accepted land in Australia. At this time Augustus, the second son, was only ten years of age. The boys grew up on their father's estate near Perth and became well acquainted with the surrounding country. Between 1846 and 1848 A. C. Gregory made several important journeys along the coast, on one of which he discovered coal near the Irwin River. His most memorable expedition, however, was that of 1856.

### **Expedition 1855-6**

This expedition had two objects, namely, an examination of the **north of Australia and a search for Leich-**



JOURNEYS OF A. C. GREGORY, STUART, AND BURKE AND WILLS

hardt's party. On the 18th of July, 1855, Gregory, with his brother H. C. Gregory as second in command, Dr Ferdinand Mueller (later, Baron von Mueller) as botanist, and J. R. Eley as surgeon and naturalist, sailed from Sydney for the Victoria River. They anchored in Queen's Channel on the 24th of September.

After tracing the Victoria to about 18 degrees south latitude, where it disappeared in the sandy country, the party struck out to the south-west and on the 20th of February, 1856, came upon a stream that they named Sturt's Creek. The stream was followed for 300 miles, to its termination in a mud plain and salt lake. With regard to it, Gregory wrote: 'we have been disappointed in our hope that it would lead to some important outlet to the waters of the Australian interior; it has, however, enabled us to penetrate far into the level tract of country which may be termed the Great Australian Desert.'

As nothing was to be gained by penetrating farther to the south, Gregory turned and made back to the Victoria. After a hurried examination of its eastern tributaries, the party headed for the Gulf of Carpentaria, expecting that the *Tom Tough*, a schooner that had been chartered as a store-ship, would be awaiting them at the Albert River.

On reaching the Eley (named after the surgeon of the expedition), a tributary of the Roper, the site of one of Leichhardt's camps was found. Leichhardt had a peculiar way of erecting the framework of his tents, so that there was no mistaking the identity of the explorer who had constructed the camp discovered near the Eley. However, evidence of Leichhardt's movements far to the south-east of this spot forces us to conclude that this camp was constructed on his Essington journey.\*

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\*See *Journal of Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. xii, pp. 167-86.

When the Albert River was reached the schooner had not yet arrived, so Gregory decided to push on. After crossing the Flinders he moved down in the direction of Halifax Bay until he came to the Burdekin. Following the courses of the Burdekin, the Suttor, and the Belyando, the party at last reached a point on a level with Port Curtis; they then travelled due east and arrived at the port in December, 1856.

### **Expedition of 1858**

Gregory's description of the country through which he had passed did not raise the hopes of pastoralists, and had it not been for the interest aroused in the fate of Leichhardt in all probability his exploratory work in Queensland would have ended at this time. In 1857, however, public meetings were held at which it was decided to organize another expedition to search for the lost explorer, and to request the Government to render financial help in the undertaking. The appeal to the Government was not made in vain, and Gregory was sent out a second time in 1858.

In March he set off from Euroomba station, on the Dawson, and proceeded in a north-westerly direction over the main range and on to the Barcoo. On the 21st of April a marked tree was found. 'We discovered a Moreton Bay ash . . . about two feet in diameter, marked with the letter L on the east side,' Gregory wrote, ' . . . and near it the stumps of some small trees that had been cut with a sharp axe, also a deep notch cut in the side of a sloping tree, apparently to support the ridge-pole of a tent . . . all indicating that a camp had been established here by Leichhardt's party. . . . No other indications having been found, we continued the search down the river, examining every likely spot for marked trees, but without success.' They then crossed over to the

Thompson and moved along its banks northward to a latitude of 23° 47' south.

The absence of water and the impossibility of obtaining any to the north or west caused Gregory to make his way southward as quickly as possible. This was most disappointing, for, he said, 'we had just reached that part of the country through which Leichhardt most probably travelled if the season was sufficiently wet to render it practicable/ The Thompson was followed to Strzelecki Creek and the creek traced as far as Lake Blanche (Gregory thought it was a part of Lake Torrens). From there a way was struck to Baker's station, near Mount Hopeless, then on to Adelaide.

### JOHN McDouALL STUART

After Sturt's failure to penetrate the interior of the continent and the disappearance of Leichhardt, very pessimistic views of the centre of Australia were held. But nothing about the country beyond Start's turning-point was known, and for this reason the South Australian Government offered a reward of £2000 to the man who should first cross the continent from south to north. John McDouall Stuart, who had accompanied Sturt on his last expedition, decided to attempt a crossing. In 1858 he had set out with two companions and traversed the country to the west of Lake Torrens as far north as Lake Eyre, then returned by way of Streaky Bay and to the south of the Gawler Range. In 1859 he reached the Hanson Range beyond Lake Eyre. Now, in 1860 he set himself the difficult work of making a complete crossing from south to north.

#### **First Attempt**

The expedition started early in the year, and by the 6th of April had crossed the Finke and arrived at

the foot of an elevation that Stuart named Chambers Pillar (after his friend John Chambers)- Pushing northward he discovered and crossed the MacDonnell **Range** (which he named after the Governor of South Australia) and on the 22nd reached Central Mount Stuart. (This mountain he called Central Mount *Sturt*, but the name has since been changed.) He had hitherto passed through good pastoral country, but that which now lay before him was of a very different kind. He tried in vain to reach the Victoria by travelling westward, then he attempted to strike northward. On the 27th of June the party was surrounded and attacked by blacks. Stuart recognized that his little party would be annihilated if attacked by a larger tribe, so returned to Adelaide without delay. On this occasion he had been north of Gregory's most southern point (Sturt's Creek).

### **Second Attempt**

The South Australian Government now subscribed £2500 towards the fitting out of another expedition to the north. Stuart was appointed to its command, and towards the end of the year again set out. On the 12th of April, 1861, he reached Bonney Creek (lat. 20 degrees south) and for a time followed the course of the stream, hoping that it would lead to the Victoria. As soon as he saw that there was little chance of his hope being realized he returned to his old route and battled through the scrub for 100 miles beyond his previous limit. On the 4th of May, 1861, he discovered and named the Ashburton Range, and on the 23rd, Newcastle Waters. Beyond this Stuart could not proceed, owing to the density of the scrub. He then turned and made his way back to Adelaide,

### **Third Attempt**

Stuart had proved that good land existed in the interior of Australia, and this so awakened hopes in the

pastoral industry that he had no difficulty in **obtaining** the means for preparing a third inland journey. In December, 1861, he set off once more.

Traversing his old route he reached Newcastle Waters on the 14th of April, 1862. After carefully examining the country ahead, he found a way to Daly Waters. From there he moved eastward and discovered a creek (which he named Strangways) that took him to the Roper. After crossing the Roper he came upon a tributary, the Chambers, and followed it northward. He next crossed the Katherine (called Flying-Fox Creek by Leichhardt) and approached the coast. On the 24th of July the party were bathing in the open sea at Chambers Bay, near the mouth of the Adelaide River. Stuart had won through at last.

After nailing a Union Jack to a tall sapling from which he had removed the bark, and burying at its foot an air-tight case containing evidence of his arrival, h§ cut his initials into the trunk of the largest tree **that** was close at hand.

So John McDouall Stuart was the first explorer to cross Australia from south to north. 'His victory was all his own; he had followed in no other person's foot-step; he had crossed the true centre.' The Overland Telegraph Line—an enduring monument to his perseverance—now marks the course of his memorable journey.

## BURKE AND WILLS

Her goldfields had made Victoria by far the richest of the Australian colonies. In 1860 the Victorian colonists decided to equip an expedition which, by opening **up** the interior for other colonies, might not only assist **them** in their expansion but also give Victoria the **honour** of having first found a way northwards across **the** continent. The Government and the **public** subscribed

to the undertaking generously, and before long the best-equipped expedition yet organized was ready to start. The command was given to Robert O'Hara Burke, an ex-member of the Irish constabulary who in 1853 emigrated to Tasmania and soon afterwards crossed over to Victoria. In 1860 he was an Inspector of the Victorian police. He had no knowledge of bush-craft, and for other reasons as well was not fitted to conduct a party into unknown country. The second in command was G. J. Landells, but Landells quarrelled with Burke before they got beyond the settled districts, and returned to Melbourne. The third (who took Landells's place) was William John Wills, a young man who accompanied the expedition as astronomical and meteorological observer.

Amid enthusiastic scenes the party left Melbourne on the 20th of August, 1860. Burke had been instructed to proceed first to Cooper's Creek, then to turn northwards and explore the country to the southern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria. After reaching the Gulf he was free to examine any district that he might think worth examining. Menindie was reached after a slow journey, and a depot formed there. At the depot Burke left the bulk of the provisions and all but Wills, six men, and fifteen camels. He then set out for Cooper's Creek. Under the guidance of William Wright, the manager of a local station, he took an easier route than Sturt had taken, and reached the Creek on the 11th of November. Wright then went back to bring up the others from Menindie.

After waiting impatiently for six weeks for Wright's return, Burke decided to tarry no longer. Taking Wills and two other men, one horse, six camels, and twelve weeks' provisions, he set off from the Cooper's Creek depot on the 16th of December, determined to cross the continent 'at all hazards.' Brahe, who was left in charge

at the depot, was ordered to remain at the Creek for\* three months, then, if Burke had not come back by that time, to return to the Darling.

There is no satisfactory record of this insane undertaking: Burke did not keep a regular diary, and the diary of Wills is blank sometimes for weeks. Piecing together the evidence that is available, we must believe that the little party proceeded in a north-westerly direction along the McKinlay Range, then crossed over to the head waters of the Cloncurry (which they named). Following the river they eventually reached the Flinders, which led them to its estuary. On the 28th of March, 1861, Burke, writing up his report, says casually: 'At the conclusion of report it would be as well to say that we reached the sea, but we could not obtain a view of the open ocean, although we made every endeavour to do so.'

Wills tells us that, as the camels could not reach the shore, owing to the soft ground, he and Burke went on foot to the beach. It was believed that they had reached the mouth of the Albert River, but it has since been shown that they were more than a hundred miles from that position.

They had taken two months to travel to the Gulf, and as a consequence had only one month's provisions left for the return journey. To make matters worse, one of the men, Gray, was ill, and the horses were almost exhausted. In this condition they faced towards home on the 21st of February. Before long Gray died and a whole day was spent in burying him. The weeks dragged on and the daily ration was reduced again and again. At last, on the 21st of April, the Cooper's Creek depot came into sight. On reaching the depot the party found that Brake had left for the Darling that morning, but a note attached to a tree informed them where provisions had been buried.

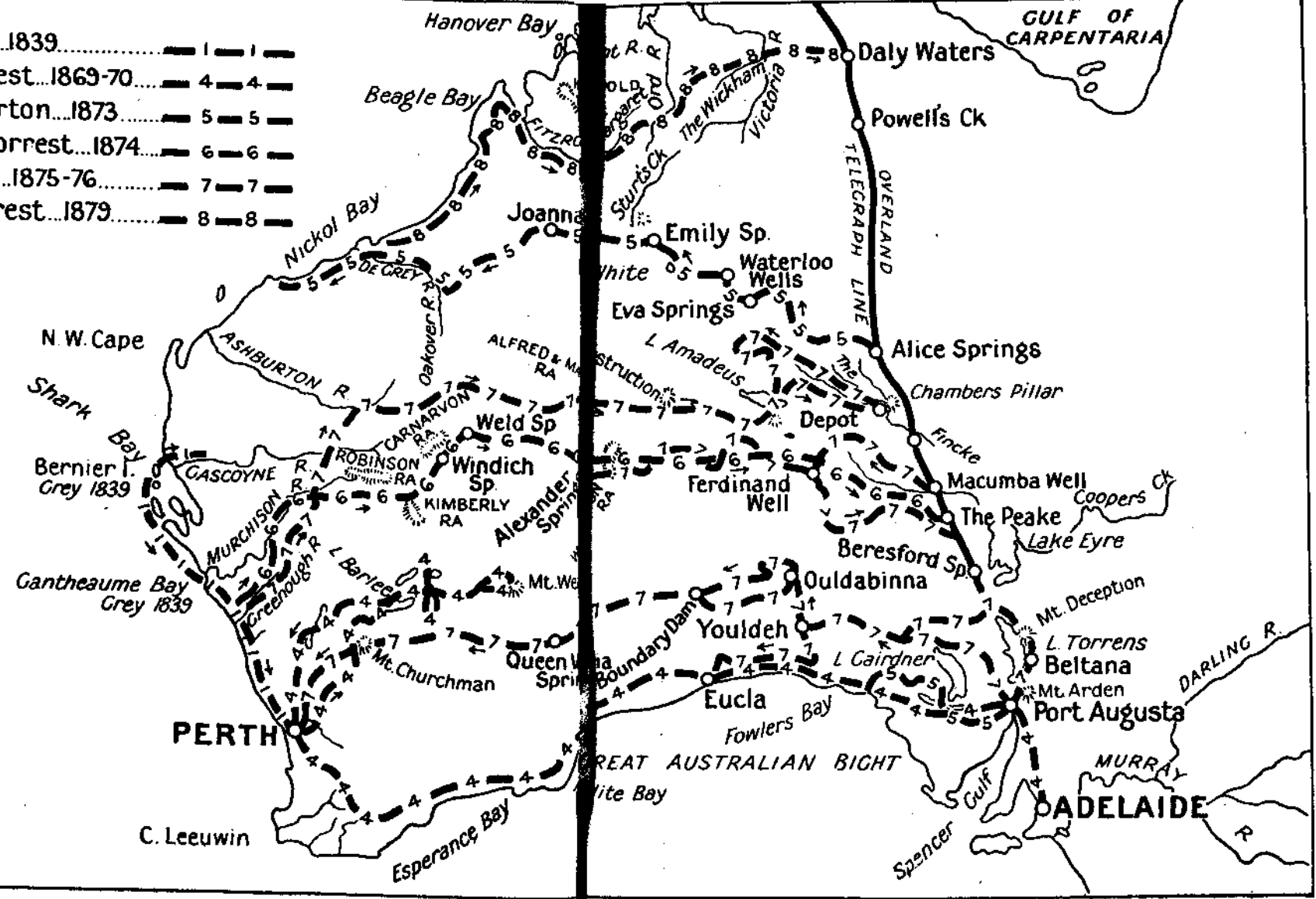
The only sensible thing to do in the circumstances would have been to rest at the depot for a few days before starting for the Darling, but Burke would not listen to such counsel. He persisted in setting off for Mount Hopeless, which was 150 miles away, relying on Cooper's Creek to keep them supplied with water. The other two men, out of loyalty to their leader, gave way, and the last stage of the long journey was begun.

By this time they had only two camels left, so that they could carry only a small quantity of the provisions that Brahe had left. Before many days one of the camels died, and shortly afterwards the other became too weak to proceed farther. At last Cooper's Creek, their only water supply, disappeared in the sandy plain. The end was now very close. For days they were kept alive by friendly natives, who supplied them with pieces of fish and a quantity of nardoo seed, but soon the tribe departed, leaving the three exhausted men to fend once more for themselves. Wills grew too weak to stand, and on the 26th of June, Burke and King left him in a deserted gonyah while they crawled off to look for the tribe. They had not travelled far before Burke collapsed, and soon afterwards died. 'King has behaved nobly,' he scribbled in a note-book. 'He has stayed with me to the last, and placed the pistol in my hand, leaving me lying on the surface as I wished.'

King returned to the gonyah, but only to find that Wills also was dead. After burying him, King again set off in search of the blacks. He succeeded in finding them, and lived with them until a relief party under Howitt rescued him.

When it became known that Burke and Wills were long overdue at Cooper's Creek, search parties were organized in each colony: Landsborough and Walker in Queensland, McKinlay in South Australia, and Howitt in Victoria were the leaders of the principal expeditions

- Grey.....1839..... 1 — 1 —
- J Forrest...1869-70..... 4 — 4 —
- Warburton...1873..... 5 — 5 —
- J & A. Forrest...1874..... 6 — 6 —
- Giles.....1875-76..... 7 — 7 —
- A. Forrest...1879..... 8 — 8 —



H. E. C. R.

EXPLORATION IN CENTRE AND WEST

sent out to search for the unfortunate explorers. Eventually the remains of Burke and Wills were found and brought to Melbourne. They were buried in the Melbourne cemetery.

Although it is often said that Burke and Wills were the first to cross Australia from south to north, we have seen that that honour really belongs to McDouall Stuart. He actually reached the ocean, and at a point far north of the southern shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Moreover, his route lay through the centre of the continent.

### JOHN FORREST

We now turn to exploration in Western Australia. In 1868 Baron von Mueller happened to hear that a tribe of Western Australian blacks had found the bones of white men who had perished in the bush many years before. The Baron at once thought of Leichhardt's party, and induced the Western Australian Government to send out an expedition to test the truth of the rumour. Its command was given to John Forrest (a young man who later became Lord Forrest of Bunbury, the only Australian who has been raised to the peerage).

Forrest left Perth for Yarraging station, and arrived there on the 26th of April, 1869. Within the next month he reached a dry lake, which he named Lake Barlee. It was in this neighbourhood that the remains of white men were said to have been found, but after questioning local tribes, Forrest concluded that the bones found had been those of horses that perished in an expedition of 1854. Not wishing to lose an opportunity of examining new country, he pushed on eastward, taking a black boy as his sole companion. He worked his way for nearly 100 miles into the desert, but as nothing but sand, rock, and spinifex was to be

## ERNEST GILES

Between 1870 and 1872 the South Australian Government constructed the Overland Telegraph Line along Stuart's transcontinental track. This led to several explorations between Stuart's route and Western Australia, one of which, as we have seen, was that of Forrest in 1874.

In August, 1872, Ernest Giles started westward from Chambers Pillar, but on reaching Lake Amadeus (named after the King of Spain) the death of one of his small party made him decide to turn back.

In 1873 and again in 1875 he attempted the journey from east to west, and in the latter year succeeded in crossing the country between Port Augusta and Perth.

## PETER EGERTON WARBURTON

On the 15th of April, 1873, Colonel Warburton left Alice Springs in an attempt to travel from the MacDonnell Range to Perth. He headed for Sturt Creek, but missed it by about twenty miles. By this time the party was in a sorry plight owing to lack of fresh water. When seventeen camels had perished and the stores had run very low, Warburton abandoned the hope of reaching Perth and made for the Oakover River (a tributary of the De Grey) on the north-west coast. His companion, Lewis, on finding no settlement on the river, rode to a station 170 miles distant to obtain assistance. A relief party arrived only just in time to save the explorers from death by starvation.

## PART IV.—THE COMMONWEALTH

### CHAPTER XXXIII

#### STEPS TOWARDS FEDERATION

AT a comparatively early date a movement was set afoot to regulate immigration. Involuntary—that is to say, convict—immigration was so vehemently and persistently opposed that at last transportation to New South Wales ceased. But the influx of ex-convicts and escapees from Van Diemen's Land was an evil that still remained. The presence of the ex-convict was to the free community just as undesirable as that of the convict still serving a sentence.

Victoria was the first colony to take the matter in hand. The Victorian Legislature passed an Act 'for the detention of criminals illegally at large/ by which any person might be arrested merely on suspicion and forced to prove that he was not 'illegally at large.' Indeed, so severe were the terms of this Act that Latrobe hesitated to give his consent to it, and reserved it for the Queen's consideration. It was vetoed by the Colonial Office.

#### **Act of 1854**

In 1854 Victoria passed another and even more stringent Act—the Influx of Criminals' Prevention Act. Before leaving England, Sir Charles Hotham had been instructed to discourage legislation that tended towards exclusiveness in population, so that when this Act was passed his first impulse was to veto it, but on recognizing the colony's attitude he took it upon himself

to give the Royal assent. His letter to the Secretary of State described the social conditions in the colony, and pointed out that serious consequences would surely have followed any disallowance or reservation of the measure. Hotham's bold action was approved by the Colonial Office. This Act is important in British colonial history, because it lays down the principle that British colonies should have a voice in regulating immigration to their shores.

### **The Chinese Question**

It soon became evident that more legislation of a similar kind was necessary. The influx of foreigners also was becoming alarming. The gold discoveries attracted crowds of Chinese from Asia, and in 1858 no fewer than 30,000 Chinese were on the diggings, while every ship that arrived brought more. This inpouring of Asiatics opened the colonists' eyes to the fact that if Australia was to be retained, Asiatics would have to be kept out. Thus the opening up of the goldfields advanced the policy of exclusion.

However, as long as the Chinese remained on the fields their presence in the colony was tolerated, for on the diggings they did not compete with the colonists in industrial enterprise. It was not until 1875, when prospecting days were giving place to the era of mining companies, that the Chinaman took seriously even to vegetable-growing, and after that fifteen years elapsed before his intrusion into the furniture trade was keenly felt by colonial manufacturers.

Victorian opposition to Chinese immigration appeared as early as 1855. In that year an Act was passed imposing a poll tax of £10 on every Asiatic landing in the colony. But it failed to attain its object because it **was** a purely Victorian measure. Asiatics could steal into Victoria through the adjoining colonies, since **no** similar

legislation was in force in any other part of Australia, As a matter of fact, the question was at the time a pressing one only for Victoria. In 1861, however, a serious riot took place in New South Wales at Lambing Flat, near Young. The Chinese on those diggings were the proprietors of the gambling dens, in many of which the white man who sat down at their tables was frequently robbed. When the miners at last set about the ejection of the Chinese from the camp, a riot occurred, which proved so serious that a strong military force had to be sent from Sydney to restore order.

### Intercolonial Measures

Again, in 1878 the Asiatics were the cause of a serious shipping strike in New South Wales. The European members of crews complained that the Chinese were competing with them by accepting lower wages and putting up with inferior conditions at sea. Members of other trades supported the Europeans in their demand for the dismissal of Chinese from the ships. The strike was a failure from the seamen's point of view, but it made the New South Wales Government aware of a problem that it would soon have to tackle. Sir Henry Parkes fully recognized the gravity of the situation, and in 1880 brought the Asiatic question under the notice of an intercolonial conference that was then sitting at Sydney. The colonies promised concerted action, for they now saw that the matter was one that affected Australia as a whole.

Here we see the first step in the direction of federation. New South Wales imposed a £10 poll tax on Asiatics, and limited their number in crews to one for every 100 tons of registered tonnage. Victoria added the same regulation to her immigration restrictions. South Australia, however, continued to admit Chinese freely, **and** thereby afforded Asiatics an easy access to **the**

southern and the eastern colony. In this respect South Australia remained a thorn in the side of Victoria and New South Wales until 1888.

Before long the poll tax was increased to £100, and ships' crews were limited to one Asiatic for every 300 tons register. The Chinese Government, through its representative in London, protested against this treatment of its subjects, but though the Colonial Office did not approve of the restrictions it could do little more than acknowledge the receipt of the protest.

### **The Kanaka Question**

The kanaka question is essentially different from the Chinese question, although both are usually treated in any discussion concerned with Australia's exclusion policy. The one involves industrial, the other humanitarian, principles.

On the breakdown of the American cotton trade during the the Civil War of 1864-5, it was decided to introduce cotton-growing and the cultivation of sugar into Queensland. Both cotton and sugar made rapid strides, but at the close of the war commercial conditions changed, and both industries were threatened with immediate ruin. On the stoppage of hostilities prices fell, and the high cost of white labour on the fields made the production of cotton and sugar scarcely worth while. To provide cheaper labour, Robert Towns, an old South Sea Island trader, in 1863 obtained 67 kanakas from the islands and set them to work in his cotton fields near Brisbane. In the next year Louis Hope obtained 54 for his sugar plantation.

Before long Queensland cotton-growing died out altogether, but the sugar industry picked up rapidly. Black labour on the canefields proved such a success financially that a vigorous traffic in islanders sprang up, and with it most of the horrors of the slavery made

their appearance in the northern colony. 'Blackbirding,' as the capturing and carrying off of islanders was called, was an abominable business, and by 1868 no fewer than 2017 kanakas had been tricked into a condition of slavery that too often resembled that of the African negro in the 17th and 18th centuries.

So many and so horrible were the rumours that began to circulate in England, that the British Government was eventually forced to take notice of them. In order to learn the truth, it instructed naval officers in Australian waters to investigate the conditions of kanaka labour in Queensland and to forward reports as soon as possible. Within twelve months their reports were in the hands of the Colonial Office. They were unanimous as far as the cruelty of the trade was concerned.

At this stage the Queensland Government, who could no longer sit passively looking on, took a hand in the matter and fixed the wage of the kanaka at £6 a year, payable in money or goods. It also placed a Government agent on each of the island ships to watch the interests of the natives. These agents, however, were so frequently corrupt that the Government's humanitarian efforts were only partly successful.

During this period the White Australia policy was gaining ground among politicians, and it found many strong supporters in Queensland. In consequence of this, in 1890 the Queensland Government passed an Act prohibiting the kanaka trade, but so loud was the cry of sugar-growers that it was repealed in 1892. In reality, the growers were alarmed not at the prospects of the sugar industry, but at the prospect of their having to pay higher wages to other labourers. Sir Samuel Griffith (later Chief Justice of the Commonwealth) was influenced by their arguments, and despite protests from England and the southern colonies, he allowed the trade to be resumed. But the Brisbane

people were not interested in the production of sugar, and so continued to argue for a 'white' colony. From time to time the regulations were revised, and, freed from its worst evils, the kanaka trade remained in existence until after the federation of the Australian colonies in 1900.

### **The Federal System**

The main characteristic of Federation is political unity without sacrifice of individuality. The only rights surrendered by the contracting parties are those affecting common interests, such as defence, trade, and postal arrangements. For federal government to be successful there must be 'community of language, race, history, or economic interest;' the parties to the contract 'must desire union, and must not desire unity;' and there must be geographical contiguity. All these conditions were fulfilled by the Australian colonies during 1890-1900.

Since the federal system is the result of a definite contract, there must be a written Constitution that clearly sets forth the details of the division of powers. Any Act containing provisions contrary to the terms embodied in the Constitution is invalid, and, so, void in effect. Again, since all contracts acknowledge an interpreter of their terms, there must be a body to interpret the Constitution, and the decision of that body must be accepted as final by the contracting States. The interpreter of the Australian Constitution is the Federal Court of Judicature.

There are two kinds of Constitution—a 'flexible'<sup>1</sup> and a 'rigid.' The flexible can be changed with comparative ease, but the rigid cannot be changed without resort to an extraordinary legislative assembly. Federal Constitutions can belong only to the rigid kind, because rigidity is essential to every contract. No State would

sign away powers unless it was sure that the terms of the contract could not be altered without its consent.

### THE FEDERAL MOVEMENT

The federal movement in Australia resulted from the tariff warfare that arose after the division of the country into self-governing colonies. Deas Thomson, the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, weary of the disputes that were constantly arising in intercolonial trade and fearing that customs duties would rise still higher, in 1846 suggested that some superior authority should be established to which colonies might submit proposed legislation concerned with intercolonial trade and other matters of common interest before putting it into force. Probably it was this suggestion that induced Earl Grey to attempt the framing of an intercolonial Customs Union in 1847. 'These are questions,' Grey said, 'which although local as it respects the British possessions of Australia collectively, are not merely local as it respects anyone of these possessions. Considered as members of the same Empire these colonists have many common interests, the recognition of which in some uniform manner and by some single authority may be essential to the welfare of them all. Yet in some cases such interests may be more promptly, effectively, and satisfactorily decided by some authority within Australia itself than by the more remote, the less accessive, and in truth the less competent authority of Parliament.\*

With all this the people of Australia for the most part agreed, but the fact that Grey had taken it upon himself to draft regulations annoyed them intensely. They looked upon his action as a gross example of inter-

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\*Quoted by Cramp, *The State and Federal Constitutions of Australia*, p. 125,

namely self-preservation, was absent. Soon after the close of the 1881 conference, signs of foreign activities appeared in Australian waters, and the colonists grew uneasy. Many saw a menace in the French penal settlement in the New Hebrides, and when it became known that Germany contemplated the establishment of a settlement in New Guinea, the Australian colonies as a whole became alarmed. Bismarck had already annexed the New Britain group of islands, and, unknown to Australians, he had for long been in communication with the British Cabinet with regard to the annexation of New Guinea also.

Queensland, being the nearest colony to the island, naturally was the most alarmed. Without delay she sent a magistrate to Port Moresby to claim possession of New Guinea in the name of Queen Victoria. Soon afterwards, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia notified the Imperial Parliament of their approval of Queensland's action, and as a consequence Lord Derby strongly advised the Imperial Parliament to ratify it. His advice, however, was rejected, for Gladstone, then Prime Minister, and Lord Granville, the Foreign Secretary, wished to avoid any friction with Germany. The annexation was at once cancelled. This made it clear to the colonies that, since they might at any time be called on to defend themselves, defence was certainly a matter for concerted action.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### FEDERATION

IT had long been recognized that the control of immigration demanded a central administration, and when the importance of Australian defence was brought so forcibly to the minds of the colonists the federal idea experienced a rapid growth. But the road to its realization proved both long and rough.

The formation of a Federal Council in 1883, in which New Zealand and Fiji as well as each of the Australian colonies was to be represented, shows the uneasiness prevailing at the time. The Council met in 1886, but on that occasion New South Wales failed to send a representative. During the interval between the inception and the meeting of the Council, Sir Henry Parkes changed his views about the efficacy of such a body, and, as a result, in 1886 he refused to have anything to do with it.

The next year witnessed the celebration of Queen Victoria's jubilee. On this occasion the representatives of Britain's oversea possessions found themselves assembled in London, and took the opportunity of meeting to talk over colonial affairs with the Home Authorities. Amongst other things, the defence of Australia was discussed, and as a result, Major-General Edwards was sent to Sydney to investigate the matter.

Parkes saw that the federal sentiment was rapidly gaining ground in Australia, and while still refusing to have anything to do with the Federal Council, he

wrote to the premiers of the other colonies, suggesting that another conference should be held to reconsider the question. His suggestion was adopted, and in 1890 a conference met in Melbourne, under the presidency of Duncan Gillies, at that time Premier of Victoria. As no agreement was reached, the meeting was adjourned until the next year.

In 1891 the delegates met in Sydney under the presidency of Sir Henry Parkes. At last a basis for agreement was arrived at, and a committee to draft a Constitution was elected. The committee consisted of Sir Samuel Griffith, Edmund Barton, Inglis Clark, and Charles Cameron Kingston. For *three* days it worked ceaselessly at its problem aboard a steamer on the Hawkesbury.

### **Opposition in New South Wales**

At this stage a split occurred in the New South Wales ranks. George H. Reid, the leader of the Opposition, who was not a member of this first Australian Federal Convention, publicly denounced the whole movement as the work of 'ambitious statesmen of Australia.' His statements quickly awakened suspicion in quarters where suspicion had hitherto been absent, and soon the air resounded with cries against the Convention as well as insinuations regarding the political honesty of its members. The outcome of this opposition was the immediate dropping of the Constitution Bill.

In August, 1893, a non-Parliamentary conference, which was the work mainly of the Australian Natives' Association, was held at Corowa. The meeting is a memorable one, for there Dr John Quick proposed that a Constitution Bill should be drafted by representatives elected by the people of each colony. From that moment the federal movement made rapid progress, for it was thus placed on an entirely democratic basis.

In 1894 Reid came into office in New South Wales. He now declared himself to be strongly in favour of Federation, and arranged for a conference to be held at Hobart in January, 1895. This conference, in accordance with the Corowa resolution, made provision for the election of representatives by the people. Soon after this Australia suffered a heavy loss in the death of Sir Henry Parkes.

### **The Constitution Bill**

The elected representatives of the Australian colonies held their first meeting at Adelaide in May, 1897. The assembly consisted of forty members, one of whom, Edmund Barton, was chosen as chairman. A draft bill on the lines of the old one was produced, but nothing more was done before the meeting adjourned.

The Convention (as it was called) next met at Sydney, in September, and after discussing the bill clause by clause it again adjourned.

The third session was held at Melbourne in January, 1898. On that occasion the final adjustments to the bill were made, and the date of a referendum selected.

The referendum held in June resulted in the overthrow of the bill, for, although it was accepted by four of the colonies it was rejected by New South Wales. Its defeat was undoubtedly due to the attitude of Mr Reid, who said that while he was strongly in favour of the federation of the colonies he was not in favour of the bill then before the people.

Next followed a conference of premiers at Melbourne, in January, 1899, and at this meeting, happily, all disagreements were removed. Between June and September the amended bill was offered to the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania, and Queensland, and each colony cast an overwhelming

majority of votes in its favour. It was sent on to London, where it was passed by the Parliament on the 5th of July, 1900, and on the 9th, it received the Queen's assent. On the 31st Western Australia, which had refrained from taking a referendum, decided to enter the federation, and was then included by Royal Proclamation.

Western Australia's hesitation was due to her opposition to the tariff changes in which she would become involved. In introducing the Constitution Bill to the House of Commons, on the 14th of May, 1900, Joseph Chamberlain said: 'Western Australia asked for the right to come in as an original State on terms slightly different from those provided in the Constitution. The difference arose as to the question of tariffs; and undoubtedly it was admitted by the five federating colonies, that, owing to the peculiar position of Western Australia, she was entitled to some period of interval before she adopted the common tariff of the Commonwealth; and accordingly five years were allowed her for that purpose, subject to the condition that each year one-fifth of any difference that might exist between the tariff of Western Australia and the tariff of the Commonwealth should be reduced.'<sup>9</sup> The British Government approached Sir John Forrest and requested him to go into the matter with his Government once again. He did so, with the result that the people of Western Australia agreed that the colony should enter the Commonwealth as one of the original States.

The inauguration of the Commonwealth was celebrated in Centennial Park, Sydney, on the 1st of January, 1901. On that occasion the first Governor-General, the Earl of Hopetoun, was sworn into office. On the 9th of May the first Federal Parliament was opened in

Melbourne by His Majesty King George V (then **Duke** of Cornwall).

Thus the Commonwealth of Australian States came into being.

## THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

When the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act was being drafted, there were two important models of federal Constitutions available for the guidance of Australian statesmen, namely that of the United States of America, and that of the Dominion of Canada. Since experience had shown the merits and demerits of each, Australian statesmen were in a position to produce a Constitution that should prove almost perfect in its operation.

### General Summary

By the provisions of the Commonwealth Act, government is carried on by the Governor-General and two elected Houses—the Senate and the House of Representatives. Each State elects six Representatives to the Senate; the number elected to the House of Representatives depends on the population of the State. The total number in the lower House is approximately twice the number of Senators.

Senators are elected for six years and retire in rotation (one-half their number retiring at the end of each three years) ; Representatives are elected for three years or for the life of Parliament, whichever is the shorter period. (In the United States the Senators are elected by the Legislatures for six years; in Canada they are appointed by the Governor-General for life.)

The introduction of bills appropriating revenue or imposing taxation is the prerogative of the Representatives. The Senate must accept or reject these bills without alteration, but it has the power to amend all others

and return them for reconsideration by the Representatives.

To become law, a bill must have a majority in both Houses. If the Senate rejects a measure that has twice been passed by the other House, the Governor-General may dissolve both Houses and order new elections. If the new Houses also disagree on the measure, a joint sitting is held. In this case it is more than likely that the will of the Representatives will prevail, owing to their numerical strength. (This arrangement to overcome deadlocks is peculiar to the Australian Constitution.)

The topics of legislation are definitely set forth in the Act, consequently the legislative rights of the States are safeguarded. The Federal Parliament may make laws with respect to trade and commerce; postal, telegraphic, and telephonic services; defence; lighthouses and shipping arrangements; quarantine; copyright; marriage and divorce; immigration and emigration; mintage; and other specified matters that concern Australia as a whole. The right to legislate on other subjects belongs to the States. Where the Federal and State Parliaments may both legislate on the same subject, the State law must not be at variance with the Commonwealth law. (In the Canadian Constitution it is the State powers that are enumerated, the residue falling to the Dominion Parliament.)

The Federal Executive is vested in the Sovereign acting through his representative, the Governor-General. The Governor-General may assent to, veto, or withhold for the Royal consideration any bill that has passed both Houses of Parliament; but to safeguard Imperial interests, the Sovereign may veto any bill that has received the Vice-regal assent, provided he does so within twelve months of its having received that assent.\*

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\*For detailed examination of the Constitution Act, see Cramp, *The state and Federal Constitutions of Australia*, chapters viii-x,

The Federal judicial power is exercised by a High Court of Australia and such other Courts as the Federal Parliament may create. The High Court consists of a Chief Justice and six Puisne Judges. It is the highest Court of Appeal from Courts of the States, since no appeal may be carried beyond it to the Privy Council without its consent (or the special consent of the King-in-Council). It has original jurisdiction in cases in which treaties, foreign representatives, the Commonwealth, or different States are involved. But its most prominent function is the guarding of the Constitution. It may be appealed to in order to determine whether a law is, according to the Constitution, valid or invalid.

The Act provides a means whereby the Constitution may be amended. The initiative in this matter lies in the Federal Parliament, but no change can be made until it has been agreed to by the electors in each State. It must not only receive the consent of a majority of the total number of people voting throughout the Commonwealth, but it must also be accepted in 'a majority of States by a majority of electors voting.' (In the United States amendments are dealt with by the Legislatures; in Canada, by the Imperial Government. Only in Australia and Switzerland are they the work of the people through a referendum.)

### **The Federal Capital**

The Constitution Act provided that the Federal capital should be situated in New South Wales, and not less than a hundred miles from Sydney; also, that the Federal territory should be not less than a hundred square miles in area. After a great deal of debate the area chosen was one of nine hundred square miles adjacent to Jervis Bay territory, and the capital site one of about twelve square miles at Canberra. The city has

been carefully planned with regard to future requirements, and its buildings are progressing steadily. In 1920 the Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone of a Capitol, and in 1923 the erection of the present (temporary) Parliament House was begun. On the 9th of May, 1927, the House was opened by the Duke of York, and the centre of government thus moved from Melbourne to Canberra (pronounced Can-berra).

### DEVELOPMENT OF DEFENCE SYSTEM

We have seen that self-preservation was the principal motive leading to the union of the Australian colonies; naturally we should expect that the matter of defence would be one of the first discussed by the Federal Parliament.

#### **Military**

On the eve of Federation the total military strength of Australia was 27,353. To this, New South Wales was the largest contributor, but her forces numbered only 9338. In March, 1901, the Commonwealth set about reorganizing the system and placed the work of co-ordinating the forces of the States in the hands of Major-General Sir Edward Hutton.

In 1909 the late Lord Kitchener was invited to Australia to advise the Government in its next step. He closely examined the arrangements then in force and made a number of suggestions with regard to a scheme of universal training that was laid before him. In 1911 an Act, passed before Kitchener's visit, came into force, and made military training compulsory for all male inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 26—a principle new in an English-speaking community. Many of Kitchener's recommendations were adopted. A system of cadet training between the ages of 12 and 18 was also brought into operation. As a result of these

measures the number within the ages liable for military training in 1921 was 654,000.\* In June, 1911, the Royal Military College, Duntroon (Federal Territory) was established to provide trained officers for the permanent forces.

In 1923 an Air Defence Bill was passed establishing the Royal Australian Air Force. In addition to this a Citizen Air Force has been formed.

## Naval

Between 1907 and 1909 the question of Australia's naval defences was frequently discussed, and at last it was decided that the Commonwealth should construct a fleet unit already agreed on, and so relieve Britain of further cost in that direction. Skilled artisans were sent to England to gain practical experience in naval shipbuilding, and orders were placed there for the building of two torpedo-boat destroyers (the *Parra-matta* and the *Yarra*). These vessels were commissioned in September, 1910, and a third (the *Warrego*), which was sent to Sydney in parts, was brought into service in June, 1912. Three more destroyers were then laid down at Cockatoo Island Dockyard, Sydney. In March, 1913, the 2nd-class cruiser, *Melbourne*, reached Australian waters, and the *Sydney* later in the same year. At that time the *Brisbane* was being built in Sydney. In September the battle-cruiser, *Australia*, arrived as flagship of the fleet. In January, 1927, the Commonwealth Navy consisted of 31 vessels (including a cruiser, a submarine, and a sea-plane carrier in the process of building).

A Royal Naval College was established at Geelong in 1913, and two years later it was transferred to Captain's Point, Jervis Bay (Federal Territory).

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\*See *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No. 20, p. 557.

## FEDERAL RAILWAYS

Although railways do not fall under the administration of the Commonwealth, the Federal Parliament has interested itself in the construction of several lines, mainly in the interests of defence. The strategic importance of railways running east and west, and also north and south, across the continent is evident. At present a Federal line connects Kalgoorlie and Port Augusta, and in the near future a line from Adelaide to Port Darwin will be completed.

Unfortunately, the railways of the different States are not uniform in gauge. This not only causes inconvenience in the transport of goods from one State to another, but, as military experts have pointed out, constitutes a weakness in the system of defence. The waste of time due to the transference of troops and munitions from one train to another at State borders might have serious consequences in time of war. The New South Wales gauge is the same as that of Europe (4 ft 8½ in.), but the Victorian is wider and that of the other States narrower. The Federal trunk lines are being constructed on the New South Wales standard.

## TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT

In 1824 and 1825 the British Parliament passed Acts repealing the combination laws, and in 1828 their provisions were made effective in Australia. But at this time there was an abundant supply of convict labour available for farming purposes, and other industries were yet in their infancy. The first permanent trade union appeared in 1833, when cabinet-makers united to uphold the price of piece-work in the furniture trade. This was followed by an organization of typographers in 1835, and the Phoenix society of tailors in 1840. In the meanwhile a loosely organized strike of seamen

occurred. By this time the trade-union movement was gaining ground, and at the beginning of 1841 ten unions (with about 40 members each) were in existence. Although the unionists were few compared with the number of free workers in the colony, they were strongly supported by workers outside the unions in matters that affected any trade as a whole.

During the next fifty years labour organizations appeared in every branch of industry. In 1891 they numbered 124, with a total membership of 54,888. Twelve years before this, the first of a number of inter-colonial trade congresses was held at Sydney, and at one of these, held at Melbourne in 1884, it was decided that unions should strive to obtain 'direct representation in Parliament.' The first expression of socialistic doctrine was heard at Brisbane in 1888, during the fifth congress, when nationalization of land and the sources of production were discussed.

By 1893 the Labour movement was represented in the Parliament of New South Wales, and the amalgamation of country unions to form the Australian Workers' Union had taken place. From then on, trade-unionism and parliamentary labour organizations progressed rapidly. In the early days of the Commonwealth the Labour Party was in control of the Opposition benches in the Federal Parliament, and came into power in 1904.\* Administration fell into the hands of the Labour Party in September, 1914, but in February, 1917, gave place to a National War Ministry, formed under its old leader, William Morris Hughes.

Five years after the inauguration of the Commonwealth, a Conciliation and Arbitration Court was established for the settlement of industrial disputes, and an

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\*For details of early development of Trade-unionism see *Australia: Economic and Political Studies* (edited by Meredith Atkinson); for development since 1900 see *Australian Encyclopaedia* (TRADE-UNIONISM).

Act of 1921 placed it under a president and two deputies, all of whom are judges. This court has prevented the disorganization in industry on many occasions, but owing to restrictions on the power of the Federal Parliament, its scope is limited. The different States have their own courts for regulating local conditions.

## CHAPTER XXXV

### THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

No country can be said to attain to nationhood at **any** particular date; growth in that direction is gradual. A long period must elapse between the days of early settlement and the advent of responsible government. This interim period in Australia was marked specially by the settlers' agitation for the abolition of transportation and the growth of a policy of exclusion.

#### **Imperial Conferences**

More or less informal gatherings of colonial representatives took place in London in 1887, 1897, and 1902. The last-mentioned was on the occasion of King Edward VII's coronation, and as a direct result of that meeting, a fourth was arranged to take place in 1907. The importance of these gatherings was generally recognized, and the proposal that they should be held regularly was adopted. The 1907 assembly was called an 'Imperial Conference'—the word 'Imperial' being used in this connexion for the first time. So helpful did it prove to oversea statesmen that its members agreed that Imperial Conferences should be held every four years. They were originally, and until 1907, informal meetings of persons who were qualified to discuss colonial matters with the Home Authorities, but the subjects discussed were only those introduced by **the** Colonial Office. Again, England was careful to make **no** statement that might disclose any part of her **foreign**

policy, for she regarded her foreign policy as something that should be known only to herself. Naturally such an attitude of the Mother Country very considerably lessened the value of these assemblies, for the colonies were vitally concerned in England's foreign relations, and not knowing them except in a broad way, the colonial representatives were often at a loss to choose a course of action that would be acceptable to the Empire as a whole.

Eventually England herself came to recognize this difficulty, and decided to remove it at the next appointed assembly. Accordingly, in 1911 the Colonial Premiers were invited to take part in a secret meeting of the Imperial Defence Committee at which the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, made a definite statement setting forth the Empire's views on foreign affairs.

### **Imperial War Conference**

In ordinary circumstances the next assembly would have taken place in 1915, but the outbreak of the Great War postponed it until 1917. The 1917 Conference proved to be the most important up to that time. On that occasion representatives from Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, South Africa, and India met together in London. Unfortunately, Australia was not represented owing to the proximity of a general election. It was at this meeting that Sir Robert Borden (Prime Minister of Canada) brought forward the famous Resolution ix:—

'The Imperial War Conference is of opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the war, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities.

'It deems it its duty, however, to place on record its views that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important part of the same, and should recognise the right of all Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine.'

Sir Robert Borden's speech was epoch-making as far as the status of the Dominions is concerned. It argued that the Dominions should be given a voice in the determination of the foreign policy which would bind them, and as a consequence, have a direct bearing on their own welfare. Given that voice, they would be no longer mere possessions of the Crown, but 'sister nations' in a 'British Commonwealth of Nations.' To all this the Conference as a whole agreed.

### **Imperial War Cabinet**

By this time each of the Dominions had made an enormous sacrifice to the defence of the Empire, and in recognition of this, the Prime Ministers of the Dominions were given seats in the British Cabinet when that body assembled to discuss matters connected with the conduct of the war. The Cabinet thus enlarged was known as the Imperial War Cabinet, and sat on alternate days with the Imperial Conference. In this way overseas statesmen became accustomed to acting in conjunction with statesmen of the Motherland in matters connected with foreign affairs,• they became used to hearing their

own voices confidently taking part in discussions of vital moment to the Empire. Naturally, during the armistice the Dominions claimed the right to be heard at the Peace Table. They considered themselves 'international' persons' who had played no mean part in the Great War, and so had a right to share in deliberations that would bind them in time of peace.

### **Sir Robert Borden's Memorandum**

Sir Robert Borden again acted as the Dominions' spokesman. On the 12th of March, 1919, he issued, at Paris, a memorandum announcing, among other things :

\*1. The Dominion Prime Ministers, after careful consideration have reached the conclusion that all treaties and conventions resulting from the Peace Conference should be so drafted as to enable the Dominions to become parties and signatories thereto. This procedure will give suitable recognition to the part played at the Peace Table by the British Commonwealth as a whole, and will, at the same time, record the status attained there by the Dominions.

'2. The procedure is in consonance with the principles of constitutional government that obtain throughout the Empire. The Crown is the supreme executive in the United Kingdom and in all the Dominions, but it acts on the advice of different Ministers within different constitutional units; and under Resolution ix. of the Imperial War Conference, 1917, the organization of the Empire is to be based upon equality of nationhood.'

The Motherland understood, and was highly sympathetic. She realized that her offspring had grown up—that infancy and youth had been passed and manhood reached. The old British Empire was now to give place to a 'British Commonwealth of Nations,' in which each member should enjoy an equality of rights in the

affairs that concerned them all, while over all the one Sovereign should rule.

The formal recognition of this changed the outlook of the Dominions. On the 28th of June, 1919, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India stepped forward as independent units in the British Commonwealth, and for the first time set their signatures to an international treaty, in their own right. As Dr Ellis says: 'Thus the Dominions took yet another important step toward a nationhood within the Empire, loyal to the King, and faithful to that wonderful spirit of unity which alone has made the British Empire great and respected, and which alone will maintain it so.\*'

Although England was willing to recognize the independence of the British Dominions, other nations were not prepared to do so. The United States of America, for example, refused, and still refuses, to regard them as international units. But other Powers who had also objected to England's action were influenced by the British delegates, and one by one withdrew their protests. So it has come to pass that to-day the British Commonwealth of Nations is a reality according to the laws of all the important Powers of the world, with the one exception of the United States of America.

#### AUSTRALIA'S PART IN THE GREAT WAR

When England entered the Great War, on the 4th of August, 1914, every part of the British Empire rose to her assistance. Within a few days Australia enlisted an expeditionary force, and soon afterwards sent a small force to take possession of the German territory in New Guinea.

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\*Ellis, *Australia and the League of Nations*, D. 14.

In all no fewer than 416,809 voluntarily enlisted, and of these 329,682 served overseas. During the first year of hostilities 31,000 proceeded to Egypt.

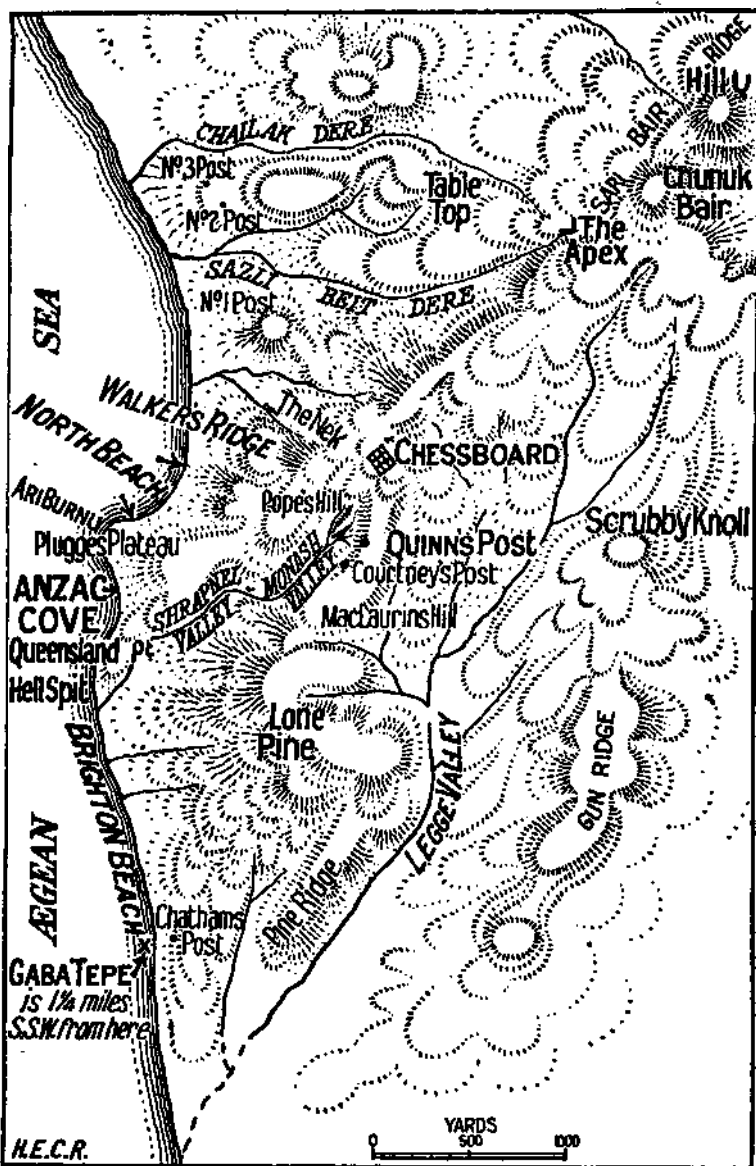
Australia's war activities during the years 1914-18 must be grouped under two headings—Naval and Military.

## Naval

For years the Commonwealth had been building up a navy of her own, a circumstance that helped to reduce Great Britain's cost of defending the Empire. When, on the 3rd of August, it was evident that England would be drawn into the European conflict, the Commonwealth at once offered to place her fleet at the disposal of the British Admiralty. The transfer **was** carried out a week later, and the Australian Navy became for the time being an integral part of the **British** Navy.

Its first work was that of searching for the **German** Pacific fleet and convoying troops. Within two months, the presence of the battle-cruiser *Australia*, and the accompanying cruisers, and fear of attack by Japanese warships caused the German fleet to forsake the western Pacific, and by so doing to facilitate the capture of the enemy's possessions north of Australia. Before long Germany had lost possession of her territory **in** New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, Samoa, The Carolines, Marshalls, and other islands of the Pacific.

When it was known that the Pacific was clear of large enemy warships the *Australia* left to join the Grand Fleet in the North Sea, and the cruisers were detailed for work in different waters. It was while the *Melbourne* and *Sydney* were convoying troops to Egypt that, when near Cocos Island, they came into **touch with**



ANZAC COVE AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY  
(Gallipoli Peninsula)

the *Emden*, a German raider that had seriously damaged British commerce in the Indian Ocean. The *Emden* was destroyed by the *Sydney* after a short but sharp engagement.

After the Close of the war the great maritime Powers agreed to reduce the strength of their navies, and to fulfil the terms of the agreement certain British warships had to be destroyed. Unfortunately, the *Australia* was one of these, and on the 12th of April, 1924, she was towed out of Sydney Harbour and sunk a few miles outside the Heads.

## Military

(a) As soon as England announced her willingness to accept the Dominions' assistance, the work of enlisting and preparing troops for active service began throughout the Commonwealth. Almost at once a force set off and captured the German possessions of New Guinea and adjacent islands, but the first of the overseas forces did not sail until two months later (October, 1914).

(b) The first contingent was joined by one from New Zealand and escorted to Egypt by the *Melbourne* and *Sydney* and two other powerful cruisers—one, British, the other, Japanese.

After a short period of training near Cairo, these troops were ordered to proceed to Gallipoli. For some time warships had tried in vain to open the Black Sea to the Allies, so it was now decided to land troops on Gallipoli and thus assist the Allies' fleet to pass the Dardanelles and reach Constantinople.

Despite the fierce opposition of the Turks, the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (A.N.Z.A.C.) effected a landing at a spot near Gaba Tepe in the early hours of the 25th of April, 1915. It was on that

occasion that they gained their first knowledge of actual warfare and first proved themselves to be soldiers second to none. After ascending the rugged shores in the face of the deadliest fire, they clung to their position tenaciously. At last they succeeded in gaining a firm position on the Peninsula. At the same time, British, Indian, and French troops also succeeded in effecting a landing on other parts of the same shore.

However, to compel the opening of the Dardanelles with such a small force was soon seen to be impossible, yet no reinforcements could be spared from Europe. After months of hard fighting, during which many were killed and many more wounded, it was agreed to abandon the project. Secretly, so secretly that the Turks were not aware of the movement, the troops were withdrawn by night and removed to the island of Lemnos.

Although the Gallipoli operations were in one sense a failure, in another sense they were highly successful. They kept a large body of enemy forces concentrated in a position far removed from Egypt and the Suez Canal.

(c) From Lemnos the Anzacs were taken back to Egypt, then sent to strengthen the lines in France. There they conducted themselves as gloriously as at Gallipoli. During 1916, under the command of General Birdwood they, together with other Dominion troops, took part in the fighting on the Somme. The engagements at Fleurbaix, Pozieres, and Mouquet Farm are among the most memorable of these.

The United States of America declared war in April, 1917, and from that moment the ultimate issue was decided, provided the Allies could hold the enemy for fifteen months longer and withstand the German submarine attacks, while the Americans were making ready to come in.

Early in **1917** the Australians followed **up** the **German** retreat to the Hindenburg line, occupying as they advanced the town of Bapaume; in the same year they fought at BuUecourt, Messines, Polygon Wood, **and** Passchendaele Ridge; and in 1918, at Villers-Bretonneux, they frustrated the last German drive on Amiens, and for that reason were called 'the Saviours of Amiens.' Under the command of General Monash they **took part** in the final drive of the Allies, which began in August, and they played a brilliant role in the breaking of the Hindenburg line, after which Germany soon collapsed.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that every man who left Australia on active service did so of his **own** free will. The response to the Empire's call was magnificent throughout the four long years of suspense. During that period 59,258 lost their lives, while the total number of casualties was 226 072.

The Commonwealth's war liabilities from 1914 to 1920 amounted to £288,000,000, the cost to 1923, being nearly £520,000,000, and to 1927 nearly £657,000,000.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### AUSTRALIA'S PLACE IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ALTHOUGH the general history of events which led to the formation of the League of Nations has no place in Australian history, it is necessary that something of the progress of civilized sentiment should be known, as well as the main outlines of the Covenant of the League, in order to grasp the full significance of the fact that Australia is an original member of that famous international body.

Nations, like individuals, have certain interests in common that tend to prevent the outbreak of hostilities in disputes of trivial importance. But experience shows that, despite all interests—and perhaps trade and commerce are the most important—nations will enter into open warfare even when it could easily be avoided.

In the early Middle Ages there were no separate civilized nations with conflicting interests; the bond of religion included all Christians in one great society. Disputes between members of that society were decided by the Church. Upon the break-up of the Holy Roman Empire a change passed over the whole European order. The religious bond was severed; society formed itself into nations. Feelings of nationality gave rise to feelings of pride and jealousy, so that there was no longer a commonly recognized superior who could settle disputes. The battlefield alone could effectively decide differences

—hence the appearance of war in all its most horrible forms. National prosperity, it was agreed, depended on the strength of the national sword. The barbarous principles of Machiavelli were adopted by every nation in Europe; for a time all hopes of restoring universal peace seemed at an end.

The horrors of warfare on land reached a climax in the Thirty Years War. At its close Europe lay breathless, exhausted, and sickened by the atrocities perpetrated by the contending armies. All longed for the peace that had once blessed them, and for that reason the voices of those advocating the return to such a state were at last treated with respect. The writings of such men as Grotius and Sully were widely read, and 'Princes' one by one turned away from the Machiavellian teaching. Thus the idea of a code of International Law arose. There were some 'laws' which belonged to the realm of the Divine and which almost all nations acknowledged to be universally binding. Those 'laws' they began to observe faithfully in their mutual dealings. But although nations did observe certain just principles there was no 'superior power' generally acknowledged who could make them do so. The arbiter of disputes was still the sword, and for that reason wars continued to be frequent.

With the beginning of Modern times came the theory of the Balance of Power as a preserver of the peace of Europe. Nations formed themselves into groups which broke up and re-formed as required to check aggression on the part of ambitious rulers. This system certainly did do much to prevent wars, but it was powerless to assure a lasting peace. If warfare was to be brought to an end, nations would have to agree to submit their differences to some tribunal whose decision they would be prepared to accept. This, however, **at the time, was too great an innovation to be generally accepted.**

The recognition of a bond between nations is to be seen in the Holy Alliance, which was formed in 1815 at the close of the Napoleonic wars. The scheme was the work of Alexander I of Russia, and had for its object the enforcement of the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace in the government of European countries. But it was to enforce the brotherhood of monarchs only. It really became the fortress of absolutism against the rising forces of democracy, and so it missed its original purpose.

The idea of arbitration between nations was put into practice on several occasions and with such good results that in 1898 the Emperor Nicholas II of Russia proposed the holding of a conference of civilized nations to discuss matters of international importance. Britain heartily supported the Emperor, notwithstanding the fact that she herself had recently lost heavily in an arbitration case. Breaches of neutrality during the American Civil War were proved against Great Britain in the case of the *Alabama* and of the *Shenandoah*. With regard to the *Shenandoah* it was found that she had visited Melbourne, and had been allowed to enlist men within that port for active service. For not preventing this, the tribunal at Geneva held that Great Britain had failed to fulfil the duties prescribed, and so was 'responsible for all acts committed by that vessel after her departure from Melbourne on the 18th day of February, 1865.' The settlement of the dispute cost Great Britain £3,000,000 by way of compensation.

The conference proposed by Nicholas II was the first of the famous Hague Conferences, and met at The Hague in 1899. Its importance lies in the establishment of 'The Hague Tribunal.' This was a court of justice to which nations might refer their disputes for settlement if they should so desire.

The Hague Conferences **were attempts to diminish**

warfare, but they were of little practical value. There was still no power to compel nations to refer their disputes to international arbitration, or to accept the decision of an international tribunal when they did agree to place the matter in its hands. The idea of compulsion was not brought forward until after the close of the Great War in 1919.

On the 8th of January, 1918, Dr Woodrow Wilson, at the time President of the United States, offered Congress what he considered to be a suitable basis for the conclusion of peace. His statements were grouped under 14 paragraphs (now referred to as the 'Fourteen Points'). The fourteenth had reference to future relations between States. It reads: '14. A general association of States must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.'

In January, 1919, President Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' were closely followed in the drawing up of the peace settlement. The fourteenth finds a place in the treaty, and therefore all who signed the document (some 32 States) bound themselves for the purpose stated in the paragraph, and in the manner set forth in detail in no fewer than 26 articles in the treaty. According to the preamble to the Covenant: 'The high contracting parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the League of Na-

tions.' The Covenant was signed by W. M. Hughes, then Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. In passing, it may be mentioned that the United States of America has not signed and, therefore, is not a member of the League,

Australia's responsibilities began at once. She has now a voice in the settlement of questions which may affect the history of the whole world, and, what is more, that voice is equal to the voice of any other nation. All matters that have a direct and important bearing on the destiny of States require a unanimous decision in the assembly of States' representatives. This guarantees the independence of members of the League, for in such matters it is not a case of majority rule. Australia, then, has it in her power, by voting against a proposal, to bring about its defeat, even though it has been assented to by all the other members. Again, any member of the British Empire may be elected to take Britain's place on the Council of the League should Britain so desire. This makes it highly desirable that every Australian shall keep in touch with the doings of the outside world, and acquire the habit of regarding all questions of international importance from every possible point of view.

Australia is no longer left outside the practical sphere of international politics, seeing that she has pledged herself to maintain the freedom of other members of the League. The same Article X, of course, guarantees Australia's freedom.

As mandatory for the territories once known as German New Guinea and the German possessions in the South Pacific (excluding German Samoa and Nauru), the Commonwealth is burdened with further responsibility. According to the mandate drawn up by the League, Australia has 'full power of legislation and administration over the territory . . . and may apply the laws of the Commonwealth of Australia to the territory.

subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require/ She is charged with the promotion of the " material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory.' No forced labour without adequate remuneration may be used for any purpose whatever, and what forced labour may be used, may be used only for 'essential public works and services.' The supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to natives is forbidden. No military or naval bases may be established or fortifications erected in the territory. Freedom of conscience and freedom of worship must be allowed unless such is against public order or public morals. Finally, Australia must furnish a report annually to the Council of the League, stating without reserve the condition of the territory, and what has been done to meet the requirements set forth in the mandate.

The mandate for Nauru was given to the British Empire in the first place but later was entrusted to the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand jointly. The Commonwealth was held responsible for the administration of the island for the first five years.

We have now briefly reviewed the general history of Australia from the time of its discovery to the present day. We have watched the vague scrawl of Terra Australis Incognita gradually giving place to the definite outline of the Southern Continent; we have traced the growth of the population, the beginnings of industry, the formation of colonies, and the union of those colonies as the Commonwealth of the Australian States. Finally, we have followed the progress of the Commonwealth up to the present, when it has the privilege of being a member of the two most important associations of modern times, viz., the British Commonwealth of Nations and the League of Nations.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1606 Quiros discovers the New Hebrides.  
The *Duyfken* in the Gulf of Carpentaria (March).  
Torres sails through Torres Straits (September).
- 1616 Dirck Hartog discovers Eendracht Land, W.A.
- 1619 Houtman coasts from Swan River northwards.
- 1622 The *Leeuwin* coasts S.W. Australia to lat. 35° S.
- 1623 Jan Carstensz in the Gulf of Carpentaria.  
Arnhem's Land discovered.
- 3627 The *Gulden Zeepaert* coasts Nuyts' Land.
- 1628 The *Vyanen* runs aground on De Witt's Land.
- 1629 Pelsart wrecked on the Abrolhos.
- 1642 Tasman discovers Tasmania and New Zealand.
- 1644 Tasman's second Australian voyage: Australia  
coasted from Cape York to Eendracht Land.
- 1688 Dampier visits north-western Australia in the  
*Cygnets*, landing at Buccaneer Archipelago.
- 1696 Willem de Vlamingh discovers Swan River.
- 1699 Dampier explores N.W. coast in the *Roebuck*.
- 1756 De Brosses proposes that France should send  
foundlings, beggars, and criminals to Australia.
- 1766 Callander makes similar suggestion for England.
- 1768 James Cook in the *Endeavour* sails for the Pacific.
- 1770 Cook sights the eastern coast, and annexes it  
under the name 'New South Wales.'

- 1779 Banks proposes to send convicts to Botany Bay.
- 1783 Matra proposes to colonize New South Wales with 'loyalists' from America.
- 1786 Lord Sydney orders the equipment of a fleet to convey convicts to Botany Bay.
- 1787 The 'First Fleet' sails (May).
- 1788 Fleet reaches Botany Bay.  
Port Jackson examined and settlement made there.  
Lapérouse in the *Astrolabe* visits Botany Bay.  
Norfolk Island settled.
- 1789 Hawkesbury River explored.  
Launch of first vessel built in colony.  
First theatrical performance in Sydney.
- 1790 First land grant, to James Ruse at Rose Hill.  
First detachment of N.S.W. Corps reaches Sydney.
- 1791 Vancouver discovers King George's Sound.  
Whaling and sealing industry begun.  
Bowen discovers Jervis Bay.  
Fort constructed on Dawes Point, Sydney.
- 1792 New South Wales Corps in control of the colony.  
Arrival in Port Jackson of first foreign trading vessel—the *Philadelphia* from U.S.A.
- 1793 First free settlers arrive; located at Liberty Plains (Bankstown).  
Rev. Richard Johnson builds first church.
- 1794 Settlement formed at the Hawkesbury.  
The 'Scottish Martyrs' arrive.
- 1795 The Cowpastures discovered.  
Bass and Flinders explore George's River.  
First printing press erected in Sydney.  
Governor Hunter arrives.
- 1796 Bass and Flinders coast Illawarra.  
First theatre opened in Sydney.  
Coal found near Port Stephens.

- 1797 Coal found at Illawarra.  
Hunter River discovered, and coal found there.  
First merino sheep imported.
- 1798 Bass discovers Western Port.  
Bass and Flinders circumnavigate Tasmania.
- 1799 Flinders surveys coast northwards to Hervey Bay.  
Coal first exported (to India).
- 1800 Governor King arrives.  
Currency regulated.
- 1801 Coal exported to Cape of Good Hope.  
Blankets and linen first manufactured.  
Flinders reaches Cape Leeuwin (December).
- 1802 Murray discovers Port Phillip (January).  
Flinders explores Spencer and St Vincent Gulfs.  
Baudin on Australian coast.  
Flinders explores eastern and northern coasts.
- 1803 Bowen settles at Risdon, Tasmania.  
Collins attempts settlement on Port Phillip.  
*Sydney Gazette* first issued.  
Flinders imprisoned in the Mauritius.
- 1804 Paterson settles on the Tamar, Tasmania.  
Collins moves from Port Phillip to Hobart.  
Mutiny of Irish convicts at Castle Hill.
- 1805 Macarthur obtains grant of 5000 acres at Camden.
- 1806 Hawkesbury floods.  
Governor Bligh arrives.
- 1807 First merchantable wool exported to England.  
Norfolk Island settlers removed to Tasmania.
- 1808 Bligh deposed by New South Wales Corps.
- 1809 First post office opened, at Sydney.  
Macquarie lands at Sydney (December 30).
- 1810 New South Wales Corps recalled to England.  
First free school established, at Sydney.  
The *Derwent Star* (first Tasmanian newspaper).

- 1813 Blaxland, Lawson, and Wentworth cross the Blue Mountains.  
Evans discovers Macquarie River.  
The 'holey dollar' circulated as currency.  
Evacuation of Norfolk Island completed.
- 1814 Civil and criminal courts separately established.  
First supreme court judge arrives.  
Hume opens up Berrima tableland.
- 1815 Bathurst founded.  
Road across the Blue Mountains completed.  
Lachlan River discovered by Evans.  
First steam-engine operated in Sydney.
- 1816 Sydney botanic gardens laid out.  
*Hobart Town Gazette* first published.
- 1817 Oxley explores Lachlan River.  
Capt. P. P. King examines north-eastern coast.  
Bank of New South Wales established.
- 1818 Meehan finds Lake Bathurst and Goulburn Plains.  
Oxley explores the Macquarie, and discovers Liverpool Plains and Port Macquarie.
- 1819 Commissioner Bigge sent from England to report on the state of the colony.  
First Australian savings bank, at Sydney.  
Wentworth's *Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of N.S.W.* published in London.
- 1820 Wild discovers Lake George.
- 1821 Penal settlement established at Port Macquarie.  
Governor Brisbane arrives.  
First scientific society formed in Australia.
- 1822 New South Wales Agricultural Society formed.  
Bigge's first Report issued.
- 1823 McBrien reports discovery of gold in Fish River.  
Ovens and Currie explore Monaro.

- Oxley discovers Brisbane River.  
 Cunningham discovers Pandora's Pass.  
 Judicature act passed.  
 Dr Lang arrives.  
 Bigge's second and third Reports issued.
- 1824 Legislative Council and Supreme Court established: trial by jury allowed on limited basis.  
 The *Australian* issued.  
 Censorship of the press abolished.  
 Settlement made on Melville Island.  
 Hume and Hovell journey from Lake George to Port Phillip.
- 1825 Moreton Bay opened up, and Norfolk Island reopened, as penal settlements.  
 Tasmania separated from New South Wales.  
 V.D.L. Company granted 250 000 acres.  
 Chamber of Commerce established, at Sydney.  
 Boundary of N.S.W. extended to 129° E. long.  
 Cunningham explores Liverpool Plains.  
 Governor Darling arrives.
- 1826 Settlements made at Western Port and Albany.  
 A.A. Company granted 1,000,000 acres.  
 Australian subscription library opened in Sydney.
- 1827 Cunningham discovers Darling Downs.  
 Settlement made at Raffles Bay.  
 Stirling visits Swan River.  
 Australian Museum founded at Sydney.
- 1828 Western Port settlement abandoned.  
 Richmond and Clarence River valleys opened up.  
 Cunningham discovers track to Darling Downs.
- 1829 Sturt discovers Darling River.  
 Settlement made at Swan River.  
 Melville Island and Raffles Bay abandoned.  
 Edward Gibbon Wakefield publishes in London *A Letter from Sydney*.

- 1830 Sturt discovers Murray River.  
Penal settlement at Port Macquarie broken up.  
'Black war' in Tasmania.  
Perth founded.
- 1831 Free land grants discontinued.  
Assisted immigration begun.  
First steamship (*Surprise*) launched at Sydney.  
First steamship arrives from England.  
*Sydney (Morning) Herald* issued.  
Mitchell's first expedition leaves Sydney.  
Governor Bourke arrives.
- 1832 Savings Bank of New South Wales established.
- 1833 Trial by jury extended to criminal cases.  
The Hentys start whaling station at Portland Bay.
- 1834 Settlements formed at Twofold and Portland Bays.  
South Australian Assoc, organized in England.  
South Australian Act passed.
- 1835 Batman and Fawcner open up *Fort Phillip*.
- 1836 South Australia founded.  
Lonsdale made resident magistrate at Port Phillip.  
Mitchell discovers 'Australia Felix.'
- 1837 Melbourne named.  
Adelaide founded.  
*South Australian Register* issued.  
II. of C. appoints committee on transportation.
- 1838 George Grey discovers Glenelg River (W.A.).  
Settlement made at Port Essington.  
Assignment system restricted on mainland, preliminary to its abolition.  
*Melbourne Advertiser* first published.  
Governor Gipps arrives.

- 1839 N.S.W. governor's jurisdiction extended to N.Z.  
Látrobe appointed superintendent at Port Phillip.  
Stokes discovers Port Darwin.  
Eyre discovers Lake Torrens.  
Strzelecki finds gold near Hartley.  
Camels first introduced.
- 1840 Transportation to Australian mainland abolished.  
McMillan discovers Gippsland.  
Strzelecki explores Gippsland.  
Adelaide incorporated.  
Perth *Inquirer* and *Geelong Advocate* first issued.  
Caroline Chisholm begins her immigration work.
- 1841 New Zealand separated from New South Wales.  
Eyre's 'march' round the Bight.  
Rev. W. B. Clarke finds gold at Cox's Ki ver.  
Sydney first lighted with gas.  
Savings-banks opened, Melbourne and Adelaide.
- 1842 Imperial Act 'for the Government of New South  
Wales and Van Diemen's Land' passed.  
Sydney and Melbourne incorporated.  
South Australia becomes a Crown Colony.  
Copper discovered at Kapunda (S.A.).  
Moreton Bay opened to free settlers.
- 1843 New South Wales obtains 'representative' govern-  
ment, Moreton Bay and Port Phillip being repre-  
sented in the Sydney Council.  
Financial crisis—Bank of Australia fails.
- 1844 Sturt explores central Australia.  
Leichhardt starts for Port Essington.  
Norfolk Island annexed to Tasmania.  
Port Phillip petitions for separation from N.S.W.
- 1845 Sturt discovers Cooper's Creek.  
Leichhardt reaches Port Essington.  
Copper discovered at Burra Burra (S.A.).  
Harpur's first volume of poems published.

- 1846 Mitchell on the Barcoo River.  
*Moreton Bay Courier* first published.  
*Melbourne Argus* first published.  
The Chisholms organize the Family Colonization Loan Society in England.  
Governor FitzRoy arrives.
- 1847 Kennedy discovers Thomson River (Q.).  
Leichhardt starts on his last expedition.  
North Australia colony established, and abandoned.  
The A.A. Company's coal monopoly ceases.  
Overland mail Sydney to Adelaide organized.
- 1848 Kennedy murdered at Escape River.  
Order-in-council abolishing transportation to New South Wales revoked.
- 1849 Demonstrations in Melbourne and Sydney against revival of transportation.  
Port Essington abandoned.  
Great exodus of population to California.
- 1850 Transportation to Western Australia begun.  
Last convict ship arrives in Moreton Bay.  
Anti-transportation League formed in Sydney.  
Imperial Statute 'for the Better Government of the Australian Colonies' passed.  
University of Sydney founded.
- 1851 Port Phillip becomes the colony of Victoria.  
Governor of New South Wales appointed Governor-General of Australia.  
Payable gold discovered in N.S.W. and Victoria.  
Australian Anti-transportation League organized.  
First representative legislatures meet in South Australia, Victoria, and Tasmania.  
First telegraph message sent in New South Wales.
- 1852 Arrival of s.s. *Chusan*, first mail-steamer via Cape of Good Hope.

- 1853 Transportation to Norfolk Island authorized.  
Colonial Mints authorized.  
University of Melbourne and public library of Victoria founded.  
Cadell takes first river-steamer up the Murray.
- 1854 Eureka Stockade.  
First railway opened, Melbourne to Pt Melbourne.
- 1855 Van Diemen's Land renamed Tasmania.  
Responsible government proclaimed in Tasmania, Victoria, and New South Wales.  
Chinese immigration to Victoria restricted.  
Sydney Mint established.
- 1856 Government of Norfolk Island re-vested in N.S.W.  
Responsible government proclaimed in S.A.  
South Australian Institute (with free public reference library) founded.  
Voting by ballot introduced in Victoria and S.A.
- 1857 Manhood suffrage introduced in Victoria.  
Sydney corporation reconstituted.
- 1858 F. T. Gregory opens up Murchison and Gascoyne districts in Western Australia.  
Warburton's expedition to Lake Torrens (S.A.).  
Telegraphic communication established between Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney.  
Manhood suffrage introduced in New South Wales.  
Copper discovered at Cobar (N.S.W.).  
Gold discovered at Canoona (Q.).  
Torrens Act passed in South Australia.
- 1859 Queensland created a separate colony with responsible government.  
Brisbane incorporated.
- 1860 McDouall Stuart reaches centre of Australia.  
Purfee and Wills set out for Gulf of Carpentaria

- 1861 Title of governor-general abolished.  
F. T. Gregory discovers Fortescue, Ashburton, and De Grey Rivers (W.A.).  
N.S.W. territory between 129° S. lat. added to S.A.  
Anti-Chinese riots at Lambing Flat (N.S.W.).  
First Melbourne Cup run.  
Western boundary of Q. shifted to 138° E. long.  
Death of Burke and Wills.
- 1862 McKinlay reaches Albert River from Adelaide.  
Stuart reaches Chambers Bay from Adelaide.  
Kendall's *Poems and Songs* published.  
First English cricket team visits Australia.
- 1863 Intercolonial Conference held in Sydney.  
Northern Territory placed under South Australia.  
Kanakan labour introduced into Queensland.
- 1864 First manufacture of sugar, in Queensland.  
Kanakas employed for sugar cultivation.
- 1867 Intercolonial Conference held, at which Parkes suggests a confederate union.  
First Victorian protective tariff in operation.  
Gold discovered at Gympie (Q.).  
Publication of Gordon's *Ashtaroth* and *Sea Spray*.  
Duke of Edinburgh visits Australia.
- 1868 Transportation to Western Australia discontinued.  
Kanakan Labourers Act passed in Queensland.
- 1869 Cable, Cape Schanck (Vic.) to Low Head (Tas.).  
Sydney free public library opened.  
Kendall's *Leaves from Australian Forests*.
- 1870 Intercolonial conference held to discuss inter-colonial free trade.  
British troops withdrawn from Australia.  
Nominee Legislative Council of Western Australia dissolved and a partly elective council substituted.

- Palmerston made capital of Northern **Territory**.  
John Forrest leads expedition, W.A. to Adelaide.  
Gordon's *Bush Ballads* published.
- 1871 Tin discovered at Mount Bischoff (Tas.).  
Cable laid, Port Darwin to Banjuwangi (**Java**).  
Primary education made compulsory in W.A.
- 1872 Polynesian Protection Act passed by British Parliament.  
Telegraph line from Adelaide to Darwin completed.  
First through cable message from England.  
Melbourne Mint opened.  
Gold discovered at Charters Towers (Q.).
- 1873 Intercolonial Conference favours customs union.  
Free, compulsory, and secular education established in Victoria.
- 1874 Expedition of J. and A. Forrest from the Murchison River to the overland telegraph line.  
Triennial Parliament Act passed in N.S.W.  
University of Adelaide founded.  
Clarke's *For the Term of his Natural Life* published in book form.
- 1875 Giles leads expedition from overland telegraph line to western coast.  
Free and compulsory primary education established in Queensland.  
Compulsory primary education provided for in South Australia.  
Influx of Chinese to the Palmer goldfield (Q.).
- 1876 Death of Truganini, last of Tasmanian **aborigines**.
- 1877 Overland telegraph, Adelaide to Perth **completed**.  
Chinese immigration to Queensland restricted.  
First test match (England-Australia) played in **Melbourne**,

- 1878 Seamen strike against coloured labour.  
'Black Wednesday' in Victoria.  
Payment of Members Act passed in Victoria.
- 1879 A. Forrest discovers pastoral country on the Fitzroy (W.A.).  
First Intercolonial Trade Unions Congress held.  
First artesian bore in Australia sunk in N.S.W.  
First steam tramway opened in Sydney.
- 1880 Intercolonial Conference in Melbourne.  
Australian frozen meat first delivered in London.  
Primary education made compulsory in N.S.W.  
Art Gallery of New South Wales opened.  
Kendall's *Songs from the Mountains* published.
- 1881 Intercolonial Conference continued in Sydney.  
Parkes proposes a Federal Council.  
Chinese Restriction Acts passed in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia.  
First simultaneous census taken in Australia.
- 1882 Gold discovered at Mount Morgan (Q.).
- 1883 Queensland annexes south-eastern New Guinea.  
Silver discovered at Broken Hill.  
Through railway traffic, Melbourne and Sydney.
- 1884 British protectorate over south-eastern New Guinea declared.  
Public library, museum, and art gallery of South Australia established.
- 1885 Federal Council created.  
Broken Hill Proprietary Company commences.  
Silver-lead discovered at Mount Zeehan (Tas.),  
Gold discovered in the Kimberley district (W.A.).
- 1886 Federal Council first meets.
- 1887 Colonial Conference held in London.  
First naval defence agreement made.  
Gold discovered at Yilgarn (W.A.).

- Public library, museum and art gallery of **Western Australia** established.  
 First express train, Adelaide **to Melbourne**.
- 1888 Intercolonial Conference considers Chinese immigration; restrictions increased.  
 Australasian Association for **the Advancement of Science** holds first meeting.  
 Rolf Boldrewood's *Robbery under Arms* **published**.  
 Tamworth (N.S.W.) lighted with electricity—**first Australian town to adopt this system**.  
 Centenary celebrations at Sydney.
- 1889 Hawkesbury River bridge (N.S.W.) completed.  
 University of Tasmania founded.  
 Hargrave discovers principle of rotary **engine**.
- 1890 Responsible government established in W.A.  
 Maritime strike.
- 1891 First Federal Convention drafts constitution.  
 Australian Colonies enter Universal **Postal Union**.  
 First Labour Party in Australia **appears in New South Wales Parliament**.  
 Free primary education introduced in S.A.
- 3892 Rich gold reefs found, Coolgardie (W.A.).
- 1893 Financial crisis.  
 'One man one vote' in force in New **South Wales**.  
 'New Australia' party leaves for Paraguay.
- 1894 Colonial Conference meets at Ottawa.  
 Women enfranchised in South Australia.  
 Hargrave's successful experiments with **box-kite**.
- 1895 Intercolonial Conference of premiers held.  
 Anglo-Japanese treaty rejected by all the colonies except Queensland.  
 Paterson's *Man from Snowy River* published.
- 1896 Wages boards established in Victoria.

Lawson's *In the Days when the World was Wide*  
and *While the Billy Boils* published.

Public Library of Queensland established.

Death of Sir Henry Parkes.

1897 Colonial Conference in London,  
Second Federal Convention meets.

1898 Federal constitution bill rejected in N.S.W.  
W. J. Farrer appointed wheat experimentalist.  
Daley's *At Dawn and Dusk* published.  
D. S. Mitchell offers his library to N.S.W.

1899 Amended Federal Constitution Bill accepted by  
N.S.W., Vic, Q., S.A., and Tas.  
Free primary education introduced in W.A,  
Australian troops take part in South African war.

1900 Commonwealth Bill passes Imperial Parliament.  
Western Australia accepts Federal Constitution.  
Edmund Barton forms first Federal Ministry.  
Australian troops, with gunboat *Protector*, take  
part in Boxer war (China).

1901 Commonwealth of Australia proclaimed.  
First Federal Parliament opened in Melbourne by  
H.R.H. the Duke of Cornwall (King George V).  
Inter-State free trade established.  
White Australia policy embodied in federal Acts.  
Vic. and N.S.W. provide for old age pensions.  
Industrial Arbitration Act passed in N.S.W.

1902 Colonial Conference in London.  
Second naval defence agreement made.

1903 Federal High Court established.  
Coolgardie water-supply scheme completed.  
O'Dowd's *Dawnwardf* published.

1904 First federal Labour Ministry.  
Federal Conciliation and Arbitration Act passed.  
Importation of kanakas to Queensland stops.

- 1905 Contract Immigrants Act passed.
- 1906 Papua taken over by Commonwealth.  
Primary education made free in New South Wales.
- 1907 Imperial Conference in London.
- 1908 First Commonwealth *Year Book* issued.  
Yass-Canberra chosen as site of Federal capital\*  
Queensland makes provision for old age pensions.  
Primary education made free in Tasmania.
- 1909 Imperial Defence Conference held in London.  
Australian Defence Act, providing for compulsory military training, passed.  
Visit of Kitchener to advise on military defence.  
Office of Australian high commissioner created.  
Federal Act for payment of old age pensions.  
First successful flight in a power-driven machine.  
University of Queensland founded.
- 1910 Referendum on financial relations between Commonwealth and States.  
Penny postage introduced.  
First vessels of Royal Australian Navy arrive.  
Admiral Sir R. Henderson visits Australia to advise on naval defence.  
First federal bank-notes issued.  
Visit of Scottish agricultural commissioners.
- 1911 Imperial Conference in London.  
Temporary committee of Imperial Defence formed.  
Admiral Henderson's naval report.  
Commonwealth takes over N. Territory from S.A.  
First federal census.  
University of Western Australia founded.  
Compulsory military training established.
- 1912 Commonwealth Bank opened.
- 1913 H.M.A.S. *Australia* arrives.  
Federal capital city founded and named Canberra.

- 1914 Sir Ian Hamilton reports on Australian defence..  
Visit of British Assoc, for Advancement of Science.  
European war.  
Australia occupies German New Guinea.  
H.M.A.S. *Sydney* destroys the *Emden*.
- 1915 Australian troops land on Gallipoli (April 25).  
Broken Hill Proprietary Company's steelworks at  
Newcastle opened.
- 1916 Australian troops in France.  
First conscription referendum held.
- 1917 First Imperial war cabinet formed.  
Federal national ministry formed.  
Second conscription referendum held.  
General strike in New South Wales.  
Trans-Australian (east-west) railway completed.
- 1918 Australia House, London, opened.
- 1919 Australia admitted to League of Nations.  
Seamen's strike and Broken Hill strike.  
Commonwealth competitive flight, England to Aus-  
tralia, won by Ross and Keith Smith (in 28 days).
- 1920 Visit of the Prince of Wales.
- 1921 Imperial Conference in London.  
Australia takes over German New Guinea as a  
mandatory under League of Nations.  
Federal government takes over control of immi-  
gration machinery in London.
- 1922 Legislative Council of Queensland abolished.  
Geraldton-Derby (W.A.) and Charleville-Clon-  
curry (Q.) aerial mail services in operation.
- 1923 Imperial Conference and Imperial Economic Con-  
ference held in London.
- 1924 Adelaide-Sydney aerial mail service in operation.  
H.M.A.S. *Australia* scuttled off Sydney Heads.

- 1925 Strike of Australian seamen, and of British seamen engaged in the Australian trade.  
Negotiation of trade treaty with Canada.
- 1926 Cobham's aerial flight from England to Australia (39 days) and back.  
Population of Australia reaches 6,000,000.
- 1927 Visit of Duke and Duchess of York.  
Opening of Federal Parliament at Canberra by H.R.H. the Duke of York (May 9).
- 1928 Hinkler's solo flight from England in 16 days.  
Flight of Kingsford-Smith and Ulm from San Francisco to Brisbane (via Suva) in 9 days; and from Australia to New Zealand and back.

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