

PART 2.

The
Story of the
**AUSTRALIAN
PEOPLE**

◆ BY

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Foreword

THIS "STORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE" is to be published in Ten Monthly Parts of 80 pages each. Those parts do not coincide in any way with the divisions of the book nor are they separately complete in themselves. When the work is completed the parts may be bound together to form one book of 800 pages. As, for obvious reasons, it would be difficult to publish in this First Part the Introduction, List of Contents, etc., these will form portion of our Tenth Part and will be easily detachable in order to be placed at the front of the book prior to binding.

The whole work is divided into Seven Books, as follow: I., *Prelude and Perspective*; II., *Penal Settlement* (1788-1823); III., *Free Colony and Self Government* (1823-1856); IV., *Democracy and Nationalism* (1856-1885); V., *End of an Age* (1885-1901); VI., *Commonwealth and War* (1901-1919); VII., *The Latest Age* (1919-1938).

THIS IS PART II.

Part I. contained the greater part of Book I., which deals with the search for the Southern Continent.

Part II., in which Book I. is concluded Book II. begun, covers the Discovery and Settlement of New South Wales.

Part III., which will appear on August 1, will tell of the early struggles of the settlers, of the convicts and their revolts, of Bligh's second mutiny, and of the origin and history of the black Australians.

ERRATA

Part I., p. 80, 19th line from bottom, "Viamingh" should be *Vlamingh*

Part I., p. 27, 8th line in 2nd para. "Alvoro" should be *Alvaro*

Part II., p. 107, 4th line from the bottom, "Bonnet" should be *Bouvet*

barren; its people barbarous, unprepossessing and just as useless as the land. And in this verdict the first Englishmen who followed the Dutch concurred.

5.—**THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.**—The 17th century was the Dutch century of dominance in Australasian waters and it was not till near the end of it that Englishmen began their exploration of the Australian coast. The Dutch had come to the East, had, with the help of the English, broken the power of Portugal and had gathered into their hands the trade monopoly that the Portuguese had enjoyed for nearly a century. They had, moreover, forced the Spaniards to acknowledge the principle and allow the practice of free trade with their colonies in the East. But, in the very process of making themselves masters of eastern trade, the Dutch were brought face to face with rivals more formidable and with more resources to give a basis for a lasting tenacity in a struggle for trade dominance than either the Portuguese or Spanish.

The English had fought the Spanish and Portuguese. So had the Dutch. A common enemy had brought the two northern nations close together. In the latter part of the 16th century they had co-operated against Spain in Europe and against Portugal in Asia. The latter two countries had suffered defeat after defeat. The Spanish Armada had been shattered in 1588 and the Portuguese had delivered crushing blows when they destroyed a Dutch fleet at Malacca in 1606 and a Spanish fleet off Gibraltar in 1607. When, as a result, Spain and Portugal were no longer to be feared as powerful enemies or as dangerous commercial rivals, the English and Dutch found an open field in which they, in their turn, could be enemies and rivals instead of friends and allies. And deadly and cruel enemies, and unscrupulous and treacherous rivals, they became. In 1623, occurred the massacre of Amboyna, where Governor Speult tortured some Englishmen into confessing to a conspiracy and executed ten of them. It aroused great indignation in England and there were demands that efforts be made to root "the bloody Dutch out of the Indies."⁷⁷ James I. and Charles I. did little or nothing to exact retribution or to vindicate English prestige, and the Dutch were telling the natives that "St. George was now turned child." It was left to Cromwell to obtain compensation from the Dutch and in other ways to interpret in his foreign policies the interests of the English merchants. But the Dutch were able to hold their own in the Indies. England was weakened at home by internal strife and the East was far away. The "bloody Dutch" Company was strong enough to retain control of the Spice Islands and the English Company had to retire

to India where, however, it found ample opportunities for becoming equally as bloody!

Towards the end of the century the first English explorer of the Australian coast made his appearance in Australian waters. He was born in Somerset, in 1652, of shopkeeping parents, and lived to become a buccaneer! His name was William Dampier.

Dampier refused to become a shopkeeper, and, persisting in his refusal, was apprenticed by his relatives to the master of a ship. At the age of 18, he made a trip to Newfoundland, but the cold was such that, when he returned, he had his indenture papers cancelled! His wanderlust, however, was proof against that cold douche, although he determined never to sail into high latitudes again. He made a trip to Bantam, in the East Indies, and, on his return, after a year spent ashore, served (during 1673) on board the "Royal Prince" against the Dutch. In 1674, he went out to Jamaica to become manager of a plantation, but grew tired of the life and took to sea again. A couple of years later he was cutting logs at Campeche with the buccaneers²⁸ and with them became a privateer.

"That Dampier was a pirate," says Prof. Wood,²⁹ "was an accident." He was one who wanted to travel, to see, to find out all he could about the world in which he lived. "Travel, somehow, he must, and the best people to travel with in his days were pirates. Therefore, Dampier became a pirate."³⁰ The wealth of his description of everything he saw—new animals, new plants, new trees, strange natural phenomena—brands him as an observer and a scientist. He barely mentions the pirate side of his voyages, but fills the pages of his journal with descriptions of the new and wonderful things he saw. "When he should have been thinking about murder and loot, he was thinking about crocodiles and beetles."³¹

He joined the "Cygnet," out from London, and sailed under its captain, Swan, across the Pacific from Mexico. They had provisions for less than sixty days and sixty days was the lowest estimate that it was considered the trip would take. Dampier afterwards learned that the pirates had decided, if provisions gave out, to eat first the fat Captain Swan, and then the others who had urged the trip, including the lean and wiry Dampier. Said Swan: "Ah, Dampier, you would have made them a poor meal." But the trip took only fifty-one days and the pirates were spared a bout of indigestion.

The "Cygnet" touched at Guam, in the Ladrões, and then made for the Philippines, where they hoped to obtain from an independent Prince a license to plunder Spanish ships. Dam-

pier's pirates were chary of practising their profession without a patron. Wine and women they found to their satisfaction in Mindanao and were loth to leave. When the ship did leave, Swan and 36 others were not on board. Swan had displeased those who sailed away. He and others of those marooned later got to Batavia but were killed by natives; the remainder also perished.

The deserters plied their trade around the Philippines, plundering Spanish ships. They visited many places, including Cochin China and Formosa, and Dampier, who was tired of his company and sought opportunities to slip away from it, has much to tell of what he saw. It was at last decided to sail for India but, because of their fear of Dutch and English ships, they set out to sail around Timor instead of passing through the Malacca Straits. Dampier welcomed their deciding on this route for, said he, "the further we went, the more knowledge and experience I should get, which was the main thing I regarded, and should also have the more variety of places to attempt an escape from them."³² The importance of the decision to us is that it brought Dampier to Australia.

It was on January 4, 1688, that New Holland was sighted at what is now known as Cape Leveque, the northern-most point of Dampier Land, in West Australia. They remained on the Australian coast until the middle of March. Dampier was as little impressed as the Dutch had been with both the country and its inhabitants. The latter, he tells us, "are the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these; who have no houses and skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, etc., as the Hodmadods have; 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, they 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, they will creep into one's nostrils, and mouth too, if the lips are not shut very close. . . . 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, men and women, young and old: whether they draw them out I know not: neither have they any beards. They are long-visaged, and of a very displeasing aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short and curled, like that

of the Negroes; and not long and lank like that of the common Indians. The colour of their skins, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal black, like that of the Negroes of Guinea. They have no sort of clothes, but a piece of the rind of a tree tied like a girdle about their waists, and a handful of long grass, or three or four small green boughs, full of leaves, thrust under their girdle to cover their nakedness."³³

The land, he said, "is a very large tract. . . . It is not yet determined whether it is an island or a main continent; but I am certain that it joins neither to Africa, Asia or America." He could not value the industry of the natives highly for, when the buccaneers tried to put them to work carrying water, they simply grinned. One should imagine, however, that, as the buccaneers were carrying their own water, they began to have a higher opinion of the natives' intelligence.

After nine weeks' stay, the buccaneers set sail again. Dampier had been trying to persuade them to make for an English factory and only desisted when they threatened to leave him behind in New Holland. Into the many other adventures that befell Dampier after he succeeded in parting company with the buccaneers at Nicobar we cannot go. After many wanderings, up and down, and here and there, he arrived back in England in 1691, after an absence of 12 years. In 1697, he published his "New Voyage Round the World."

Amongst those who became greatly interested in his story were the Earl of Oxford (one of the Lords of the Admiralty), the Earl of Pembroke (Lord High Admiral), and members of the Royal Society, whose president, Charles Montague (afterwards Earl of Halifax), was one of the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury. Such influence as these wielded was able to get him command of H.M.S. "Roebuck," 12 guns, in which, in January, 1699, he set out on a voyage to explore New Holland.

The granting to him of this command was a great tribute to his ability, character and achievements. For, it must be remembered, he had never risen higher than an able seaman and most of his service had been on a buccaneer's ship.

On this voyage he sailed, not round South America, as he had originally intended, but round the Cape of Good Hope. Had he carried out his first plan he would have sailed through the Straits of Magellan and then north-west across the Pacific to discover and explore the east coast of New Holland, 70 years before Cook. But Dampier dreaded the cold of Cape Horn latitudes and chose the easier way. If he had not made that early trip to Newfoundland and conceived such a horror of the cold,

it would be he and not Cook who to-day would be honored as the discoverer of Eastern Australia.

The "Roebuck" saw land about the end of July. Here again was a choice of directions. He could turn south or north. In the former direction were Cape Leeuwin and, around it, P. Nuyts Land and what lay beyond. But, he "was not for spending any time more than was necessary in the higher latitudes." He therefore turned north and spent all the time that he was in Australia in exploring coasts with which the Dutch were already familiar. He hoped, however, to sail north and east and then right round New Holland, returning by the south coasts. By then it would be summer. He purposed, that is, circumnavigating the continent. But his hope was not fulfilled.

He turned north and anchored in Shark's Bay and found several good things to tell about Australia: of the "sweet-scented trees of shrubs gay as the rainbow with blossoms and berries, of a many-colored vegetation, red, white, yellow, and blue, the last preponderating, and all the air round about very fragrant and delicious with the perfumes of the soil,"³⁴ not to mention the sharks which his men caught and whose flesh they thought food for gods after seven months of salted beef. But they found no water and sailed on. Up to Dampier's Archipelago the land seemed "nothing but ranges of pretty large islands against the sea" and Dampier wondered whether Tasman (whose chart he was using) had surveyed the coast at all carefully and whether it was a coast or a large number of islands through which there might be a passage to the South Sea. Dampier favored the latter opinion and Flinders, writing a hundred years later and after he had surveyed the coast in question, said that that opinion was a "fair induction from facts."³⁵ Even Flinders, who knew, because of Cook's and his own discoveries, that there was no way through to the South Sea, thought there might be an entrance in the north-west to a great inland sea. What lay beyond the islands was not known till the voyages of King, in 1829, and Stokes, 1846.

Dampier made acquaintance of the natives again and his new impressions and experiences did not change the opinion he had formed of them on his previous voyage. He set out once to capture one of them in order to find out where they got their water. "I took two Men with me, and went in the Afternoon along by the Sea-side. . . . There were ten or twelve of the Natives a little way off, who seeing us three going away from the rest of our Men, followed us at a distance. I thought they would follow us: But there being for a while a Sand-bank between

us and them, that they could not then see us, we made a halt, and hid our selves in a bending of the Sandbank. They knew we must be thereabouts, and being three or four times our Number, thought to seize us. So they dispersed themselves, some going to the Sea-shore, and others beating about the Sand-hills. We knew by what Rencontre we had had with them in the Morning that we could easily out-run them; So a nimble young Man that was with me, seeing some of them near, ran towards them; and they for some time, ran away before him. But he soon over-taking them, they faced about and fought him. He had a Cutlass, and they had wooden Lances; with which, being many of them, they were too hard for him. When he first ran towards them I chased two more that were by the Shore: But fearing how it might be with my young Man, I turned back quickly, and went up to the top of a Sand-hill, whence I saw him near me, closely engaged with them. Upon their seeing me, one of them threw a lance at me, that narrowly missed me. I discharged my gun to scare them, but avoided shooting any of them; till finding the young Man in great danger from them, and myself in some; and that though the Gun had a little frighted them at first, yet they had soon learnt to despite it, tossing up their Hands, and crying Pooh, Pooh, Pooh; and coming on afresh with a great Noise, I thought it high time to charge again, and shoot one of them, which I did. The rest, seeing him fall, made a stand again; and my young Man took the Opportunity to disengage himself, and come off to me; my other Man also was with me, who had done nothing all this while, having come out unarmed; and I returned back with my Men, designing to attempt the Natives no farther, being very sorry for what had happened already. They took up their wounded Companion."²²

Dampier was disappointed with the results of his voyage. He had expected much in spite of his previous experiences and it may be true, as Russell supposes, "that he blackened his portraits of these uncomely people" (and of the land, too) because of his "wish to render the failure of his voyage less disappointing to his patrons at home." At any rate the enthusiasm that brought him out did not last long. He was glad to be gone. Were it not, he tells us, "for that sort of pleasure which results from the discovery even of the barrenest spot upon the globe, this coast of New Holland would not have charmed me much."

Determining to go to New Guinea, he left the Australian coast, called in at Timor and arrived there on January 1, 1700. He sailed round the north of the island, discovered Dampier Strait,

showing New Britain (which he named) to be an island, and giving up the project of sailing right round New Holland, returned to Timor. Russell's summing-up of his character seems to be just, that, all his life, "Dampier exhibits himself as a man of caprices easily diverted from his first intentions, quickly sickened by failure, though never discomfited by the harshest sufferings or by the most formidable difficulties, so long as he can keep himself in spirits by the assurance of some approach to good fortune attending the issue of his adventure."²³ Dampier was no Columbus, no Magellan, no Cook. He was not a leader of men but a scientist who would have done splendid work under any one of those three. And he was a first-class pilot and navigator. It is to be remembered, however, that he had a rotten ship and a crew that he thought so ill of that he always slept on the quarter-deck with his arms in reach. The ship was so rotten that nails could not be driven into it. It went down on the way home and the survivors were rescued by British war-ships. His sailing away takes him out of our story. He sailed again in several voyages to the East Indies but concerned himself no more with New Holland and its inhabitants.

6.—PLANS AND ROMANCES.—By this time Terra Australis was forming the subject matter of many books and discussions. People, including merchants, were beginning to read about and become interested in the South Seas. As early as the reign of James I, Sir James Lancaster, inspired by the success of the colonies that had been founded in North America, suggested the sending of an expedition to the Solomon Islands. Nothing came of it.

In 1625, a prosperous London merchant, and a most enterprising one, Sir William Courteen, wanted to establish trade relations with Terra Australis! He was already part owner of 20 odd ships and employer of between four and five thousand men and carried on a trade with Portugal, Spain, Guinea, and the West Indies. He now petitioned the King, James I, for permission to found colonies in Terra Australis. "That all lands in ye south parts of ye world called Terra Australis Incognita, extending eastwards and westwards from ye Straights of Le Maire together with all ye adjacente islands, etc.," his Petition set out to show, "are yet undiscovered or, being discovered, are not yet traded unto by any of your Majesties subjects. And your petitioner being very willing att his owne charges which will be very great, to indeavour ye discovery thereof and settle Colonies and a plantation* there which he hopeth will tend to ye glory of God,

* Plantation in its original sense of a colony.

ye reducing of Infidells to Christianity, ye honour of your Majestie, ye enlargement of your Majesties Territories and Dominions, ye increase of your Majesties Customs and revenue, and ye Navigation and employment of your Majesties subjects."

The Petitioner went on to put his "modest proposals." He asked only that the King should "bee pleased to grante to him his heires and assignes all ye said lands islands and territories, with power to discover ye same to erect colonies and a plantation there and Courts of Justices . . . to administer justice and to execute marshall law by land and sea . . . and to defend themselves and offend such others as shall oppugne or hinder the said discovery or plantation."³⁰

Courteen deserved something from the King, for he had lent him, at various times, some large amounts of money. But he was not granted Terra Australis.

By Dampier's time, as we have seen, the concrete New Holland was replacing the misty Terra Australis. He, too, had ideas of developing trade with New Holland and of completing its exploration. He suggested the establishment of an English factory in the Philippines, which would serve as a base for such exploration and extension of trade. In the account that he published in 1697 of his first voyage round the world, he urged Englishmen to demand and take their share of Eastern trade. And he set out on his second voyage to New Holland with high hopes of finding treasures of "fruits, drugs or spices (perhaps minerals also)" for English merchants.

Dampier's books were instantly and universally popular. "The learned might read old records of the voyages of Quiros, Le Maire, and Tasman; but they read them without interest and without faith, as one would read a rather dull fairy-tale. . . . The young lady of Queen Anne's reign could afford to leave the latest novel, even by Defoe, uncut upon her table; for the best things in the latest novel were taken, without acknowledgment, from the pages of Dampier and his 'fellow travellers'."³¹ Even "men of science found a new world of deeper interest; they could study the only exact account of tropical plants and animals in a book that was a vivid record of strange adventure. It was from Dampier that Banks learnt of the strange and beautiful bush-flowers that he sought at Botany Bay. . . . With both hands Dampier had poured forth such wealth of fascinating information, that for the first time Englishmen felt at home in the South Sea, able to find their way about, and beginning to think that it might be worth while to contend with the Dutch for trade settlement therein."³²

Terra Australis had also furnished a subject for novels and romances. Bishop Hall published, in 1607, his satirical romance, "Mundus Alter et Idem," in which Terra Australis is divided into four regions. Another romance appeared in 1676, in France, "Les Advantures de Jacques Sadeur, dans la decouverte et le voiage de la Terra Australe, contenant les coutumes et les moeurs des Australiens" was the title. The book ran through numerous editions and was translated into other European languages. Still another was the "History of the Sevarites or Sevarambi, a nation inhabiting part of the third continent, commonly called Terrae Australes Incognitae," published in London in 1679. And there were others. The interest in the South Seas is shown also by the demand for books of travel. The voyages of Dutch discoverers were translated into English and we have already referred to the popularity of such huge collections of voyages as Hakluyt and Purchas.

In 1713 and again in 1716, a Captain Welbe put forward proposals for "establishing a Company by the name of the London Adventurers for carrying on a Trade to (and settling Colonies in) Terra Australis, and working and improving the Gold and Silver Mines which there abound." The Company was to have a capital "not exceeding 2,500,000" and the promoter anticipated that the British Nation "would be enriched "upwards of 50,000,000 sterling." But he himself "has no sinister ends, nor self-interest, in view, expects no pay, nor any reward, but such part of the neat produce of profits, as the directors themselves shall think fit, and agree, to allow him."³³ A super-optimist, surely, and he could afford to be a philanthropist for his 1716 proposal was sent from a debtor's prison!

But, while Englishmen were talking of settling in and trading with a land which, in extent at least, existed only in their imagination, Dutchmen were proposing the establishment of colonies in the land they had discovered and partially explored. In 1717, and again in the following year, Jean Pierre Purry, in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, wrote a Memorial urging the colonisation of Nuytsland. He maintained that, though reports of the land were bad, it was situated in a temperate zone and must contain in the interior wealth and fertility that would belie the lack of promise on the rocky and desolate coasts. Besides, none knew what lay between Nuytsland and Nieuw Zeeland, except the land that Tasman had discovered. Moreover, he argued, the possession of New Holland by the Dutch was necessary for their trade dominance in the East Indies. But the Dutch Company paid as little heed to Purry as the Spanish King, a century before, had to Quiros. And for similar

reasons. The Dutch era was drawing rapidly to its close and the race was to be decided between the English and the French.

7.—**THE FRENCH TAKE A HAND.**—The Memorials of Purry were translated into French almost as soon as they were written. And there were Frenchmen who were claiming that Terra Australis should be French, and that by right of discovery. The story ran that one de Gonneville had, as far back as 1503, followed in the course of Vasco da Gama to the East and had been driven by a storm on to a large country in the South Sea. He had stayed there for six months and had brought back a native prince. The latter had remained in France and it was his great-grandson who, in 1663, published the "Memoirs concerning the establishment of a Christian Mission in the Austral land."

Claim has often been made to land, both before and since Gonneville's time, upon the basis of title-deeds more ethereal than his, which, early in the 18th century, satisfied Frenchmen that Terra Australis should be theirs. In 1738, Captain Lazier Bouvet set out to seek the Southern Continent and Gonneville's "Southern India" (thus, so it was said, it was named). He was convinced that a small island he saw was the continent, the same continent that Quiros had sought, and believed that it would return to the French East India Company even greater riches than the Dutch had extracted from the East Indies. But the French Company would not listen to his eager proposals for further exploration and settlement.

About the middle of the century, the eminent French scientist, de Maupertuis, was writing letters to Frederick the Great in which he talked of the Austral lands and their inhabitants and appealed for further discoveries and investigations. Speaking of the natives, he said, "I would rather have an hour's conversation with one of these than with the greatest wit in Europe."⁴³ Influenced by the published Letters of Maupertuis, Charles de Brosses, in 1756, published his "History of Navigations to Southern Lands." In it he surveyed the discoveries already made and pointed to others that might be made. And he pointed out the benefits that were to be derived from discovery and settlement—additions to scientific knowledge, glory to the country (and that country must be France) that would confer on humanity the benefit of "all the natural products and all the useful usages of the new world,"⁴⁴ and profit for the merchant. De Brosses divided his work into three parts: (1) Magellanica, dealing with that part of Terra Australis to the south of the Atlantic and South America, where there would be rich trade in

skins, whales, etc.; (2) Polynesia, a survey of the discoveries made by Mendana, Quiros and others and the prospects of settlement; and (3) Australasia, in which he described the discoveries made, New Holland, Van Diemen's Land, Carpentaria, New Guinea, New Britain, New Zealand and suggested the best site for a French settlement, namely in New Britain, which would be at once the source of great riches in spices, a great trade depot and a base from which explorations in all the other lands discovered could be carried on. De Brosses thought that France was in a favorable position for its commercial attack on southern lands. Expeditions could be sent out, not from France, but from India, almost on the spot. It has to be remembered that, when he wrote, the fortunes of war had not determined that the English, not the French, would dominate India.

It is interesting and of importance to notice, too, that De Brosses suggested the sending of France's convicts and foundlings to any colony that might be established. These would be distributed as slaves to the free settlers. In the ideas and proposals of de Brosses was thus to be found the basis of the plans of the British Government which sent out convicts to Botany Bay in 1788. Further, his plans for the navigation of the Pacific and for further discoveries inspired Banks and Cook and they had a copy of his work with them on the "Endeavour." De Brosses, the Frenchman, was, therefore, the mentor of Cook, the English navigator, and Phillip, the English coloniser. His work had great influence in France. But it had even greater influence in England, where his book was translated, his arguments were stolen and his plans appropriated by writers who desired that settlements in Terra Australis, or New Holland, should be English, not French.

Till 1763, England and France were fighting for commercial and colonial supremacy in India and America and plans for expansion into new continents and unexplored oceans remained plans. But the peace that came in that year placed the seal of legality on the British conquest of the French colonies, the French having been ousted during the war from both India and America. The old regime in France began to totter. The loss of its colonies, its precarious economic position and the simmering discontent at home were factors that urged it to make a bid for supremacy in a new field. In the same year that the war ended, Louis Antoine de Bougainville founded, at his own expense, a French colony in the Falkland Islands. Four years later he entered the Pacific on a voyage of discovery, seeking Quiros's continent.

He visited and took possession of Tahiti* visited Samoa (discovered by Roggeveen in 1721) and then came to the **New Hebrides**—Quiros's Australia. He named these the "Cyclades," although he was confident that he was at the Australia of Quiros, and took possession of them for France. No one had visited there since Quiros and Torres in 1606. It will be remembered that Torres had sailed thence to the South-West in search of Terra Australis and had given up the search. By 1768, however, the existence of New Holland was known, although where its eastern coast lay none had the faintest idea. Some thought that the New Hebrides were a part of it. It was thus Bougainville's opportunity to find out and discover the east coast of Australia two years before Cook. He did sail westward for a week but, alarmed by the shoals and rocks that he saw, gave up. He turned north, rounded the eastern end of New Guinea and, after many hardships (provisions had run so short that a pet dog was eaten), reached the Solomon Islands. He did not recognise them. He expressed his doubt about Mendana's veracity and the existence of his Solomon Islands—today the biggest of them is called after him!

Bougainville left the Solomons, whose existence he doubted, saw New Britain and New Ireland and, sailing to the north of New Guinea, reached Boero with a ship-load of men half-starved and more than half of them down with scurvy. He visited Batavia and formed the opinion that the Dutch were weak and that their spice islands were destined to fall into the hands of the French and English. About a month before he left Batavia, on his way home round the Cape, the Englishman, Lieutenant James Cook, was leaving England in the "Endeavour"—destined to discover the east coast that Bougainville had sought but had given up the attempt to find.

8.—**THE DISCOVERIES OF COOK.**—The peace that began in 1763 allowed the English also opportunities for fresh activity in the South Seas. English discoverers roamed the Pacific and their courses crossed and re-crossed those of the French. But the peace lasted less than 20 years and France and England were at war again. The former had her revenge. Twenty years after the French had lost their American colonies the English lost theirs. During those 20 years the English made fresh discoveries in the Pacific and saw and took possession of the east coast of New Holland, giving it the name, New South Wales.⁴⁵ Five years after the independence of the American colonies was

* Already seen by the Englishman, Wallis, nearly a year before. See below.

recognised, the new colony of New South Wales was founded. The French had lost the contest also in the Pacific.

One Englishman who made de Brosse's projects and suggestions his own, was John Callender. He published, in 1766-8, a three-volumed book, "Terra Australis Cognita; or, Voyages to the Terra Australis, or Southern Hemisphere, during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries," which incorporated the work of de Brosse. It contained a chapter on "the method of forming colonies in the Terra Australis, and the advantages that may be expected to result to Great Britain from such Establishments in that Hemisphere." When de Brosse wrote, the Seven Years' War was just about to begin and he was even then complaining of Britain's supremacy at sea, which was making French discovery difficult. When Callender wrote, that war had been fought and won by the British and he could boast of Britain's prowess and taunt the French with the jibes that "far from being able to prosecute new discoveries . . . they have been stripped by the late war of the best foreign settlements they possessed; and by the ruin of their marine seem totally disabled at present, to attempt anything of moment in this way," while Britain was "(humanly speaking) invincible."⁴⁶

About the same time that Callender was writing, other Englishmen were sailing southern seas and competing with Bougainville in discovering and taking possession of new lands. In 1764, John Byron was sent to annex the Falkland Islands. He did so, in spite of the prior French possession and to the astonished indignation of Bougainville who was there with his settlement. Byron then sailed diagonally across the Pacific touching at the Society Islands and the Ladrões. He arrived back in England in 1766.

Almost immediately, his ship, the "Dolphin," was sent out to the Pacific again, this time under the command of Samuel Wallis and accompanied by the "Swallow," commanded by Philip Carteret. The "Dolphin" was able to draw away so rapidly from the rotten and unseaworthy "Swallow" that it arrived home almost a year before the other! Wallis's voyage was uneventful and took just under two years. He discovered Tahiti. Carteret touched at Pitcairn Island and the Society Islands and, 200 years after Mendana, rediscovered the latter's Santa Cruz* and Solomon Islands,** although, like Bougainville, who was following him, he did not recognise them. Carteret was the

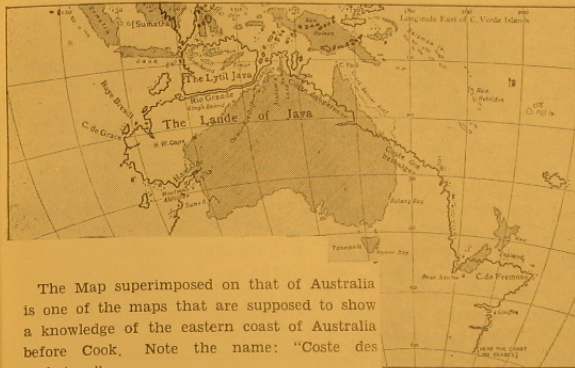
* See above, p. 31.

** See above, p. 28.

first European, as far as is known, to visit those islands since Mendana. He discovered the Admiralty Islands and the strait that separates New Ireland from New Britain and then began his long and toilsome trip home. Bougainville had left Europe three months, and, being delayed at the Falklands, had entered the Straits of Magellan 12 months, after Carteret. But, in spite of giving him that start of a whole year, Bougainville caught up with Carteret and reached Europe first. Carteret's ship, Bougainville tells us, "was very small, went very ill and, when we took leave of him, he remained as it were at anchor. How much he must have suffered in so bad a vessel, may well be conceived."⁴⁷ Our admiration of the courage and endurance of Carteret and his men is only equalled by our indignation with the authorities who sent out them and others—many to their death—in rotten ships.

We come now to a man who came near to being the captain of the "Endeavour" and, therefore, to being the discoverer of the eastern coast of Australia. When the British government, in 1768, agreed to accede to the request of the Royal Society to send a ship out to the Pacific with observers to watch the transit of Venus across the sun, the society recommended that Alexander Dalrymple be placed in command. But Dalrymple was not a naval officer—a fatal drawback! Lieutenant James Cook was chosen instead and Dalrymple refused to go in any capacity except that of commander. His disappointment was great and it would have gained our sympathy if it were not for the malice that he generated against Cook whom he later accused of knowing of maps that showed that the eastern coast of Australia had been visited by Europeans 200 years before, of setting out to re-discover it and take the credit and even of copying names from old maps on to the charts he made of the coast of New South Wales! The charges were, of course, absurd—especially the last, as is pointed out long ago by a Frenchman whom Major quotes,⁴⁸ for, if Cook had wished to steal credit for previous discoveries, he would certainly have suppressed, not used, names given by his predecessors. But, we have already accepted the conclusion that he had no predecessors.*

* See above, p. 26.—The charge by Dalrymple divides itself into three parts. Firstly, that the eastern coast of New Holland had been visited by Portuguese or Spanish 200 years before Cook. We have already rejected this claim when we accepted Prof. Wood's conclusion that the maps in question (one is shown on p. 26 above, and for convenience is printed on the next page) showed no knowledge of the eastern coast. Secondly, that Cook knew of these maps. But, says Bladen (Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. 1, part 2, p. XXIV), "Dalrymple, who appeared to be



The Map superimposed on that of Australia is one of the maps that are supposed to show a knowledge of the eastern coast of Australia before Cook. Note the name: "Coste des herbaiges."

willing to lead the public to believe that it was possible Cook had seen these charts in 1768, had, himself, no knowledge of them in 1770; for in his 'Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific,' published in that year, he makes no mention of them; on the contrary, the 'Chart of the Pacific Ocean' inserted therein, although giving the western and northern parts of New Holland, has no eastern coast-line. De Brosse, in his 'Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes,' 1756, does not allude to them. In his chart also, the eastern coast-line is a blank. [See also maps on p. 97, below.] It is fair to presume that if Dalrymple had not seen them in 1770 they were not known to Cook in 1768. As the leading English hydrographer of his day, and the author of work on discoveries in the South Seas, Dalrymple was much more likely to be cognisant of their existence than Cook." Thirdly, that Cook copied names from the old maps. This is the most absurd of the charges. The names in question are Botany Bay (so named by Cook) and "Coste des Herbaiges" (Coast of Plants) in the old maps. See map. It was suggested then that the word "plants" in the old name, and not the plants collected by Banks and Solander, moved Cook to give the name of Botany Bay to the bay in which he anchored! There is just one other remark to make which takes from Dalrymple's charge any point it might seem to have. That is that everybody knew there was an eastern coast, Dalrymple as well as Cook. The position of that coast had only to be determined. Cook knew that he had only to sail westward long enough to strike that eastern coast. He did what Dalrymple would have done. There was no credit to be won as a discoverer of something entirely unknown. There was credit to be won as an explorer of the unknown coast of a land already discovered. And that credit was won by Cook.

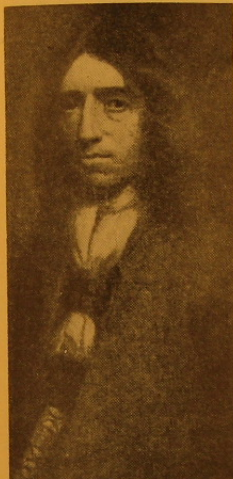
obvious difficulty in finding a suitable naval officer. Naval officers in the 18th century were not noted for either their skill or their interest in scientific matters. The science that most of them excelled in was of maintaining "discipline" by means of the cat and of keeping their men in cowed and half-starved subjection. One was found, however, and after an interview, the Royal Society accepted him and promised him 100 guineas. The man was James Cook.

Cook, born in 1728, in Yorkshire, was the son of a day-laborer and was self-educated. It says much for his ability and capacity that from such origins he rose, in the 18th century navy, to command a ship. "These facts show that, in the navy of the late 18th century, the career was not wholly closed to talent. But they show, far more distinctly, how extraordinary was the talent which opened the career."⁴⁹ He learned the three R's at school but taught himself trigonometry, drawing and everything else he knew. He was a stable boy, a grocer's assistant and then an apprentice on a collier. He joined the Navy in 1755 and served under Wolfe at Quebec, making a name for himself by his surveys of the St. Lawrence and the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. Admiral Wharton claims that his experience in those parts "enabled him to originate, as it may truly be said he did, the art of modern marine surveying."⁵⁰

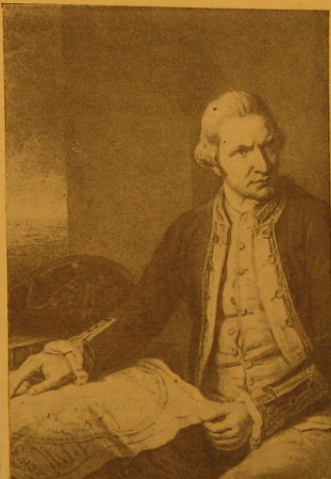
On August 5, 1766, he made an observation of an eclipse of the sun in Newfoundland and his results were communicated to the Royal Society and were published in its "Transactions" in which he was spoken of as "a good mathematician and very expert in his business."⁵¹

On May 25, 1768, Cook was given a commission as a Lieutenant and placed in command of the "Endeavour," a "cat-built"⁵² barque of 368 tons—a cat-built ship being chosen because they were "roomly" and "would afford the advantage of stowing and carrying a large quantity of provisions so necessary on such voyages, and in this respect preferable to a ship of war."⁵³ The "Endeavour" was bought for £2,800 and cost nearly as much again in being made ready for the voyage. The next three months were spent in fitting it out, much correspondence passing between Cook and the Admiralty about crew and provisions, guns and mathematical instruments, drugs and stationery and methods for the prevention of scurvy. At last all was ready and the "Endeavour" sailed from Plymouth on August 26.

With Cook went Joseph Banks, a wealthy botanist and a member of the Royal Society. He was born in 1744 and was educated at Harrow, Eton and Oxford. At the university he



WILLIAM DAMPIER.



JAMES COOK.

found that no lectures were being given in natural science—professors in the 18th century being noted for their silence—and he, therefore, went to Cambridge and took back to Oxford a lecturer in botany and astronomy, whose salary was thenceforth paid by the students themselves! In May, 1766, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and went to Newfoundland collecting plants. He obtained permission from Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, to accompany Cook on the "Endeavour" and he took with him, at his own expense, his friend, Dr. Solander, a pupil of the famous Linnaeus, two draughtsmen (Mr. Buchan, to make pictures of the landscapes, and Mr. Parkinson, to make drawings of plants and animals) and two attendants.⁵⁴

Cook touched at Madeira, at Rio de Janeiro (where he carried on a wordy war* with the Governor who considered them to be

* His report of that war-fare, including the "Memorials" that passed between him and the Governor, fills over 15 pages of the "Historical Records of N.S.W."

smugglers and locked up some of his sailors as such), and at Tierra del Fuego (where Banks went "botanising") and entered the Pacific in January, 1769. He reached Tahiti on April 13 and was received by the natives in a friendly spirit. He had discovered no continent on the way. If Dalrymple had been correct they would have had to walk most of the way from Tierra del Fuego to Tahiti. Banks ridiculed those writers who imagined that there was land in every place where ships had not been, although he had a belief in the existence of a continent.

The observations of the transit of Venus were carried out with great success. They remained at the island for four months. All enjoyed their stay there, Banks studying the flora and the character and habits of the people, Cook observing, with strict attention to detail, and writing of their customs and religion and the men finding interests not so scientific. They left Tahiti on July 13, visited the Society Islands and then passed on towards New Zealand.

Following his instructions, Cook sailed towards the south, "inclining a little to the east until we arrived in the latitude 40 degrees 12 minutes south without seeing the least signs of land."⁵⁶ Again, if Dalrymple had been right they would have been in the middle of his continent. He then sailed westward and, on October 6, reached the east coast of New Zealand. In New Zealand, he proved Tasman wrong in imagining that that land was part of the southern continent and connected with the supposed other tip of the continent, Staten Land, at the eastern end of Tierra del Fuego. He showed New Zealand to consist of two large islands and sailed round them both. Dalrymple's and Quiros's continent was growing smaller and smaller with every day's voyaging of the "Endeavour." There were on board, Banks tells, "continent-mongers" and these were greatly disappointed when New Zealand proved to be no part of the continent. Cook, however, was not satisfied with his demonstration that the continent, if it did exist, was very elusive, and made up his mind to return to the Pacific and to sail over those portions of it which he had not visited. The continent might exist.

Cook regarded New Zealand as an excellent place for a colony. He considered that colonists would quickly become self-supporting and that European plants and grain would grow well there. There was an abundance of excellent timber for building purposes. Cook admired the Maoris, their intelligence and manliness, and believed they would become valuable allies to colonists who treated them with "kind and gentle usage."

Cook remained in New Zealand from October, 1769 to the begin-

ning of April, 1770. On April 1 he set sail westward, making for the east coast of New Holland, which he would follow to the north. In this way he would find out whether the "Australiella" of de Quiros was a part of New Holland.* He also desired to find out whether Van Diemen's Land was connected with New Holland and whether the latter was, as Dalrymple, following Arias, asserted, separated from New Guinea. The point where he struck the Australian coast was further to the north than he had aimed at, so that he was not able to investigate the relation of Tasmania to Australia. But he did show that Quiros had never been to Australia and that it was correct that Torres had passed through the strait to which his name has been given. In regard to the latter, he says: "As I believe it was known before, I claim no other merit than the clearing up of a doubtful point."

It was on April 20,** at about six in the morning, that Lieutenant Hicks "saw ye land making high, bearing from N.E. by N. to W. by S,"⁵⁶ at a point which Cook named Point Hicks, but which is now known as Cape Everard, in Victoria. Hence they sailed up the coast, noticing Bateman's Bay and attempting to land at a point near Wollongong, where a "bay is covered well to ye southward by a low patch of red earth, which looked like islands, and runs a great way into the sea."⁵⁷

On April 29 the "Endeavour" entered Botany Bay, and, says Cook,† "at 3 p.m. anchor'd in 7 fathom water in a place which I call'd Sting-Ray Harbour.†† The south point bore S.E., and the north point E, distant from the south shore 1 mile. We saw several of the natives on both sides of the harbour as we came in, and a few huts, women and children on the north shore, opposite to the place where we anchor'd, and where I soon after landed with a party of men, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander and Tupia.‡ As we approached the shore the natives all made off, except two men, who at first seem'd resolved to oppose our landing. We endeavour'd to gain their consent to land by throwing them some nails, beads, etc., ashore, but this had not the desir'd effect; for, as [we] put in to shore, one of them threw a large stone at us, and as soon as we landed they threw two darts at us, but the firing of two or three musquets, load with small shott, they took to the woods, and we saw them no

* Bougainville had already, two years before, shown that it wasn't, but Cook, of course, did not know of this. See page 92 above.

** The dates given here follow Wood and are a day later than those given in the Logs and Journals, as no allowance had been made for the day lost when the 180th meridian was crossed.

† See Journal entry and note on page 103.

†† In his private log.

‡ Tupia was a Tahitian.

more. We found here a few poor huts, made of the bark of trees, in one of which were hid four or five children, with whom we left some strings of beads, etc. After searching for fresh water without success, except a little in a small hole dug in the sand, we embarked and went over to the north point of the bay, where, in coming in, we saw several of the natives, but when we now landed we saw nobody; but we here found some fresh water, which came trickling down and stood in pools among the rocks; but as this was troublesome to get at, I sent a party of men ashore in the morning, abreast of the ship, to dig holes in the sand, by which means we found fresh water sufficient to water the ship. After breakfast I sent some empty casks ashore to fill, and a party of men to cut wood, and went myself in the pinnace to sound and explore the bay, in the doing of which I saw several of the natives, who all fled at my approach."

So was made the first landing by Europeans on the eastern coast of Australia and the first contact between them and its inhabitants. Cook remained in Botany Bay until May 5. On May 1, "departed this life Forby Sutherland, seaman, who died of a consumption, and in the a.m. his body was entard ashore at the watering-place. This circumstance occasioned my calling the south point of this bay Sutherland's Point." The first Englishman had been buried in Australia. Pickersgill tells us that he had been afflicted with consumption "ever since our departure from Straights le Maire."

The days spent in Botany Bay made a welcome respite for the ship's company. The weather was generally fine although there was some rain and, once, a thunder storm, "little wind and fine pleas't wea'r" says the shorthand of Cook's official log. Shore parties cut wood or filled water and fishing parties brought in fish enough for all. Oysters were dredged for and the opportunity was seized of cleaning the ship which was "scrub'd between wind and water." The sails were dried and mended.

Attention was given to the country itself and exploring parties traversed the south and north shores and inspected Georges River up to about Tom Ugly's Point and Cook's River as far as Tempe. Banks, who was thrilled by the huge collection of new plants that he made, was not deeply impressed with the land itself or its fertility. "Reading his journal," says Prof. Wood, "we get the impression that he thought Botany Bay to be a very good place for botanists, and a very bad place for colonists. And, if he thought that, he thought right."

Cook, on the other hand, thought that Botany Bay was a very suitable place for a colony. He said that much of the land

Sunday 6th In the evening the yawl returned from fishing having caught two sting rays weighing near 600 pounds each. The one weighed ~~_____~~ pounds and the other

~~exclusive of the entrails.~~ The great quantity of ~~the~~ ^{the} plants ~~of the~~ ^{of the} sort of fish found in this place.

occasioned my giving it the name of ~~Sting~~ Botany Bay.

~~Bay~~ Harbour it is situated in the latitude of 34.10 S. Longitude 20 8. 37 W. It is spacious safe and commodious. It may be known by the land is of a pretty convenient height on the sea coast which is level and rather higher

Facsimile of an entry in Captain Cook's "Journal" kept during the voyage of the "Endeavour." It will be seen that the first intention was to call Botany Bay "Stingray Harbour" because of "the great quantity of this sort of fish found in this place." Then Cook scratched out the words "this sort of fish found" and wrote, instead, "new plants, etc., Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected." He then altered "Stingray Harbour" to "Botanist Bay" and later crossed out the "ist" and put a "y" in its place, making the name, "Botany Bay."

could be cultivated without the necessity of cutting down trees which grew at a good distance from each other. And there was but little undergrowth. He found, also, "as fine a meadow as ever was seen" and, "in many places a deep black soil, which we thought was capable of producing any kind of grain." Moreover, the bay was "spacious, safe and commodious"—but Cook was there, it is to be remembered, in fine weather. The first settlers, in 1788, waxed sarcastic at the expense of Cook's favorable descriptions of Botany Bay. Tench said that, if the nautical part of Cook's description had not been so accurate, he would have doubted whether or not he had seen the place!

It was found impossible to establish any kind of relations with the aborigines—the Indians as the Englishmen called them. They kept aloof from the white men and showed they resented their intrusion. Gunner Forwood notes seeing "12 canoes along

shore a fishing" on one occasion and various parties on different other occasions. "During our stay here," he wrote in his "Journal,"⁸⁸ "we saw parties of the Indians several times, but could not come near enough to make any kind of friendship with them, but they always made signals for us to be gone; they go quite naked, not having the least thing to cover their nakedness; they are very black, and they live entirely on fish; their canoes are only bark of a tree stopped at each end, and are so light that one man may carry them. We saw no kind of beast, although the captain went some distance in the country. Their houses are very low and small, and only covered with the bark of trees, and some with grass and branches of trees."

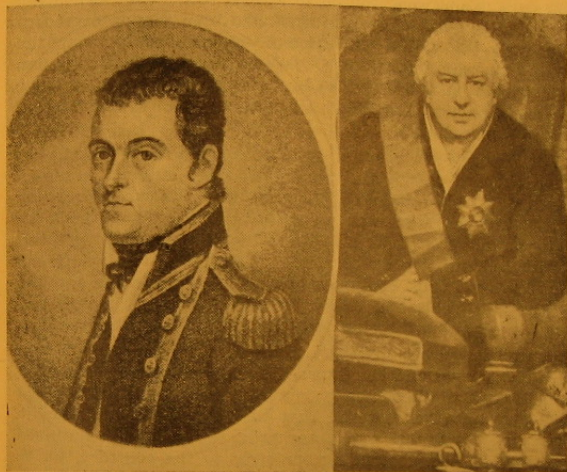
Pickersgill,* one of the master's mates on the "Endeavour," bears similar testimony. "The inhabitants are so shy," he says,⁹⁰ "that we had no kind of intercourse with them. They used to come down every evening armed with lances and wooden swords. They appeared very thin, and had their faces daubed over with something white. One day, as the surgeon was walking in the woods, which are all clear of underwood, he had a lance hove at him out of a tree, but the man made off. This was all we saw of them except when they were fishing off in their canoes, which are very small and made of bark; they carry one man, who paddles with two small pieces of wood; they use them in striking fish on ye flats. Their houses are several pieces of bark set up one against another and open at one end, and are the worst I ever saw. The people have nothing to cover themselves, but go quite naked, men and women, and, in short, are the most wretched set I ever beheld or heard of."

The other master's mate, Wilkinson,** tells of "11 or 12 Indians" who "came down to the very beach within a quarter of a mile of our people and behaved in a very insolent manner."⁹⁰

One cannot resist the temptation to wonder what were the thoughts of these dusky Australians when they saw their peaceful bay entered by a strange and terrible ship inhabited by strange beings and when they heard their woods re-echo to the sound of muskets which could deal out injury at a distance. Not wonder about who or what the invaders were or whence they came seemed to possess them, but fear of the menace and a resentment that urged them to resistance. Resistance was

* Pickersgill had been a midshipman on the "Dolphin" under Wallis during his voyage around the world 1766-8.

** Who had also been with Wallis on his voyage around the world.



MATTHEW FLINDERS.

SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

the first reaction, and then determination to remain aloof from the whites and to pursue their usual activities alternated with hostile demonstrations as they were again moved by resentment or apprehension. The fact that they suffered no ill from the whites while they remained there would probably have, very soon, brought them to a friendlier attitude. It is to be presumed that the memory of Cook's visit remained with them and that, when Phillip came to Botany Bay 18 years later, that memory still survived.

On May 7, Cook left Botany Bay and continued his voyage northward. Port Jackson was merely noted and named.* He named a "Broken Bay" which, however, is not our Broken Bay but the broken land near Narrabeen. Off Newcastle, he saw Nobby's, "a small clump of an island lying close in shore." Port Stephens, Moreton Bay, Bustard Bay and other points were

* After a Secretary of the Admiralty.

seen and named and good progress was made. Until June 11—when the "Endeavour" ran on to a coral reef. She was finally got off after about 50 tons of stuff had been thrown overboard and with the skilful and unremitting co-operation of the officers, the sailors (to whom Cook, was always sparing in praise, paid tribute on this occasion) and the gentlemen who usually, in Cook's opinion, are "good for nothing" and in the way on "board King's ships."^a

The "Endeavour" was "fothered"—that is "a large quantity of finely-chopped oakum and wool was loosely stitched to a sail, which was sunk underneath the ship" and was sucked into the hole. The operation was successful and the pumps kept the water down. Cook took his ship to the "Endeavour River" and, where Cooktown is now situated, beached her. It was found that a piece of coral had stuck in the hole it had made and had broken off. This had saved the ship. Over a month was spent in repairing the ship and waiting for favorable weather.

Banks enjoyed his stay there to the full, making acquaintance with flying-foxes and kangaroos. The natives became friendlier, though some of them nearly burned Banks's tent down when they were not given a turtle that the Englishmen had caught. They had set fire to "ye grass near ye ship and continued spreading it, notwithstanding our signs to the contrary, till ye captain fired on them, by which some of them was wounded; they then retired, and about two hours after some of them returned, unarmed, seemingly good friends."^{*} Banks spat on his finger and rubbed hard on the skin of them in order to make his way through their outer covering of filth and find out whether their skin was as black as Dampier had said it was. He came to the conclusion that they were not as black as they had been painted but were more of a chocolate color. Cook considered them "far from being disagreeable."

The ship was finally repaired and, the weather being favorable, they left the Endeavour River on August 6. Cook, mindful of his previous experience, passed through the Barrier Reef, but, finding it more dangerous outside than inside, he returned through it again, just escaping being shipwrecked while doing so. He made his way North between the coast and the Reef and, on August 22, landed on Possession Island. "A little before sunset," he tells us,** I took possession of the country in His Majesty's name, and fired three volleys of small arms on the

^{*} Lieutenant Hicks's "Journal."
^{**} Private Log.

occasion, which was answered from the ship." No name is given to the country either in Cook's Logs or in the journals of his officers who described the ceremony of taking possession. On his way from Australia to Batavia, however, Cook seems to have conferred the name, "New Wales," and to have amended that to "New South Wales" on his way from Batavia to England.⁴³

Cook made his way through the Torres Straits—the first European to do so since Torres in 1606—and thus proved Dalrymple's reading of Arias accurate. On October 11, he reached Batavia, where he remained till December while the "Endeavour" was being thoroughly repaired. The men were all in good health as a result of Cook's precautions against scurvy, but Batavia was "the unhealthiest place upon the globe." By the time the "Endeavour" left Batavia seven had died and over 40 were sick. On the way home 23 died. Capetown was reached in March, St. Helena on May 1, and England on July 13, 1771. They had been nearly two years 11 months away.

The result of the voyage of the "Endeavour" was to delimit New Holland. Its position and, roughly, its extent were now known. Its northern, western, eastern and half of its southern coasts had been discovered. Tasman had shown that it was not connected with a southern continent. It remained merely, to trace the rest of the southern coast and to discover its relation to Van Diemen's Land.

New Holland and New South Wales—two halves of one continent—had, then, been carved out of the mythical Terra Australis, and New Zealand had been shown not to be a part of a southern continent. But that might still exist. To find out whether it *did* exist, Cook set out on his second voyage to the Pacific, in June, 1772, in the "Resolution" and, accompanied by the "Adventure," commanded by Tobias Furneaux, who had been with Wallis on the "Dolphin." Banks was to go on this second voyage also but, owing to a difference between him and Cook over their opinions about the most suitable type of ship, he refused to go. The coolness that arose between them did not, however, grow into enmity and their friendship and mutual respect persisted.

Cook, on his second voyage, sailed further south than man had ever been. He sought the southern continent where Bonnet had "seen" it. He found only ice and plenty of it. He reached 67 degrees South. Had he gone a little farther to the East he would have struck the real southern continent at Enderby Land. Instead, he sailed North again and sought for

land seen by the Frenchmen Marion and Kerguelen.* He parted company with the "Adventure" and sailed South again to 58 degrees. He then made for New Zealand where he met Furneaux who had visited Van Diemen's Land but who had failed to find out whether it was connected to New Holland or not. From New Zealand they sailed East, still found no continent and, turning North, made for Tahiti, where he was again warmly welcomed. After visiting the Friendly Islands (the Tonga Group) and seeing islands that Tasman had discovered, he returned to New Zealand. He sailed South once more as far as the Antarctic Circle, then North again to the forties and back South still once more and this time reached further South than ever. He was now satisfied that "no continent was to be found in this ocean but what must lie so far to the South as to be wholly inaccessible on account of the ice." Cook had now said the final word about Terra Australis. He had pushed back its bounds to the ice around the Pole and dispersed the mists behind which fabled continents had been sought for centuries.

Sailing North again to see whether there was land where Juan Fernandez was supposed to have seen land around the thirties 200 years before, he completed his second circling of the Pacific on this voyage. On the circumference of that circle were Juan Fernandez, Easter Island, the Marquesas (unseen since the visit of Mendana and Quiros in 1595), Tahiti again, the Friendly Islands, Quiros's Australia (to which and the surrounding islands Cook now gave the name, New Hebrides, and which he recognised from the description given by Quiros, understanding the latter's mistaking the island for a continent, as land could be seen as far as the eye could reach), New Caledonia (discovered and named by Cook), Norfolk Island (also discovered by Cook), and New Zealand (visited for the third time on this trip). From New Zealand he sailed straight for Cape Horn. "I have now done with the South Pacific," he could claim, "and flatter myself that no one will think I have left it unexplored." Certainly, no one could think so. It would have been a small continent that could have lain between the circumferences of the three circles that Cook had described on the Pacific Ocean on his two voyages.

In the southern Atlantic he found only an island, South Georgia, where Dalrymple had marked the coast of a continent, and then sailed for Capetown which he reached in March, 1775.

* These Frenchmen, Bouvet, Marion and Kerguelen, have left their names on islands in southern seas.

and where he found the "Adventure." That ship had parted company with him on the way from Tonga to New Zealand the first time, had visited New Zealand and had arrived at the Cape 12 months before Cook. They arrived back in England on July 30, 1775, three years and three weeks after they had set out and in the year of the beginning of the revolt of the American colonies.

The importance of Cook's two voyages can hardly be exaggerated. He had drawn aside the curtain to show the real Pacific to Europeans who had, up till then, seen it as through a glass, darkly. "In the history of exploration," says Prof. Wood, "he is the apostle of the victorious common sense of the period, more anxious to brush away cobwebs than to stir men to new enthusiasms. He seems to take greater pleasure in the destruction of mistakes than in the discovery of truth. Yet it [the second voyage] was a voyage of amazing fruitfulness. He had proved that the Southern Continent of the theorists did not exist; but he had also made it very probable that an Antarctic Continent did exist. He was the last seeker of the continent which Mercator had drawn and which Quiros had described. But he was also the first scientific explorer of the South Polar Regions, the precursor of Weddell and Ross, of Shackleton, Amundsen and Scott. And, moreover, the work he had done by the way, the work of exploration in the temperate and tropical regions of the South Pacific, was of very great value. North, South, East and West, Cook had voyaged through the immense ocean, with searchlight and measuring-rod, discovering islands, re-discovering the discoveries of earlier days, bringing into existence a map of the Pacific which, while much remained to be filled in, was at least correct in its outlines and conceptions. When the polite French navigator, Laperouse, complained that Cook had left nothing for his successors to do but to praise him, the compliment was sincere, and, in the sense in which the words were spoken it was true."⁶⁵ And it was Laperouse who named him the Columbus of the Pacific.

There was a further addition that he made to his achievements. When, six months after his return, he was elected a member of the Royal Society, he presented a paper on the prevention and cure of scurvy and the President, in the pompous manner of the time, said: "If Rome decreed the Civic Crown to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what wreaths are due to that man who, having himself saved many, perpetuates in your transactions the means by which Britain may now, on the most distant voyages, preserve numbers of her intrepid sons, her

mariners?"⁶⁴ On his second "voyage" of over three years only four men had died. Of the four only one had died of sickness and his sickness had not been scurvy. Cook had not discovered the Southern Continent, but he had discovered something far more valuable. He had discovered that by the use of anti-scorbutics, by careful airing of the ship, by scrupulous attention to cleanliness, a very long voyage might be made through all variations of climates without injury to health. And he believed that this discovery would "make the voyage remarkable when disputes about a Southern Continent shall have ceased to engage attention."⁶⁵

Cook's third voyage does not concern our story much. A year after his return from his second voyage he left the comfort of the sinecure that had been given him in the shape of a captaincy at the Greenwich Hospital for Seamen, with its salary of "£200 a year, with a residence, fire and light, and one shilling and two-pence a day table-money,"⁶⁶ and set out again in the "Resolution." He visited Tasmania, New Zealand, Tonga and Tahiti. Thence he sailed North, discovered the Sandwich Islands, explored the western coast of North America and the eastern coast of Siberia and sought a northern route from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

When he returned to Hawaii, Cook fell foul of the inhabitants and, as a result, lost his life. A cutter was stolen on February 13, 1779, and Cook went ashore to seize the king as a hostage. The latter's subjects objected and attacked Cook and killed him. So he perished, in the midst of the Pacific he had done so much to explore.

"The sense of Cook's greatness," says Prof. Wood, "grows in the student's mind. He does not storm our admiration, as, for example, does Drake or Wolfe. There is a certain quietness and reticence in his life, as in his conversation, and as in his writings. . . Heroism was so wrought into the texture of character, that he tells a heroic story in a way that makes one imagine it a matter-of-course affair. We think that the story lacks interest, when the fact is that it lacks egotism. . . His activity of mind, both in speculation and affairs was amazing. He had the full scientific temperament, alike enthusiastic—though he would have hated the word—and sceptical; eager to know, and to know nought save the truth. And he had wonderful judgment in the drawing of inferences, and in the balancing of argument. His eye for scientific problems was as keen as that of a professional student. He observed, for example, the curious problem of the precise relation of the peoples of New Holland and of New Guinea, and he discussed, a century before Darwin, the prob-

able origin and growth of the coral islands. And he applied the same vigor of mind to the solution of practical questions. In the story of exploration he is the great organiser of victories. His was the policy of thorough. He first thought out in full and exact ways all the matters of necessary detail: the choice of ships, the instruments of navigation, the methods of coastal survey, and, above all, the means of preserving health. And, having thought things out, he got things done. He not only did things himself, he persuaded others to do them."

"And dominant in the centre of things was character. . . His 'austerity' was due, not to lack of capacity for pleasure, but to perfection of moral self-control. Cook, to use Cromwell's phrase, was a man of spirit," and "in his intercourse with men of high rank and great wealth, he was always courteous, always dignified, not claiming equality but assuming it. He was their equal and more than their equal. . . And he was a farmer's son, self-educated and self-made, and his pay when he named Port Jackson was five shillings a day. As a child cannot be too careful in choosing his grandfather, so a country cannot be too careful in choosing its discoverer; and a country with the ideals of New South Wales could have made no more happy choice."^{*}

In addition to the detail in the already-discovered coast-line of Australia that required to be filled in, there still were some problems that had to be solved. Was Van Diemen's Land an island? What lay between Nuytsland and Van Diemen's Land? Was there an entrance to an inland sea? It remained also to chart the dangerous Torres Strait and to explore more carefully the Gulf of Carpentaria. Most of the work envisaged by these problems was carried out by Matthew Flinders after the founding of the English colony of New South Wales. We follow his voyages in order to complete this chapter of our story.

Flinders was born in 1774 in Lincolnshire. He became a midshipman in the navy and served for a time under Bligh who, in turn, had served under Cook. In 1795, Flinders came out to Sydney on the "Reliance" on which came also a close friend, George Bass, the ship's surgeon. Both were eager to carry out work of exploration and their first voyage was in the "Tom Thumb"—eight feet long—in which they explored the coast south of Sydney. In 1797 Bass was given a whale-boat by Governor Hunter and in it he sailed South. He passed Point Hicks and entered upon the discovery of thitherto unseen coasts. He rounded Wilson's Promontory where, on an island, he saw

* Wood, Discovery of Australia, pp. 476-8.

seven convicts* who had escaped there from Sydney and discovered Western Port. Then he had to return because of lack of provisions.

Bass had shown that it was more than probable that Van Diemen's Land was separated from New Holland. At the end of 1798 and the beginning of 1799, Bass and Flinders were together again and, in the "Norfolk," circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land. The Strait whose existence was thus finally demonstrated was named after its discoverer, Bass. The result of this voyage was the foundation of colonies at Launceston and Hobart, 1803-4. Bass leaves our story. He went to South America, but what the rest of his life was or when or where or how he died nobody knows!

In 1800 Flinders returned to England and published "Observations," dedicating them to Sir Joseph Banks and explaining in them the necessity of further explorations of the Australian coast. Under the patronage of Banks, Flinders found all doors open to him, even the doors of the Treasury, and the "Investigator" (334 tons) was fitted out for him according to his own specifications.

In it, Flinders aimed at filling in the gap between Nuytsland and Western Port. But the discovery of the whole of that coast was not left to him. While Flinders was on his way to England, the "Lady Nelson" (60 tons), commanded by Lieutenant James Grant was sailing for Australia. On December 3, Grant sighted Cape Banks and Cape Northumberland—so named by him—not far from the present boundary between Victoria and South Australia, on the South Australian side. From these points he traced the coast round to Cape Otway, naming various points, including Portland Bay. From Cape Otway he sailed straight across what he called King's Bay to Wilson's Promontory.

Reaching Sydney in December, the "Lady Nelson" returned towards the end of the following year, this time commanded by Lieutenant John Murray, to explore King's Bay. The result was the discovery** of Port Phillip—named after the first Governor by Governor King. Thus, there were gaps already filled by the time Flinders arrived.

He reached Nuytsland in December, 1801, and he sailed along the coast that the Dutch had discovered. The question of what

* He took two of them back with him on his return, but the other five, to whom he gave a musket and a compass, were never seen again.

** Murray saw "an opening in the land" on January 5, but, as it looked dangerous, he returned to Western Port and sent John Bowen to investigate in a launch. He entered Port Phillip, returned and reported and then Murray was able to get the "Lady Nelson" across the bar.

lay in the interior of Australia was, it must be remembered, still unsolved and Flinders hoped to find out whether the coast line was continuous in an easterly direction to Wilson's Promontory or whether a channel or sea ran into the centre of the continent or even to the Gulf of Carpentaria or some point in the northern coast. Flinders, of course, knew nothing of the discoveries of Grant and Murray.

In February, Spencer's Gulf was discovered and Flinders traced it to its head—proving it a gulf and not a channel. He did the same with St. Vincent's Gulf and discovered Kangaroo Island. And then, in Encounter Bay, he met Baudin, the French navigator,* who was exploring the coast from East to West. Thus Flinders's exploration of the western portion of the unknown southern coast completed the discovery of the whole Australian coast. Grant, Murray, Baudin and Flinders had divided the last stretch between them.

In 1802 and 1803, Flinders circumnavigated Australia, sailing North from Sydney, passing through Torres Strait, thoroughly exploring the Gulf of Carpentaria and confirming the accuracy of Tasman's map. He then sailed West, South and East again and returned to Sydney. He was compelled to give up hopes of further exploration because of the rottenness of his ship. He set out for England in August, 1803, but was wrecked on Wreck Reef Bank, off the coast of Queensland. He left 80 of his men on the sand-bank and rowed with 14 others, 700 miles to Sydney. He secured another ship, the "Cumberland"—29 tons!—returned to pick up those marooned on the sand-bank and sailed for home, anxious to fit out another ship in which to finish his work of exploration.

But, alas! he had to call in at the island of Mauritius for repairs. The French Governor held him as a prisoner of war and there he remained for six and a half years. It was not until 1810 that he was allowed to return to England sick in body and weary with hope deferred. He spent the rest of his life in completing his book, "A Voyage to Terra Australis." He died in 1814 at the early age of 40. On the day before he died, the first copy of his book was brought to him. "But he never understood, he was fast wrapped in the deep slumber that preceded the end."⁷⁷ His was the tragedy of the individual crushed and destroyed by the commercial rivalries of nations and their resultant wars.

9.—TERRE NAPOLEON.—The French had not been inactive since the days of Bougainville. Jean Francois de Surville was in New Zealand about the same time that Cook was there on

* See next section, below.

his first voyage and, in 1771, two other French captains, **Marion*** and **Kerguelen**, were in southern seas looking for a continent. The latter part of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th saw a feverish search for and annexation of islands in the Pacific by British and French. Each country's navigators endeavored to discover, claim and annex in order to prevent the others from discovering, claiming and annexing. Islands were annexed several times over. We have already seen the annexation of the Falklands by the British while a French settlement was there and Quiros's *Austrialia* named the "Cyclades" and annexed by Bougainville and then re-named the "New Hebrides" by Cook and re-annexed by him. And there were others. The agreed-on allotment of the Pacific islands to various Powers was left to later on in the 19th century—an allotment not made so final that war, or the threat of war, did not determine a re-allotment. But, in the 18th century, French and English navigators "followed one another in a way that reminds us of the old school game of Chevy Chase. Bougainville followed Wallis, and Cook followed Bougainville, and Marion and Kerguelen and Laperouse followed Cook."¹⁸

Jean Francois de Galaup, Comte de **Laperouse** was sent out to the Pacific on the eve of the Revolution. He arrived at Botany Bay on January 26, 1788, eight days after Captain Phillip landed there and on the day on which the latter, having moved up to Port Jackson, founded the settlement on Sydney Cove. He had been instructed to find out whether and where British settlements had been made and was given definite orders to call at Botany Bay. There, he expected to see much more progress made than he actually did find. His voyage was not a rival one to that of Phillip in the sense that he intended to found a colony. He had no orders to do so. His was rather a preliminary voyage of investigation. After he returned to France, further decisions, in the expected course of events, would have been made. But the expected course of events was not run. Laperouse, in the first place, never reached France. He perished in the Santa Cruz Group and the settlement whose beginnings he saw was 38 years old before traces of his ill-fated expedition were found. Secondly, the Old Regime was overthrown in France, a little over a year after Laperouse was at Botany Bay and for the next quarter of a century France was in the throes of a revolution or waging war against the whole of Europe.

Laperouse was a servant of the Old Regime but, as far as voyages of discovery and questions of colonies were concerned,

* Killed by the Maoris in New Zea land.

its policies were continued by the New. The latter was only two years old when the National Assembly sent out Joseph Antoine **Dentrecasteaux** to find out what had become of Laperouse. No trace of him was found but Dentrecasteaux explored most of the coast of Nuytsland, originally surveyed by the Dutch in 1627, and visited Van Diemen's Land. He thought the former as barren as the Dutch had, but was enraptured with the country around Dentrecasteaux Channel. His report would possibly have resulted in attempts to form a French settlement there had conditions at home been more favorable.

The favorable conditions came for a time with the turn of the century, when France was holding more than its own in Europe. In 1801, another expedition left France under Nicholas **Baudin**. This voyage was sponsored by the French equivalent of the English Royal Society that had urged the sending of Cook, the Institute of France. Baudin was instructed to explore the southern coast of Australia and to find out whether there was a channel through Australia—exactly what Flinders, then in England preparing for his voyage, intended doing. Had Baudin gone straight to Nuytsland he would have left nothing for Flinders to do. However, he went first to Mauritius and stayed there for nearly six weeks and then, when he did reach Cape Leeuwin, turned North instead of East because of the cold. It was he who found Vlamingh's "pewter-dish" that the latter had, in 1696, fastened to a pole with an inscription recording his visit.¹⁹ Remaining on the coast of West Australia from May to November, 1801, he then made for Van Diemen's Land where he stayed till March. He thought that here was a country "which ought not to be neglected and which a nation that does not love us does not look upon with indifference."²⁰ In March, he began his voyage of "discovery" from Western Port, sailing westward. But he was too late. Grant had already discovered the coast between Cape Otway and Cape Banks and, in Encounter Bay, Baudin met Flinders coming from the West.* Flinders had left England nine months after Baudin. To the latter, then, had gone the task of merely filling in the last gap of the Australian coast—the stretch between Cape Banks and Encounter Bay.

The voyage of Baudin had caused concern in England. Flinders was anxious because he imagined that the Frenchman would beat him to the job of exploring the southern coast. But the East India Company was more concerned still. The Charter of

* See above p. 113.

that Company, it will be remembered,* gave it a monopoly to trade with all lands not possessed by friendly Christian Princes lying between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The South Coast of Australia was one such land and the Company was anxious that Flinders should start. It gave him £600 to help fit out his ship. Banks was also anxious that Flinders should be gone. The English had then no intention of settling the western portion of Australia but they were determined that no French settlements would be made there either.

On board Baudin's ship was Francois **Peron**, a scientist, but one with other interests as well. While in Port Jackson he had his eyes open and was thinking. He drew up a "Report on Port Jackson" in which he urged its destruction. "My opinion," he says, "and that of all those among us who have been particularly occupied with the organisation of that colony, would be that we should destroy it as soon as possible. Today we can do that easily; we shall not be able to do it in a few years to come." Another member of the expedition, Lieutenant de Freycinet examined the environs of the new settlement and especially looked for places where troops could easily be disembarked. Baudin himself reported that he considered "that the colony of Port Jackson ought to engage the attention of this government," and that there ought to be some balancing by the French of the "preparations they (the English) are making for the future." When it is considered that Napoleon, in 1810, gave orders that a squadron be got ready "to take the English colony of Port Jackson where considerable resources will be found,"⁷¹ we can understand that, had he been the victor instead of the vanquished in the war that ended in 1815, Australia today would be a French, instead of an English, dominion.

Peron's book about the voyage was not published till 1808. But in 1803, Grant's book on the discoveries of the "Lady Nelson" appeared. Yet Peron, who knew personally of Grant's discoveries, paid no attention to them, but gave the points discovered French names. Similarly, the French claimed priority for the discoveries made by Flinders. Professor Scott has shown that the long-believed story that they stole and used Flinders's maps, while he was in Mauritius, is false. But they suppressed the facts of his discoveries and published maps made from their own surveys—plus a stolen survey of Port Phillip—claiming the discoveries for themselves and giving them all French names.

* See above, p. 62.

New Holland had become, on French maps, Terre Napoleon—the opportunity was awaited to make it that in reality. Meanwhile, the fate of Australia was being fought out in the Atlantic and on the battlefields of Europe.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER III.

1.—Barry Cornwall, pen-name of B. W. Procter, English poet and critic (1787-1874).

2.—Bibliography.

Heeres: "The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia, 1606-1765," contains many of the available documents.

Heeres: "Life and Labours of Abel Janszoon Tasman," and Tasman's Journal.

Major: "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," contains some Dutch documents relating to voyages and also an extract from "The Adventures of William Dampier."

Clark Russell: "Dampier."

Wood: "Discovery."

"Historical Records of N.S.W."

Scott: "Flinders."

Scott: "Terre Napoleon."

3.—"Complete and singular is the contrast between the Spaniard and his successor. It is the contrast of the Cathedral full of men with all human virtues and vices, and the Factory wherein is neither virtue nor vice, nor even men, but one thing only, desire to make money."

In place of quest of a great 'mine of souls,' we have long inventories of things for barter for 'the benefit of the Company.' There is no religion in the Dutch story, and there is very little pretence of religion. The Dutch wrote their representative in Japan, have persuaded the Japanese to expel Spaniards and Portuguese on the ground that they are Christian proselytizers; and now some 'jealous detractors' have persuaded the Japanese that the Dutch also are Christians, and 'that the duty of a Christian forbids him from suffering his faith and doctrine to remain stationary. Thus do venomous serpents attempt to suck our blood!' The Japanese have pulled down the newly erected Dutch warehouse, and the 'glory of our nation, only lately shining with

radiant lustre in the eyes of the Japanese magnates, has been sadly eclipsed by the Christian name."—Wood, p. 223, quoting Heeres.

4.—Many Dutchmen had been in the service of the Portuguese.—Houtman has left his name on the Australian map: **Houtman's Abrolhos**, on the coast of West Australia, just above Geraldton. Abrolhos is the Portuguese word meaning "open eyes."

5.—Heeres: Part Borne by Dutch, p. 4, quoting from "Purchas His Pilgrimes," Bk. 4, Chap. 2, which gives the "observations" made by an English captain who was at Bantam from October, 1605, to October, 1609, and who saw the "Duyfhen" put to sea and who heard of its return. Further references authenticate the discovery.

6.—Wood, p. 225. See also Heeres: "Part Borne by Dutch," p. 6.

7 and 8.—Wood, p. 221, quoting "East and West Indian Mirror."

9.—No. 9 reference number was accidentally omitted from Chapter 3. 10.—Wood, pp. 339-41.

11.—In 1616, Hartog fastened a "pewter dish of medium size" to a pole upon an inscription recording his visit and the date, 25/10/1616. Vlamingh found it in 1696, took it away and left in its place a new pewter dish with Hartog's inscription and his own. The original pewter dish was sent to the managers of the company at Amsterdam and was lost to view until discovered by a Dutch journalist 300 years later. The copy made by Vlamingh remained where he placed it until removed by members of a French expedition over 100 years later and sent to Paris where it has been lost.

12.—Wood, p. 230.

13.—do., p. 232.

14.—do., p. 235.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

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15.—Quoted in Wood, p. 237.

16.—Quoted in Wood, pp. 241-2.

17.—Quite evidently Groote Eylant according to Heeres, "Part Borne," pp. VI, 47, 48, "Tasman," pp. 101-2.

18.—Wood, pp. 249-252.

19.—Wood, p. 252. See also Heeres, "Part Borne," p. 61. It is interesting to note that this first known European observer of the kangaroo was also the first believer in the superstition that dies hard that the young of the kangaroo grows upon the nipples of its mother. Pelsart says: "We have seen some young ones lying there, which were only the size of a bean, though at the same time perfectly proportioned, so that it seems certain that they grow there out of the nipples of the mammae."—Pelsart's Journal, in Heeres, "Part Borne," p. 61.

20-23.—Wood., pp 256-265.

24.—Wood, p. 270.

25.—Sir Wm. Temple, English Ambassador in Holland in the reign of Charles II; Major, p. VIII; Wood, p. 292.

26.—Heeres, "Part Borne," p. 84; Wood, p. 299.

27.—Hunter, "History of British India," quoted, Wood, p. 218.

28.—The word "Buccaneer" comes from the French word "boucanier," hunter of oxen, which, in turn, comes from "boucan," a barbecue, a framework for smoking or broiling. The name, therefore, originally had reference to the occupation of the buccaneers before they became pirates.

29.—Wood, p. 305.

30.—do., p. 305.

31.—do., pp. 310-11.

32.—Quoted, Wood, p. 315.

33.—Dampier's "New Voyage Round the World" (1697); also quoted in Major, pp. 102-3; Wood,

pp. 315-18 and in Russell's "William Dampier."

34.—Russell, p. 91.

35.—Flinders, quoted by Wood, p. 327.

36.—Dampier: "Collection of Voyages," vol. 3, pp. 101-2.

37-38.—Russell, pp. 92-3.

39.—Barton, pp. 566-7.

40-41.—Wood, pp. 335-6.

42.—Barton, pp. 567-9.

43.—do., p. 574.

44.—Quoted by Wood, p. 350.

45.—No satisfactory reason has been given why Cook chose the name, "New South Wales." He originally called it "New Wales" and then altered it to "New South Wales." It is interesting to note that Thomas Button, searching for the North-West Passage in 1612, named lands in Hudson Bay "New South Wales" and "New North Wales." It seems certain that Cook knew of these. But, still, no satisfactory reason has been given for the name given.

46.—Quoted by Wood (p. 360) from Callender.

47.—Quoted, Wood, p. 369.

48.—Major (pp. XXXII-III) quotes from an article by M. Frederic Metz in "La Revue," Nov. 1801. Other names that were supposed by Dalrymple to correspond were: "Riviere de beaucoup d'Ises" and Cook's "Bay of Islands"; "Cote dangereuse" and Cook's designation of the coast where he was nearly shipwrecked as a "dangerous coast."

49.—Wood, p. 388.

49-51.—Quotations by Wood, pp. 388-90.

52.—A cat-built ship was one with "round bluff bows, a wide deep waist, and tapering towards the stern."—Kitson's "Cook," quoted by Wood, p. 391.

- 53.—Letter from the Lords of the Admiralty to the Navy Board, 21/3/68; "Historical Records of N.S.W.," vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 306.
- 54.—Barton, pp. 471-2.
- 55.—"Historical Records," p. 332, letter to Secretary Stephens from Batavia.
- 56.—Hicks's Journal in "Historical Records," p. 177.
- 57.—Pickersgill's Journal, do., p. 214.
- 58.—"Historical Records," p. 194.
- 59.—do., p. 215.
- 60.—Wilkinson's Journal, do., p. 238.
- 61.—Wood's (p. 429) reading of a half-obliterated entry in Cook's Journal.
- 62.—See Note 45.
- 63-66.—Wood, pp. 472-4.
- 67.—Scott: "Flinders," p. 396, quoted by Wood, p. 519.
- 68.—Wood, p. 506.
- 69.—See note 11 to this chapter.
- 70.—Quoted by Wood, p. 509.
- 71.—Scott: "Flinders," quoted by Wood, p. 510.

BOOK II.

Penal Settlement (1788-1823)

Chapter IV.

SYDNEY COVE

Let no one think much of a trifling expense;
Who knows what may happen a hundred years hence?
The loss of America what can repay?
New colonies seek for at Botany Bay.

Of those precious souls who for nobody care,
It seems a large cargo the kingdom can spare;
To ship off a gross or two make no delay,
They cannot too soon go to Botany Bay.

They go of an island to take special charge,
Much warmer than Britain and ten times as large;
No custom-house duties, no freightage to pay,
And tax free they'll live when at Botany Bay.

—"Whitehall Evening Post," Nov. 21, 1786.

1.—The First Fleet; 2.—Promise and Reality; 3.—Foundations Laid;
4.—Famine; 5.—News from Aboard; 6.—"Miseries of Our Fellow Creatures."

ON May 3, 1787, Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N., set sail from England as Commodore of the squadron that became known in our history as the First Fleet.¹ It was to carry to the Botany Bay that Cook had discovered just 17 years before the pioneers who laid the foundations of this country. Not as pioneers were they regarded by the government that sent them, the aristocrats who were glad to be rid of them, the magistrates who sentenced them or the contractors who profited by them. They were convicts—most of them. The rest were their

1.—Notes to this chapter are at the end of Book II.

warders. New South Wales was to be a huge convict prison far removed from England whither the convicts could not escape. And they were to be the custodians of a new continent, to be the justification for Britain's maintaining possession of it and preventing the French from attempting its annexation. The era of discovery and of racing for priority in discovery was ended in New South Wales. It was no longer to remain a mere name. It was to become a colony with a Governor—definitely a possession of His Britannic Majesty and a sphere of monopoly trade for the East India Company into whose hands it had been given, before it was known, 170 years before.

"To our trusty and well-beloved Arthur Phillip Esquire," ran King George the Third's Commission, "Wee reposing especial trust and confidence in the prudence courage and loyalty of you the said Arthur Phillip of our especial grace certain knowledge and meer motion have thought fit to constitute and appoint and by these presents do constitute and appoint you the said Phillip to be our Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over our territory called New South Wales extending from the Northern Cape or extremity of the coast called Cape York in the latitude of ten degrees thirty-seven minutes south to the southern extremity of the said territory of New South Wales or South Cape in the latitude of forty-three degrees thirty-nine minutes south and of all the country inland 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 latitudes aforesaid. . . ."

Four years before, George III had agreed perforce to the creation of an independent republic out of his empire in America. He had now given orders for the establishment of a new empire in the South.

1.—THE FIRST FLEET.—The Fleet consisted of 11 ships. Besides H.M.S. "Sirius," the armed tender, "Supply" and the three supply ships, "Fishburn," "Golden Grove" and "Borradale," there were the transports carrying convicts. The transports and the numbers of the convicts that embarked on each are given by Captain Hunter* as follows:—Alexander (452 tons), 194 convicts; Lady Penrhyn (333 tons), 101 female convicts; Charlotte (335 tons), 86 male and 20 female convicts; Scarborough (430 tons), 205 male convicts; Friendship (274 tons), 76 male and 21

* In his "Journal." The numbers given in the official return of April 15, 1787, are slightly different. A return of September 1 gives a total of 756: including 190 women and 14 children.

female convicts; Prince of Wales (350 tons), 2 male and 47 female convicts. According to these figures there were 752 convicts in the First Fleet.

Little was forgotten that was connected with keeping the convicts in their place. Much was forgotten that concerned their comfort.

"The transports are fitted up," Captain Hunter tells us, "the same as for carrying troops, except the security, which consists in very strong and thick bulk-heads, filled with nails and run across 'tween decks from side to side abaft the mainmast, with loopholes to fire between decks in case of irregularities. The hatches are well secured down by cross-bars, bolts, and locks, and are likewise nailed round from deck to deck with oak stanchions. There is also a barricade of plank about three feet high abaft the main-mast, to prevent any connection between the marines and ship's company with the convicts. Centinels are placed at the different hatch-ways, and a guard always under arms on the quarterdeck of each transport, in order to prevent any improper behaviour of convicts, as well as to guard against any surprize."²

But there was nothing to prevent the improper behavior of government, aristocrats and magistrates.

"The situation in which the magistrates sent the women on board the 'Lady Penrhyn,' stamps them with infamy," writes Phillip in a private letter to Under Secretary Nepean, on March 18, 1787, "tho' almost naked, and so very filthy, that nothing but clothing them could have prevented them from perishing, and which could not be done in time to prevent a fever, which is still on board that ship, and where there are many venereal complaints, **that must spread in spite of every precaution** I may take hereafter, and will be fatal to themselves. There is a necessity for doing something for the young man who is on board that ship as surgeon, or I fear that we shall lose him, and then a hundred women will be left without any assistance, several of them with child. Let me repeat my desire that orders immediately may be given to increase the convict allowance of bread: 16 lb. of bread for 42 days is very little."

Phillip found evidence of negligence on the part of government officials and worse than negligence on the part of the contractors for the supply of clothes and provisions for the voyage. He complained of the over crowding of the convicts and the lack of medical facilities. "By letters from Lieut. Shortland and the surgeon's assistant on board the 'Alexander,'" he writes to Under-Secretary Nepean, on January 11, 1787, "I find that 184 men are put on board that ship, and 56 women on board the 'Lady

Penrhyn,' that there are amongst the men several unable to help themselves, and that no kind of surgeon's instruments have been put on board that ship or any of the transports. You will, sir, permit me to observe that it will be very difficult to prevent the most fatal sickness amongst men so closely confined; that on board that ship which is to receive 210 convicts there is not a space left for them to move in sufficiently large for 40 men to be in motion at the same time."

Again he complained (on April 11), that "109 women and children are put on board the 'Lady Penrhyn,' tho' that ship was only intended to carry 102, and with propriety should not have more than two-thirds of that number." Yet it left with over a hundred convicts on board.

The clothing of the convicts caused him much concern. According to an official estimate it was going to cost £2/19/6 to clothe a convict—man or woman—for a year. But if the contractors received that amount they must have made enormous profits. Writing from Rio de Janeiro, on September 2, Phillip reports that, "with respect to the women's cloathing, it was made of very slight material, most too small, and in general came to pieces in a few weeks."

Before he left England he was telling Nepean that, though he had ordered some clothes to be given to the convicts who went on board at Plymouth, "as there are more convicts to be sent on board the different ships, unless orders are being given for their being washed and cloathed on their leaving the prison or the hulks, all that we may do will be to no purpose." In such a filthy condition were the convicts, that "we may expect to see the seamen belonging to the transports run from the ships to avoid a fatal distemper, and may be refused entrance into a foreign port." We can believe, therefore, that the vileness of the laws which gathered together so many unhappy offenders against them was only equalled by the vileness of the conditions in which they were placed.

Right up to the eve of departure, Phillip was beseeching and begging of both the Navy Board and the agent for the transports for an adequate supply of women's clothing. It was the main burden of his plaint in his last letter to Under-Secretary Nepean before he sailed, and he expressed his fears that he would be sailing without them. His fears were well based. "A great part of the women's cloathing was not come down from London when we sailed."* We have heard Phillip describe the conditions of

* Letter sent back by the Hyaena.

the women as they came aboard and the condition of the clothes they did have, and we can only imagine the sufferings of those poor creatures from the rigors of the weather. On the way out 40 convicts died—36 men and 4 women—and five children of convicts!

H.M.S. "Hyaena," a frigate of 24 guns, escorted the fleet clear of the Channel and then left them. Phillip was glad to be out of the Channel and counted "all our difficulty as ended" when his squadron was well upon the ocean. But, then, he had to report*: "Since I sealed my letters I have received a report from the officers on board the 'Scarboro'' respecting the convicts, who, it is said, have formed a scheme for taking possession of the ship. I have order'd the ringleaders on b'd the 'Sirius,' and should not mention the affair at this moment, as I have no time to enter into particulars, but that I suppose it will be mentioned in letters from that ship."

Two ringleaders were flogged and removed from the "Scarboro'" and Phillip was satisfied with the conduct of the rest during the remainder of the voyage. At Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, he was able to inspect them all for the first time. He wrote: "In general, the convicts have behaved well. I saw them all yesterday for the first time. They are quiet and contented, tho' there are amongst them some compleat villains."

The fleet anchored at Santa Cruz on June 3 and remained there till the 10th. Phillip there found that the marines, who were to form the garrison, had sailed "without either musquet cartridges . . . or paper or ball to make them. . . . Nor have we any tools to keep the small arms in repair." Fresh provisions were obtained at Santa Cruz and the fleet made for Rio de Janeiro, which it reached on August 6.

Here, Phillip was accorded better treatment than Cook had received when he called there. The latter had had a Portuguese officer to watch him wherever he went and his men were not allowed to land at all. But Phillip had served in the Portuguese Navy against the Spanish and could speak the language. He was made welcome.

Fresh provisions were again obtained and "115 pipes of rum for use of the garrison after it had landed in New South Wales." Beef, here "being exceedingly good and very cheap," was bought in sufficient quantities so that the allowance to convicts and marines should be increased from $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. per day to $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Phillip also made an economical purchase in the shape of one hundred sacks of casava* to be used as a substitute for bread. Moreover,

* 20/5/87, sent back by the Hyaena.

"the sacks, being of strong Russia, will be used hereafter in cloathing the convicts, many of whom are nearly naked." The convicts were allowed the "liberty of the deck" while in port, "which has kept them much healthier than could have been expected."

Rio was left behind on September 3, and, after a good passage, the fleet reached the Cape on October 13. Here there were some difficulties in obtaining supplies. Phillip was informed by the Dutch authorities that the crops of corn had "failed the year before last" and that the question of supplying him with all the provisions he said he needed would require deep and long consideration. Until, in fact, October 23, when a favorable reply was received from the governor, Mynheer von Graafe. Cattle, grain and seeds were taken on board and Phillip, bewailing the delay, sailed out of Table Bay on November 12.

At the Cape and at Rio grains and plants were obtained of every kind that it was thought would grow in New South Wales. Orange, lime and lemon trees were obtained at Rio. At the Cape were procured grape vines, strawberry plants, and quince, apple, pear, oak, myrtle, fig, and bamboo trees, as well as sugar cane and many grain seeds. Sheep, cattle and horses were also brought from the Cape.

His concern over such matters as the women's clothing is indicative of Phillip's interest in the physical well-being of his charges. His foresight is exemplified by the plans he drew up for the conduct of the trip and the making of a settlement. In his first paragraphs he proposed that the warships should race ahead in order to get to Botany Bay "two or three months before the transports." If that were done, "huts would be ready to receive the convicts who are sick, and they would find vegetables, of which it may naturally be supposed they will stand in great need. . . . Huts would be ready for the women." This plan he endeavored to carry out.

A fortnight or so out from the Cape, Phillip went on board the "Supply," anticipating that that ship was capable of reaching Botany Bay long before the others. He gave orders for the "Alexander," "Scarborough" and "Friendship" as these sailed better than the rest, to make all the speed they could. Captain Hunter, on the "Sirius," was left in charge of the other ships. "But," says Phillip, in his first despatch, "the 'Supply' sailing very badly had not permitted my gaining the advantage hoped for." He sighted the coast of New South Wales on January 3, but, because of contrary winds, did not arrive till the 18th, only one day in advance of the "Alexander," "Scarborough" and "Friendship," and only two days before the rest.

2.—**PROMISE AND REALITY.**—An immediate examination of the bay convinced Phillip that it provided no suitable site for a settlement. He did not "see any situation to which there was not some very strong objection." The bay itself was open to easterly winds, and it was so shallow that ships would have to anchor near the entrance. There were "several small runs of fresh water" in various parts of the bay, but there were swamps which would probably make the place a very unhealthy one. The most likely spot was Point Sutherland. This Phillip ordered to be cleared at once, although he had determined to have a look at the opening to the north called Port Jackson by Cook. He did not desire any delay in the event of his being unable to find a more suitable place than Point Sutherland.

According to Captain Hunter, who went with Phillip on the exploring expedition of three boats, the latter intended making for Cook's Broken Bay and looked in at Port Jackson when they got abreast of its entrance. "It had," he writes, "an unpromising appearance on entering between the outer heads or capes that form its entrance, which are high, rugged, and perpendicular cliffs; but we had not gone far in before we discovered a large branch extending to the southward; into this we went, and soon found ourselves perfectly land-locked, with a good depth of water. We proceeded up for two days, examining every cove or other place which we found capable of receiving ships."

"We got into Port Jackson early in the afternoon," wrote Phillip to Lord Sydney, "and had the satisfaction of finding the finest harbor in the world, in which a thousand sail of the line may ride in the most perfect security. . . . The different coves were examined with all possible expedition. I fixed on the one that had the best of spring water, and in which the ships can anchor so close to the shore that, with a very small expense, quays may be made at which the largest ships may unload. This cove, which I honored with the name of Sydney, is about a quarter of a mile across at the entrance, and half a mile in length."

Phillip, with the minimum of delay, had selected the most favorable spot available for a settlement. The initial error of selecting Botany Bay was thus rectified, and a probable tragedy averted. Disaster would, almost certainly, have faced the infant colony if an unsuspected and favorable Port Jackson had not appeared to take the place of the actual Botany Bay, the falsification of whose real character by Banks and Cook had formed the basis for the hopes of the colony's success. For it was because of the favorable reports of Cook and Banks that Botany Bay was decided on as the place for a settlement.

We have seen* that Banks thought little of the land at Botany Bay. His opinions, as the "Endeavour" proceeded north, did not change, unless to become more definite in their hostility. "In the whole length of the coast which we sailed along," he wrote in his "Journal,"** "there was a very unusual sameness to be observed in the face of the country. Barren it may justly be called, and in a very high degree, at least as far as we saw. . . . The fertile soil bears no kind of proportion to that which seems by nature doomed to everlasting barrenness. . . . A soil so barren, and at the same time entirely void of the help derived from cultivation could not be supposed to yield much to the support of man. . . . Upon the whole, New Holland, though in every respect the most barren country I have seen, is not so bad but that, between the production of sea and land, a company who had the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon it might support themselves even by the resources that we have seen; undoubtedly a longer stay and a visit to different parts would discover many more." It would appear, says Prof. Wood, that Banks's "main purpose was to make quite sure that no Englishman would ever think of settling in New Holland."

That was when he returned from the voyage of the "Endeavour." Nine years later he was asked by a committee of the House of Commons for his opinion on the question of establishing a penal settlement. He gave it. Botany Bay was the ideal place for a convict settlement. Convicts could not escape from New South Wales. It was a good climate and there was plenty of luxuriant grass (there "grows grass tall enough, but thin set," he said in 1770). Water abounded ("water is a scarce article," he said in 1770). Only one year's provisions would be necessary—after a year colonists could "undoubtedly maintain themselves without assistance from England." (In 1770, a shipwrecked crew might support itself.) The fruit and vegetables of which Banks found no trace in New Holland in 1770, he believed to be there in abundance when he looked back after nine years. And his soil, "doomed to everlasting barrenness" in 1770, had, by a strange and sudden metamorphosis, become fertile enough to make a colony independent of supplies from England after one year! † Some other explanation of Banks's change of mind seems necessary than "some theory of the growing optimism of old age."

That is Professor Wood's first explanation. † But he also suggests* that, in Bank's opinion, any place was a good place

* See p. 102, above.

** Quoted, Wood's "Discovery," pp. 444-446.

† See Wood, pp. 422-3, 446-7.

for convicts as long as it was far enough away from England. Not the super-optimism that grew with time, but an expediency that was fostered by circumstance, caused Banks to find arguments in favor of selecting Botany Bay as the place for a settlement. He was certainly not impressed in 1770 with either Botany Bay or any other part of the Australian coast as a site for a colony and, equally as certainly, Botany Bay was not, as he stated before the House of Common 1779 Committee it was, "the best adapted" place for a settlement that he had seen. He had seen many better during the voyage of the "Endeavour."

Banks was not a nincompoop who might jump at conclusions that bore no relation to actualities. He was a botanist and a trained observer. Of his powers of observation during his voyage with Cook, and while he was on the Australian coast, there is plenty of evidence. His collection of plants is sufficient. And what he said in 1770 of the nature of the land itself is a fair estimate of those parts that he saw. He must have been aware that a colony on the coast he saw could not become self-supporting in a year or two. He must have known also that a colony's becoming self-supporting in that time, impossible in the circumstances of which he was aware, was a very doubtful proposition even under the most favorable conditions. To expect success when the establishment of the colony was being sponsored by apathetic, ignorant and incompetent Ministers and Under-Secretaries and having to survive in spite of official negligence, torpidity and sabotage is to be cursed with an optimism that invites disaster. Banks may be excused if he was not aware of the existence of such handicaps. We cannot, however, believe that nine years' rumination had convinced him that the country that he thought in 1770 might support a shipwrecked crew was really one where a settlement could be made without a doubt of its surviving and become self-supporting in a short time. There was a doubt, but convicts were expected to give the Government the benefit of it, upon the principle that "criminals, when their lives or liberty are forfeited to justice, become a forlorn hope, and have always been a fair subject of hazardous experiment, to which it would be unfair to expose the more valuable members of a state." † It would be interesting if the convicts did survive two years, wouldn't it?*

* Cook, too, of course, gave a favorable opinion on Botany Bay, but he did not regard it as his greatest find. He visited Tahiti and New Zealand several times and, perhaps, if he had been alive to be asked, he would have suggested New Zealand as a place for a settlement. Or, more probably the Friendly Islands, or the Sandwich Islands—the latter being considered by him "a discovery which, though the last, seemed in many

3.—**FOUNDATIONS LAID.**—After three days' exploration, Phillip and his party returned to Botany Bay, received still more unfavorable reports of the land being cleared at Point Sutherland and gave orders for moving round into Port Jackson. Phillip on the "Sirius" left for Sydney Cove on January 25; the rest were prevented, by easterly winds, from joining him until the following day.

On January 24, two French ships, the "Boussole" and the "Astrolabe," the expedition of Laperouse, arrived in Botany Bay. He had left France in June, 1785, and had been all over the Pacific. The Frenchmen remained in Botany Bay until March 10 and then sailed away—to their doom.*

Round in Sydney Cove, on January 26, history was made by Phillip and the crew of the "Sirius." On the evening of a beautiful day that had smiled its sunny auspices upon the beginnings of the Australian nation, a simple ceremony was performed beneath the flag that was unfurled at the head of the cove. Toasts were drunk—including one to the Success of the New Colony—and volleys fired by the marines. Just as it concluded, the rest of the Fleet arrived from Botany Bay. The long voyage that had begun over eight months before was thus completed. The pioneers had reached their destination.

But it was not till February 7 that the Colony was proclaimed and the Commission of Phillip as Governor read. On that day all of the inhabitants were gathered together on Dawes Point—originally named Point Maskelyne—and Captain Collins, as Judge-Advocate, read the Commission appointing Phillip Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, the Act of Parliament establishing the Colony and the Letters-Patent that set up Civil and Criminal Courts and a Vice-Admiralty Court. The Governor then addressed the gathering. He spoke firstly, to the soldiers, whom he thanked for their good conduct, and then to the convicts. "The greater part of you," he said, "have already forfeited your lives to the justice of your country; yet, by the lenity of its laws, you are now so placed that, by industry and good behaviour, you may in time regain the advantages and estimation in society of which you have deprived yourselves." He warned them that he could show no mercy to any found guilty of misdemeanours—which would easily be discovered in such a small society—but

respects to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean." He would certainly not have suggested New South Wales, which he did not consider worth a second visit.

* See above, p. 114.

stated that he would "ever be ready to show approbation and encouragement to those who proved themselves worthy of them by good conduct and attention to orders." He warned against extra-legal intercourse between the sexes and advised marriage, promising every assistance to those who followed his advice.

The work of clearing ground around the Cove was begun immediately clearing-parties were able to set to work. It was a difficult task. "The necks of land that form the different coves," ran Phillip's description in his first report to Lord Sydney, "and near the water for some distance, are in general so rocky that it is surprising such large trees should find sufficient nourishment, but the soil between the rocks is good, and the summits of the rocks, as well as the whole country round us, with few exceptions, are covered with trees, most of which are so large that the removing them off the ground after they are cut down is the greatest part of the labor; and the convicts, naturally indolent, having none to attend them but overseers drawn from amongst themselves, and who fear to exert any authority, makes this work go on very slowly." Phillip was concerned, also, about what would be the fate of the colony if a supply-ship coming from England went astray and was therefore anxious to bring land under cultivation as soon as possible. His fears, as the sequel will show, were well-based.

In spite, however, of the efforts that were being made, Phillip had to report that "the great labor in clearing the ground will not permit more than eight acres to be sown this year with wheat and barley," and, because of this, because of the number of ants and field-mice, because of loss of the live-stock brought from the Cape and because of the inability to catch sufficient fish to eke out the provisions, he trusted that his Lordship would "see the necessity of a regular supply of provisions for four or five years, and of clothing, shoes and frocks in the greatest proportion."

Work on a hospital, store-houses and huts went on with the utmost possible despatch. Only twelve of the convicts were carpenters and only sixteen other carpenters could be hired from the ships. To point to the necessity for pushing on with such work there was an outbreak of scurvy after the landing and there were heavy rains during February. Not only was there a shortage of carpenters but, worse still and giving evidence of criminal negligence on somebody's part, Phillip had to complain that there wasn't one "intelligent gardener in the colony."

The first criminal court was held on February 11 and six men were sentenced to death. One was immediately executed, the

others were reprieved and were to be exiled from the settlement. "These men," reported Phillip, "had frequently robbed the stores and the other convicts. The one who suffered and two others were condemned for robbing the stores of provisions the very day they received a week's provisions, and at which time their allowance, as settled by the Navy Board, was the same as the soldiers, spirits excepted; the others for robbing a tent, and for stealing provisions from other convicts." The infliction and carrying out of the death sentence were the first evidences that the barbarities of the English penal code were being introduced into New South Wales. Phillip himself tells us that he preferred sentence of exile to sentence of death.

4.—**FAMINE.**—The efforts of the infant colony to become self-supporting almost ended in its annihilation through the starvation of the inhabitants. Phillip foresaw, very early, the dangers that faced them. Their voyage out had taken over eight months. The Government at home, he knew, could not be relied on to remember that the colonists might want to eat. If, therefore, he had to send home for provisions and then wait upon the pleasure of the Government and the hazards of a long sea-voyage, the colony might not expect new supplies for at least eighteen months. He began, in his first despatch, and continued, to stress the necessity of sending out supplies. The question of provisions takes up a big part of his correspondence.

Phillip's first despatch home from Sydney was dated May 15, 1788. He reverts several times to supplies. The clearing of the land was begun very early to allow cultivation, because "I fear the consequences if a ship should be lost in her passage out with provisions." Then he tells of difficulties and set-backs. The ground was difficult to clear and progress was slow. The farming tools sent out were few and of little use.* Only eight acres could be placed under wheat and barley in that year. Part of the live-stock brought from the Cape had been lost. "Ants and field-mice will render our crops very uncertain." There were not enough fish to save rations. "Your Lordship† will, I presume, see the necessity of a regular supply of provisions for four or five year." But his Lordship was to see no such necessity.

In his despatch of July 9, Phillip again insists on the necessity of a "regular supply of provisions from England . . . for four or five years." Crops from grain sown would be needed for several years for seed. He expressed the hope that very few

* "The axes, spades and shovels the worst that ever were seen," said Phillip (in letter to Nepean).
† Lord Sydney.

convicts would be sent out during the next two years and that those sent would be skilled tradesmen. Another blow recorded was the straying of four cows and two bulls.* But, still, he thought the outlook encouraging and that "this country will prove the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made." Nevertheless, "no country offers less assistance to the first settlers than this does, nor do I think any country could be more disadvantageously placed with respect to support from the mother country, on which for a few years we must entirely depend."

That letter, like the previous one, was to Lord Sydney. Under the same date, Phillip wrote a private letter to Under-Secretary Nepean in which he also stresses Sydney's dependence on supplies from England. After discussing the difficulties of getting supplies from the Cape or Batavia and stating that he would not like to have to send the "Sirius" for them and would only do so in an emergency—illogically, as he admits, for it would then be too late—he pathetically expresses his trust in those at home by adding: "I make no doubt but that supplies will arrive in time." He also made an appeal for free settlers. "If fifty farmers were sent with their families they would do more in one year in rendering this colony independent of the mother country, as to provisions, than a thousand convicts."** Phillip was wont to insist, also, that ships bringing new colonists should land them with two years' provisions—provisions should be carried on the same ship as those for whom they were intended. For, if the provision ship was lost and the colonists arrived, things would be worse than ever.†

The emergency that Phillip foresaw came in September. The seed wheat that had been brought out from England had been spoiled and very little had come up. That brought from the Cape by the "Supply" had been eaten by the weevils. Live stock was being killed because of lack of fodder. Only a year's supply of flour was in store. Phillip, therefore, decided to send Captain Hunter in the "Sirius" to the Cape to purchase supplies and seed. He left Sydney on October 2 and sailed via New Zealand and Cape Horn. Three men died on the trip from scurvy, the crew having been on salt provisions ever since leaving the Cape

* These and their descendants—to the number of over 60—were discovered on the Nepean, the Cowpastures, by Governor King, seven years later.

** These letters, some in duplicate and triplicate, were sent by the returning transports and supply ships.

† It was something approaching the converse of this supposition that, on the arrival of the Second Fleet, helped to save the colony—that is, when so many died on the way out and after they arrived leaving their rations for those who survived. See below.

of Good Hope on the way out to Botany Bay. The "Sirius" arrived at the Cape on January 1, 1789.

There, Hunter learned that the transports that had left Sydney on their way home to England had met with misfortune. A Dutch ship just arrived from Rio reported that there had been so many deaths and there was so much sickness on board the "Prince of Wales" and "Borrodale," that had arrived there, that the Portuguese had to help them into port, there not being enough men on their feet to manage the sails. Similar conditions were reported on the "Alexander" and "Friendship," by a Dutch frigate from Batavia. So many men had been lost that the former was scuttled so that one crew could be made up of the survivors on both ships. While at the Cape, Hunter recruited sailors from British subjects, stranded there, or employed on Dutch boats, to make up his ship's company and that of the "Supply" in Sydney. It was not till February 20 that the "Sirius" left for Sydney. She reached here on May 8, 1789, bringing a year's provisions for the crew, four months' flour for the colony and some seed wheat and barley.

This added a little to the store of the colony, but—rats also were feeding themselves from the provisions. On November 1, 1789, the rations of all who had been on a full scale were cut down by a third. Those of the crews of the "Sirius" and "Supply" were cut down by a quarter. By this means Phillip hoped to conserve enough provisions to last till the following June. In December, the corn crop was harvested at Rose Hill and Phillip expressed himself as being well pleased with the quality of the grain. It was the quantity that was not satisfactory. Only one hundred convicts were working on the land to raise grain for the government. They were under the control of the only man who knew something about farming. The officers of the only marines were raising enough barely to feed their stock. Phillip felt, and stressed in his despatches, the need for farmers and settlers. "If settlers are sent out, and the convicts divided amongst them," he wrote to Lord Sydney on February 12, 1790, "this settlement will very shortly maintain itself, but without which this country cannot be cultivated to any advantage."

The optimism that was expressed in that letter does not seem to have lasted long. Early in March he decided to send the "Sirius" and "Supply" with a party of convicts and marines to Norfolk Island, where a colony had been established soon after Phillip's arrival in Port Jackson.* Here, it had been reported, things were better, there being more than provisions on the

* See below.

Island for its inhabitants. But, the measure taken to relieve Sydney of the necessity of feeding several hundred people* resulted only in a further disaster. The "Sirius" was wrecked at Norfolk Island! The people had been landed, but bad weather made it impossible to land the provisions on the same day. Several days later, when boats were engaged in landing the provisions, Captain Hunter saw that the ship was "dropping fast to leeward." Therefore, "he made sail to get out of the bay, but the wind shifting they could not clear the reef, and the ship having missed stays, though the anchors were let go and everything done that was possible, she struck and was lost on the reef."⁸ The disaster did not lie in the loss of provisions, for most of them were recovered, but in the wreck of the ship. It had been intended to send her to Canton or Batavia for supplies.

Phillip now had to reduce the rations still further. The new rations were "two pounds and a half of flour, two pounds of pork and two pounds of rice, for seven people for the day." "At this ration, which is served to everyone without distinction, the flour will last till the middle of November, the pork till the end of July, and the rice till the first week in September." He was writing on April 11. As men could not work on less than half-rations, nearly all labor was suspended and all the boats were used for fishing. The "Supply" was sent to Batavia. How serious the position was regarded may be gauged from a letter of Surgeon White dated from Sydney, April 17. "Had the 'Sirius' arrived safe, she was immediately to have gone to China for some relief for us, and on her dispatch all depended but, alas! that hope is no more, and a new scene of distress and misery opens to our view." Rations were reduced again, he says, to "enable us to drag out a miserable existence for seven months. Should we have no arrivals in that time the game will be up with us, for all the grain of every kind which we have been able to raise in two years and three months would not support us three weeks."⁹ White came to the conclusion that the authorities at home had forgotten all about the colony. And it seemed possible to arrive at no other conclusion—over two years had elapsed since the landing and nothing at all had been received from England! Nearly a thousand people had been cast adrift—sent as pioneers from one world into a new one, and the Govern-

* Two companies of marines, 5 women and children, 116 male and 67 female convicts and 27 children of convicts were sent, bringing the population of the island to: 90 free, 291 convicts and 37 children. There remained in Sydney: Civil and military, 141; women and children, 60; male convicts, 297; female convicts, 70; children of convicts, 23.

ment at home had apparently not given them another thought. What hard thoughts were given expression to in Sydney were justified. Lord Sydney had completely forgotten, or else had decided to ignore Phillip and his settlement. Neither by word nor deed—at least not by any word or deed whose record has come down to us—did he give any indication that he had ever heard of them, from the middle of 1787 till the end of March, 1789, when Sir Joseph Banks awoke him out of his stupor.

5.—NEWS FROM ABROAD.—Sir Joseph Banks has left a record of the date when the first news from New South Wales was received. In a memorandum found amongst his papers he made the note: "First News from Botany Bay, March 25, 1789." He urged the sending of relief immediately. A year and ten months had passed since the sending out of the First Fleet—a year and ten months of utter neglect. The first despatch from Phillip, just received, was already nearly a year old.* The colony might have starved in the meantime and even if supplies were sent at once, Phillip would not receive them for at least another six months. But such thoughts as these had no influence with Lord Sydney. He was not caused by them to attempt to make amends for his criminal negligence by sending out sufficient supplies to ensure the survival and success of the colony that bore his name.

Lord Sydney wiped his hands of Phillip when he left English waters. He had given him a long list of instructions, what more could be expected of him? And had not those instructions contained the dictum of the noble and all-seeing lord that "the settlement will be (1) amply provided with vegetable productions, and most likely with fish" (and that) "fresh provisions, excepting for the sick and convalescents, may in a degree be dispensed with."¹⁰ He had called upon his imagination to feed the colonists with vegetables and little fishes, was he also to supply them with bread?

During 1788, the noble lord had been very busy. He had sat, and presumably, slept, in his place in the House of Lords and had delivered to his august peers "seven speeches during the debates on seven different occasions, each speech being equally short and equally unimportant."¹¹ As a result, he had no time to address a single communication to Phillip. And, when he received Phillip's first despatches he did not even deign to reply to them.

Interest, however, was being raised in England. Captain

* Written, May 15, 1788.

Tench's book, "Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay," was published in April. Three editions of it appeared before the end of the year and it was translated into several European languages. In May, the official account of "The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay" appeared in a number of editions and in several translations. The success that attended these publications is evidence of a widespread public interest. Even the noble lord awoke!

He awoke—on April 29, thirty-five days after Phillip's letters had been received. He did so to order the preparation of a warship to take out provisions and stores and also the placing on board of the "Lady Juliana" (being fitted to take out more convicts!) of as much provisions as she would hold. Lord Sydney was to give Captain Phillip a lesson in good manners. He was to answer the latter's request not to send more convicts by—sending more convicts, who, doubtless, would be able to feed on fish and vegetables while those who were already there could continue to subsist on vegetables and fish.

The "Lady Juliana" reached Sydney on June 3, 1790, having been ten months on the way. It was the first ship from England since the landing. She had arrived three years after Phillip had left England, nearly two and a half after he had arrived in Botany Bay, two years since he sent his first despatch and over a year since Lord Sydney had received it.

The ship delighted the eyes of the watch at South Head who first saw her and who had been stationed there to signal the arrival of any ship. And then the flag that was their signal raised the hopes of the colonists. But the welcome that awaited her and her provisions was diminished when it was learned that she carried, also, over 200 female convicts. Phillip had asked for food—Sydney had sent him food, and convicts to eat it. Phillip had asked for farmers—Sydney had sent him women.

And the "Lady Juliana" brought bad news as well. It reported the loss of the "Guardian." The "Guardian" was the ship that was prepared, in pursuance of Sydney's orders, to carry provisions to New South Wales, and was commanded by Lieutenant Riou. On December 23, she struck an iceberg in the South Indian Ocean. Two days later, Lieutenant Riou allowed any, who wished to do so, to abandon ship. Three boatloads left. One of them reached Mauritius. The others were never heard of again. The "Guardian," however, in spite of the belief that her end had come, kept afloat, and, falling in with a French frigate, was by it towed to the Cape. The provisions were recovered when the "Guardian" was beached but even Lord Sydney's imagina-

tion could hardly make food in Africa fill empty bellies in New South Wales. Such was the news brought by the "Lady Juliana."*

The position at Sydney was relieved, however, two or three weeks later, when the Second Fleet arrived. Although it brought many convicts it brought also the provisions that had been on the "Guardian." Moreover, there had been so many deaths on board and so many died after arrival that their rations were a welcome addition to the general store. So did the living benefit from the dead. "Had not such numbers died," wrote Judge-Advocate Collins, "both on the passage and since the landing of those who survived the voyage, we should not at this moment have had anything to receive from the public stores; thus strangely did we derive a benefit from the miseries of our fellow-creatures." With the arrival of later transports and supply ships the colony was saved from the starvation which all but succeeded in annihilating it. The colony survived in spite of Lord Sydney's imagination!

How near it came to disaster there is plenty of evidence to

* Lieutenant Riou had nothing but praise for the convicts and crew of the "Guardian." "If any part of the officers and crew of the 'Guardian' should ever survive to get home," he wrote to the Admiralty, "I have only to say their conduct after the fatal stroke against an island of ice was admirable and wonderful in everything that related to their duties, considered either as private men or on His Majesty's service." And, in a letter to Secretary Stephens he said: "Permit me now, sir, to address you on a subject which I hope their Lordships will not consider to be unworthy of their notice. It is to recommend as much as is in my power to their Lordships' favour and interest the case of the twenty convicts which my duty compelled me to send to Port Jackson. But the recollection of past sufferings reminds me of that time when I found it necessary to make use of every possible method to encourage the minds of the people under my command, and at such a time considering how great the difference might be between a free man struggling for life and him who perhaps might consider death as not much superior to a life of ignominy and disgrace, I publicly declared that not one of them, so far as depended on myself, should ever be convicts. And I may with undeniable truth say that had it not been for their assistance and support the 'Guardian' would never have arrived to where she is. Their conduct prior to the melancholy accident that happened on the 23rd of December last was always such as may be commended, and from their first entrance into the ship at Spithead they ever assisted and did their duty in like manner as the crew. I have taken the liberty to recommend them to the notice of Governor Phillip; but I humbly hope, sir, their Lordships will consider the service done by these men as meriting their Lordships' favor and protection, and I make no doubt that should I have been so fortunate as to represent their cases in proper colors that they will experience the benefit of their Lordships' interest."—It is pleasing to be able to note that the convicts were pardoned, provided they remained abroad until the sentences had expired. The episode is much to the credit of Lieutenant Riou. He was later killed at the Battle of Copenhagen and Lord Nelson spoke of him as the "gallant and good Riou." (Lang: Historical Account, p. 34.)

demonstrate. Dr. Lang tells us that: "A wealthy and respectable inhabitant of Sydney, who arrived in the colony as a free person during the government of Governor Phillip, in after years told me himself that his ration for a long period was merely a cob or single head of maize or Indian corn a day, and that for three years he had lived in the colony in the constant belief that he should one day perish of hunger!" And Captain Tench gives an instance of death by starvation that came under his own notice: "Three or four instances of persons who have perished from want have been related to me. One only, however, fell within my own observation. I was passing the provision store when a man, with a wild haggard countenance, who had just received his daily pittance to carry home, came out. His faltering gait and eager devouring eye led me to watch him; and he had not proceeded ten steps before he fell. I ordered him to be carried to the hospital, where, when he arrived, he was found dead. On opening the body, the cause of death was pronounced to be inanition."

Tench also relates the joy with which the colonists greeted the arrival of the "Lady Juliana": "At length the clouds of misfortune began to separate and on the evening of 3rd of June, 1790, the joyful cry of 'the flag's up' resounded in every direction. I was sitting in my hut, musing on our fate, when a confused clamour in the street drew my attention. I opened my door, and saw several women with children in their arms running to and fro with distracted looks, congratulating each other, and kissing their infants with the most passionate and extravagant marks of fondness. I needed no more; but instantly started out and ran to a hill, where, by the assistance of my pocket-glass, my hopes were realised. My next-door neighbour, a brother officer, was with me; but we could not speak; we wrung each other by the hand, with eyes and hearts overflowing."

6.—"MISERIES OF OUR FELLOW-CREATURES."—The "miseries of our fellow-creatures" that Collins speaks of cannot be exaggerated. The deaths on the Second Fleet were due, says Dr. Lang, to (1) the very inferior system of management on shipboard, (2) the long confinement to a ration of salt provisions, sometimes of an inferior quality,* and (3) the mental despondency due to an insufficient allowance of provisions and the miserable prospect which the colony held forth. It is an ill wind, however, that blows no good to anybody. The contractors, praise be to God, benefited from the deaths of their "fellow creatures." The more convicts died, and the earlier in the voyage they died, the more of the transport money the con-

* For which the contractors made bigger profits.

SYDNEY COVE

tractors would save. In February, 1790, Phillip was suggesting the using of ships bound for China to bring convicts to New South Wales on their way out, for, he said, "if hired transports are sent out, it is equally the interest of masters and owners to let those ships remain the longest time possible in those ports which are attended with little expense, and the time in which they may make the voyage to and from this country will always be very uncertain."¹²

Phillip describes the conditions that confronted him when he gazed on the scenes that the Second Fleet presented. He also pointed to causes.¹³ "The enclosed return will show the state of the convicts landed from those ships, and the numbers that died on the passage. I will not, sir, dwell on the scene of misery which the hospitals and sick-tents exhibited when those people were landed, but it would be a want of duty not to say that it was occasioned by the contractors having crowded too many on board those ships, and from their being too much confined during the passage. The convicts having the liberty of the deck depended on the agent and on the masters of the ships; the agent died on the passage, and the masters say it was granted so far as it was consistent with their own safty, and that many of the convicts were sick when sent from the hulks.

"I believe, sir, while the masters of the transports think their own safety depends on admitting few convicts on deck at a time, and most of them with irons on, which prevent any kind of exercise, numbers must always perish on so long a voyage, and many of those now received are in such a situation from old complaints, and so emaciated from what they have suffered on the voyage, that they never will be capable of any labour."

Another eye-witness, the Rev. R. Johnson, the first chaplain of the colony, gives a more vivid picture which is worthy of quotation in full.¹⁴

"The 'Lady Juliana' brought out from England two hundred and twenty-six women convicts, out of which she had only buried five, though they had been on board for about fifteen months. The case was much otherwise with the other three ships.

"There were on board—

	Died on board.	Sick landed.
The Neptune, 520	163	269
The Scarborough, 252	68	96
The Surprise, 211	42	121
"The short calculation or account given me will account for what I am going to relate.		

HOW TO FOUND COLONIES

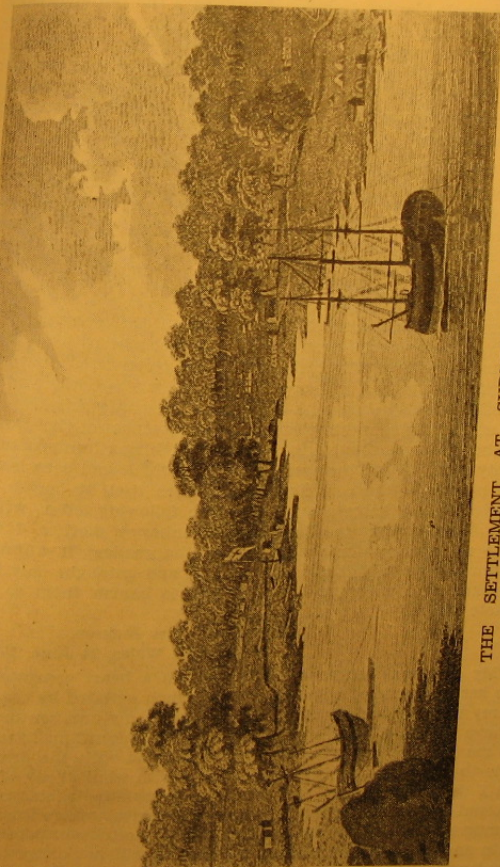
"Have been on board these different ships. Was first on board the 'Surprise.' Went down amongst the convicts, where I beheld a sight truly shocking to the feelings of humanity, a great number of them laying, some half and others nearly quite naked, without either bed or bedding, unable to turn or help themselves. Spoke to them as I passed along, but the smell was so offensive that I could scarcely bear it. I then went on board the 'Scarborough'; proposed to go down amongst them, but was dissuaded from it by the captain. The 'Neptune' was still more wretched and intolerable, and therefore never attempted it. Some of these unhappy people died after the ships came into the harbour, before they could be taken on shore—part of these had been thrown into the harbour, and their dead bodies cast upon the shore, and were seen laying naked upon the rocks. Took an occasion to represent this to his Excellency, in consequence of which immediate orders were sent on board that those who died on board should be carried to the opposite north shore and be buried. The landing of these people was truly affecting and shocking; great numbers were not able to walk, nor to move hand or foot; such were slung over the ship side in the same manner as they would sling a cask, a box, or anything of that nature. Upon their being brought up to the open air some fainted, some died upon deck, and others in the boat before they reached the shore. When come on shore many were not able to walk, to stand, or to stir themselves in the least, hence some were led by others. Some crept upon their hands and knees, and some were carried upon the backs of others. The next thing to be considered was what was to be done with all these miserable objects. Besides the sick that were in the hospital previous to the arrival of the fleet, there were now landed not less than four hundred and eighty-six sick; but the hospital erected here is not sufficient to hold above sixty or eighty at most; what then must be done with the rest? It was fortunate that a new hospital was brought out in the Justinian. This was set up with all speed; a great number of tents, in all ninety or a hundred, were pitched. In each of these tents there were about four sick people; here they lay in a most deplorable situation. At first they had nothing to lay upon but the damp ground, many scarcely a rag to cover them. Grass was got for them to lay upon, and a blanket given amongst four of them.* Have been amongst them for hours, may say days together, going from one tent to another, from one person to another, and you may imagine that what I here beheld was not a little affecting. The

* In the middle of winter!

SYDNEY COVE

number landed sick were near five hundred, most at the hospital, and some few dispersed here and there throughout the camp. The misery I saw amongst them is unexpressible; many were not able to turn, or even to stir themselves, and in this situation were covered over almost with their own nastiness, their heads, bodies, cloths, blanket, all full of filth and lice. Scurvy was not the only nor the worst disease that prevailed amongst them (one man I visited this morning, I think, I may say safely had 10,000 lice upon his body and bed); some were exercised with violent fevers, and others with a no less violent purging and flux. The complaints they had to make were no less affecting to the ear than their outward condition was to the eye. The usage they met with on board, according to their own story, was truly shocking; sometimes for days, nay, for a considerable time together, they have been to the middle in water chained together, hand and leg, even the sick not exempted—nay, many died with the chains upon them. Promises, entreaties, were all in vain, and it was not till a very few days before they made the harbour that they were released out of irons. The greatest complaints by far were from those persons who had come in the 'Neptune.' No wonder that they should be so afflicted; no wonder to hear them groaning and crying and making the most bitter lamentations. Endeavoured to comiserate them under their afflictions, pitied them, encouraged them to hope many of them would soon recover; that every indulgence, every attention would be paid to them; prayed with them, and gave some books amongst those of them that were able to read.

"You will, perhaps, be astonished when I tell you a little of the villainy of these wretched people. Some would complain they had no jackets, shirts, or trowsers, and begged that I would intercede for them. Some by this means have had two, three, or four—nay, one may not less than six different slops given him, which he would take an opportunity to sell to some others, and then make the same complaints and entreaties. When any of them were near dying, and had something given them as bread or lillipie (flour and water boiled together), or any other necessaries, the person next to him or others would catch the bread, &c., out of his hand, and, with an oath, say that he was going to die, and therefore it would be of no service to him. No sooner would the breath be out of any of their bodies than others would watch them and strip them entirely naked. Instead of alleviating the distresses of each other, the weakest were sure to go to the wall. In the night-time, which at this time is very cold, and especially this would be felt in the tents, where they had nothing but grass to lay on and a blanket



THE SETTLEMENT AT SYDNEY COVE.—
 Sketched by Captain Hunter, August 20, 1788.

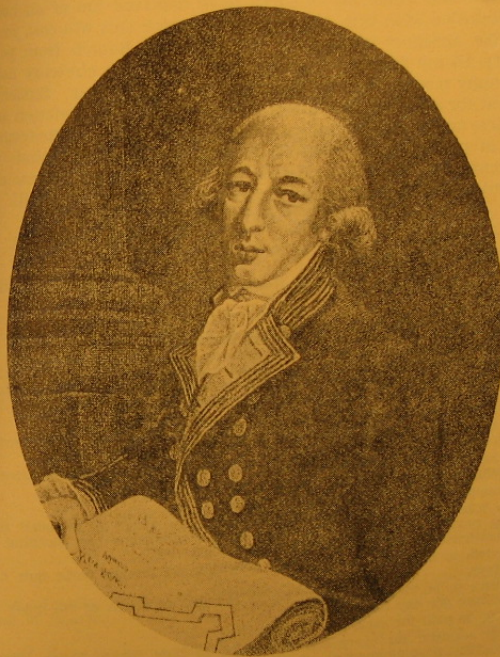
amongst four of them, he that was strongest of the four would take the whole blanket to himself and leave the rest quite naked. These three last ships have now been here about six weeks. In this time you may suppose there have been great alterations among the sick; a good many are so far recovered that they have got to work; a great number have died; have buried not less than eighty-six since they landed—eighty-four convicts, one child, and one soldier."

The incidents that the reverend gentleman avers pointed to the depravity of the convicts did not do anything of the kind. What they did was to point to the depravity of the English authorities that sent them out under conditions that made men brute beasts. A lesson in depravity is furnished by an incident and a letter that Captain Tench preserves for us. Let the reader decide where the depravity lay,

"Samuel Peyton, convict, for having on the evening of the King's Birthday broke open an officer's marquee with an intent to commit robbery, of which he was fully convicted, had sentence of death passed on him at the same time as Corbet; and on the following day they were both executed, confessing the justice of their fate, and imploring the forgiveness of those whom they had injured. Peyton, at the time of his suffering, was but twenty years of age, the greatest part of which had been invariably passed in the commission of crimes that at length terminated in his ignominious end. The following letter, written by a fellow-convict to the sufferer's unhappy mother, I shall make no apology for presenting to the reader; it affords a melancholy proof that not the ignorant and untaught only have provoked the justice of their country to banish them to this remote region:—

"Sydney Cove, Port Jackson,
New South Wales, 24 June, 1788.

"My dear and honoured mother,—With a heart oppressed by the keenest sense of anguish, and too much agitated by the idea of my very melancholy condition to express my own sentiments, I have prevailed on the goodness of a commiserating friend to do me the last sad office of acquainting you with the dreadful fate that awaits me. My dear mother! with what agony of soul do I dedicate the last few moments of my life to bid you an eternal adieu: my doom being irrevocably fixed, and ere this hour tomorrow I shall have quitted this vale of wretchedness to enter into an unknown and endless eternity. I will not distress your tender maternal feelings by any long comment on the cause of my present misfortune. Let it therefore suffice to say that,



CAPTAIN ARTHUR PHILLIP, R.N.

impelled by that strong propensity to evil, which neither the virtuous precepts nor example of the best of parents could eradicate, I have at length fallen an unhappy though just victim to my own follies.

"Too late I regret my inattention to your admonitions, and feel myself sensibly affected by the remembrance of the many anxious moments you have passed on my account. For these and all my other transgressions, however great, I supplicate the Divine forgiveness; and encouraged by the promises of that Saviour who died for us all, I trust to receive that mercy in the

world to come which my offences have deprived me of all hope or expectation of in this. The affliction which this will cost you I hope the Almighty will enable you to bear. Banish from your memory all my former indiscretions, and let the cheering hope of a happy meeting hereafter console you for my loss. Sincerely penitent for my sins; sensible of the justice of my conviction and sentence, and firmly relying on the merits of a blessed Redeemer, I am at perfect peace with all mankind, and trust I shall yet experience that peace which this world cannot give. Commend my soul to the Divine mercy. I bid you an eternal farewell.

"Your unhappy, dying son,

"SAMUEL PEYTON.

"To Mrs. Peyton, London."

In such a way did England found colonies a hundred and fifty years ago!

NOTE.—As to the justice of the statement made, on page 141, to the effect that the death of convicts on the way out paid the contractor, the following extracts from an actual contract (dated October, 1792), will allow the reader to judge: "**Memorandum of Contract.**—Heads of a contract to be made with Mr. Richards for transporting convicts from Ireland to New South Wales:—

To transport, victual, and clothe two hundred and seventy convicts and stores.

To put on board eight months' provisions, a proportion of necessaries for preserving their health, and a surgeon to attend them.

To supply them with beds and bedding.

Two tons allowed each convict and soldier, in which is included their lodging room, provisions for the passage, and provisions and clothing for nine months after their arrival.

Convicts to be supplied with fresh provisions in foreign ports four days in a week.

Soldiers to be victualled according to the establishment of the navy for one shilling per day for each soldier.

£17 to be paid for each convict embarked.

£5 in addition for every convict landed in New South Wales. To be paid in the following manner, viz.:—

£7 per head when the cabins and bulk heads are built.

£10 per head when all the provisions, water cask, stores and necessaries are on board and the ship's complete and ready to receive the convicts, being certified by the naval agent at Deptford.

£20 per day demurrage for 1,000 tons, and 6d. per day for each convict victualled.

Demurrage to commence after the usual lying allowed for embarking and disembarking the convicts.

Bulk heads, cabins, gratings, air scuttles, windsails, etc., etc., to be found by the contractor.

The convicts to be clothed and victualled by the contractor in the same manner as the convicts sent in the Royal Admiral."

—"Historical Records of N.S.W., Vol. 1, pt. 2.

Chapter V.

GOOSE OFF THE COMMON

The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
The young birds are chirping in the nest;
The young fawns are playing with the shadows,
The young flowers are blowing toward the west.
But the young, young children, O my brothers,
They are weeping bitterly!
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free. . . .
For oh, say the children, we are weary,
And we cannot run or leap;
If we cared for any meadows it were merely
To drop down in them and sleep. . . .
For all day we drag our burden, tiring,
Through the coal-dark underground;
Or all day we drive the wheels of iron
In the factories, round and round.
—Mrs. Browning: "The Cry of the Children."

1.—Loyalty, Trade and Convicts; 2.—Enclosure; 3.—Laissez-faire; 4.—Age of Reason.

IT was, then, an England that built its colonies upon the broken hearts and shattered bodies of the victims of its inhuman laws. But not only were its colonies so based. The whole of its wealth and power had the same foundations. It was an age when big landowners were taking the land from farmers and villagers and driving these to die of starvation, to live by poaching or robbery, or to exist as slaves in the new industrial towns. It was an age, too, when industrial capitalists were working men, women and children—but preferably women and children—for twelve or fourteen hours a day for a mere pittance in factories and in mines. It was, above all, an age of reason, when emotion, enthusiasm and human sympathy were frowned upon as evidences of low birth and lack of culture.

So that parliaments were always ready to ignore cries of children, sighs of women or groans of men and to pass as many laws as were necessary to stifle protests or to wreak vengeance on him who, by stealing the goose from the common, aped his betters who stole the common from the goose. And the judges were all that could be expected by an England that gave to thousands of its men, women and children the choice of death by starvation or by the noose. It was an England where there was a place for everybody and everybody was expected to be in his place—even if that place were at the end of a rope. So many found themselves in this latter place that

Scarce can our fields, such crowds at Tyburn die,
With hemp the gallows and the fleet supply.*

Added reason why, since New South Wales was reported to be suitable for growing flax, a colony should be established there!

1.—LOYALTY, TRADE AND CONVICTS.—Sir Joseph Banks seems to have been the first to suggest the establishment of a colony in New South Wales. He did so when giving evidence, in 1779, before the House of Commons Committee on gaols and transportation already referred to. That was in the middle of the War of American Independence when the flood of convicts to the American colonies was dammed. "Up to 1775 the social drainage system had been in admirable good order."** In that year it clogged up and, as a result, the victims began to have their revenge on society. The over-crowded gaols became fetid cesspits harboring all kinds of disease germs and contaminating all who came near them. Even the judges were not immune and were infected as they sat hearing cases and passing sentences.† Reason enough for the utmost dispatch and prompti-

* Johnson's, "London."

** Prof. Wood, Historical Society Journal, vol. 8.

† Howard's State of Prisons has this to say of the prisoners and their conditions:—

"Convicts are generally stout and robust young men, who have been accustomed to free diet, tolerable lodgings and vigorous exercise. These are ironed, and thrust into close offensive dungeons, and there chained down, some of them, without straw or other bedding; in which they continue, in winter, sixteen or seventeen hours out of the twenty-four, in utter inactivity and immersed in the noxious effluvia of their own bodies. . . . Their diet is at the same time low and scanty; they are generally without firing, and the powers of life become incapable of resisting so many causes of sickness and despair." (Quoted by Wood, "Historical Society Journal," Vol. 8.)

In the same place is quoted an illustration given by Dr. Redfern in his "Report on Gaol-fever and Its Contagiousness." It is of an incident that occurred in May, 1750:—

"When they were brought into the court, the windows at the end of the hall opposite to the place where the judges sat, were thrown open; the people on the left of the court on whom the wind blew were infected

tude. Reason enough, too, for emptying the gaols and pouring their inhabitants into Botany Bay.

It was not Banks, however, but another member of the company of the "Endeavour" who put before the government a detailed project and arguments for a colony in New South Wales. His scheme, which was approved by Banks, became an incentive to action, although to action long delayed, and a basis for the government's own plans. Correspondence followed during several years after the proposal was put forward and, nearly three years afterwards, a decision was made and final plans were adopted.* The proposer was James Maria Matra, who, under the name of Magra, had sailed with Cook on his first voyage of discovery.†

Matra's proposal was made after the irrevocability of the loss of the American colonies was recognised by the British government. Preliminary articles between Great Britain and the United States had been signed at Paris on November 30, 1782, hostilities ceased and the preliminaries of peace were signed on January 20 following and the Treaty of Peace was signed at Paris on September 3. Matra's proposal was written in August. But it would be a mistake to imagine that his proposal was inspired by the loss of the colonies.

It was "A Proposal for Establishing a Settlement in New South Wales" that Matra offered for the consideration of the Coalition Government of Fox and Lord North, expressing the hope that such a settlement might "in time atone for the loss of our American colonies." According to him, New South Wales had been shown by Cook to contain "every variety of soil" much of

with the fever, while those on the opposite side escaped. The Lord Chief Justice and the Recorders who sat on the Lord Mayor's right hand escaped, while the Lord Mayor and the rest of the Bench who sat on the left side were seized with distemper. Many of the Middlesex jury on the left side of the Court died of it, while the London jury, who sat opposite to them received no injury.

Thus were the victims beginning to have their revenge even upon the judges who condemned them!

* Another question was later to trouble the good people who were sending tens of thousands of convicts out to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land: whether the convicts sent out were suffering enough or were having a good time in a new land! The question was answered and consciences eased by the Governor of Van Diemen's Land who wrote to Lord Goderich in March, 1834:—

"If my Lord, the evidence, or conduct, of particular individuals, can be relied on as proof of the efficiency or non-efficiency of transportation, I am sure that a strong case indeed could be made out in its favour. I might instance the rioters who arrived by the "Eliza," several of whom died almost immediately from disease, induced apparently by despair. A great many of them went about dejected and stupefied with care and grief, and their situation after assignment was not for a long time less unhappy." (Quoted by the Hammonds in their "Village Labourer," p. 324.)

it "extremely fertile." It would produce, he said, every product of Europe and, moreover, was in such a climate that it was fitted to produce spices, cotton, tea, sugar, indigo. He strongly recommended the production of flax. New South Wales would, also, "afford an asylum to those unfortunate American loyalists, whom Great Britain is bound by every tie of honor and gratitude to protect and support, where they may repair their broken fortunes and again enjoy their former domestic felicity."

His plan was to send one or two ships with an advance party to prepare the place for settlement. He said that "intelligent and candid Americans," with whom he had talked, approved of the proposal, as did, also, Sir Joseph Banks. The new settlement would become a centre from which British trade could expand. Trade with China would grow enormously. Furs could be obtained from the Aleutian and Foxes Islands. The Japanese wool market could be captured from the Russians who enjoyed a virtual monopoly. Trade relations could be established with Korea, timber "for the use of the King's yards" could be obtained from New Zealand and the spice trade would be taken out of the hands of the Dutch. From New South Wales, "if we were at war with Holland or Spain, we might very powerfully annoy either State."

There is no need to be alarmed about the possibility of depopulation of the mother country as a result of emigration. People don't emigrate through restlessness. Poverty, Matra tells us, is the cause of emigration. Therefore, for the reasons given above, those who emigrated would "be of great and permanent service to their parent community in some remote part of the world, who, if they continue at home, will probably live to see their own ruin, and will be very prejudicial to society." By colonising New South Wales, England would rid itself of many of its poor and, as a result, of much of its crime, for poverty breeds crime.

The Coalition Government went out of office in December, 1783, and Lord Sydney took the place of Lord North at the Home Office, by which department Colonial Affairs were then administered. Matra discussed his proposal with Sydney, who was not interested in the question of settling Americans in New South Wales but who thought that that country "would be a very proper region for the reception of criminals condemned to transportation." Matra agreed and added an addendum to his original proposal. In it he quoted two resolutions that had been passed by the Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1777 to consider gaol returns. The resolutions urged the authorisation

by Act of Parliament of the establishment of penal settlements in other parts of the world so that convicts could be transported there as they had formerly been transported to America, for the Committee was agreed "that the plan of establishing a colony or colonies in some distant part of the globe, and in new discovered countries, where the climate is healthy, and where the means of support are attainable, is equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and sound policy, and might prove in the result advantageous to navigation and commerce."

Matra had urged the claims of the American "Loyalists" upon British gratitude in order to attract interest to his scheme. But it is quite evident that his own interests were in the proposed colony itself and in the trade that would grow out of its foundation rather than in the fate of those who had remained faithful to Britain in America. When it became evident that the Government would not exert itself on behalf of the Loyalists but would consider a penal settlement in New South Wales he quickly found arguments in its favor, which he added to the commercial arguments that he had adduced. The new arguments, some of which must have been the arguments that weighed with the Government, are interesting and informative.

The penal settlement that had been established in Africa had resulted, said Matra, in an alarming expenditure of human life. The climate was not suitable and, of the 746 convicts who had been sent there in 1775 and 1776,* 334 died, 271 deserted "and, of the remainder, no account could be given." Then the expense. It cost £9,865 to establish the settlement in Africa and £15/14/- per annum for each convict. Contractors receive £26/15/10 per annum for each convict employed in the hulks. "I am informed," he says, "that in some years more than 1000 felons are convicted, many of whom are under 18 years of age. The charge to the public for these convicts has been increasing for the last seven or eight years; and, I believe, now amounts to more than £20,000 per annum." Neither the African scheme nor the keeping of felons in prisons at home was cheaper than the old custom of sending convicts to America, where they were sold into servitude for a number of years.

On the other hand Matra's proposed settlement in New South Wales would solve the financial problem. If the convicts were given land "as soon as they arrive . . . in absolute property, with what assistance they may want to till them," they would become self-supporting. Nor was it all a question of money. If the

* That is, on the outbreak of the American War.

convicts were not "reproached for their former conduct" and if they were given an opportunity to begin a new life for themselves, "it is very probable they will be useful, . . . it is very possible they will be moral subjects of society." Thus would two objects be achieved: "economy to the public and humanity to the individual." Matra's proposed treatment of the convicts does credit to his humanity even if his appealing to the hearts of members of an 18th century British Government does not beget in us a high estimate of his intelligence. The treatment of convicts as human beings was not to be expected of governments that passed laws which made felons of honest men and criminals of young boys. Matra would have done well to confine his arguments to the head that in the 18th century was a far more important part of the human anatomy than the heart.

Transportation as a penalty for offenders was not something new in English law.² As early as 1597, an Act was passed by which "dangerous rogues, and such as will not be reformed of their roguish course of life" might be banished "into such parts beyond the seas as shall be for that purpose assigned by the Privy Council." Those who returned without permission would be branded with "a great Roman R" on the left shoulder. "The first recorded public documents authorising the transportation of convicts, and specially designating their destination, are three Orders in Council, dated January, 1614, July, 1615, and March 20, 1617, respectively. These orders directed certain criminals to be delivered to the Governor of the East India Company, to be transported to the East Indies."³ In 1619, we come across the first record of the actual transportation of convicts, when a "hundred dissolute persons were sent to Virginia." Cromwell set the example of transporting political prisoners when he sold Irish and Scottish prisoners into slavery in the West Indies. A similar fate awaited those of the followers of Monmouth in his rebellion of 1685 who escaped execution.

It was in 1718, however, that transportation was systematised and regulated by an Act of Parliament. Ordinary punishments had not been effective in preventing "robbery, larceny, and other offences of the kind," reads the preamble, and, therefore, it was now enacted that felons could be sold to contractors who would have full control of them for seven years. An added reason for the measure was given, that "in many of His Majesty's colonies and plantations in America there was great want of servants, who by their labor and industry might be the means of improving and making them more useful to the nation." Contractors, being given "a property and interest in the service of such offenders,"

were able to, and did, sell them to planters and others in America. They became slaves and remained slaves until the term of the transportation had expired. So did Englishmen refrain from letting "their left hand know what their right hand did; and at the very time when they asserted the freedom of black slaves brought to England from the colonies, they exported white convicts under sentence of transportation for sale to settlers in America. The sum received was the payment to the owners and captains of the transport ships for their trouble and risk; and it is said that the white slaves and the black were set to work together on the plantations, and were equally punished by the lash for idleness or disobedience."⁴ Transportation, therefore, not only relieved the Government of an onerous burden, it was also a source of profit. This lucrative white slave trade⁵ had, perforce, to cease when the American colonies became independent. Instead of profits out of its criminals, English Governments had then to feed and clothe them. It was often found much simpler and easier, and certainly less expensive, to hang instead of to feed and to clothe.

Gaols became overcrowded and threatened plague and pestilence to the population. It was the period when John Howard was investigating the conditions of the gaols and inviting "all Europe, not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the statefulness of temples; . . . but to dive into the depths of dungeons, . . . to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression and contempt."⁶ His investigations of prisons, begun when he became sheriff of Bedford and continued all over England, were instrumental in awakening public opinion to their horrors. Darkness, dampness, starvation, overcrowding, cold, bullying—these added to the sentences of prisoners—except those rich enough to buy what they wanted even though in prison—the additional one of disease or death. Government found that it could not throw men and women into prison and forget them. Howard and others would not let it forget. Even the 18th century House of Commons was moved to appoint committees of investigation. Clearly something had to be done. Either the number of those executed would have to be increased or else some new place to which to transport convicts would have to be found. It never occurred to Government to empty the gaols and ensure that their inmates were given the right and freedom to live in a country where they had been free only to die or to become "criminals." Instead of

² See note at end of this chapter.

³ Edmund Burke.

remedying the conditions which created the criminals, successive governments passed laws to manufacture more.

In the same year that Matra's proposal to colonise New South Wales was put forward, an Act was passed authorising the transference of convicts from the gaols to the hulks on the Thames. The hulks had been used since 1775 and, in 15 years, 8000 convicts had been sentenced to hard labor in them. The Act of 1783 authorised a mass exodus from the gaols to the hulks pending the transportation of those transferred. Another Act, in 1784, gave power to the Government to designate by an Order-in-Council other places besides America to which convicts could be sent. It was evident that the Government was already considering the resumption of transportation. It was under this Act that, on December, 1786, the Order-in-Council was made appointing "the eastern coast of New South Wales" a place to which convicts could be sent.

Crimes and "crimes" for which the penalty of transportation was expressly laid down by Act of Parliament, from the time of Charles II. to that of George III., included almost everything from stealing fish within any water in a park, paddock, orchard or yard⁷ to solemnising matrimony without banns or license,⁸ Quakers' who for the third time denied an oath to be lawful or assembled themselves together under pretence of joining in religious worship; persons who exported wool without paying the sums recovered against them,⁹ persons who entered a park and killed or wounded a deer without the consent of the owner,¹⁰ persons who "stole" or intended to "steal" a deer from an unenclosed forest,¹¹ ministers of the Episcopal Church of Scotland who carried on their functions in Scotland without registering their letters of orders or taking the necessary oaths and who neglected to pray for His Majesty and the Royal Family by name (six months for the first offence, transportation for life for the second)¹²—all these were criminals and were to be transported. There were to be transported, too, those who were notorious thieves and spoil-takers,¹³ who stole from the rack or "imbezzelled" H.M.'s stores to the value of 20/-,¹⁴ who burned hay or corn ricks in the night time,¹⁵ who were guilty of larceny,¹⁶ who, having been convicted of perjury or forgery, afterwards practised as attorneys,¹⁷ who were convicted of perjury, subornation¹⁸ or of assault and design to rob,¹⁹ who resisted officers when the latter were seizing wool unlawfully exported,²⁰ who stole linen laid to be printed or bleached (death or transportation for fourteen years),²¹ who entered mines of black-lead to

steal,²² or who assaulted a magistrate or other officer engaged in salvaging ships or goods from wreck.²³

The list of crimes punishable, according to Statute, by transportation was thus not a very formidable list. The reason, of course, was not the clemency of English laws but the fact that so many crimes were punishable by death! It is hard to imagine how and why there were any crimes that carried the penalty of mere transportation. It was probably due to the desire for symmetry and to the fact that the official mind, like nature, abhors a vacuum—it was desirable that there should be a list of crimes punishable by death and another of those punishable by transportation, to establish a sort of balance. But, in the result, sadism conquered the principle of balance and the list of crimes punishable by transportation is small in comparison with that of crimes punishable by death.

According to Sir William Blackstone,²⁴ there were about 160 crimes for which the penalty was death. These were the most important: treason; petty treason; counterfeiting; murder; arson; rape; stealing an heiress; sodomy; piracy; forgery; embezzlement; destroying ships; setting ships on fire; concealment of effects by bankrupts; burglary at night; highway robbery; house-breaking in day time; picking pockets above one shilling; shop-lifting above five shillings; stealing bonds, bills or bank-notes; stealing above forty shillings in any house; stealing above forty shillings on a river; stealing linen; maiming or killing cattle maliciously; stealing horses, cattle or sheep; shooting at a revenue officer or at any other person; pulling down houses or churches; breaking down the head of a fish pond whereby fish may be lost; cutting down trees in an avenue; cutting down river or sea banks; cutting hop-binds; setting fire to coal-mines; taking a reward for helping another to stolen goods; returning from transportation without leave; stabbing a person unarmed or with an undrawn weapon (if he die within six months); concealing the birth of an illegitimate child; maliciously maiming or disfiguring any person or lying in wait to do so; sending threatening letters; riots by twelve or more, and not dispersing in an hour after proclamation; being accessories to felonies deemed capital; stealing woollen cloths from tenter grounds; stealing from a ship in distress; embezzling, burning or destroying government stores in dock-yards; **challenging jurors above twenty in capital felonies, or standing mute**; selling cottons with forged stamps; deer-stealing, second offence (or even first offence, under Black Act not usually enforced); uttering counterfeit money, first offence; insolvent prisoners guilty of perjury; de-

destroying silk or velvet in the loom or the tools for their manufacture; purloining of a master's goods, value forty shillings, by a servant; personating bail; escape from prison in certain cases; attempting to kill Privy Councillors; sacrilege; smuggling by armed persons or assembling for that purpose; robbery of the mail; destroying turnpikes or bridges, gates, weighing engines, locks, sluices, engines for draining marshes; mutiny; desertion; enlistment by soldiers and sailors into foreign service.

You could, in other words, be hanged for protesting against the horrors of 18th century England or for remaining mute; for desiring to live or even for attempting to kill a Privy Councillor—singled out, no doubt, because it seemed natural to want to kill a Privy Councillor. You could be hanged for stealing a deer—but you could not be hanged for stealing the commons from the people. You could be hanged for stealing a handkerchief—but you were quite safe if you stole the air that was needed by the children who worked in the new factories for twelve hours a day. Thus was a nice balance maintained and Englishmen continued to sing that they never, never would be slaves!

The Coalition Government to which Matra submitted his proposals remained in office only until December, 1783. Nothing was done by it and Matra approached its successor—the Pitt Government, which held office until 1801. In this government, from January, 1784, till June, 1789, Thomas Townshend,* Lord Sydney, was the Secretary of State by whose department colonial affairs were administered.**

Negotiations went on and much correspondence passed—between Matra and Ministers, between various Government Departments and between American Loyalists and Matra. The

* Thomas Townshend was raised to the peerage in March, 1783, taking the title, Baron Sydney of Chislehurst. In June, 1789, he became Viscount Sydney. He had been Secretary of State for Home Affairs also in the short-lived Ministry of Lord Shelburne, 1782-3. He died in 1800. (Barton, p. 2).

** When New South Wales was founded, colonial matters were in charge of the Home Department. In 1660, a Council of Foreign Plantations had been set up by Charles II. Twelve years later, this Council amalgamated with the Council of Trade to form the Council of Trade and Plantations. In 1768, a Secretaryship of State for the American Department was established, but the Council of Trade and Plantations continued to exist until both Secretaryship and Council were abolished in 1782. The loss of the American colonies had given the Secretary very little to do! Colonial Affairs were then placed under the Home Department. In 1784, the Council of Trade and Plantations was revived under the name of the Board of Trade. In 1794, Colonial Affairs were placed under the charge of the newly-created department of the Secretary for War. The department—remained united until 1854, when a Secretaryship of State for the Colonies was created. (Barton, pp. 559-61).

Government was not concerned with the American Loyalists. But it was deeply concerned with the convicts and the question of their disposal. Sir George Young, of the Admiralty, drew up a plan for a settlement in New South Wales—based on that of Matra and reiterating the arguments of trade advantages, strategic importance in case of war and the products of the new land. Finally, approval was given and official plans were drawn up. The Government was pleased at having solved a difficult problem. England was to be made safe for those who stole the common from the goose or waxed rich from the sweat and tears of little children! As many crimes as could be thought of might now be created by Act of Parliament—for was there not a vast land to be opened up to receive unwanted men, women and children as fast as they could be condemned? And Botany Bay was a long way off!

2.—ENCLOSURE.—The foundations of New South Wales were laid in an age when great revolutionary political and economic changes were taking place. These changes were to form a cause of the rapid increase of the population of the new colony. A big portion of the population of Britain was rendered superfluous by them and, for decades, tens of thousands of Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen were sent out to Australia. It was one of the greatest schemes of enforced immigration in history. Men and women were not wanted, and laws were passed to make "criminals" of them so that they could be deported. And, to the cruelty of wholesale transplantation, under hellish conditions, of men, women and children, there was added the odiousness of hypocrisy—the pretexts of safeguarding morality and stamping out vice.

Oliver Goldsmith, in his "Deserted Village" has immortalised a picture of what was happening to the English countryside in the 18th century. The common lands were being taken from the villagers by the big landowners—the process of "enclosure" was driving thousands of small farmers from the land into the new industrial towns or to become poachers. There were many such deserted villages as Goldsmith described.

Sweet-smiling village, loveliest of the lawn!
Thy sports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn;
Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,
And desolation saddens all thy green;
One only master grasps the whole domain,
And half a tillage stunts thy smiling plain;
Sunk are thy bowers in shapeless ruin all,
And the long grass o'ertops the mouldering wall;
And, trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand
Far, far away thy children leave the land,
Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay;

GOOSE OFF THE COMMON

Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade—
 A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
 But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
 When once destroyed, can never be supplied,
 A time there was e'er England's griefs began,
 When every rood of ground maintained its man!

Goldsmith described, also, what became of those people whom the enclosure movement and the greed of the big landowners, aided by their representatives in parliament, uprooted from the soil and rendered homeless. His language is not melodramatic—it but gives the sober truth!

Where, then, ah! where shall poverty reside
 To 'scape the pleasure of continuous pride?
 If to some common's fenceless limits stray'd
 He drives his flock to pick the scanty blade,
 Those fenceless fields the sons of wealth divide,
 And even the bare-worn common is denied.
 If to the city sped, what waits him there?
 To see profusion that he must not share;
 To see ten thousand baneful arts combined
 To pamper luxury, and thin mankind;
 To see those joys the sons of pleasure know
 Extorted from his fellow-creatures' woe,
 Here while the courtier glitters in brocade,
 There the pale artist plies the sickly trade;
 Here while the proud their long-drawn pomps display,
 There the black gibbet glooms beside the way.

And if not to the gibbet, then the disinherited find their way
 . . . To distant climes, a dreary scene
 Where half the convex world intrudes between.

The enclosure movement was the process of expropriating the small farmers. Around the early eighteenth century village—as in previous centuries—most of the land was “common” land. Such common land consisted of the fields that were cultivated in strips owned or held by the Lord of the Manor, freeholders, copyholders, tenant farmers, cottagers, the common meadows, held inalienably by the village as a whole for centuries, and the common woodland or waste. The cultivation of the fields, what was to be sown, which fields were to remain fallow—such questions were decided by a village jury. Ambitious landowners, desiring to carry on farming on a big scale, sought to get the common lands into their own hands. And they were able to do as they wished, for Parliament was theirs—“one interest is supreme throughout England, supreme in Parliament, supreme in the country.”²⁴ An impetus was given to the process by the influx into the country of rich manufacturers who wished to become country gentlemen, and at the same time apply their methods of concentrated production to agriculture.

It is easy to idealise the pre-enclosure village and to forget its stagnation. But it is not necessary to do so in order to appreciate the cruelty that attended the rooting-up of its inhabitants, the

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