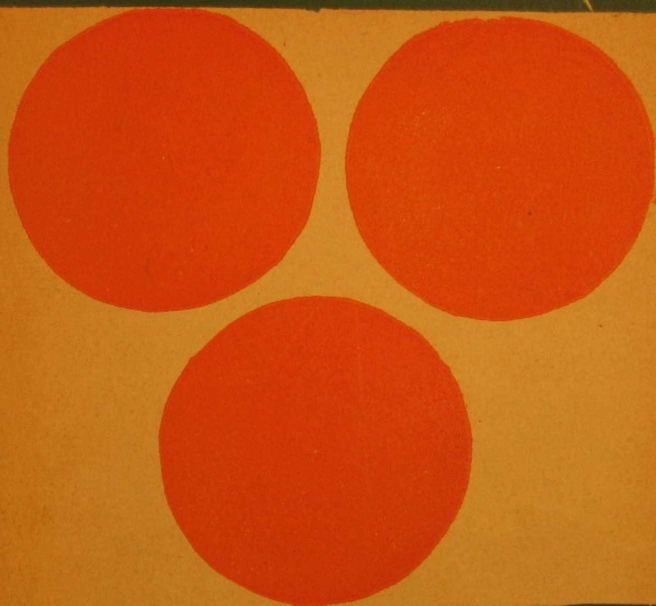
PART 5



THE STORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE

J. N. RAWLING

J. N. Rawling, B.A.

Is well fitted for the task he has undertaken in "THE STORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE." He is a graduate of Sydney University, where he specialised in history. His knowledge of this subject, gained as the result of many years' intensive study has been re-inforced by over fifteen years' experience in the teaching of history.

After serving for three years on active service during the Great War, Mr. Rawling was appointed a lecturer in history in the A.I.F. Educational Service under the late Bishop Long, who highly commended him for his work done in this capacity.

Mr. Rawling is also well known to many Australians as editor of "World Peace," a monthly magazine devoted to the cause of peace and opposed to war and fascism.

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THE STORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE

PART 5

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FOREWORD

Part 5 of the "Story of the Australian People" is here presented.

For the benefit of those who have suggested that each part should be complete in itself we have to stress the fact that this work is a BOOK in process of publication and NOT a series of parts. The complete book is kept in sight. It is impossible, therefore, to make each part complete in itself. Nor is it possible, as others have suggested, to place the notes in each part. We have to keep in mind what the completed book will look like and the notes will have to come at the end of each book. We are aware that, as a result, readers will have to wait often to look up notes and references, but we feel that delay is preferable to having a choppy book when it is completed and bound. We take this opportunity to thank readers who have sent in suggestions, criticisms and appreciations.

The whole book 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 Nationalisation* (1856-1885); *V, End of an Age* (1885-1901); *VI, Commonwealth and War* (1901-1919); *VII, The Latest Age* (1919-1938).

The book is being published in ten monthly parts which, when completed, may be bound to form a volume of 800 *pages.*

A list of errata is to be found on the detachable page at the end of this part.

The population of New South Wales, including Van Diemen's Land, in 1820, was 29,407. Of these, 5464 were in Van Diemen's Land. Only 2021 had come out here free and 8368 were born here—of the latter 6688 were twelve years old or under. Of those of convict origin—19,018—there were 12,039 still serving their sentences and 1790 had tickets of leave. The remaining 5189 were made up as follows: 3617 had served their sentences, 182 had pardons, 1170 had conditional pardons—and 220 did not attend the muster, their status, therefore, not being determined.* It will be seen from these figures that about two-thirds of the population in 1820 had come out as convicts, that, of the remaining 10,000, the overwhelming majority must have been born of convict parents and that, of the class known as emancipists, over three-quarters had served their sentences, less than one-quarter only, therefore, having been pardoned.

The population was rapidly differentiating into classes whose lines of demarcation were quite distinct from that which divided free from bond. There are indications, too, that dislike of the taint of convictism was not the only barrier between the exclusives and the emancipists. The former did not scorn the aid of rich emancipists in deposing Bligh, while the Blaxlands, who were free settlers, found no objections to prevent them from being business partners of Simeon Lord, an emancipist. Alexander Riley gave a classification of the New South Wales community when he was giving evidence before the 1819 Committee on Gaols.** Firstly, there were civil and military officers and gentlemen—the latter including "gentlemen-settlers" and merchants. Some "gentlemen-settlers" were interested in trade, and most merchants had land—but the process of differentiation was becoming apparent: the ex-officer† stuck to his land, leaving trade to the merchants of Sydney, many, if not most, of whom were emancipists. This differentiating process became more obvious during the next decade. Riley's second class was that of settlers, retail traders, and so on, who had come out free and his third class people of the same callings who had been convicts. But these two groups would, and did, tend to coalesce‡—with

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* Coghlan, p. 47.

** Summarised by Marion Phillips, pp. 9-11.

† "For the most part they were simple, commonplace men, physically courageous and intellectually vapid, men guided by a strange jumble of uncomprehended motives—blind loyalty to the King, their regiment or ship—blind acceptance of the Church of England—mingled with love of liquor, greed of gain and indifference to the usual tenets of morality."—Marion Phillips, p. 10.

‡ They intermarried and were prone to be drawn close together by their

the exception of those who became bigger landowners. The last class was the convicts and free laborers—the latter often being worse off than the convicts with whose labor they had to compete.*

Class alignments were, therefore, becoming clearer—a development that helps us to place the Bligh episode in correct perspective. Merchant and landowner, whether bond or free no questions were asked,** combined against Bligh and then split. Settlers free and freed, supported Bligh and Macquarie was instructed to favor them. Then, with the increase of British capitalist interest and investment in New South Wales and the pro-landowner report of Bigge, came a reversal of British policy†—now to favor the big pastoralists who, as we shall see, were to be given a say in the government of the Colony. What **they** deposed Bligh for they had now gained—the merchants had still something to win—and it is here we find the basis for an enduring conflict whose beginnings we see during the governorship of Macquarie. The exclusive pastoralists used the weapon of the convict taint against the rich emancipist merchants, to whom in turn the thousands of emancipists rallied in a cause whose aim—whether consciously or unconsciously—was the winning of democracy and self-government. Looking back from here we can see the beginnings of that struggle in the time of Macquarie. In later chapters we watch its further development and see it more clearly.

10.—GOVERNOR AND JUDGE.—When Macquarie came out to supersede Bligh, Ellis Bent was appointed to replace Atkins as Judge-Advocate. He was a barrister and was soon drawing up suggestions for the reform of the judicial system. In 1811, he advised the establishment of trial by jury, the appointment of a judge and the differentiation of the two kinds of duties for

economic ties than rent asunder by the convict taint. See Note 46 to this Chapter.

* See above, pp. 275-6.

** For example, Macarthur would have welcomed Crossley as an ally.

† Macquarie understood the decision that had to be made. "It therefore remains," he wrote to Bathurst, in June, 1813 (Historical Records of Australia, VII, p. 776), "for His Majesty's Government to consider whether they wish the eternal policy of this Colony to be so conducted, as to please the minds of the generality of free persons coming to settle in it as such, or whether they wish so to construct it as to hold out the greatest possible rewards to the convicts for reformation of manners, by considering them, when this is the case, in every way entitled to the rights and privileges of a citizen, who has never come under the sentence of transportation."

which the judge-advocate was responsible, so that he should not have to sit in judgment on cases in which he had prepared indictments.[42]

In 1814, the new Charter of Justice was issued. It did not grant trial by jury,[43] but created a Supreme Court, with a Chief Judge and two magistrates, and a Governor's Court, in which the Judge-Advocate would preside. The Criminal Court was to remain as it was. Appeal could be made from both the Governor's and the Supreme Courts to the Governor. From the Supreme Court there could be appeal to the Privy Council in cases involving over £3000. The new Chief Judge was Jeffery Hart Bent, brother of the Judge-Advocate. With both of the brothers, Macquarie quarrelled, and both of them were recalled by the British government.* With the Judge-Advocate the quarrel was principally over the appointment of emancipists as magistrates. The conflict with J. H. Bent was concerned with the judge's refusal to allow emancipist lawyers to practise in the courts.

Before the arrival of Judge Bent, ex-convict attorneys had been allowed to appear in the courts. At the first sitting of the Supreme Court, on May 1, 1815, three emancipists applied for permission to practise—Edward Eagar, George Crossley and George Chartres. Bent refused to allow them to appear, maintaining that no convicted person could ever practise again in a law court. The Judge-Advocate in the Governor's Court made a similar decision.[44] Macquarie endeavored to persuade the Bents to allow the emancipists to appear, but without avail. The dispute resulted in the holding up of law business until a decision could be obtained from England. For two years all cases in which more than £30 was involved were suspended. Bathurst's decision, when it did come, was the recall of the two Bents. But he made it clear that he did not disagree with the Bents' opinions—but with their holding up of judicial proceedings. As for emancipist attorneys, however, the remonstrances of the Judge and Judge-Advocate were "proper," wrote Bathurst, "nor am I disposed to sanction their employment in the colony under any other circumstances than those which existed at the time, namely, there being but one other attorney in the colony."[45] However, Macquarie was not finished with his efforts on behalf of the emancipists.

There had been conflicts between Governor and Judge-Advocate before the latter's brother arrived to reinforce him.

* Ellis died (10/11/'15), however, before his recall was decided on in England.

These conflicts centred around their diverse attitudes toward the emancipated convicts whom Macquarie had appointed magistrates and had invited to his table.*[46] But there were other causes for clashes: Bent's objections to the small size of the Court Room, his failure to rise on the Governor's entrance into church, his refusal to consider himself an officer to be ordered about by Macquarie, his decision to discontinue presiding on the bench of magistrates (although the Judge-Advocate had done so since 1788), his disagreement with the Governor over the question of the Port Regulations (which Macquarie wanted revising but which Bent considered in conflict with English law**).[47] When Bent's brother (whom Macquarie had recommended as chief judge) arrived, he, too, found much to object to: that he hadn't been knighted before he left England, that he wasn't provided with a house to live in or a satisfactory court to administer justice in. But these were only side-issues compared with the long sustained struggle when the judge refused and the Governor urged that emancipist lawyers be recognised by the courts. The two magistrates associated with Judge Bent, Broughton and Riley, supported Macquarie and the judge refused to sit. The dead-lock continued for two years—"Bent, the first Supreme Court Judge of Australia, never heard a case nor delivered a judgment."[48]

There was much popular support for the emancipist attorneys. These endeavored to organise a public meeting but Macquarie refused his permission. A long correspondence between the governor and the Judge ensued, resulting only in exacerbating the irritation of each with the other. On the death of Ellis Bent, Macquarie appointed Frederick Garling, a solicitor who had been sent out by the British government, as Judge-Advocate, and he allowed the emancipist lawyers to practise in his court. Chief Judge Bent averred that Garling had been bribed by the Governor!

In January, 1816, the government recalled the Bents† and

* Especially Simeon Lord and Andrew Thompson. There were also D'Arcy Wentworth (who had not been a convict but who was generally classed with the emancipists), William Redfern and others.

** Bent objected to the Governor's power of legislation: "I hope," he wrote to Macquarie, "that I am not presuming too much when I express a humble confidence that it never could be intended that so vast a power should be placed in the hands of any one man without the smallest provision against its abuse; a power which, as far as this Colony is concerned, and under the bare pretence of local circumstances, I will be bold to say sets the Governor of New South Wales above the Legislature of Great Britain, and at once resolves the rule of action into the mere will of the Governor, a will not subjected to any previous advice or control."

† One, of course, was beyond recall.

appointed in their stead, John Wylde as Judge-Advocate and Barron Field as Chief Judge of the Supreme Court. Under these, for several years, the emancipist attorneys were not admitted into the courts and even a free man, who became a partner of Crossley, was struck off the rolls for so doing.

In his conflict with the Governor, Bent was able to, and did, harass him in many ways. All of the grounds on which his actions were based were not frivolous ones, although he seems to have been actuated by vindictiveness. Nevertheless, he was able to rally to his support many free colonists because he took his stand upon the law, drew attention to the autocratic power of the Governor and urged vigilance on behalf of individual liberty. He would not pay toll on the Parramatta Road, was fined, refused to pay the fine and did not use the road again—and he challenged the authority of the Governor to levy taxes.* He incited Assistant-Chaplain Vale and a solicitor, W. H. Moore, to seize, as a lawful prize under the Navigation Act, the first American ship to enter Port Jackson since the war. Vale was court-martialled but Macquarie was not sure of the legality of his action and sought an act of indemnity if he had acted illegally.** Then, Macquarie had people arrested for climbing the wall into the Domain† instead of using the gates—and three of them were flogged by his orders. One of the three was a free man, another an emancipist, the other a convict. Here was seeming evidence that New South Wales was a vast gaol with all in it prisoners and the Governor the head gaoler who could flog whom he pleased.‡ Affidavits were taken from the victims by Judge Bent, who put himself at the head of the popular indignation. Another action of Macquarie's was his refusal to allow an officer of the 73rd (then relieved by the 48th), who had been guilty of murder in 1813 but who had received very lenient treatment, to land in Sydney, on his return in 1816. Bent took up this case, too.

Vale—or, rather, Bent—drew up a Petition to the House of Commons†† reciting all these grievances. Macquarie, to Bathurst,

* Historical Records of Australia, VIII, pp. 4-30.

** Macquarie was never sure of the legality of his actions. He had no knowledge of the law and Bent had all the law books!

† It had been used for undesirable purposes.

‡ "The inhabitants of all ranks were surprised and alarmed; until that moment the humblest freemen in the Colony had considered their persons safe under the Government of General Macquarie; it was an unguarded measure, condemned and lamented by his best friends; and from the knowledge I conceive I have of Governor Macquarie I think he must himself have regretted that he gave the order."—Alexander Riley (Phillips, p. 246).

†† See below, p. 330.

characterised this as sedition. Bathurst disagreed that petitions for redress of grievances could be regarded as seditious. Macquarie held up grants of land that were due those who signed —and many repudiated their signatures. In December, 1817, Macquarie offered his resignation, which, however, was not accepted until 1820.[49]

11.—POLITICAL STIRRINGS.—With the coming of Macquarie the diarchy that had prevailed in the colony ended. The first four Governors, nominally despots whose word was law locally and whose power was limited only by the necessity of their having to answer to the authorities, public opinion and English law at home, were often powerless and one of them found himself deposed and a prisoner. Not least of the antagonisms of the early days of New South Wales was that between the military and civil authorities. Hunter complained of the hostility shown by the military towards the civil officers and magistrates[50] and, when he restored them after Grose's military regime, officers of the Corps spared no efforts to annoy them and to deprive them of "the respect of the lower orders."[51] The coming of a military governor, who was also commanding officer of the regiment* he brought with him to displace the N.S.W. Corps, removed the conflict between the civil and military authorities, but it made his autocracy absolute.

Both Hunter and King had felt the necessity of having a council upon which they could rely and which would draw them from the isolation into which military hostility had thrust them. They called together frequent meetings of the principal civil, naval and military officers to consider various problems that arose[52] and Hunter wanted a civil, as opposed to a military, lieutenant-governor.[53] Bligh, faced with a military opposition that reached the status of a rebel force, relied more on civil officials, of whom was made the nucleus of an advisory council, with George Crossley, the convict attorney, as its legal advisor.

In the meantime, amongst the settlers, the desire for self-government and ideas of democracy were not absent. Evidence of this we have seen on previous pages. King, in 1806, complained** of the democratic tendencies of some of the settlers. "A small number," he wrote, "have discovered a troublesome disposition, which has been increased by two or three who are looked on by the rest as more enlightened than themselves, and who are strongly tinctured with the democratic spirit of the times before they left England." The "present discontents" against which Pitt, Wilberforce and the Vice Society were using all their resources in England were not absent from New South Wales.

Reports such as these and the suggestion made that a council be created to advise Macquarie were hateful to the British government, to which ideas of democracy were anathema and to which Providence had vouchsafed no intelligence to draw lessons from the American revolt of thirty years before. There were many suggestions for a council to assist, or curb, the Governor—in addition to the popular demands for a share in the government of the colony that we have already noticed. Some of these suggestions were made by wealthy settlers who hoped to help form such a council. One such suggestion came, in 1809, from John Blaxland, who did become a member of the Legislative Council when it was finally set up. A friend of Macquarie, in May, 1809, outlined a scheme for a council—to consist of seven members, comprising the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the Commander of the Naval Force of the station, the Colonial Secretary, the Chief Judge and two principal inhabitants, the last two to be chosen or elected from among the magistrates.[55] A Select Committee on Transportation was appointed by the House of Commons in 1812.[56] Among its recommendations was one of instituting a council to advise the Governor. To this both the British government and Macquarie were bitterly opposed. Lord Bathurst listed the government's objections[57]: "the difficulty of selecting proper persons . . . ; the dissensions and disputes to which their opposition to the Governor, or their protest against his conduct, must give rise; the parties which would then arise in the Colony; . . . the danger of weakening the higher authorities in a society composed of such discordant materials." Replied Macquarie, agreeing and rejoicing[58]: "I feel great satisfaction . . . ; so far from being an assistance, if unhappily tried, it would in my opinion, most assuredly, be productive of all the evils and inconveniences your lordship so justly observes as likely to result from it. I therefore indulge a fond hope that this measure will never be resorted to in this Colony." So spoke a true autocrat.

But the anti-democratic sentiments of a government and the autocratic ideas of a Governor could not prevent the growth, either of demands for self-government or of community self-help. One example of the latter was the founding of the Benevolent Society, at a public meeting held on June 6, 1818. The aim

* The regiments stationed in N.S.W. during Macquarie's regime were: 73rd (1810-1814), 46th (1813-1817), 48th (1817-).

** In his report on the "Present State of His Majesty's Settlements on the East Coast of New Holland, called New South Wales."—Historical Records of N.S.W., VI., p. 146.

of the society was to look after the poor and it was controlled by a General Committee, an Acting Committee and five District Committees.[59]

Early in 1819, two public meetings were held in Sydney, with the approval of the Governor. Their object was to draw up a petition, and to collect signatures, to be presented to the Prince Regent. The petition, which was signed by 1260 persons—"all the men," wrote Macquarie, "of wealth, rank and intelligence in the Colony,"[60] sought political and economic gains. Firstly, the petitioners desired reform of the judicial system and the institution in the Colony of trial by jury. Then, the rest of the petition was taken up with economic grievances. The lack of a foreign market was holding back the expansion of agriculture; far more grain could be raised if growers were certain of a market; but there were no foreign markets in sight; therefore, the only way to consume surplus grain was to distill it into spirits and so permission to establish distilleries was asked; such an industry would provide employment and attract capital; it would also keep in the country the money then going out for foreign spirits; unemployment and stagnation would result from refusal to allow distillation. The petition also protested against the restrictions on colonial shipping and the virtual monopoly accorded to the East India Company.[61] It pointed out, too, that free laborers in New South Wales, who were becoming numerous, could profitably be employed in the whaling industry if the excessive duties in England on its products were reduced. Reduction of excessive duties on wool, hides, bark for tanning, hemp and flax and other commodities from New South Wales should be reduced to the level of duties on the same goods imported from other British colonies. The petitioners finally asked for the abolition of colonial duties levied in Sydney.

Here was evidently the revolt of Australian traders carried to a higher stage than that which, in 1808, urged some of them to seek the emancipation of colonial trade by means of the overthrow of Bligh's government. There was a united front of most trade interests represented among the signatories to the petition. Efforts were made to allow no jarring note to creep into it and emancipists and free-born traders, agriculturalists and pastoralists, combined to present these demands, although there was much difference of opinion about the composition of the contemplated juries. Rev. Marsden was opposed to any ex-convict's sitting on juries. Others, including Macarthur, did not want petty juries.[62]

Before the petition could reach England, the trade grievances

had been redressed and permission granted to start distilling. By Act of Parliament passed in 1819, "all ships without reference to their tonnage"[63] were to be allowed to trade between New South Wales and England. The question of juries was left over until after the report of Commissioner Bigge.

12.—BIGGE'S REPORT.—Mr. John Thomas Bigge sailed from England in April, 1819, with a Commission to inquire into the state and administration of New South Wales. His appointment was made as a result of the developments, conflicts and various statements of grievances in New South Wales and the vast amount of interest aroused and discussion upon them in England during the immediately preceding years. The war against Napoleon had ended in 1815. A new British Empire had taken shape and was on the threshold of further expansion. In Europe, reaction was triumphant. But, in the Mediterranean and in South America, British commerce and investment were finding common interests with national independence and self-determination of peoples and were already calling a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. New worlds had to be called into existence to provide adequate spheres for the activities of British capitalists. To these New South Wales was beginning to appear as something more than a penal settlement. British capital was beginning to feel its magnetic pull. People began to hear about New South Wales. There was a vast difference between 1819 and ten years before. When Bligh was deposed, few cared. Now everybody cared. Politicians—Tory and Whig, government and opposition—were defining their attitudes and making their demands. After thirty years of neglect New South Wales had become a matter for serious attention and serious decisions.

The two extremes of opinion about colonies were: one, that they existed for the purpose of bringing wealth to the traders of the mother country, and, two, that they were encumbrances to be rid of as soon as possible. The first had led to the revolt of the American colonies. The second was voiced by, among others, Jeremy Bentham. Another writer, Sydney Smith, wondered "what we are to do with this Colony when it comes to years of discretion. Are we to spend another hundred millions of money in discovering its strength, and to humble ourselves again before a fresh set of Washingtons and Franklins? . . . Endless blood and treasure will be exhausted to support a tax on kangaroo skins; faithful Commons will go on voting fresh supplies to support a **just and necessary** war; and Newgate, then

become a quarter of the world, will evince a heroism not unworthy of the great characters by whom she was originally peopled."[64]

Sir Samuel Romilly, concerned with the reform of Criminal Law, condemned the government in 1810 for "that such an experiment in criminal jurisprudence and colonial policy as that of transportation to New South Wales should have been tried, and we should have suffered now twenty-four years to elapse without examining or even inquiring into its success or failure."[65] It was due to his efforts and those of others that the Committee on Transportation to which reference has already been made began its investigations in 1812. The government was hard pressed during these years: strong opposition to the renewal of the Transportation Laws in 1815 and 1816; efforts, in 1816 and 1817, by the opposition to have the Secretaryship for War and the Colonies abolished.[66]

In 1817, the voice of the free settlers was heard for the first time in the House of Commons, when a Memorial from some of them, brought to England by the Rev. Benjamin Vale,[67] was presented. The introduction of this Memorial, together with reports of conflicts between Macquarie and the Exclusives, called attention to the fact that New South Wales was no longer a purely penal settlement. Those who were demanding reform in Sydney had an ambassador in London in the person of W. C. Wentworth, son of D'Arcy Wentworth, and a native of New South Wales—one of its first sons. In 1819, he published his "Statistical, Historical and Political Description of New South Wales." In it he demanded trial by jury and a Legislative Council. The government finally decided to send a Commission of inquiry. Bigge was chosen.

The Commission given to Bigge was all-embracing. It gave him "full power and authority to examine into all the Laws, Regulations and Usages of the settlements in the said Territory and its Dependencies, and into every other matter or thing in any way connected with the administration of the Civil Government, the superintendance and reform of the convicts, the state of the judicial, civil and ecclesiastical establishments, revenues, trade and internal resources thereof."[68] It had been noticed, Bathurst wrote to Bigge in his letter of instructions, that transportation was losing its dread and that even many "sentenced to imprisonment for minor transgressions" were anxious to be sent to New South Wales. Bigge's first task was therefore to be to find out "whether any and what alteration in the existing system of the Colony can render it available to the

purpose of its original institution," that is a "receptacle for offenders, in which crimes may be expiated at a distance from home by punishments sufficiently severe to deter others from commission of crimes." Conditions for convicts in New South Wales seemed now to be too good, wrote Bathurst. Once men condemned to transportation asked for commutation of their sentence to execution! Now men were anxious to go. It may be that Bigge will have to seek other places to which to transport convicts, because New South Wales has been "divested of all salutory terror," as a result of "ill-considered compassion for convicts." In that case New South Wales would cease to be a penal colony. Mr. Bigge was also to inquire into the conduct of officials, the judicial administration, the local regulation of trade and prices and the problem of the emancipists.

Bigge landed in Sydney on September 22, 1819, and was received with full honors. He did not leave Sydney to return to England until February 14, 1821. Four of the seventeen months of his stay he spent in Van Diemen's Land. On his return to England he issued three reports,* the first one dealing with the position of the convicts.

The abolition of transportation to New South Wales was not to be entertained. The colony was to be the close preserve of the pastoralists who, by means of the rapidly growing wool industry, would create great wealth for themselves and for England. For them a plentiful supply of cheap labor was necessary and the continuation of transportation would supply it. Convicts, advised Bigge, should not be kept in Sydney ornamenting the city, but should be assigned to the pastoralists and agriculturalists. Those not needed for this purpose should be set to work clearing the bush and making roads. To prevent New South Wales from losing its "salutory terror" he suggested the establishment of other penal stations—gaols within a gaol—at Moreton Bay, Port Bowen and Port Curtis and a tightening up of the regulations governing emancipation. He supported the demand for reduction of duties on wool, wood and bark for tanning imported into England from New South Wales. (These reductions were afterwards effected by Act of Parliament.)

The second report dealt with the government of the colony and its judicial system. Trial by jury was not to be instituted, the office of Judge-Advocate was to be abolished and an Attorney-General was to be appointed. Van Diemen's Land should be separated from New South Wales and be placed under a separate

* The first published in 1822, the others in 1823

administrative and judicial system. Finally, Bigge advised the creation of a Legislative Council, to be nominated by the Governor and to have control of the raising of finance and the making of laws. The Chief Justice should be given the authority to declare any colonial regulation or ordinance to be either in harmony with or contrary to British law and to be effective or null and void according to his declaration. In his third report, Commissioner Bigge epitomised the demands that would have been made by the rich pastoralists or British capitalists who had already invested, or who might invest, money in New South Wales. Manufacturing should be discouraged, land in vast areas should be given to capitalist pastoralists—individuals or companies—and the convicts should provide the cheap labor that would create wealth for the few big wool growers and the English wool manufacturers.[69] Thus everything would work together for good in this, the best of all possible worlds—England's convicts would be taken off England's hands, a profitable field for British investment be provided and an important raw material for England's factories be supplied.

Most of the suggestions of Bigge's reports were translated into law by the N.S.W. Judicature Act of 1823. The Criminal Court remained the same in character (one officer or magistrate being added), but trial by jury was to be allowed in the Civil Court. Trial by jury in criminal cases was not yet to be granted. A Legislative Council of seven was to function.

It will be obvious that Bigge's Reports and the implementing of their findings by legislation favored the big pastoralists at the expense of the small settler, the town trader and manufacturer and the convict. They marked a reversal of British policy which, originally, had aimed at making New South Wales a colony of small settlers to be drawn mainly from the ranks of convicts whose sentences had expired or who had been emancipated. It was against such a programme that the rebels—some of them—had revolted in 1808.[70] That part of the aims of the Macarthur party was now achieved. The acceptance of Bigge's report completed, in one aspect, the revolution that began in 1808. Macarthur and Blaxland were no longer rebels—they became members of the new Legislative Council. British capital had now linked hands with the Australian landed interests—Australian pastoralists and the representatives of the British government were thenceforth for many years to control New South Wales. But not without protest.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO BOOK II

CHAPTER IV.

1.—**BIBLIOGRAPHY.**—The chapter is based mainly on the Historical Records of New South Wales. For details of works mentioned in the following notes, see Bibliography to Book II, printed at the end of notes to Chapter VIII.

2.—Quoted in Barton, p. 490.

3.—Casava, or cassada, is the root of a shrub, in its crude state highly poisonous; but by washing, pressure, and evaporation, it was deprived of its harmful qualities, and when made into cakes, became a good substitute for bread. It was largely used in the tropical islands. —Phillip's Voyage, p. 33, quoted by Barton, p. 66.

4.—Wood, p. 447.

5.—Wood, Plan of a Colony in N.S.W., Historical Society Journal, vol. 6.

6.—Wm. Eden: History of N.S.W., 1787, quoted by Wood.

7.—Cook's Journal, quoted by Wood.

8.—Phillip's Report to Lord Sydney, 11/4/1790.

9.—Historical Records of N.S.W., vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 332.

10.—Phillip's Instructions.

11.—Barton, p. 362.

12.—Records, p. 307.

The "Lady Juliana," for example, was 10 months on the voyage out arriving early in June, 1790. On June 20, the "Justinian" arrived—having left England only five months before! The former ship stayed at Rio for seven weeks and a month at the Cape. "It is a curious circumstance," says Tench, "that these two ships had sailed together from the River Thames, one bound to Port Jackson, and the other bound to Jamaica. The 'Justinian' carried her cargo to the last-mentioned place, landed it, and loaded afresh with sugars, which she returned with, and delivered in London. She was then hired as a transport, re-laden, and sailed for New South Wales. Let it be remembered that no material accident had happened to either vessel. But what will not zeal and diligence accomplish!"—"It is hardly possible," says Britton, p. 54, "to avoid the conclusion that the voyage [of the 'Lady Juliana'] was purposely prolonged."

13.—do., pp. 354-5.

14.—do., pp. 386-389.

CHAPTER V.

1.—See G. A. Wood, in Royal Historical Society Journal, Vols. 6 and 8.

2.—Barton, p. 442.

3.—do., p. 444.

4.—Pike: "History of Crime," quoted by Barton, p. 447.

5.—5 Geo. III, c. 14; 6.—26 Geo. II, c. 33; 7.—13 and 14, Car. II, c. 1; 8.—4 Geo. 1, c 11; 9.—5 Geo. I, c. 28; 10.—10 Geo. II, c. 32; 31 Geo. II, c. 42; 11.—19 Geo. II, c. 38; 12. —18 Car. II, c. 3; 13.—22 Car. II, c. 5; 14.—22 and 23 Car. II, c. 7; 15.—4 Geo. I, c. 11; 6 Geo. I, c. 23; 16.—12 Geo. I, c. 29; 17.—2 Geo. II, c. 25; 18.—7 Geo. II, c. 21; 19.—12 Geo. II, c. 21; 20.—18 Geo. II, c. 27; 21.—25 Geo. II, c. 10; 22.—26 Geo. II, c. 19.

23.—Barton, p. 545.

24-35.—Refs. to Hammond: "Village Labourer"; 24.—p. 35; 25.—p. 37; 26.—p. 38; 27.—p. 38; 28.—p. 38; 29.—p. 41; 30.—pp. 43-5; 31. —p. 52; 32.—p. 61; 33.—p. 63; 34.—p. 64; 35.—pp. 104 and 332.

36.—Hammond: Village Labourer, pp. 186-7.

37-38.—do., pp. 187-9.

The Nos. 39-41 and 43 were accidentally missed out of the text.

42.—Hammond, pp. 220-1.

44.—do., p. 206.

45.—Wilberforce: A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in This Country Contrasted with Real Christianity, pp. 68, 212-13 (1888 edition).

46-50.—Barton, pp. 219-224.

51.—Griffiths: Chronicles of Newgate, quoted by Barton, p. 225.

52.—Napier: Remarks on Military Law and the Punishment of Flogging, quoted by Barton.

53.—Cooper: History of the Rod, quoted by Barton.

54.—Barton, p. 239.
55.—Prof. Wood in Historical Society's Journal, vol. 8.

CHAPTER VI.

1.—Bibiography is at the end of Book II.
2.—Letter from the Admiralty to Commanding Officers of Marines, Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 23.
3.—Historical Records, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 18.
4.—do., p. 90.
5.—do., p. 127; see also p. 190.
6.—do. p. 26.
7.—do., p. 22.
8.—July 10, 1788; Records, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 169.
9-10.—do., pp. 169-175, 176.
11.—On this court-martial, do., pp. 139-141, 156-164.
12.—On barrack's case, do., pp. 195-201.
13.—On refusal to sit on courts-martial, do., pp. 202-10, 216-7.
14-22.—do. 14.—pp. 228-9; 15.—pp. 236—247; 16.—pp. 262-5; 17.—pp. 288-293; 18.—p. 124; 19.—p. 209; 20.—p. 348; 21.—p. 124; 22.—p. 179.
23-24.—do., pp. 301, 327.
25.—Barton, p. 200.
26.—Records, vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 319-323, 434 ff.
27.—Barton, p. 204.
28.—Bigge's First Report, p. 109.
29.—Records, vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 232-3, 250, 265-6.
30.—do., pp. 652-3, 672-3, 654-5.
31.—Speech of Solicitor-General in House of Commons, June, 1785, quoted in Barton, p. 59.
32.—Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. II, p. 59.
33-36.—Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. III, pp. 370-5; 432-437, 435, 440, 441.
37-40.—Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. II, pp. 209; 507-8; 508-9; 512.
41.—Lang: History of New South Wales, 4th edition, vol. I, p. 51.
42.—Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. III, p. 674.
43.—do., p. 691.
44.—Lang, work cited, vol. I, p. 49.
45.—Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. III, pp. 26-28, 67, 68, 70, 71, 82.
46.—do., pp. 119-129, 167-174.
47.—do. pp. 131-136.
48.—do., pp. 418-46.
49.—do., pp. 213, 231, 636-8, 733-8, 730, 741-8; vol. IV, p. 205.
50.—do., vol. III, p. 302.
51.—do., pp. 351, 353, 381.
52.—do., vol. IV, pp. 846, 783.
53.—do., p. 614.
54.—do., pp. 524-584, 507-12, 781, 618.
55.—The successive Commanding Officers of the Corps were Grose, Paterson, Foveaux.
56.—Into the details of the various courts-martial it is not necessary to go
57.—Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. V, pp. 123-129, 10, 118-19.

CHAPTER VII

1.—Hakluyt Society: The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, quoted in Barton, pp. 12-13, where the other cases are also recorded.
2.—Lewis: On the Government of Dependencies, quoted Barton, p. 14.
3.—"Scots Magazine," September, 1789, quoted in Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. II, p. 749.
4.—Published in "Gazetteer," December 29, 1790, quoted in do., pp. 758-9.
5.—Letter from a female convict, November 14, 1788, quoted in do., pp. 746-7.
6.—Published in the "Morning Chronicle," 4/8/1791, quoted in Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. II, pp. 767-8.
7.—Historical Records, vol. II, pp. 779-81.
8.—do., p. 791.
9.—do., pp. 792-3, quoting a letter from Mr. Evans in the "Dublin Chronicle," 12/1/1792.
10.—do., vol. III, p. 73.
11.—In a letter supposed to have been written by the Rev. S. Marsden, do., p. 486.
12.—Historical Records of New South Wales, III, p. 58.
13.—do., pp. 225, 346-7.
14 and 15.—Historical Records., vol. III, p. 366.
16.—do., p. 390, Letter to Portland.
17.—do., p. 550.
18.—do., vol. IV, p. 16.
19.—do., pp. 25-34.
20.—do., pp. 166-177.
21.—do., pp. 353-360.
22.—do., pp. 411-13.

23.—There were mutinies on the following ships, amongst others: Lady Shore, Anne, Atlas, Hercules, Norfolk, Marquis Cornwallis, Barwell, Cumberland.
24.—The Governors on various occasions issued warnings about the foolish expectations of convicts who contemplated escape.
25.—D. D. Mann: The Present Picture of New South Wales, (London, 1811).
26.—It was one of the Blaxlands who later led a party to discover the way over the Blue Mountains in 1813.
27.—Mann, pp. 55-60.

CHAPTER VIII

1.—The verse that heads the chapter is from the London "Morning Herald"—quoted by Mackaness (Vol. II, p. 132). The phrase, "stay-maker," refers to Macarthur's first caling: he had been apprenticed to a stay-maker. As a result he also gained the nickname, Jack Bodice!
2.—That Bligh was considered a just man by many of his subordinates is clear from evidence given in Mackaness.—It is of importance to note also that the Nore and Spithead mutineers themselves, while they were in control of their respective fleets, used the lash to maintain their own discipline. (See Dobree and Manwaring).
3.—Bligh was the captain of the "Director" in 1797. He put into the Nore on May 6 and his men joined the mutiny on May 12, when three of his officers were sent ashore. Bligh was not sent ashore until May 19. But the statement of Mackaness that he was not one of the officers dismissed after the mutiny at the instance of the men is misleading. The dismissal of obnoxious officers was a concession gained by the Spithead mutineers. Bligh was not at Spithead, but at the Nore, where the men were not victorious but were forced to surrender.
4.—Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. VI, p. 165.
5.—do., p. 189.
6.—do., pp. 191-2.
7.—History of New South Wales, Vol. 1, pp. 99-100.
8.—Bligh, in his despatch of Feb. 7, 1807, gives illustrations of the evil effects of the rum traffic. "Farmers are involved in debt, and are either ruined by the high price of spirits, or the high price of labor, which is regulated therby; while the unprincipled holder of spirits gets his work done at a cheap rate and amasses considerable property." Profits were becoming an incentive to illegal distilling, "I am aware," wrote Bligh, "that prohibiting the barter of spirits will meet with the marked opposition of those few who have so materially enriched themselves by it."—Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. VI, pp. 246-252.
9.—Dr. Watson, Historical Records of Australia, Vol. VI, p. xx.
10.—"Pipes": Anonymous documents circulated from hand to hand or dropped in the streets.
11.—In his letter to Atkins, Macarthur referred him "to the naval officer for what further information you may require on the subject."—Macarthurs of Camden, pp. 141-2.
12.—Macarthur's land "belonged to the church which was too much confined." — Bligh to Windham, 31/10/1807, Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. VI, p. 359.—There were other lots of land to be resumed beside that of Macarthur. Bligh gives reasons why each was required by the government. There is no reason to believe that he was actuated by malice.—The land asked for in exchange by Macarthur was a water frontage on Sydney Cove! Macarthur was nothing if not modest.—do., pp. 414, 366, map.
13.—Macarthur had six objections: Atkins owed him money, had "a rancorous inveteracy" against him, had pursued him with "vindictive malice," was associated with the "well-known dismembered limb of the law, George Crossley," had to succeed in convicting Macarthur in order to save himself from a criminal prosecution for false imprisonment, and had already condemned Macarthur.
14.—It is quite evident that, before Johnston arrested Bligh, the

"requisition" to him to act bore few signatures, if, indeed, any besides Macarthur's. Bligh says in one of his despatches that "Surgeon John Harris, of the N.S.W. Corps, has since declared to my secretary that not one name was affixed at that time, and also to Mr. Fulton and Mr. Palmer." (Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Vol. VI, p. 736). "I was not one of that soliciting party," wrote the Rev. R. Hassall, in reference to the requisition, "neither do I know ten respectable inhabitants in the whole colony that knew anything of the business until after it took place; and I am told that if the inhabitants were asked the question at this day how they approved of the measures that have taken place, there would not be one in twenty that would approve of them."—Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. VI, p. 708.

15.—Johnston, as Abbott advised him, had no legal justification in assuming the position of Lieutenant Governor. Paterson was the Lieutenant-Governor. The fact that he did assume that position is surely indication that the affair had been pre-arranged.

16.—Many charges were made against Bligh and his administration, many of them of a frivolous character. For example, it was ludicrous to say that the soldiers were on the verge of mutiny because of the abusive language used to them by Bligh. Were soldiers never abused by their officers a hundred years ago? Bligh's alleged interferences with the law courts and the course of justice were disproved and the mysterious charges, which Macarthur said could have been brought against him but which, he said, Johnston suppressed, were never voiced. Macarthur often threatened to bring them to light but never did. Knowing that forbearance formed no part of Macarthur's character, we can only assume that he raged merely in order to create suspicions. We cannot imagine his remaining in exile for years and keeping locked in his breast deadly secrets that would have flayed Bligh and vindicated himself.—Two acts Bligh of which more could ha been made by the rebels were acceptance from King, before t latter handed over the reins government to him, of three gran of land at Camperdown, Parramat and Rouse Hill, amounting in a to 1345 acres; and his grantin 790 acres to Mrs. King on Janu ary, 1, 1807—the grant being ap propriately named "Thanks." The there was the matter of Bligh farm at the Hawkesbury, which h bought in January, 1807. Andre Thompson was appointed as hi overseer. Buildings were erecte convicts were employed, good drawn from the stores — all a government expense. The farm was made an accouchement hom whither were sent, from the gov ernment herds and droves, cow and pigs which returned thenc without their progeny. Thompso maintained that all was to be pai for from the produce of the farm, that Bligh had told him that "he wished everything to be fair and honorable." (Historical Records of Australia, Vol. VI, p. 361) and that he (Thompson) had had "no particular instructions from Governor Bligh about his farm." Whether this is true time was not allowed to determine. (The farm, according to Bligh was to be a kind of experimental farm to show what could be done). But, if Bligh was intent on making hay for himself while the sun shone he was giving splendid ammunition to his enemies of which they made full use.

17.—The general opinion seems to have agreed with the summing up of the convict versifier who described Johnston as "that turnip-headed fool, Jack Bodice's tool." (Mitchell Library Manuscripts).

18.—"I am sorry to report to you," wrote Macarthur, "that some of your old acquaintances have behaved most scurvily — Abbott amongst the worst, Minchin sent Home with the despatches — not from any confidence placed in him; Grimes on the same errand—only for telling a few lies, etc.; Bayly, for whom every proper thing has been done, is become a violent oppositionists—the assigned reason, some information he received from Grimes of my finding fault with him; but the real one, because I would not advise Johnston to make Laycock a magistrate and police officer, with some other like disappointments respecting cows, etc., in short, I am of opinion that, had they been given way to, the whole of the publick property would not have satisfied them."—Historical Records of New South Wales, VI, p. 643.

19.—Historical Records of Australia, VI, pp. 572-3; Historical Records of New South Wales, VI, pp. 597-8.

20.—Historical Records of Australia, VI, pp. 573-4; Historical Records of New South Wales, VI, pp. 596-7.

21.—Historical Records of Australia, VI, pp. 576-7; Historical Records of New South Wales, VI, pp. 635-6.

22.—Historical Records of Australia, VI, p. 575; Historical Records of New South Wales, VI, pp. 636-7.

23.—Historical Records of New South Wales, VI, pp. 703-4.

24.—do., pp. 802-4.

25.—do., p. 802.

26.—Historical Records of Australia, Vol. IX, p. v.

27.—do., VII, p. 250; Macquarie to Castlereagh.

28.—Johnston's Trial, p. 246, quoted by Phillips.

29.—See Historical Records of Australia, VII, pp. 384-5, 401-5, 486-8, 813; VIII, pp. 309-10, 641, 667, 684; IX, xvii-xviii; and Marion Phillips, chap. IV.

30-32.—Phillips, p. 94, and Appendices to Bigge's Report.

33.—D'Arcy Wentworth was not an emancipist, not having been a convict. But he had been tried for highway robbery—four times! In 1778 he was charged with highway robbery and tried three times. In the first two trials he was found not guilty and, in the third, no evidence being forthcoming, he was acquitted. At the fourth trial, December, 1789, on a charge of highway robbery on Finchley Common, he was also found not guilty. On this occasion, at the close of the trial, the Prosecutor addressed the judge: "My Lord, Mr. Wentworth, the prisoner at the bar, says he has taken a passage to go in the fleet to Botany Bay, and has obtained an appointment in it as assistant surgeon and desires to be discharged immediately." And he was discharged. Mr. Wentworth was indeed fortunate—the outcome of a fifth trial might not have been so favorable.—(See Historical Records of Australia, VII, p. 809.)

34.—Phillips, pp. 107-8.

35.—Historical Records of Australia, VII, p. 362.

36.—do., IX, p. 353.

37.—Quoted by Harvard, R.A.H.S.J., Vol. 22.

38.—Historical Records of Australia, IX, p 106.

39.—Harvard.

40.—Historical Records of Australia, VII, p. 193.—His instructions read, in part: "It is Our Will and Pleasure . . . that you do pass Grants . . . with all convenient speed to any of the said convicts so emancipated, . . . to every male shall be granted 30 acres of land, and in case he shall be married 20 acres more; and for every child . . . a further quantity of ten acres, free of all fees, taxes, quit-rents, or other acknowledgements whatsoever for the space of ten years . . . "

41.—Lang, p. 145.

42.—Historical Records of Australia, VII, pp. 393-6.

43.—Although it was favored by Bent, Macquarie, Bligh, Hunter and the settlers who gave evidence before the 1812 Committee.

44.—Historical Records of Australia, VIII, p. 542.

45.—do., IX, p. 108.

46.—"It has been my invariable opinion," wrote Macquarie to Bathurst, 28/6/1813, "and upon that opinion I have acted ever since I came to this Colony, that, once a convict has become a free man, either by his servitude, free pardon, or emancipation, he should in all respects be considered on a footing with every other man in the Colony, according to his rank in life and character. In short, that no retrospect should in any case be had to his having been a convict. . . . No doubt, many of the free settlers (if not all) would prefer (if it were left to their choice) never to admit persons who had been convicts to any situation of equality

with themselves. But in my humble opinion in coming to New South Wales they should consider that they are coming to a convict country, and if they are too proud or too delicate in their feelings to associate with the population of the country, they should consider it in time and bend their course to some other country, in which their prejudices in this respect would meet with no opposition. No country in the world perhaps has been so advantageous to adventurers as New South Wa es. The free settlers, who have come out as adventurers, have never felt their dignity injured by trading in every way with convicts, even while they are such. . . . I must, however, in justice to the original free settlers, observe that I believe they are not all of one mind in this respect. Amongst them, some few liberal minded persons are to be found who do not wish to keep those unfortunate persons for ever in a state of degradation."—Historical Records of Australia, VII, pp. 775-6.

47.—Historical Records of Australia, VIII, pp. 401-24.

48.—Phil'ips, p. 220.

49.—Historical Records of Australia, VIII.

50.—Historical Records of N.S.W., Vol. III, p. 87.

51.—do, p. 171.

52.—do. pp. 528, 678.

53.—do., p. 647.

54.—do., Vol. VII, p. 230

55.—Historical Records of Australia, Vol. VII, pp. 199-200.

56.—The Committee examined ex-Governors Hunter and Bligh, Major Johnston, Commissary Palmer, Robert Campbell, Rev. Johnston, Matthew Flinders, Maurice Margarat, three ex-convicts and others.

57.—Letter to Macquarie, Historical Records of Australia, VII, p. 675.

58.—Letter to Bathurst, do., p. 780.

59.—Phillips, p. 270.

60.—Macquarie to Bathurst, 22/3/1819, Historical Records of Australia, X, p. 54.

61.—Particular reference was made in the Petition to the "Act of Parliament intituled An Act for continuing in the East India Company for a further term the possession of the British Territories in India, &c., being the 53rd of H Majesty, Cap. 155, by the 32nd Se tion of which, It is Enacted 'Th no ship or vessel, the register measurement whereof shall be le than 350 tons, shall pass or sail any of the Seas to the eastwa of the Cape of Good Hope, or t westward of the Streights of Mag lan, without a license from t Board of Commissioners specia authorising the same.' "—Historic Records of Australia, X, p. 60.

62.—Phillips, p. 278.

63.—Historical Records of Au tralia, X, p. 196, despatch Bathurst.

64.—Quoted, Phillips, p. 297.

65 and 66.—Phil'ips, Chap. X.

67.—Historical Records of Au tralia, IX, pp. 329-336.

68.—do., X, pp. 3 and 4.

69.—See a summing-up of tl Reports in Phillips, Chap. X.

70.—Macarthur always designat the small settlers as worthle people.

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In addition to books mention in the text and the notes, the fo lowing are the principal sources f Chapters IV-VIII.

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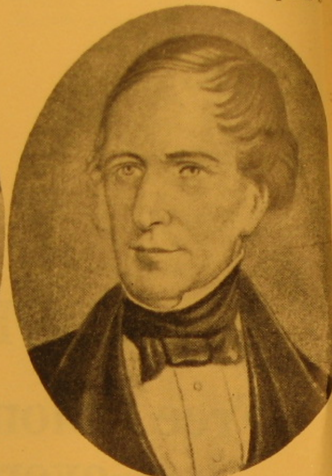
BOOK III.

Free Colony and Self Government

(1823-1856)

John Macarthur

Captain



MELBOURNE IN 1838

Chapter IX

CAPITAL TAKES A HAND

They say it was a shocking sight
After the field was won;
For many thousand bodies here
Lay rotting in the sun:
But things like that, you know, must be
After a famous victory.
—Robert Southey.[1]

1.—Baring Bros. et al.; 2.—Beginnings of Wool; 3.—Macarthur's Wool in England; 4.—Decline of British Wool; 5.—Fight for the Market; 6.—The Land Companies; 7.—Mining Coal.

WITH the coming of the eighteen-twenties New South Wales ceased to be purely a penal settlement.[2] Local men of money and land most emphatically maintained the country was theirs and not the convicts', bond or freed. British men of money were beginning to believe that in the thirty-year-old colony there was scope for activity other than the punishment and reformation of convicts. It began to produce cheaply a necessary raw material—wool—and Commissioner Bigge was advising the formation of land companies, the granting of square miles of land, the investment of capital and the employment of armies of convicts. A plentiful supply of land and cheap labor was the magnet that began the drawing of British capital into Australia. Wool it was that cemented the interests of Australian landowners and British capitalists. The continent was to be their preserve.

1.—BARING BROS. ET AL.—The wars against Napoleon came to an end with a peace that came almost as near surpassing all understanding as did that which broke out in 1919. Between the two "settlements" there are many parallels—Alexander's

1.—Notes for this chapter are at the end of Book III.

Holy Alliance and Wilson's League of Nations, the lion's sha of the spoils on both occasions to Britain, crusades for legit macy and against liberalism and nationalism after 1815 an crusades against Bolshevism and for—"civilisation" in 1918. An not least striking of the parallels were those in the econom sphere: poverty, unemployment, deflation, new fields for inves ment of British capital. After 1815, the markets were glutte With no huge army of soldiers to feed, agriculture faced a cris — for men may eat while they fight, but not after — an thousands of merchants became bankrupt. The price level ind figure in 1814 was 211—the figure of 1790 being the basis of 1 —and it fell to 130 in 1816![3] England, however, was rapid becoming industrialised and the host of manufacturers bei differentiated into failures and successes. Those who were suc cessful were dumping their products all over Europe and Ameri —building for themselves huge fortunes upon the basis rationalisation, cutting of costs and starvation wages. Thousan of those who were no longer needed to fight England's battle were starving or being sent to New South Wales. Investo were finding the new world made safe from Napoleon the bes of all possible worlds with the area for profitable investmen greatly widened and a lowering of prices that multiplied th purchasing power of their dividends.

Of this new world of investment Australia, for three or fou decades, formed a very small portion. Immense gains wer forthcoming from the process of financing the indemnity exacte from France and the cost of the Allied Army of Occupation,* the flotation of loans to former Allies, the calling of a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old,** and soon, the building of railways all over the world. A large and established population is a prerequisite to the churning out of

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* The loan to finance France's indemnity was floated by **Baring Brothers and Co.**, a firm that was originally interested in wool and had later become a financial house, serving both sides during the Napoleonic wars! It was linked with financial interests in Holland, America and France. The contract to float the French loan, in 1817, "put them in possession of a 5 per cent. loan to produce 100,000,000 francs at a net price of about 53, on the nominal value of which they were to receive a commission of 2½ per cent." —Jenks, pp. 34-5.—That is, the French Government would receive 50½ million francs (and pay 5 per cent. interest on 100 millions and pay back a principal of 100 millions), while Baring Bros. would receive 2½ million francs plus what they could sell French stock for at above 53! We latter day Australians must apologise that neither our fathers nor their black predecessors could offer anything nearly so satisfactory.

** Canning's bon mot; see above, p. 44, note 73.—English money invested in the Spanish colonies was a determining factor in Canning's recognition of their independence. English money and men helped to create the new nations. For the next hundred years that money was returning highly remunerative dividends.

dividends in return for such forms of investment as loans and developmental works. In Australia, the white population was not yet big enough to pay dividends on loans nor could the aborigines who had gazed for millenia on the beauties of Port Jackson have been prevailed upon to pay for a bridge across it. There is, however, one form of investment which does not need a country with a large or advanced population in order provide big profits for the investors—especially when a supply of cheap labor is available. That form is the financing of the production of certain of the raw materials of industry. And, in the first decades of the 19th century, both the demand for, and the opportunity to produce, a particular raw material arose. That raw material was wool, the opportunity was provided by the proved possibility of producing wool in Australia, by the supply of cheap labor and by a land whose extent seemed illimitable, and the demand arose from the conditions of the English wool industry.[4]

2.—THE BEGINNINGS OF WOOL.—In 1807, 245 lbs. of wool were exported from Australia. By 1821 that amount had increased to 175,400 lbs. Another five years, and the million pound mark had been passed. Another five years more and over two million pounds were being sent away annually. In 1836, 3,693,241 lbs. were exported from New South Wales and 1,710,000 from Van Diemen's Land. These figures indicate at once the inevitability of the dominance of the pastoral industry in Australia, and, taken in conjunction with the position of wool in England and Europe, the brightness of the lure that Australia was becoming for British capital.[5]

Of the sheep that were brought out in the First Fleet most perished. Sickness, foot-rot and the dingoes, and the "rank grass under the trees" (according to Captain Phillip) played havoc with them, so that, by September, 1788, the Governor was reporting that "one sheep only remains of upwards of seventy, which I purchased at the Cape of Good Hope on my own and the government's account." Later arrivals were taken better care of and sheep began to thrive in New South Wales. Before Phillip left in 1792, he gave two ewes to each settler. But the object he had in mind, of providing for each settler the foundations of a flock, was defeated by the officers of the Corps, who, for rum —at five gallons per head—were able to buy up all the sheep except those of one settler.[6]

During the first five years of the Colony, most of the sheep were of the hair-bearing variety. They had come from India or the Cape. From Calcutta came 30 of this breed in 1793. Amongst

those who bought them was John Macarthur. The next step in the evolution of Australian wool was the arrival of some English sheep from Ireland. It was the accidental crossing of the two breeds that first awakened Macarthur to the prospects of profit in wool. For there was a notable improvement in the covering of the offspring of the alliance between the Bengal and English sheep. In 1796, Captain Waterhouse and Captain Kent in charge of two British ships were sent to the Cape to bring back provisions. While there they bought some Spanish merino sheep. These were part of the flock which had belonged to the commandant* of the Dutch forces there. Macarthur claimed afterwards that he had asked Waterhouse and Kent to buy sheep for him. But there is no mention of his having done so in the letter** that Waterhouse wrote to Sir Joseph Banks (16/7/1806). On their return to Sydney, Macarthur was allowed to buy only

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* Colonel Gordon, a Scottish officer in the Dutch service, who did not live long after the British capture of Cape Colony from the Dutch. His widow sold the sheep.

** Captain Waterhouse's account runs: "In 1797 I arrived in the 'Reliance' at the Cape of Good Hope, together with the 'Supply' (Captain Kent) and 'Britannia,' transport. On board the 'Reliance' was the Commissary for the purpose of purchasing cattle for the settlement. On board the 'Britannia' were Governor King and Colonel Paterson, on their way to England, both which gentlemen had been acquainted with Colonel Gordon, mentioned above. Colonel Gordon had imported a few Spanish sheep to the Cape, which had increased to thirty-two. Mrs. Gordon was then going to England, and for some reason did not choose to leave anything that belonged to her late husband at the Cape. She gave three Spanish sheep to Governor King, and three to Colonel Paterson. The remainder, I understood, were offered to the Commissary, but he declined to purchase them on behalf of the government. They were then offered to me; as I could not afford to purchase the whole, Captain Kent (that they might not be lost to the colony) offered to take half. We each received thirteen, and I took Governor King's on board the 'Reliance.' Colonel Paterson took his to England, to present to Sir J. Sinclair. We paid Mrs. Gordon £4 a-piece for them; the expense on delivery was about £1 a head more. The expense of food, &c., for the voyage was very considerable. . . . I do not remember the number I had alive when I arrived at Port Jackson, but I think more than half. Captain Kent, who I understood shared his with Colonel Brathwaite, I believe lost all, from the circumstances of his applying to me for one immediately on my arrival. . . . I offered all mine to the Governor, but I suppose he was satisfied as they were in the colony, as he declined purchasing them. Captain Macarthur then offered me 15 guineas per head, provided I would let him have the whole; this I declined, wishing to distribute them. I supplied Captain Kent, Captain Macarthur, Captain Rowley, and Mr. Marsden. As the Spanish ewes had lambed—none but Spanish rams running with them—I supplied Mr. Williamson, Mr. Moore, the government, and, in fact, any person who wished to have them. I never had any other but Spanish rams with my flock, and on my quitting the colony sold the same to Mr. Cox, Paymaster, with the exception of a few to Captain Macarthur. Most who had Spanish sheep were particular about them, and I took pains to disperse them. I can assert that several of the Spanish sheep I originally brought from the Cape, together with their produce, were in the flock I left behind."—Quoted in Burfitt, pp. 5-7.—It does not therefore appear

three rams and five ewes, although he wished to buy them all. Waterhouse and Kent kept some for themselves and Captain Rowley and the Rev. Marsden bought the rest. The first merino sheep were, then, introduced into Australia by Captains Waterhouse and Kent.[7]

The improvement in the wool that, it was hoped, would result from the crossing of the new merino sheep with those already in the colony was achieved in practice. "The introduction of a breed of Spanish sheep into the flocks of individuals," wrote Governor King in September 1800, "have [sic!] so much improved the fleeces that there is a promising appearance of a great quantity of wool being produced in a few years. A great benefit will arise to the colony hereafter in the article of clothing. But I am sorry to say, from the wretched state the sheep belonging to the government are in, that it will be some time before any advantage of that kind can be obtained from them, as they are mostly of the Cape breed, whose covering is hair. But I beg to assure your Grace that no efforts of mine will be wanting to encourage and promote the Spanish breed." In a despatch of over a year later,* King returned to the subject: "As I am very anxious to increase and improve the quality of the wool, your Grace will observe by the enclosed the quantity of sheep government possesses, not one of which has any wool; but as I exchanged some wethers for their half-bred Spanish rams in December last, government will in time get into that valuable commodity. It has not been so with the flocks now belonging to individuals who have had the advantage of Spanish rams, by which their flocks are becoming covered with wool, and in a daily state of improvement."[8] It appears, therefore, that a number of owners of sheep were intent on improving the quality of their wool. Amongst these was John Macarthur. Governor King was also anxious to improve the wool-producing powers of the government flocks. An opportunity that presented itself of increasing these flocks presented in 1801, but King was not able to avail himself of it because of the sharp dealing of John Macarthur.

In August of that year Major Foveaux who was then Lieutenant-Governor at Norfolk Island offered to sell his sheep to the government because of his inability to look after them. Apparently, Macarthur was superintending Foveaux's farm and sheep during the latter's absence and the Governor sent John

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that he bought the sheep on instructions from Macarthur—else the latter would have had them all and Waterhouse would not have offered them to the Governor.

* November, 1801.

Jamieson to him with a copy of a letter from Foveaux.* Jamie
son was "to inspect, mark, and take possession of the sheep an
farms for his Majesty's use." King knew that when dealing wit
Macarthur one should be prepared for all eventualities. So
"should Captain Macarthur raise any objections, or prevent yo
from proceeding herein, you will obtain his written answer t
that purpose, and communicate it to the Governor without lo
of time." Macarthur's reply was that "the Governor should b
acquainted that the sheep are all now on my farm; that part o
them, with Major Foveaux's farm, were yesterday sold by virt
of the powers vested in me for that purpose; and that the re
maining part will also be sold if Major Foveaux approves of th
terms which are transmitted to him by the 'Venus.'" Ensig
Bayly also wrote informing the Governor's secretary that he ha
been authorised to dispose of Foveaux's sheep and that Mac
arthur had bought them. It was a smart deal! Foveaux's shee
were "mixed" with Macarthur's—(did the "mixing" process tak
place when Macarthur got wind of the governor's intention? o
before? in either case by whose authority and for what purpos
except to present a fait accompli?)—and could not be separated
By such tendentious shepherding of an absent man's flocks wa
Macarthur aiming at appropriating them when the moment wa
opportune—that is when some other person showed intention
of buying. Foveaux could do nothing else but agree to th
sale.*[9]

* Foveaux's letter to King read: "I thank you very much for your kin
offer about my sheep. My situation on this island prevents my payin
that attention to them that I know is necessary. On that consideratio
I will accept your offer of a conditional bill for them, as they now stand
at £2 a head, and will give them into your charge; or, if you would prefe
to have them valued, give me a conditional bill for their amount; it will
be the same to me, but that I leave entirely to you, being confident o
your doing for me whatever you think will be most to my advantage."

* The affair had other possible repercussions for King. He had advised
the buying of Macarthur's sheep and farms when the latter was think-
ing of selling out in 1800. He had also advised the buying of any increas
of the stock after the date of the offer. Then Macarthur fell foul of the
Governor and was sent home—just after he had bought Foveaux's sheep
King shuddered at the thought of the big bill there would be (if hi
advice was accepted) when Macarthur parted company with his sheep
He wrote home at once by two different ships: ". . . But Captain M
arthur has thrown a great objection in the way of government making
that purchase, as he has not only purchased up 1400 sheep within a few
days before he embarked, and several head of cattle, in addition to the
great number he had before, which he has signifyed his determination o
being considered as included in his proposals at the prices stipulated—
i.e. £37 a head for the cattle, and £2/10/- for the sheep, including those
he has lately purchased. The present price for cattle, according to con-
tract with Mr. Campbell, is £28 per head for the cattle, and not more
than two pounds was given by Captain Macarthur for the 1400 sheep he
purchased lately, with 1000 acres of land included. He has also informed

The situation of the colony at this time, however, did not favor the rapid growth of the wool industry. The demand for mutton was so great that most sheep-owners were content to produce meat and for this purpose the Indian sheep were better. Of those who tried to improve the wool Macarthur was perhaps the most indefatigable and certainly had the resources which obviated the necessity of his seeking the immediate profit to be derived from breeding for the butcher. At any rate he was determined to breed wool and not meat. In his own words: "The sheep I first began to breed from were of the Bengal race, weighing about 6 lb. per quarter. I improved these by rams obtained from a cross between the Cape ewe and some rams of the Spanish bred. I cannot ascertain the particular breed of the rams. I afterwards obtained a number of ewes of the Cape breed, and these I continued to cross with rams bearing wool. By this means I obtained what I conceived to be a fine breed of Spanish sheep, and bred as many of this pure breed as possible. and crossed all the ewes bearing coarse wool, or being of the hairy sort, with rams of the Spanish breed."[10] In 1801, Macarthur was sent home for trial by Governor King.* Instead of being court-martialled while there, however, he found backing for his plans and returned to Sydney with an order for grants of land which would render possible the vast extension of his pastoral interests.

3.—MACARTHUR'S WOOL IN ENGLAND.—The first Australian wool to reach England was some produced by John Macarthur and sent by him to Sir Joseph Banks in 1800. Of the eight samples sent an expert reported that, if "they could preserve numbers 1 and 2 for their breed in the colony, I think

to make the bargain for the stock
me that supposing I am authorised
contained in the proposals, and should choose to take to myself the respon-
sibility of purchasing the great quantitys of stock he has since purchased
and its increase, that nothing can be concluded on until he is informed
thereof from this country, and until his answer is received, which wou'd
consume at least two years before the bargain could be closed, at which
time I have no doubt but that the price of cattle and sheep will be reduced
one-half; but according to his proposals he is to be paid £37 a head for
his cattle, when they may not be worth more than £20 a head; £2/10/- a
head for the sheep, when they may not be worth more than £1/10/-. This,
calculating the common increase of the stock, will occasion a demand of
at least £19,000 on the public. Such is the compound interest Captain
Macarthur doubtless has in view from the line of conduct he has pursued
on this occasion, which compelled me previous to his departure, and before
the receipt of His Grace's last despatch, to relinquish any design of treat-
ing any further on behalf of the Crown for his extensive concerns on
my own responsibility."

* See above, p. 236.

they may make good progress in their breed and wool."* The two samples in question were from a "ewe** imported from the Cape of Good Hope" and from "a ram† one year old," bred from her.

Macarthur took some wool with him, too, when he went to England in 1801. It was "deemed superior, in point of softness and in all other respects equal, to the best Spanish wool, and worth here about 6/- per lb."‡ Macarthur endeavored to form a company to grow wool in New South Wales and he gave evidence before the Privy Council Committee for Trade. He claimed to have proved by his "experience of many years, the climate of New South Wales peculiarly adapted to the increase of fine wool sheep, and that from the unlimited extent of luxuriant pasturages with which that country abounds, millions of those valuable animals may be raised in a few years with but little other expense than the hire of a few shepherds." He went on to give particulars of the great improvements shown in the amount and quality of the wool produced since the introduction of the Cape sheep. "I have now," he proceeded, "about 4000 sheep, amongst whom there are no rams but of the Spanish breed. I calculate that they will, with proper care, double themselves every two and a half years, and that in twenty years they will be so increased as to produce as much fine wool as is now imported from Spain and other countries, at an annual expense, to Great Britain, of £1,800,000. . . . I am so convinced of the practicability of supplying this country with any quantity of fine-wool it may require that I am earnestly solicitous to prosecute this, as it appears to me, important object, and on my return to New South Wales I will devote my whole attention to accelerating its complete attainment. All the risk attendant on the undertaking I will cheerfully bear; I will require no pecuniary aid, and all the encouragement I humbly solicit is the protection of government, permission to occupy a sufficient tract of unoccupied lands to feed my flocks, and the indulgence of selecting from amongst the convicts such men for shepherds

* Sydney Gazette, 26/3/1803, quoted in Burfitt, pp. 13-15.

** "It appears by the fleece to be a real Spanish breed. . . . The fleece very good; worth, when scoured, 4/- per lb., if not more," said the expert.

† "Nearly as good as the King's Spanish wool at Oatlands," said the expert, "quite free from hair, and an excellent quality; worth 5/- per lb.; and could the co ony produce such kinds of wools it would be a great acquisition to our manufacturing in England."

‡ "True Briton," 3/10/1803, quoted, Burfitt, p. 15.—Some of Macarthur's wool sold for 10/4 per lb.

as may, from their former occupations, know something of the business."*

Ex-Governor Hunter also gave evidence and Sir Joseph Banks's opinion was asked. Hunter agreed with Macarthur's judgment of the prospects before the Australian pastoral industry—"with care and attention, I am of opinion that a great quantity of fine-wool may be produced."

The consultation of Banks, however, gave that gentleman an opportunity to make a prognostication as false as that which he had made in 1770.** He was sent a copy of Macarthur's statement and he replied that he knew of the introduction of merino sheep in New South Wales and had seen some of their fleeces. "I have seen fleeces of this kind of sheep, imported from New South Wales," he wrote, "the quality of which was equal to Spanish wools of the second or third rate piles; but I have not seen any equal to the best piles of Old Spain and believe that it has degenerated in that country, as it does not in this. I have no reason to believe, from any facts that have come to my knowledge, either when I was in that country or since, that the climate or soil of New South Wales is at all better calculated for the production of fine-wool than that of other temperate climates, and am confident that the natural grass of the country is tall, course, reedy, and very different from the short and sweet mountain grass of Europe, upon which sheep thrive to the best advantage." And he went on to give his opinion that the cost of producing wool in New South Wales and exporting it to England would be prohibitive: "it will be found on inquiry that sheep do not prosper well there, unless in lands that have been cleared and manured, with some labour and expense," and the freight to England would make the price there out of the question. Sir Joseph Banks knew quite a deal about the capabilities of New South Wales for one who had spent a few days at one of its most unfavorable spots.

In the meantime, the wool manufacturers had become interested and were urging the government to give tangible encouragement to Macarthur. A circular letter was sent out to them, by their representatives in London, full of enthusiasm about Macarthur's wool and urging the sending of memorials to Parliament.† The result was that memorials were sent from all over England.

English capitalists were therefore now taking a keen interest

* Macarthur did not need "pecuniary aid"—**only** the land and labor necessary for the consummation of his plans!

** See above, pp. 130-1.

† The letter ran: "Sir,—During our attendance here on the subject of

in New South Wales. There were prospects of a plentiful and cheap supply of wool, and legislature, magistrates, the growing "humanity" of juries which were beginning to stop short of death sentences, the enclosures and the laws against combinations, unlawful assemblies and rioting, all combined to ensure an adequate reservoir of cheap labor for New South Wales pastoralists. The government was urged to help Macarthur but, as yet, no private company was formed. There was talk of the formation of a company with a capital of £10,000 and Sir Joseph Banks recommended the granting of a million acres, but no action resulting in its coming into being was taken. The wool manufacturers seemed eager to welcome New South Wales when it came but evidently preferred to wait and see—urging the government and Macarthur to take all the risks of failure.

But Macarthur came back to Australia pleased with the results of his compulsory visit to England. The fact that his trip had been obligatory was all but forgotten. His court-martial did not eventuate and, on his return, King was instructed to let bygones be bygones, to forgive and forget and to make friends with Macarthur. King was also instructed to grant him not less than 5000 acres of land. Macarthur brought back with him five rams and one ewe. These were the survivors of seven rams

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the Woollen Bill we have been fortunate enough to learn that there is at this time a breed of Spanish sheep in the colony of New South Wales. Desirous, of course, to ascertain a fact which, if true, was so highly important to the manufacturing interests, we procured without delay an interview with Captain Macarthur, the proprietor of the flock in question, who had brought samples of the wool over with him. We have the satisfaction to state that the wool is of very superior quality—equal to most which comes from Spain; and, from the statement of Captain Macarthur, we are persuaded the quality is improving, and that, with proper attention, the quantity may so materially increase, in a few years, the supply of the British market as greatly to reduce the price of the article, and in time render us perfectly independent of Spain for a supply. If Government will afford him the necessary encouragement, Captain Macarthur undertakes to return to the colony without delay and promote the object to the utmost.

"We have, on behalf of the clothing interest, laid the matter before Lord Hobart, and Captain Macarthur has also had an interview with the Administration on the subject. Government, we are happy to say, are disposed to give it every encouragement; but in order to impress it firmly on their notice, and give the application complete effect, it has been suggested to advise the clothiers to present a memorial expressive of their appreciation of the plan, and their conviction of its importance. . . . We therefore beg to recommend you directly to call a meeting of the clothiers in your district, laying the subject before them, and, if they approve the measure, get their signatures to a memorial as proposed. . . . As we shall have left town before your reply can reach us here, your memorial should be forwarded in due form to the Treasury. But as the session is now far advanced, and the adjournment of Parliament may shortly be expected, when the members of Administration will be leaving town, we would recommend promptitude in your proceedings."

and a ewe which he had bought of King George's stud merinos and with which he had embarked—in spite of an unrepealed Act of Edward 1 which provided the penalty of having the right hand cut off and of being branded on the forehead for exporting sheep from England. A dispensation to export his sheep was granted. Soon English wool manufacturers were to do more than this. With the home wool-growing industry approaching its demise they were to become, within two decades, ravenously hungry for the wool of New South Wales.

4.—DECLINE OF BRITISH WOOL.—Upon wool and sheep had been laid the foundations of English as later of Australian wealth. A crowd of reminders there are in our language and literature, our customs and traditions, of the part they played in English life and economy, from the Middle Ages onward. The Lord Chancellor still sits on a woolsack, inns are still known by such names as "Woolpack" and the "Fleece"* in towns and villages that were once centres of the woollen industry, an unmarried woman is still known as a spinster and we still know the trades of our ancestors by the names we bear: Sherman, Dyer, Weaver, Fuller, Webber, Walker. First, English fields had produced the wool for Flemish looms; then, woollen goods from English looms had supplied the markets of Europe. This had been going on for centuries when, after the Napoleonic wars, the English wool industry faced a crisis. With the resumption of normal trade relations English home-grown wool had to compete with Spanish and German. During the wars, Silesian wool growers were improving their wool, were introducing merino sheep from Spain and, at their end, had a fine, soft wool to export to England. Prices fell. "South Down wool fell from 2/6 in 1815—its average price throughout the long wars—to 1/6 in 1820, and less than ninepence in 1827."[11] The foreign wool could undersell English wool even during the short period, 1819 to 1824, when there was an import duty of 6d. a lb., and, moreover, was finer and silkier than the home-grown. The call of profits was more insistent than the call of patriotism. The manufacturers demanded foreign wool and the sheep-growers of England faced ruin.**

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* In Coggeshall, for example; see Eileen Power: Medieval People, pp. 150-1.

** "Sixpence a pound was nonchalantly offered for South Down wool by staplers who had their eyes on the newer products of Germany, and the lesser English breeds declined in proportion. Lincoln wool fell from a normal value of 1/2½ to 11½d. in 1827; English merino halved itself to

5.—FIGHT FOR THE MARKET.—Macarthur arrived back i
Sydney in June, 1805, with a letter from Lord Camden author
ising a grant of land to him, and advising that, as "Mr. Mac
arthur has represented that the lands he wishes to be con
veyed to him . . . are situated near about Mount Tauru
as being peculiarly adapted for sheep," his desires should b
acceded to. Mr. Macarthur was also to be provided with th
convicts he desired. King did not like giving away the Cow
pastures. They were some of the best land east of the moun
tains and he desired to retain them for the herd of cattle whic
had given them their name and which had flourished there for
long.[12] All of which, of course, explains why Macarthur put
his claim for them before he left England. The Governor cou
only half-heartedly protest when dealing with a man whom
had sent home to be court-martialled but who had return
with the backing of powerful ones in England. He had to ma
the grant.[13]

Macarthur found his wool improved beyond anticipatio
Edward Wood, a wool-classer whom he had brought out with hi
and the Rev. Marsden were given a commission by the Gove
nor to report on the Colony's sheep.[14] Marsden ascribed the im
provement in the quality and quantity of the wool to "the mild
ness of the climate and the richness of the pasturage." Woo
"reported that he was satisfied 'that with due care and atten
tion to propagate from the pure race of Spanish sheep, unt
sufficient numbers of them can be raised, or from the neare
kind of them that can be procured, the whole of the wool woul
in a very few years, become equal in quality to the very be
that is obtained from Spain.' He expressed regret, howeve
that this consummation was being retarded by the prejudice i
favor of weight of carcase. . . . There were several breeds o
sheep in the Colony at the time, including the Teeswater, an
Marsden was introducing rams of the Leicester and Lincolnshir
breed. Of Macarthur's flock of more than five thousand, sixt
were pure Spanish, and the whole were much improved in th
quality of the wool. He had tested all the breeds in the colony
and found that with respect to constitution, size and aptitud
to fatten, the Spanish surpassed them all."[15]

Macarthur was not the only wool-grower in the Colony. I
addition to those already here there were others who had com

1/9 and remained unsaleable for three years; while the Cheviot consign
ments from Scotland and the border-country were at 5½d. in 1827, and n
buyers! . . . Meanwhile, the staplers of Leeds and Manchester turne
eagerly to Germany and, though much less confident, to the new coloni
of the South!"—Roberts, p. 50.

out with him—men with money to invest. Soon ships began to take away Australian wool; 524 lbs. were taken in 1807 and about 60,000 lbs. in 1814.[16] Other early growers of wool were Samuel Marsden (whom King acclaimed as the best farmer in the Colony but who announced his policy as being "to improve the constitution of the sheep, the weight of the carcases, and the quality of the wool. Upon this general principle I have acted, without attending to any one of these things separately."[17]) and Paymaster Captain Cox of the N.S.W. Corps.

Australian wool had entered but was a long way from monopolising the English market. Slow but steady progress was made up till 1819 (about 90,000 lbs. in that year), when the duty on foreign wool was imposed. About the same time freights for Australian wool were reduced to threepence a pound and it continued to improve in quality.[18] Many had treated Botany Bay wool as a joke—they ceased to do so after 1822 when the Society of Arts presented Macarthur with medals for wool that was as fine as the best Saxon. That year surely marks an important turning point in the development of the Australian wool industry.

The duties on wool from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were reduced and thence onward the story is one of the gradual ousting of foreign by Australian wool. By 1834 only Germany was exporting to England more wool than Australia. The Germans had concentrated on fine wool and, as a result of their breeding to this end, sheep, amount of wool, its strength and its softness suffered. The increase in the production of wool bringing down prices made such specialisation uneconomic. On the other hand merchants and a parliamentary committee* were praising Australian wool for its fineness and softness, its suitability for being mixed with the harder English wool and its cheapness. Then the Germans turned towards quantity, hoping to produce in satisfactory amounts a satisfactory medium wool. But time and opportunity were on the side of the new country. The land was vast in extent, the squatters had already broken the bands in which the government had sought to cramp its inhabitants, and their sheep runs were square miles in extent. The wool rush of the thirties for those who had money to "put into four feet" was as intense as was the gold rush of the fifties to both those who had money and those who had none. Across the mountains in New South Wales, in Van Diemen's Land, in the Port Phillip district whither squatters flocked from north and from south across Bass Strait, and in the new colony of

* A Committee to report on the cause of the depression in wool-values, with special reference to the probable increase of colonial production, 1828.

South Australia—sheep were being bred. Only time was neede[d] to bring the victory to the Australian wool growers. And tha[t] time had come before the end of the forties. In 1849, Australi[a] exported nearly 36 million lbs. to England—Spain sent 127,5[..] lbs. and Germany 12¾ millions!

6.—THE LAND COMPANIES.—Bigge's report had pointed t[o] Australia as a sphere for the profitable investment of Briti[sh] capital. The land, the labor and the opportunity to produce [the] needed raw material were all there. What was needed wa[s] wealthy individuals or joint stock companies to take up gran[ts] of land and grow wool. The 'twenties were a period of specula[-] tion and there was much talk of formation of companies a[s] profitable investment in New South Wales. One concrete resu[lt] of the interest aroused by the Report was the creation of a com[-] pany with a huge capital to which were granted 1,000,000 acre[s] —one acre for each pound of capital. This company was th[e] **Australian Agricultural Company**, founded in 1824. "Among th[e] subscribers were the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General o[f] England, twenty-eight other Members of Parliament, includin[g] Brougham and Joseph Hume, the Chairman of the Bank of Eng[-] land with nine of the Directors, and the Chairman and si[x] Directors of the East India Company, as well as a large numbe[r] of bankers and other persons of influence."*

Commissioner Bigge[19] himself became a shareholder in the new company! Indeed, official circles and parliament were well rep-resented. In the 1828 list of shareholders[20]—some 360 names—there were no fewer than 26 members of parliament, including the Attorney General, Sir Charles Wetherell, and, of these, eigh[t] held more than 90 shares** each. There were 38 shareholder[s] residing in New South Wales. It is of interest to list these: John Macarthur and John Macarthur, Jun., held over 90 shares† each; James Macarthur, William Macarthur, Hannibal Hawkins Macarthur, John Oxley, and the Rev. Thomas Hobbs Scott, Archdeacon of N.S.W., held from 30 to 60 shares‡ each; James Bowman, John Thomas Campbell, Robert Campbell, Robert Daw-son, David Grant Forbes, Thomas Icely (in conjunction with Matthew Hindson), Mrs. Penelope Lucas, Charles Macarthur, Thomas Macvitie, Rev. Samuel Marsden, G. G. Mills, John Ovens, George Thomas Palmer, Rev. James Scott, Alexander B. Spark,

* Coghlan, p. 231.
** £100 shares.
† A shareholder with 90 or more shares had four votes.
‡ A shareholder with 60 to 90 shares had three votes; one with 30 to 60 shares had two votes.

John Stephen, Charles Throsby and William Walker held from 10 to 30 shares each;* Alexander Berry, Edward C. Close, Frederick A. Hely, John Henderson, Patrick Hill, Rev. Richard Hill, James Murdoch, Peter Murdoch, James Norton, Robert Scott (in conjunction with Helenus Scott) and Edward Wool-stonecraft held fewer than 10 shares** each.

The list of the English shareholders is also of interest. Fifteen of them gave, as their address, the Stock Exchange! Other elo-quent addresses of shareholders are: Colonial Office, Downing Street (two); Navy Office (two); Bank of England (one); Globe Insurance Office (one); Lombard Street (five); Lloyd's Coffee House (one); 8 Austin Friars (thirteen); Glyn & Co. (one—our friend, Commissioner Bigge); G. & J. Brown (four); Old Broad Street (eight); King's Arms Yard (seven). Quite evidently a great part of official, financial and commercial London had faith in the ability of the A.A. Co. to turn out profits. The share list, too, preserves echoes of the wild speculation of the 'twenties. Clergymen, soldiers, sailors, widows, maiden aunts and lawyers placed their money in the new companies, amongst them the A.A. Co. William Wilberforce, whose heart bled for the black slaves from Africa and for the wealth that trade in them took to Liverpool, the rival port of the Hull he represented in par-liament, invested between one and three thousand pounds in the company that was to become rich by exploiting the white slaves he helped to send to New South Wales. Fathers with large families of daughters† bought shares for all of them and sisters combined in all the possible combinations of pairs‡ to buy shares. There was no lack of investors in a million pound com-pany with a million acre grant. British capital had definitely begun to take an interest in New South Wales.

In the prospectus[21] issued by the Company, enthusiastic language was used in regard to the prospects of profits to be derived from New South Wales. "In the wide range of objects presented, during modern times, to commercial enterprize," it said, "there is perhaps, none that holds out the prospect of greater national benefit, or of more certain individual emolument, than the plan for extending Cultivation, and producing WOOL of the finest quality, in NEW SOUTH WALES." Reasoning by the analogy of Germany where "thirty years ago" there were "few if any" merinos, it judged that wealth from sheep in New South

* Thus qualifying for one vote.
** And thus had no votes.
† Like Thomas and Isabella, Caroline, Emma and Emily Matilda Easton and Benjamin and Ann, Phillis, Ellen, Lucy and Susan Thompson.
‡ Like Clementia, Elizabeth, Mary, Melusina and Sophia Compton.

Wales was to be abundant. The climate was better and th[e] was the possibility of expansion in New South Wales that [w]as absent from Germany. In the meantime, England's needs we[re] expanding. England was importing just over 3,000,000 lbs. [of] wool annually thirty years ago, went on the prospectus, wh[ile] last year (1823) she imported 20,651,415 lbs.

It was also hoped that tobacco, hemp, flax, silk and opi[um] could profitably be grown. With these hopes the present co[m]pany is formed and Lord Bathurst, "being satisfied of the gr[eat] benefits which would accrue to the Settlement from a la[rge] investment of Capital—of the advantage to this country in be[ing] supplied with the Finest Wool from a colony of our own—a[nd] of the probable reduction of Government expenditure, by t[he] employment of many Convicts as Shepherds, Mechanics a[nd] Labourers, was pleased, on behalf of His Majesty's Governme[nt] to sanction the establishment of the Company" and to dir[ect] that 1,000,000 acres be granted to it. "The sources from whi[ch] the Profits of the Company are expected to be derived, are:

"1st. From the growth and export of Fine Wool, from Meri[no] Sheep of the most approved kind.

"2ndly. From the breeding of Cattle and other Live Sto[ck] and the raising of Corn, Tobacco, etc., for the supply of Perso[ns] resident in the Colony.

"3rdly. From the production, at a more distant time, of Wi[ne,] Olive-Oil, Hemp, Flax, Silk, Opium, etc. as articles of export [to] Great Britain.

"4thly. From a progressive advance in the value of the lan[d] as it becomes improved by cultivation, and by an increased pop[u]lation."*

7.—MINING COAL.—Coal was discovered at Newcastle [by] Lieutenant Shortland in September, 1797, and was being hew[n] and exported in 1801.** The first settlement made there in t[he] latter year was abandoned in 1802 although "occasional suppli[es] of coal and cedar for buildings are got from thence"—wro[te] King in March, 1804. He had withdrawn the settlement becau[se] of the lack of some "fit person" to look after it—a lack th[at] was filled almost immediately after he wrote. The "fit perso[n]"

* The first directors of the A.A. Co. were John Smith, M.P., Govern[or] (who held over 9000 shares), William Manning, M.P., David Barclay, H[on.] H. Grey Bennet, M.P., James Brogden, M.P., George Brown, J. W. Buck[le,] Robert Campbell, W. Crawford, T. A. Curtis, R Hart Davis, M.P., S[ir] Robert T. Farquhar, Simon Halliday, Joseph Hume, M.P., G. G. de Hoch[e]pied Larpent, John Loch, John Macarthur, Donald Maclean, Stewa[rt] Marjoribanks, M.P., Hon. J. T. Leslie Melville, G. W. Norman, Hen[ry] Porcher, M.P., R. M. Raikes, J. Goldsborough Ravenshaw, J. B. Richar[ds] and Thomas Tooke.

** See above, pp. 274-5.

was Lieutenant C. A. F. N. Menzies who set out on March 27, 1804, with three ships, to re-found the settlement at Coal Harbour.‡ Some of the participants in the Convict Revolt* of 1804 were sent to work in the mines, which Menzies found "dug in a most shameful manner," no "proper supports" having been left.

The conditions of the convicts in early Newcastle approached the horrors of Port Arthur. Insufficient and often bad rations, few clothes, scarcity of beddings, medical supplies lacking, the prisoners leg-ironed, frequent floggings, continual attempts to escape from it all—such were the conditions of living. The conditions of working in the mines were worse: a four feet six seam, bad air, little or no ventilation, continual standing in water and no change into dry clothes, consumption, asthma and rheumatism as a result being common complaints.

The mines were proclaimed crown property but, until the resulting anarchy of exploitation and haphazard methods demanded suspension of practice, individuals were allowed to mine in various parts. Later, Macquarie reserved all mineral rights for the crown and Bigge advised the granting of leases. Governor Brisbane granted Thomas Winder some sort of control of coal production but the arrangement did not provide Sydney with a satisfactory supply. John Busby, when placed in charge, was able to improve matters but Sydney people were still crying out about the scarcity of coal.[21] The attempts of the government to carry on coal production came to end in 1831, when the mining of coal became a monopoly in the hands of the A.A. Co.**

The Company sank a new mine on Shepherd's Hill, an engine was employed to raise the coal and a railway and trucks replaced haulage by bullocks. On December 10, 1831, the A.A. Co.'s first coal was loaded at Newcastle. More land was purchased and other shafts sunk and in 1847 work was begun on what is now known as the Borehole seam, at the modern suburb of Hamilton.†

Opposition to the continuance of the Company's monopoly grew. It came from two quarters: from the consumers in Sydney, especially the Gas Company, and from others who wished to mine coal. "It is time," said the 'Sydney Herald' (3.2.40), "the monopoly ceased and that any person having sufficient capital

‡ Thenceforth to be known as Newcastle, wrote King, but Menzies called it King's Town.

* Plans for a revolt in Newcastle were discovered in June.

** Not without protest; see below.

† "The first coal mined was obtained from a seam level with the shore under what is now Flagstaff Hill." (Jervis, p. 172).—A new mine 111 ft. deep was opened in 1817 in the "block now surrounded by Newcomen,

and enterprise should be allowed to compete with the Com
pany."[23] Seven months before, the Gas Company had sent
memorial to Governor Gipps seeking the cancellation of th
monopoly.

In the meantime, there had been attempts to break th
monopoly by individuals who wished to mine coal on their ow
account. They either appealed to the Governor or else, takin
direct action, defied the Company and its legal rights by pro
ceeding to extract coal. In 1838, Governor Gipps granted
right to mine coal at Western Port to C. Swanston and, in 184
decided to grant similar rights in Moreton Bay. The Compan
protested vigorously in both cases. The challenge was al
thrown down to the Company in the Newcastle district itsel
On Lake Macquarie, at Ebenezer, coal was being hewn an
delivered regularly in Sydney in 1841. Three years later, Jam
Brown began extracting coal at Four Mile Creek and enter
into a contract to supply the Hunter River Steamship Compan
The A.A. Co. proceeded against Brown and won its case. It wa
a barren victory, however, and the Company had to bow to th
inevitable. James Brown and other continued to mine coal a
Minmi and elsewhere. In 1847, the Company agreed to the can
cellation of its monopoly rights, and, during the next few de
cades, there was something in the nature of a coal rush o
individuals and companies seeking rights and sites to mine.*

Ordnance, Barker and Tyrrell Streets." Another was later sunk at a spo
where now Hunter and Market Streets intersect.

* During the fifties many individuals and companies began mining in
and around Newcastle: Dr. Mitchell's Burwood mine in 1850, later taken
over by the Newcastle Coal and Copper Company; a mine at Glebe, 1851;
J. and A. Brown in many parts—Minmi (1847), Burwood (1854), Tomago
(1857); Newcastle and Wallsend Coal Company began sinking a shaft at
Wallsend in 1858 and was exporting coal in December, 1860; work began
at Waratah, 1859; for further development see a later chapter.
Bul'i mines were first worked in 1857. Other fields opened were: Ipswich
(Queensland), 1843; Fingal (Tasmania), 1855; South Gippsland (Victoria)
1889; Collie (W.A.), 1889.

Chapter X.

APPROPRIATING A CONTINENT

WHERE IS THE FLAG OF ENGLAND?

And the winds of the world made answer:
"North, South, East and West
Wherever there is wealth to covet
Or land that may be possessed."
—Henry Labouchere.

1.—Reaching Out; 2.—Van Diemen's He'l; 3.—Swan River; 4.—Wake-
field's discovery; 5.—Place for a Village; 6.—Squatters' Queensland; 7.—
Australia.

THE settlement had passed its majority and its inhabitants
had crossed the barrier between it and the interior. With
capital waiting to be invested and with the looms of Eng-
land ready to absorb all the wool produced, the undiscovered
land to the west could not remain long undiscovered. Individuals
and explorers—the advance guard or the rejects of civilisation—
were soon to be found all over the continent. Rivers were sought
and found and followed. Difficulties discovered were discovered
to be overcome. New settlements were made—sign posts warn-
ing off all foreign new comers. In the words of the Prospectus
of the A.A. Co., Australia was to be "a colony of our own."

1.—REACHING OUT.—The pushing out of the settlement
beyond its original bounds, the desire for more and more grazing
land, the rapid growth of a free population, by immigration and
by emancipation or expiration of sentences, the wool rush, all
gave scope to individuals who were prepared and anxious to
find out what lay beyond the rim of the known.

Many of those who discovered rivers and mountains
and fertile plains were squatters or would-be squatters who
sought fruitful land for themselves and their flocks. Others
were intrepid men who, with the spirit of the true scien-

tist, wanted to find out facts and to solve problems. Many —the vast majority—of those who led the way from the known to the unknown, who spread out fan-wise, from Sydney as a centre, discovering new lands and new sites for settlements, often at the risk and the sacrifice of their lives, are unknown. Convicts escaped from their known hell and sought another that might not be so bad—many of them found deliverance of death, others must have been pioneers in discovery and exploration of whose labors others reaped the benefit and for whose discoveries still others gained the credit. Lone squatters and the servants of squatters first made discoveries that others later made or claimed. Men, officially accredited and recognised, have been acclaimed the finder of that river, the traverser of that mountain range, the opener-up of that easy route to a fertile region. Whether any went before, in the majority of cases, we know not. In other cases, we do know and have not given the credit. For example, Major Morisett, commandant at Newcastle, has often been given the credit for being the first to travel overland between Newcastle and Windsor. And yet, in 1805, four convicts who escaped from Newcastle made their way to Sydney together with a military escort which, sent after them, caught them up at Reid's Mistake;[1] one of a crew of a coaster wrecked near Newcastle in 1806 made his way overland to Sydney;[2] Commissioner Bigge, while at Windsor, saw a convict arrive who had escaped from Newcastle three weeks before —having lived in the interim on roots and snakes and grubs.[3] Of course in the majority of cases the exploits of the pioneers do not detract from the parallel exploits of those who came after, but some—we hope very few—appropriated the work of their predecessors as their own. We do well, therefore, to give a thought to the unknown, and to acclaim the work of the unrecognised, pioneers. All of which, of course, does not prevent us from admiring the exploits and being grateful for the sacrifice and endurance of those whose work is recognised and duly accredited.

The radiation, on the map of New South Wales, of explorers' tracks from Sydney began with the crossing of the Blue Mountains. Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth were rewarded for their feat with grants of land across the mountains. Surveyor Evans followed in their tracks reaching and naming three rivers: the Macquarie and its two tributaries, the Fish and the Campbell.* He returned to Sydney enthusiastic about the fertility of the

1.—Notes to this Chapter are at end of Book III.

* Mrs. Macarthur's maiden name.

newly discovered plains. There were sufficient pastures, he claimed, for a hundred years. Oxley set out again in 1815, from the newly established settlement at Bathurst in a south-westerly direction, and discovered the Lachlan River. The discovery of these rivers, and, later, of others, gave rise to the theory that the centre of Australia was a vast inland sea into which the rivers flowed. For many years thereafter explorers were concerning themselves with unravelling the problem of the rivers and with finding out where they flowed.

It was to discover where the Lachlan flowed to that an expedition set out in April, 1817, from the depot established on it by Oxley. It was in charge of the Surveyor-General, John Oxley, and a botanist, Allan Cunningham. They followed the course of the Lachlan until they were stopped by swampy land, when they turned south-west. Again they were impeded—this time by the thick mallee scrub—and made another change of direction: towards the north-west. When they turned back they were within only twenty miles of discovering the Murrumbidgee.* They struck the Lachlan again and, after following it for some miles, again had to turn back because of the swamps. Then, proceeding up stream, they had to leave the Lachlan when they reached the swamps that had first impeded them. Striking across country in a north-easterly direction they hit on the Macquarie, near where Wellington now stands, and followed it up to Bathurst.

In the following year, setting out from Bathurst, Oxley and Evans this time followed the Macquarie. Again stopped by swamps they became convinced that the rivers were flowing into an inland sea. They abandoned the Macquarie, made in a north-easterly direction, crossed and named the Castlereagh River, the Arbuthnot Range and the Peel River, and discovered the fertile Liverpool Plains. Crossing the Nundewar and New England Ranges and naming Mount Seaview,** from which they could see the ocean, they struck the Hastings River and followed it to the coast. Its entrance they named Port Macquarie. Thence they made their way down the coast to Newcastle, being helped

* "The farther we proceed westerly," Oxley wrote, "the more convinced I am that for all the practical purposes of civilised man the interior of this country westward of a certain meridian is uninhabitable, deprived as it is of wood, water and grass."

** "Bilbao"s ecstasy at the first sight of the South Sea could not have been greater than ours," wrote Oxley, "when on gaining the summit of this mountain, we beheld Old Ocean at our feet. It inspired us with new life; every difficulty vanished, and in imagination we were already home."

on this, by no means the easiest portion of their trip, by the discovery of a castaway boat, with which they crossed the Manning and other coastal streams.

By these expeditions, the finger was being pointed to new rich and fertile plains where the pastoralists would soon be able to plant themselves and their sheep. As it became evident, with the definite adoption by the British government of the policy advocated by Bigge, that the new land in process of discovery was to be the possession of the big man and not of the small farmer, the problem arose of what was to be done with the convicts whose services were not required. It was decided to establish a new penal settlement, or more, where undesired convicts could be sent.

It was with this aim in view that Oxley, in 1823, set out north, along the coast to examine the suitability of Moreton Bay, Port Curtis and Port Bowen. He passed through Port Macquarie, where upon his recommendation in 1818 a settlement had been formed, discovered the Tweed River, rejected Port Curtis and did not look at Port Bowen. He thought Moreton Bay a suitable place for a penal settlement and so advised the Governor when he returned. The settlement was formed the following year. When at Moreton Bay, Oxley came across a white man, named Pamphlet, who was living with the aborigines. He had been one of four men who had left Sydney in a boat to seek cedar and had been blown off their course. They thought they were south of Sydney—instead of which they were in Moreton Bay. One of them had died, another disappeared, while Pamphlett and Finnegan* had lived with the aborigines for seven months. Pamphlett showed Oxley the Brisbane River, up which they sailed for fifty miles. To Oxley, the Brisbane River was surely the entrance to the great inland sea into which the other rivers he had discovered flowed!**

In the meantime, people were trying to find an easy route into Oxley's Liverpool Plains. One of these was Allen Cunningham who had accompanied Oxley in 1817. He set out from Bathurst on March 31, 1823, and proceeded northwards. Early in June, he found what he called Pandora's Pass through the mountains to Liverpool Plains. In 1825 and 1827 he made two more trips

* Finnegan was absent from Moreton Bay when Oxley arrived.

** "The nature of the country and a consideration of all the circumstances connected with the appearances of the river justify me in entertaining a strong belief that the source of the river will not be found in mountainous country, but rather that it flows from some lake, which will prove to be the receptac'e of those inland streams crossed by me during an expedition of discovery in 1818."

into the plains,* setting out from the Hunter River. On the 1827 expedition, he crossed the plains and the mountains to the north of them, discovered the Gwydir, Dumaresq and Condamine Rivers and the fertile Darling Downs.**

Others were looking south. On October 17, 1824, Hamilton Hume,† who had already done some exploring around Bathurst and the Goulburn Plains, and William Hovell, a retired sea captain, set out with six men from the former's farm near Lake George. The purpose of the expedition was to find a route overland to Westernport. They discovered and crossed the Murrumbidgee, Tumut, Hume, Mitta Mitta, Ovens and Goulburn Rivers and reached Mount Disappointment—so named because they had wrongly imagined that, having climbed it, they would be able to see the ocean. On December 16, they reached the shores of Port Phillip (which they thought was Westernport‡) at a point which the aborigines called Geelong. They set out on their return journey and reached Lake George in the middle of January, 1825.

It was Captain Charles Sturt,†† of the 39th regiment, with which he arrived in Sydney, in 1827, who dissipated Oxley's inland sea and found out where the rivers did flow. In 1828, he was given command of an expedition, with Hume as second in command, which descended the Macquarie River by boat from Bathurst. They proceeded down the river until stopped by marshes, when they went on by land. On January 1, 1827, they discovered the Bogan‡†—or rather the Bogan's course, for its bed was dry. The explorers were almost out of water and with the temperature 114 degrees in the shade, they had to moisten their lips with their handkerchiefs after mud had been squeezed through them. Crossing the Bogan, they went on till they discovered the Darling River, at that spot between 70 and 80 yards wide. The water between its banks was, however, doubly water of bitterness to them. Rushing down to drink of it they found it salt!

Sturt proceeded down the Darling until forced back by lack of fresh water. He and his party then returned to their depot at

* He had accompanied Oxley to Moreton Bay in 1823.

** Cunningham, in 1828, went by sea to Moreton Bay to find a way from there to the Darling Downs.

† Born at Parramatta, 1797.

‡ In 1826, Governor Darling sent an expedition to settle at Westernport, having in mind Hume's and Hovell's favorable reports of Geelong. Conditions were not what those reports led him to expect and the settlement was soon withdrawn.

†† Born in 1795 in Bengal, where his father was a judge.

‡† Which Sturt called New Year's Creek.

Mt. Harris on the Macquarie, which had by then dried to a series of pools, and struck out towards the north-east. They came across the Castlereagh—which was also dried up—and followed its course to the Darling. The prolonged drought forced them to return. In the course of a few weeks they had, wrote Sturt, "seen rivers cease to flow and sheets of water disappear." They had sailed down the Macquarie going out and when they came back to it found it only a number of pools! The drought was so severe that "vegetation seemed annihilated; the largest forest trees were drooping and many were dead. The emus, with outstretched necks gasping with thirst, in vain searched the river channels for water; and the native dog, so thin that it could hardly walk, seemed to implore some merciful hand to despatch it." Further advance was therefore not attempted and the expedition returned.* It had found that at least the Macquarie, the Bogan and the Castlereagh did not flow into an inland sea. It remained to look at the southern rivers and to complete the plotting of the course of the Darling.

Late in 1829, Sturt, with a well-equipped party which included three men who had accompanied him to the Darling, set out to follow the Murrumbidgee. The expedition was equipped with drays and a whaleboat in sections. On December 25, MacLeay, second in command of the expedition, was riding ahead when suddenly he found that the river had disappeared into a sea of reeds. He sent word back to Sturt who skirted the reeds and finally came back to the river beyond. He there determined to proceed further by water, and had the whaleboat put together and a skiff built. Then, selecting six men to accompany them—three soldiers, Harris, Hopkinson and Fraser and three convicts, Clayton, Mulholland and Macmanee—Sturt and Mackay sent the remainder of the party back to Goulburn Plains and proceeded down the Murrumbidgee in the whaleboat, the skiff in its wake.

They started out on January 7, 1830, and the same day passed the junction of the Lachlan with the Murrumbidgee. A week later they were "hurried into a broad and noble river,"** which

* Before leaving the Darling to return home, Sturt, Hume and two others crossed the river and pushed on a little way into the country to the west. They found not "a drop of water or a blade of grass." They assumed they had reached the limits of habitation: "we had left all traces of the natives behind us, and this seemed a desert they never entered—that not even a bird inhabited."

** "It is impossible for me to describe," wrote Sturt, "the effect of so instantaneous a change of circumstances upon us. The boats were allowed to drift along at pleasure, and such was the force with which we had been shot out of the Murrumbidgee, that we were carried nearly to

Sturt called the Murray, but which in its upper reaches had previously been named the Hume by Hume and Hovell. Now using a sail they made rapid progress and on January 23, reached the junction of the Murray with the Darling. They had reason to remember the point. Drawn up on the banks of the Darling opposite the entrance of the Murray was "a concourse of natives . . . painted and armed." They were evidently hostile, but Sturt nevertheless approached the point and gave the usual peace signs. He had met aborigines on various occasions going down the Murray and they had been on the friendliest terms with his party, visiting and staying at his camps at night. Seeing that the natives on this occasion were ignoring his peace signs, Sturt sheered off down the river. But a sand bank ran out making the stream very narrow and along this the natives swarmed. A fight, if not a massacre of the whites, seemed imminent, when the situation was saved by the timely arrival on the opposite bank of some blacks who had spent the night before in Sturt's camp.

"As we neared the sand-bank," Sturt describes the scene, "I stood up and made signs to the natives to desist; but without success. I took up my gun, therefore, and cocking it, had already brought it down to a level. A few seconds more would have closed the life of the nearest of the savages; . . . for I was determined to take deadly aim, in hopes that the fall of one man might save the lives of many. But at that very moment, when my hand was on the trigger, and my eye was along the barrel, my purpose was checked by MacLeay." He pointed to the blacks who had arrived on the other bank. One* plunged into the water and swam to the sand-bank—"and in an incredibly short space of time stood in front of the savage, against whom my aim had been directed. Seizing him by the throat, he pushed him backwards, and forcing all who were in the water upon the bank, he trod its margin with a vehemence and an agitation that was exceedingly striking. At one moment pointing to the boat, at another shaking his clenched hand in the faces of the most forward, and stamping with passion on the sand; his voice, that was at first distinct and clear, was lost in hoarse murmurs." At first it seemed to Sturt that vengeance would be turned on their dusky advocate but, when he ana MacLeay landed a little further on amongst a group of unarmed

the bank opposite its embouchare, whilst we continued to gaze in silent astonishment on the capacious channel we had entered. . . . We had got on the high road, as it were, either to the south coast, or to some important outlet."

* Who had attracted Sturt's favorable notice the day before for his "personal strength and stature."

natives, the rest forgetting their anger gathered around them out of curiosity. In their escape, Sturt saw the "almost miraculous intervention of Providence" but the reader will undoubtedly see merely the logical result of Sturt's and his men's humane and kindly treatment of the aborigines* on their way down the Murray. Only when it was over did Sturt realise the danger in which they had been placed—"there could not have been less than six hundred natives upon that blackened sward."

After thanking and giving presents to their preserver, Sturt pulled for a short distance up the river that the Murray had just met and came to the conclusion that it was the Darling, which he had discovered a year before. They then turned around and, with sail set, proceeded down the Darling and then the Murray "with a rapidity that surprised even ourselves" and that soon left the natives behind.

On February 9, the expedition arrived at a sheet of water which Sturt called Lake Alexandrina. They climbed a hill and saw the surf in the distance and proceeded across the lake towards it. The lake ended in muddy flats and a bar that separated it from the ocean and that prevented the party from leaving it. They had to return the way they came. On February 13, they set out. Sturt pays glowing tributes to his men who, almost exhausted, had to pull up the Murray against wind and current. Living on bread and water with wild duck when they could catch it, they rowed from dawn till seven or nine at night, with an hour's rest at noon. "The effects of the severe toil were painfully evident," Sturt tells us; "the men lost the proper and muscular jerk with the oars. Their arms were nerveless, their faces haggard, their persons emaciated, their spirits wholly sunk. From sheer weakness they frequently feel asleep at the oar."** Reaching a point 90 miles from the depot, Sturt sent two men ahead. These returned with a relief party and provisions.

Sturt's expedition down the Murrumbidgee, Murray and Darling was important in several respects. It proved that the rivers

* "They are, undoubtedly," runs Sturt's opinion of the aborigines he met, "a brave and a confiding people, and are by no means wanting in natura! affection. . . . Macleay's extreme good humour had made a most favorable impression upon them, and I can picture him, even now, joining in their wild song. Whether it was from his entering so readily into their mirth, or from anything peculiar that struck them, the impression upon the whole of us was, that they took him to have been originally a black, in consequence of which they gave him the name of Rundi.

** In spite of their loya! work and their whole-hearted co-operation with Sturt, two of the three convicts returned to their servitude, only one (Clayton) receiving a free pardon—in spite of Sturt's solicitations.

Type of Aboriginal met with by Sturt on the Murray.

did not flow into any inland sea and it established a means of communication between New South Wales and the southern coast of Australia. New fertile regions were opened up and, along these rivers, squatters were soon to be establishing themselves. The publication of Sturt's account of the trip determined Edward Gibbon Wakefield to select South Australia for his colonial experiment.*

* Sturt lost his sight temporarily several years later. After recovering

The next explorer with whom we have to do was, in his own opinion at least, Australia's greatest. Major (afterwards Sir) T. L. Mitchell* succeeded John Oxley as Surveyor-General in 1827 and was intensely interested in the exploration and surveying of the colony. But he had a dictatorial manner and a vile temper which often banished from him any sense of justice. He would not trust the estimates nor accept the opinions of others and jealously refused to credit their achievements, until he had first checked for himself. Cunningham, Sturt and, later, Leichhardt were small fry beside the mighty Mitchell.**

Mitchell's first expedition was to the north-west in search of a river which a run-away convict—George the Barber—reported he had discovered. He did not find the mythical river, but he showed that the Namoi and the Gwydir flowed into the Darling and discovered the Barwon. This was in 1832. In 1835, he set out on the expedition to test the accuracy of Sturt's claim that the Murray joined the Darling. He made in the direction of what is now Bourke, losing Richard Cunningham, brother of Allan, on the way. He was killed by the blacks. Reaching the Darling, Mitchell found it, not a salt, as Sturt had, but a fresh water stream. On its banks he built a fort which he named Fort Bourke, after the Governor. Thence he followed the Darling for 300 miles and returned, satisfied that Sturt was right. But next year he doubted again and set out down the Lachlan, following the Murrumbidgee and the Murray to the Darling. He proceeded up the last-named river until he was satisfied again that Sturt was right.

It was on the Murray that a pitched—though short—battle was fought with the aborigines. In the previous year, on the Darling, Mitchell had had trouble with the natives who were beginning to resent the intrusion of the whites into their hunting-grounds. Now, on the Murray, the whole district seemed to have been mobilised against them. Mitchell divided his men into

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it he was to carry on further exploration in Central Australia, at which we shall later glance. In 1838, he traversed the Hume River from where Hume and Hovell had met to Adelaide and showed that their river and his were the same.

* Born in Scotland, in 1792; served in the Peninsular War as a volunteer; Lieutenant, 1813; Captain, 1822; Major, 1826.

** He went to the junction of the Darling with the Murray to convince himself that it was really the Darling that the Murray joined and was satisfied that Sturt was right. Then, he began to doubt again and revisited the scene. Said Sturt: "In due time he came to the disputed junction, which he tells us he recognised from its resemblance to a drawing of it in my first work. As I have since been on the spot, I am sorry to say that it is not at all like the place, because it obliges me to reject the only praise Sir Thomas Mitchell ever gave me." (Quoted by Favenc: Explorers of Australia; p. 77.)

two parties—placing one in an ambush and enticing on the aborigines, who were following them, with the other. As the natives drew abreast of the ambush, their dogs scented the whites and gave warning, but those in ambush began firing. Seven aborigines were killed. This was the beginning of a war which the blacks continued later to wage on outlying squatters and settlers who were depriving them of their hunting grounds.

Mitchell left the Darling and proceeded back up the Murray exploring that river above its junction with the Murrumbidgee. Crossing the Loddon and the Avoca, he turned to the south-west and discovered a rich and fertile country which he named "Australia Felix." On July 31, he discovered the Glenelg, followed it down to the sea and then struck across to Portland Bay, where he found the Henty brothers who had settled there from Van Diemen's Land two years before. Mitchell's reports, when he returned to Sydney, revealed the existence of vast, fertile areas "ready for the reception of civilised man, and fit to become eventually one of the greatest nations of the earth."* An immediate rush began in the direction of his new discoveries. Mitchell had prepared the way for the squatters. The cry was "Southward Ho!"

But Mitchell's next cry was "Northward Ho!" and it echoed the purpose of his final exploring expedition (1845-6). Seeking a route to Australia's north coast, to Port Essington, or a river that might lead him to an estuary on the Timor Sea, he entered what is now central Queensland by way of the Narran, Balonne** and Maranoa Rivers. Full of hope he followed the Beylando, but it failed to prove itself the thread that would lead this modern Theseus out of his labyrinth. He turned back and, discovering the Barcoo,† transferred his hopes to it. Here, too, his anticipations were proved false when his lieutenant, E. B. Kennedy, later proved that the Barcoo was none other than the upper reaches of Sturt's Cooper's Creek, discovered the previous year.

Sturt was engaged during 1844-5-6 on his great work of inland exploration. In the service of the South Australian government, he set out from Adelaide‡ in August, 1844, and travelled up the Murray and Darling rivers, the centre of Australia being his objective. At a point near where Menindie now is he made for the north-west, crossing the Barrier Range, the site of modern

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* Mitchell.

** Stuart Russell had followed the course of the Condamine and Balonne in 1842.

† This aboriginal name has happily outlived the name, Victoria, that Mitchell gave to the river.

‡ The expedition consisted of 13 men, 200 sheep, 11 horses and 30 bullocks.

Broken Hill and the wealth that lay beneath them. Defying the threat of annihilation by one of Australia's worst summers, scarcity of water and a temperature that once reached 132 degrees in the shade,* the party pushed on until, towards the end of January, spring water was reached at Rocky Glen. They did not dare leave there, either to go on or to go back, as long as the drought lasted. Even there the level of the water became lower and lower. It was not till July that their ears were delighted by what Sturt described as the sweetest music he had ever heard: the sound of falling rain. They were now able to leave—but one of the party, James Poole, was stricken with scurvy. The others set out to carry him back to civilisation, but he died after a day's journey and was buried at what is now Mount Poole, about 20 miles north-west of Milparinka.

They pushed on, establishing another depot at Fort Grey, right in the present north-west corner of New South Wales. Thence they travelled west, crossed Strzelecki Creek, reached Lake Blanche and then returned to Fort Grey. Their next direction was north-west and, proceeding in it, they crossed the Strzelecki and Cooper's Creeks, digging wells on the way to insure a supply of water for their return. They reached Sturt's Stony Desert—sand-hills and sandstone—then fertile regions around Eyre's Creek, but then again sandstone and sand-hills. Sturt saw that he could not complete his self-appointed task. The expedition turned back, having reached its furthest north on September 8, 1845. On the return journey to Fort Grey, only the wells they had dug saved them from death. After another attempt, this time north, after again crossing Cooper's Creek higher up and after a trip up that creek, Sturt turned back for the last time. Conditions were worse than ever, creeks were dried up and it was found that food would not suffice for a summer at Rocky Glen. With what water they could carry and leaving everything else behind except food, they pushed on to the Darling, which they reached on December 21. Sturt was suffering from scurvy and his eyesight was almost gone. He reached Adelaide on January 19, 1846.

In the meantime, explorers and squatters were opening up other parts of the continent and linking the settled areas. Sheep needed pastures and, as the number of sheep grew, squatters and agents of squatters were on the heels of explorers, or even

* "The tremendous heat," wrote Sturt, "had parched all vegetation. Under its effect every screw in our boxes had been drawn, horn handles and combs were split into fine laminae; . . . our nails became as brittle as glass."

anticipated them, as they displayed to eager eyes new fertile regions. A loose chain of squatters' stations soon linked the settled areas of New South Wales with the new settlements on Port Phillip and Australia Felix. In 1839-41, Angus Macmillan travelled down the Snowy and Tambo Rivers and discovered Port Albert. The Pole, Strzelecki, followed him (1840) and advanced round the coast to Western Port. After the settlement of South Australia in 1836, the "Overlanders," driving sheep and cattle before them, made their way from the Port Phillip settlements to Adelaide. Among these were Bonney, Hawdon and E. J. Eyre—the last later achieving fame for his intrepidity.

Sturt, on his expedition to seek the centre of Australia, went up the Darling instead of proceeding directly northward from Adelaide because he wished to avoid the deserts and swamps that had prevented Eyre from advancing beyond Lake Torrens. Eyre had discovered that lake on one of his trips north in 1839. In the following year he set out to plant the Union Jack in the centre of Australia, but reached only Mount Hopeless, the name he gave it furnishing reason for his abandonment of that intention and a warning to Sturt to proceed up the Darling.* Eyre, rather than return to Adelaide with his task unaccomplished, determined to make for the new settlement at Swan River, aiming at linking the two young colonies—South Australia and West Australia—by a land route. So, from Mount Arden, he set out to the west.** The South Australian government sent a ship to Streaky Bay to intercept him and order him to give up the project. But he refused, preferring to risk disaster to returning and admitting failure. Only one white member of his party accompanied him—the others he sent home. The two, Eyre and Baxter, set out with three blacks from Streaky Bay in February, 1841.

It was a trip of hardship, disaster and tragedy. Often they were without water—depending on native wells, holes scraped in the sand or even dew! Horses and sheep died or were unable to go on. Baxter paid for his loyalty to Eyre and his insistence on accompanying him with his life. He was murdered by two of the blacks who decamped with provisions, water, guns and ammunition. Panic almost seized Eyre—he was only 25. "The frightful, the appalling truth now burst opon me," he wrote in his journal, "that I was alone in the desert. . . . The horrors of the situation glared upon me in such startling reality, as for an instant almost to paralyse the mind. At the dead hour of night,

* Frome, 1842-3, was also turned back from Lake Torrens.
** He had travelled 300 miles along the coast from Port Lincoln in 1839.

in the wildest and most inhospitable wastes of Australia, with the fierce wind raging in unison with the scene of violence before me, I was left, with a single native, whose fidelity I could not rely upon, and who, for ought I knew, might be in league with the other two, who perhaps were even now lurking about with a view of taking away my life as they had done that of the overseer. Three days had passed since we left the last water, and it was very doubtful when we might find any more. Six hundred miles of country had to be traversed before I could hope to obtain the slightest aid or assistance of any kind."

But the loyalty of Wylie was beyond reproach and the two of them struggled on. At Rossiter Bay they encountered a French whaler and were received on board, where they recuperated. But Eyre the obstinate would hear nothing of discontinuing the journey and they pushed on again. On July 7, they reached St. George's Sound. The trip was not fruitful of anything beyond courage and endurance—the coast had already been explored by sea.*

But the scenes of exploration were not confined to the south and the south-eastern corner of the continent. The north and west coasts were also attracting explorers. Roe, Bannister and others were becoming acquainted with the south-western corner, around Perth and King George's Sound, between 1829 and 1836. From 1838 to 1841, Captains Wickham and Stokes, on H.M.S. "Beagle," were exploring various parts of the north coast, including the Fitzroy and Victoria Rivers in the north-west, the country around Darwin and on the Albert and Flinders Rivers in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and George Grey** was looking at the Glenelg River and the coastal country between Shark Bay and Perth. And, while Mitchell was setting out to look for the river that would take him to the north coast, a German scientist, who had arrived in Australia in 1842, was just completing his 3000-mile journey from the Darling Downs to Port Essington. This was Ludwig Leichhardt, whose name is remembered in a Sydney suburb and a Queensland county and has become the subject of much romancing because of his unknown fate. In October, 1844, he set out on his great journey from the Darling Downs, advancing northwards in a course parallel to the coast. The small party were over nine months in reaching the Gulf of Carpentaria. Leichhardt crossed the Dawson River and Expedition Range, naming them, and followed the courses of the

* Eyre was later in the public service in South Australia and New Zealand. He was afterwards Governor of Jamaica and died in 1906.

** Afterwards Governor of South Australia.

Isaacs, Suttor, Burdekin and Mitchell Rivers. From the latter the coast of the Gulf* was followed around until the Roper River was reached. Thence the party struck across Arnhem Land to Alligator River. Port Essington was reached on December 17, 1845, a year and two and a half months after the expedition had started.**

In 1846-48, the boundary between known and unknown in both the south-western and north-eastern corners of the continent was pushed back. Between the Murchison River, on the west coast, to Russell Range, on the Great Australian Bight, F. T. and A. C. Gregory and J. S. Roe were making the south-western corner known. In 1847, E. B. Kennedy (who had been with Mitchell) followed the Barcoo into South Australia to show it was Sturt's Cooper's Creek and, in the following year, landing at Rockingham Bay, set out from there for Cape York (where a ship was to meet him) on a journey that was to end in tragedy.

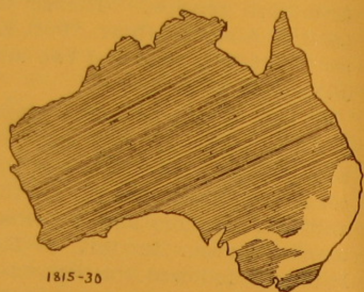
Kennedy's journey north was one of hardship and disaster. He had a dozen men with him and they found swamps, tangled undergrowth, hostile blacks (upon whom Kennedy fired, killing five) and mountains to impede their progress. A ship was to meet them with supplies at Prince Charlotte Bay, but as they were about two months late in reaching there, it had gone and the party was faced with starvation. With three whites and a black, Jackey Jackey, who has became famous in the history of Australian exploration, Kennedy pushed on, leaving the rest at Weymouth Bay. The three whites were left behind near Cape Grenville when two of them could go no further.† Kennedy and Jackey Jackey pushed on, but, on December 1, Kennedy fell victim of the blacks' vengeance for their comrades he had killed. They had been taking all precautions, for they knew the blacks were remorselessly following them, even refraining from lighting fires. All the night before the fateful day they sat up and prepared to move on as soon as daylight came. Of what followed we have Jackey Jackey's account. "I fetched the horses and saddled them," he reported, "then we went on a good way up the river, and then we sat down a little while, and we saw three black fellows coming along our track,

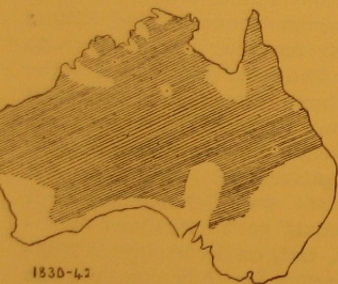
* A member of the party, Gilbert, was killed, and two badly wounded, when the blacks attacked the party near the Gilbert River.

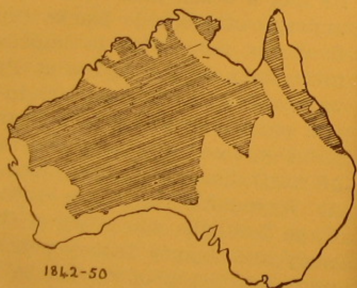
** Leichhardt's later expeditions were failures. In December, 1846, he set out with a huge expedition from the Condamine on what it was hoped would be a trans-continental journey to Perth. The attempt was a complete failure. In March, 1848, he set out again. He reached the Cogoon River (a tributary of the Balonne) and sent back a despatch. That was the last that was ever heard of him or his expedition.

† One had accidentally shot himself; the other had become lame.

1788-1815


1815-30

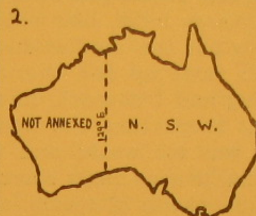

1830-42


1842-50

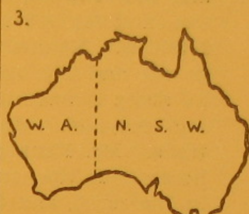
1850-62

1862-75

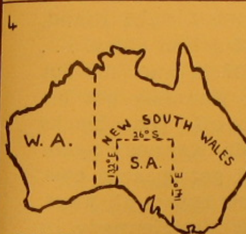
1788-1825



1825-9



1829-36



1836-51

1851-6

1856-9

1859-61

1861-2

1862-3

1863-1901

1901-11
COMMONWEALTH

1911 –
COMMONWEALTH

and they saw us, and one fellow ran back as hard as he could run, and fetched up plenty more, like a flock of sheep almost. I told Mr. Kennedy to put the saddles on the two horses and go on, and the blacks came up and they followed us all day; all along it was raining and I now told him to leave the horses and come on without them, that the horses made too much track. Mr. Kennedy was too weak; and would not leave the horses." In the evening, "a good many black fellows came behind in the scrub, and threw plenty of spears, and hit Mr. Kennedy in the back first. Mr. Kennedy said to me: 'Oh Jackey Jackey, shoot 'em! shoot 'em!' Then I pulled my gun and fired, and hit one fellow all over the face with buck shot; he tumbled down, and got up again and again and wheeled right round, and two black fellows picked him up and carried him away. . . . I pulled out the spear from Mr. Kennedy's back, and cut out the jag with Mr. Kennedy's knife; then Mr. Kennedy got his gun and snapped, but the gun would not go off. The blacks sneaked all along by the trees, and speared Mr. Kennedy again in the right leg, above the knee a little, and I got speared over the eye, and the blacks were now throwing their spears all ways, never giving over, and shortly again speared Mr. Kennedy in the right side." The blacks desisted from their attack and Jackey carried Kennedy into the scrub. "I asked him often, 'Are you well now?' and he said, 'I don't care for the spear wound in my leg, Jackey, but for the other two spear wounds in my side and back; I am bad inside, Jackey.' I told him black fellows always die when he got spear in there; he said, 'I am

Notes to maps on Pages 376 and 377.

The six maps on p. 376 serve to illustrate the progress of Australian exploration between 1788 and 1875. (See, also, p. 449.)

MAP 1.—Less than half of the Australian continent was annexed when Phillip assumed the governmentship of New South Wales in 1788. His boundary to the west was the 135th meridian of east longitude. Van Diemen's Land, then thought to be attached to the mainland, was also included in New South Wales—as was Norfolk Island. The latter was evacuated during the second decade of the 19th century. A settlement was made in the north, in 1824, at Fort Dundas, on Melville Island.

MAP 2.—In July, 1825, New South Wales was increased when its western boundary was pushed back to the 129th meridian. In December of the same year Van Diemen's Land was separated from New South Wales. At Fort Wellington, in the north, a new settlement was made in 1827. But, in 1829, both Fort Dundas and Fort Wellington were abandoned. A military station was established at Albany in 1826 and, in the same year, Norfolk Island was occupied again.

MAP 3.—The whole continent was annexed when, in 1829, the colony of West Australia was established. The new colony was to consist of that part of the continent not embraced in New South Wales. It will be seen, therefore, that all the Australian States, except W.A., have been carved out of the original New South Wales.

MAP 4.—In 1836, South Australia was founded. Its boundaries were: on

out of wind, Jackey.' I asked him, 'Mr. Kennedy, are you going to leave me?' and he said, 'Yes, my boy, I am going to leave you.' He said, 'I am very bad, Jackey, you take the books, Jackey, to the captain, but not the big ones; the Governor will give anything for them.' I then tied up the papers. He then said, Jackey, give me paper and I will write.' I gave him paper and pencil and he tried to write, and he then fell back and died, and I caught him as he fell back and held him, and I then turned myself and cried. I was crying a good while until I got well; that was about an hour, and then I buried him."

The loyal Jackey continued the journey alone, and, a fortnight later, reached the rendezvous where the "Ariel" was waiting. "Murry murry glad" he was to be taken on board. The ship set out to find those left behind. The three who were last left were not found and of those who had remained at Weymouth Bay there were only two survivors.

The rest of the story of Australian exploration must be quickly told. By the middle of the century less than half of the continent had been explored. From the Beylando River in the east to North West Cape in the west and from Darwin in the north almost to the Bight in the south only a huge blank could be shown on the map of Australia. Not much was done to diminish that blank space during the 'fifties. The boundaries of the known in the west were pushed back mainly by the explorations of Austin in 1854. In 1855-6, A. C. Gregory landed on the coast of Northern Australia between 100 and 200 miles south of Darwin, made his way south as far as Sturt's Creek, then retraced

the east, the 141st meridian; on the north, the 26th parallel; on the west, the 132nd meridian. This arrangement left a narrow strip between S.A. and W.A. Two years later, another settlement was begun in the north, at Port Essington. It was abandoned in 1849. In 1840, New Zealand was brought under the control of the Governor of New South Wales. A year later, however, it became a separate colony. In 1846, a settlement was made at Port Curtis, to be the capital of a "North Australia" that Gladstone proposed should be a penal settlement, since transportation to N.S.W. had ceased. Its southern boundary was to be the 26th parallel and it was to extend to W.A. The project came to nought.

MAP 5.—In 1851, the Port Phillip district became a separate colony under the name Victoria. The Victorians wanted the Murrumbidgee as their northern boundary but that was finally fixed (in 1855) at the Murray.

MAP 6.—By 1856, the boundary of Victoria was fixed and, on January 1 of that year, Van Diemen's Land became Tasmania. Norfolk Island passed from the jurisdiction of V.D.L. to that of N.S.W.

MAP 7.—In 1859, the colony of Queensland was separated from N.S.W., its southern boundary being the 29th parallel and its western the 141st meridian. (The Queenslanders want the 30th parallel as their southern boundary.) N.S.W. was thus now in two separated parts.

MAP 8.—In 1861, the narrow strip between S.A. and W.A. was incorporated in S.A. A proposal to create a new colony out of the north of W.A. and North Australia, to be named Albert, came to nothing.

his steps to a level with his starting point and thence set out in an easterly direction to the south of the Gulf of Carpentaria and southward down central Queensland, finishing his 4000-mile trip at Port Curtis a year and three months after he started. In 1854, he set out westward in search of Leichhardt, followed the Barcoo and Cooper's Creek, thence proceeding to Adelaide. In the same year, John Macdouall Stuart, who had accompanied Sturt on his last expedition, was exploring to the north of Lake Torrens.

In October, 1860, Robert O'Hara Burke and William John Wills,* having come across country from Melbourne, left Menindie on the trans-continental expedition that stands boldest in Australia's memory and that ended in disaster. That disaster was due to the unfitness of Bourke as a leader of an exploring party. The expedition set out with an equipment that guaranteed success. It included sixteen camels. But, instead of proceeding with the whole party, Burke and Wills and six others went on ahead to Cooper's Creek, which they reached on November 11. Having gained so much on the main party, Burke was still less inclined to be patient and this time he split the advance party. The scientists and the expensive scientific instruments were left behind, and Burke and Wills, with John King and Charles Gray, pushed on towards the Gulf of Carpentaria. Thus was expressed for mere scientists and the citizens of Melbourne who had provided their instruments the contempt of a police inspector who placed the satisfaction of his own egotism, by his being the first to cross Australia, before the scientific investigation and the detailed exploration that were the objects of the expedition. Those left at Cooper's Creek were told to remain there for three months.

* Burke was an inspector of the Mounted Police in Victoria; Wills was a surveyor.

MAP 9.—The western boundary of Queensland, above S.A., was shifted, in 1862, to where it now is—at the 138th meridian.

MAP 10.—In 1863, the Northern Territory was lost to N.S.W. and added to S.A. In 1884, the southern part of New Guinea was annexed by Britain and, four years later, was placed under the jurisdiction of Queensland.

MAP 11.—In 1901, the various Australian colonies were federated into the Commonwealth of Australia. Papua (New Guinea) was proclaimed Commonwealth territory in 1906.

MAP 12.—In 1911, the Northern Territory was taken over from S.A. by the Commonwealth government. Today, it is divided into North and Central Australia. In 1914, Norfolk Island also became Commonwealth Territory and after the war the former German colonies of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago passed into the possession of the Commonwealth.

NOTE.—The above maps and notes have been based on K. R. Cramp's historical atlas.

Burke and his associates followed the Diamantina some distance and then struck north until they reached the Cloncurry. They followed this to the Flinders, which they thought was the Albert, tasted salt water, but did not reach the sea. Two of their three months were almost gone as they turned to go back. They were not a happy family and there were quarrels*—once when Gray was found taking more than his allowance of flour. He was sick and weak, he said, but Burke accused him of malingering. Gray, however, soon proved that Burke was wrong by dying. . . .

On April 21, 1861, the other three reached Cooper's Creek—just over four months after they had left it. The depot was deserted! William Brahe, who had been told to stay there three months and had stayed there four—(he had left on the morning of the very day the three returned)—had, according to Burke's illogical complaint, abandoned them. But Brahe had done all he could—his food was giving out, the rest of the party had not arrived from Menindie and Burke was over a month overdue. He could do nothing else but hide some food for Burke. The latter following the directions—DIG—cut in the bark of a tree found the hidden food and the small party was saved. Had Wills and King insisted on the proposal they put forward—of immediately following Brahe—all would still have been well. But Burke insisted they were in no condition to go on and advised recuperating where they were, then following Cooper's Creek down to Mount Hopeless and thence reaching the settled parts of South Australia. They remained at the depot for five days and then set out. Their two camels were lost—one was bogged and killed, the other died—food gave out and they decided to return to the depot. While they were away Brahe had returned and had seen no trace of the three. The latter, when they returned, did not know that he had been back. Wills buried their books at the depot, left a note, and they tried to live as the blacks lived—on nardoo seed. But they could not live on the food that sufficed the aborigines. Wills and Burke died in June. King was kept alive by the blacks until he was found by a relief party on September 15. Thus had a costly expedition led, as the result of the obstinacy and unfitness of its leader, to nothing but disaster.

Nothing but disaster—in itself. But the relief expeditions that went out in search of Burke were responsible for the exploration of much of Queensland. A. W. Howitt led the party,

* Burke had already quarrelled with Landells, who had been in charge of the camels, before he left Menindie.

from Melbourne, that discovered King. William Walker set out from Rockhampton westward, made north for the Albert River and returned in a south-easterly direction and down the Queensland coast back to Rockhampton. McKinley left Adelaide and reached the Albert River, by way of Cooper's Creek and the Diamantina, and thence passed through northern Queensland to the Burdekin. William Landsborough, similarly, led an expedition northwards to the Albert and thence back through central Queensland.

Thus by 1862 most of the eastern half of the continent had been explored. In the meantime, too, F. Gregory had been exploring around the Fortescue River (W.A.), in 1861, and John Macdouall Stuart had (1859-62) been making Central Australia known, on three expeditions that took him from Adelaide to Port Darwin by way of Central Mount Stuart,* the Macdouall Range and Daly Waters. In 1872, the overland telegraph followed Stuart's route across Australia.

Since 1862 the whole continent has been crossed and recrossed, explored and surveyed. We can only mention some of the explorers. Cape York Peninsula was gone over by the Jardine brothers in 1864 and W. Hann in 1872. In the West, John Forrest, later Australia's first and only "lord," carried out important work. In 1869, he was around Lakes Mcore and Barlee; in the following, he did Eyre's trip in the opposition direction—from Perth to Adelaide; and, in 1874, he travelled from Gerald-on through central West Australia into South Australia. Ernest Giles was in central South Australia and the east-central part of West Australia, in 1872 and 1873, and to the north of Lake Tor-ens in 1874. In 1875, he set out from Adelaide for Perth by a oute that ran parallel to the shore of the Bight but about 200 niles inland. From Perth, he proceeded north to Geraldton, hence north-east and west across West Australia, on a track orth of Forrest's, and back into South Australia. Colonel E. Varburton went across West Australia from east to west, further orth than Giles's route, in 1873. Other explorers in central ustralia about the same time were Gosse (1873) and Lewis 874).

Later explorers have been Favenc (in Northern Australia, 1878 nd 1883); A. Forrest (north-west of W.A., 1879); Lindsay (in

* Which Stuart himself named Mount Sturt, "after my excellent and teemed Commander of the Expedition in 1844 and 1845." He raised the ion Jack there, happily unwitting of the dark chapter that was to open the aborigines and that was to mock the hope he expressed that the flag uld "be a sign to the natives that the dawn of liberty, civilisation and ristianity is about to break upon them."

North, West and Central Australia, 1883 and 1891-2); Wells and Carnegie (in central West Australia, 1896); Hann and Brockman (in Kimberley in 1900 and 1901); and so the era of the pack-horse merges into that of the aeroplane, whence accurate and rapid surveys may be made of land on which the surveyor may never set foot.

2.—VAN DIEMEN'S HELL.—The activities of the French in Australian waters around the beginning of the 19th century aroused apprehension in the minds of British Ministers and East India Company directors.* They certainly did not wish to see France appropriating any part of the Australian continent, even though they themselves did not then have the appetite to swallow it whole.** Lieutenant Robbins in the "Cumberland" was sent, in 1802, to keep an eye on Baudin and to prevent his annexation of any Australian territory. As a result, Baudin, who said he knew of no French intention of forming a colony, was amazed, while on King Island, to receive a visit from Robbins, who gave him a letter from King and, then, landed some marines, hoisted the Union Jack over the heads of the bewildered Frenchman in such haste that it was flying upside down, fired a volley and led his marines in three cheers. Baudin described it as a childish ceremony, but King Island, at least, had been made safe for the British bulldog, even though he intended using it only as a manger.

King's next move was to establish a settlement in Van Diemen's Land. He sent Lieutenant Bowen with a party of convicts to the Derwent, where he established himself at Risdon, in September, 1803. In May of the previous year, King had written home conveying to the government his suspicions of French intentions and suggesting a settlement at Port Phillip. As the government shared those suspicions and as it desired to establish a new penal settlement away from Sydney, it lost little time in deciding to send an expedition direct from England to settle Port Phillip and to instruct King to send another to Port Dalrymple. Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, who had been Judge-Advocate under Phillip, was selected for the command of the expedition to Port Philip, which set sail from Portsmouth on

* See above, pp. 113-117.

** Sir Joseph Banks looked at the question slightly differently. He favored leaving the greater part of New Holland "open to the enterprise of any European nations who may venture in times of peace to make a settlement there, **under a moral certainty of its getting into our hands in time of war.**"—As in America, India and South Africa, we might add, out of the knowledge of the manner of British gains in which countries was born Banks's cynicism.

April 26, 1803. Dissatisfied, however, with Port Phillip as a site for a settlement,* Collins did not remain there long. He gained permission from King to transfer his charges to Van Diemen's Land, and joined Bowen at Risdon in February, 1804. He stayed there only a few days and then moved across the river to the site of the modern Hobart.** Three months later, King received his instructions anent Port Dalrymple. He sent Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, of the New South Wales Corps, who chose for his settlement (November, 1804) a site that he named York Town. In March, 1806, however, he moved up the Tamar to the site of the modern Launceston. By 1804, therefore, there were two small colonies in Van Diemen's Land—one in the south and the other in the north—each under the control of a Lieutenant-Governor, subordinate to the Governor in Sydney. They were placed under one Lieutenant-Governor, with headquarters at Hobart, in 1813, and, in 1825, became a separate colony, independent of New South Wales. On January 1, 1856, the name, Van Diemen's Land was changed to Tasmania.

Van Diemen's Land was indeed a name that the inhabitants of that island would want forgotten. It was a synonym for the hell into which convicts were poured and where they suffered the appropriate torments. It was, alas! also the scene of the wiping out of a whole people. Wherever the white man has gone to spread his boasted civilisation he has taken death and degradation to the native races. But is there another land whose original inhabitants have been **completely** annihilated, so that not one remains except as a skeleton in a museum? Oh, if only with the changing of a name the past could be wiped out!

3.—SWAN RIVER.—The colony of New South Wales was founded as a penal settlement. So was Van Dieman's Land. Victoria and Queensland owe their origin to the overflow of squatters from the mother-colonly—mainly in opposition to the wishes of the government. But West Australia and South Australia were settled by people who had pet theories to put into practice—a process that was to bring wealth to the promoters. These theories and their results are best considered in relation to the general land question and the development of squatterdom. And it is there (in the next chapter) that they will be discussed. Here it is to suffice that we chronicle the formation of the colonies in question in their sequence.

* See below, Section 5 of this Chapter.
** So-called after Lord Hobart, then Secretary for the Colonies.

In 1827, the Swan River* was explored by Captain James Stirling, who reported very favorably of the soil and harbor facilities. The government refused to colonise, but some capitalists became interested—including Thomas Peel, a cousin of Sir Robert Peel. Their plan was that 10,000 people should be sent out to West Australia at their own expense. They were to be granted 40 acres for every £3 they brought into the colony. There was to be no limit to the grants. Peel, for example, was to get a quarter of a million acres if he landed 400 immigrants before November 1, 1829. No convicts were to be sent out.

In December, 1828, Captain Fremantle was sent out in advance. He took possession of West Australia on May 2, 1829. Stirling was appointed Governor and he landed at Swan River on June 18, 1829. With land so cheap and the reports so glowing, hundreds of settlers soon arrived—with the result that there was an acute food shortage. The muddle of the first years almost spelt the end of the colony, and for many years very few settlers arrived and progress was slow.

4.—WAKEFIELD'S DISCOVERY.—Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had a pleasant hobby of abducting and marrying young heiresses, was, in 1827 and following years, improving his mind in Newgate Gaol, during the leisure hours that were then perforce his in abundance, by reading about the Australian colonies. The title of this section is taken from a sarcastic reference by Karl Marx** to Wakefield's "discovery." "It is the great merit of E. G. Wakefield," wrote Marx, "to have discovered, not anything new about the Colonies, but to have discovered in the Colonies the truth as to the conditions of capitalist production in the mother-country." That "discovery" was that "property in money, means of subsistence, machines and other means of production, does not yet stamp a man as a capitalist if there be wanting the correlative—the wage-worker, the other man who is compelled to sell himself of his own free-will. He discovered that capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons, established by the instrumentality of things." While man could get land cheaply, could produce for himself, "capital accumulation and the capitalistic mode of production are impossible. The class of wage-laborers, essential to these is wanting." The essence of Wakefield's theory was the necessity of creating such a class by means of dear land and the systematic impor-

* It was discovered, it will be remembered, by the Dutchman, Vlamingh; see above, p. 80.
** In his "Capital," Vol. 1, Chap. XXXIII.

tation into the colonies of men who had no money to buy land and who would have to work for those who had.

Wakefield embodied his views in a little book, "A Letter from Sydney," published in 1829. He had powerful friends—amongst them Lord Durham and Charles Buller (both of them of fame in Canadian political history) and Earl Grey—and a colonisation society was suggested. In 1834, a "South Australian Association," inspired by Sturt's discoveries, was formed, and, with the aid of backers in parliament (many of whom were in the Association), the South Australian Act was passed. Land was to be sold at not less than 12/- an acre and the proceeds were to form an Emigration Fund to finance the necessary emigration. A Board of Commissioners, eight in number, was to control the financial side and a Governor was to be appointed by the government, which was empowered to take over the colony if it were not a success within twenty years—the measure of success being a population of 20,000. Captain Hindmarsh was made Governor. No convicts were to be sent out.

The advance party of the new colony left England in May, 1836, under the surveyor-general, Colonel Wm. Light. The first landing was on Kangaroo Island, but Light was not satisfied and sought another site. Finally, he chose one on the River Torrens, which flows into St. Vincent's Gulf. When Hindmarsh arrived in December he objected to that position but he was overruled and the new colony of South Australia continued its history.

5.—PLACE FOR A VILLAGE.—We have already seen Lieutenant-Colonel Collins sent out from England, as the result of information and advice sent by Governor King, to found a settlement at Port Phillip. He arrived there in October, 1803, in command of an expedition of two ships, the "Calcutta" and the "Ocean," which brought out between 300 and 400 convicts* and a few free settlers. A landing was made about eight miles inside the heads of Port Phillip, to the eastward, near where Sorrento now stands. "As if to impress the black natives with a high idea of British discernment and perseverance," later sarcastically commented the Sydney "Colonist,"** "the Royal Standard was hoisted and the settlement formed on the **only** piece of sterile land within the heads." But it seems evident that the reason

* Some of the convicts were allowed to bring their wives and families with them. One such was John Fawkner who had with him his son, John Pascoe Fawkner—then a boy of eleven but destined to become one of the founders of Melbourne.

** August, 1886, quoted by Bonwick: Port Phillip Settlement, p. 54.

for Collins's choice was its nearness to the heads—his removal to Van Diemen's Land would, as a result, be facilitated! For he had no desire to settle at Port Phillip. He aimed at remaining there only long enough to get approval from Sydney for the transference to Van Diemen's Land. In the meantime, the work to be done was to collect unfavorable reports of Port Phillip.

There was a lack of fresh water, Collins reported to King; the soil was poor and so was the timber; shoals made navigation dangerous, and the pioneers there were in danger of being wiped out by numerous and hostile savages! Thus did Collins find excuses for abandonment of the settlement and his lieutenants, knowing the desire that was father of the excuses, helped in the finding. Lieutenant Tuckey, G. P. Harris, Deputy-Surveyor, and William Collins, a relative of the Governor, cruising around the Port, made a perfunctory survey that confirmed their instinctive aversion and, in doing so, clashed with the aborigines. Their exaggeration of the numbers and ferocity of these added a new terror to the other that already possessed the Lieutenant-Governor—that the convicts would rise at any moment and overwhelm his own marines, those and the crew of the "Calcutta" (whose captain he begged to remain at Port Phillip) and the civil patrol he had organised, replete with pistols, pass-words and countersigns. Collins succeeded in thoroughly terrifying himself. The Australian bush and its black denizens scared him and he needed a big force to stand between him and the convicts. He was not happy until he reached the Derwent where a detachment of the New South Wales Corps was stationed and, on his way there, he rejected the port of Launceston—because it was difficult for ships!

In November, William Collins set out with despatches for Sydney in an open boat with six convicts. They reached within 60 miles and were picked up by the "Ocean," which left a week later. Governor King agreed on the transference to Van Diemen's Land and sent ships to assist in the work of transportation. On January 30, 1804, Collins left Port Phillip, leaving over a hundred convicts in the charge of Lieutenant Sladden. He arrived at the Derwent on February 15. The remainder of the Port Phillip settlers left on May 21. Only one man remained behind—William Buckley, a convict who escaped and lived with the aborigines for thirty years, forming a link between the ephemeral and the permanent in the settlement of Victoria.

Nearly a year before Collins's arrival at Port Phillip, Surveyor-General Grimes had gone there from Sydney, on board the "Cumberland," commanded by Lieutenant Robbins. He dis-

covered the mouth of the Yarra on February 13, 1804, and surveyed the site of Melbourne. They had found the aborigines friendly and recommended a settlement on the Yarra. Collins, however, had left England before Grimes's report reached there. Robbins, together with Lieutenant Oxley, was sent south again by Governor King in 1804. They got no further than Western Port, which they both condemned, Robbins comparing it unfavorably with the Yarra site and Oxley condemning the whole region. Nothing, therefore, was done further towards planting a settlement on the south coast until after the expedition of Hume and Hovell. They had favorable reports to make but the belief that they had reached Western Port, instead of Port Phillip and that, consequently, the fertile regions discovered were at the former place* led to the establishment of a settlement there and not at Port Phillip. The reports attracted squatters** both from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, but it was the presence of French and American ships in Australian waters that induced Governor Darling to send expeditions to Western Port (and King George's Sound, too.) They left Sydney in November, 1826. After hesitating because of conflicting reports and consulting with the home authorities, Darling withdrew the settlement in January, 1828, when the danger of foreign settlement had passed. In 1827, he had refused a grant of land at Western Port to John Batman and J. T. Gellibrand.

The southern coasts of Australia were again left to the sealers and whalers who, with headquarters in Launceston, haunted the seas and islands between Tasmania and the main-land. Amongst these were the Mills brothers, and William Dutton and John Griffiths. Dutton established himself at Portland Bay in 1832. There, in 1833, he was visited by Edward Henty. Three brothers, James, John and Stephen, had been sent out by their father, Thomas Henty, a banker and farmer of Sussex, to West Australia in 1829. Disappointed there, they determined, in 1831, to remove to Van Diemen's Land. Henty himself, with his wife, daughter and three other sons, Charles, Edward and Frank, joined them at Launceston. Failing to obtain from the government land in exchange for his 80,000 acres in West Australia (where his one remaining son, Stephen, stayed), Henty sent Edward to South Australia on a tour of investigation. The ship he was on anchored in Portland Bay on its return voyage and he was attracted to the site. After hesitating and after a visit to West Australia to see for himself, Henty finally decided to

* See above, p. 365.
** See next Chapter.

settle at Portland Bay. In November, 1834, the family landed there, and, on several subsequent trips, their ship, the "Thistle," brought sheep, cattle, pigs, seeds, poultry and laborers. Four of the brothers settled there, the other three remaining in Tasmania.

In the following year, the foundations were laid of a permanent settlement in the Port Phillip area and the city of Melbourne. John Batman,* in spite of his rebuff in 1827 and encouraged by Hume's reports and the example of the Hentys in squatting without permission, determined to follow their example—with the unofficial encouragement of Governor Arthur, who thought that Port Phillip should be under his control, not that of the Governor of New South Wales. A syndicate was formed** and, early in May, 1835, Batman left Launceston in the "Rebecca" for Port Phillip, which, however, he was, through bad weather, nearly three weeks in reaching. He thought to give legal sanction for his appropriation of the land on which Melbourne now stands by "purchasing" it all from the aborigines. Gellibrand, who was a lawyer, had drawn up a document for him before he left Launceston and now he got the "chiefs" he found on the Yarra to "sign" his "treaty," granting him "about 600,000 acres more or less."† The payment was to consist of blankets, tomahawks, knives, scissors, looking-glasses, handkerchiefs, flour, shirts—some as an initial payment and more as an annual rent.‡ Having selected a spot which "will be the place for a village," Batman returned to Launceston, leaving a small party in possession, on Indented Head.

* Batman was born in Parramatta in 1800 and in 1820 had gone to Van Diemen's Land, where he received a grant of land near Ben Lomond. Rendering service to the government in the fight against bushrangers he was rewarded with another grant of land and the pardon of a young woman outlaw whom he had found and later married. He also played a big part in the Black War (see Chap XII), although he sympathised with the aborigines and looked upon them as a "much injured" people. This did not prevent him from taking the part of a leader in the war of extermination. He proposed, however, and attempted to carry out his proposal, to round up all the aborigines, segregate them from the whites and protect them. The resulting round-up and segregation merely hastened their extermination.

** Consisting of John Batman, J. T. Gellibrand, C. Swanston, W. G. Sams, J. and W. Robertson, James Simpson, Thos. Bannister, John T. Collicot, Henry Arthur (nephew of the Governor), M. Connolly, John Sinclair, John Helder Wedge, Anthony Cotterill and Geo. Mercer.

† The "treaties" were prepared in triplicate and copies left with the "chiefs"! The latter signed their names with marks that all appear the same and their names were written alongside: Jagajaga, Cooloolock, Bungarie, Yanyan, Moolokap and Mommarmala.

‡ Batman, it can at any rate be said for him, was willing to pay something to the blacks for the land he took. No other appropriator ever

In the meantime, John Pascoe Fawkner* and others, of Launceston, desirous of getting away from the tyranny of officialdom in Van Diemen's Land, were casting their eyes towards Port Phillip. On July 29, Fawkner set out on the "Enterprise,"** but stormy weather made him so seasick that he put back to port and the ship went on without him. The company made for Western Port, examined it and then went on round to Port Phillip. They were warned by Batman's representative that they were trespassing. No heed was paid to the warning, and, on August 20, they were anchored in Hobson's Bay. The next day they went exploring. As a result of their discoveries, the "Enterprise" was soon moored in the Yarra near where the Customs House now stands. A day or two later they were again warned that they were on Batman's land—this time by John Helder Wedge, formerly assistant surveyor-general in Van Diemen's Land, but then surveying for Batman. Again the warning was scorned and the work of ploughing begun. Soon a number of acres between the sites of King and William Streets were cleared, ploughed and sowed with wheat. With this cultivation and the mud huts put up by the small party, the city of Melbourne was begun. The story of the conflicts of the two parties will be told in a subsequent chapter.

6.—SQUATTERS' QUEENSLAND.—The first settlement in what is now Queensland was made at Moreton Bay, in 1824, as a penal station. The convicts were, however, withdrawn from there in 1839. Gladstone, as we have already seen,† put forward plans for the establishment of a convict colony in northern Queensland, when New South Wales refused to have any more convicts. In 1847, such a colony was established at Port Curtis but was later withdrawn.

Like Victoria, Queensland was rapidly over-run by the squatters, following in the wake of the explorers. They began trekking north towards the end of the 'thirties. In 1840, the Leslies had established themselves on the Darling Downs. Soon a colony of squatters centred around Moreton Bay. These squatters wanted cheap labor and were, therefore, anxious for separation from New South Wales, when the people of Sydney had decidedly refused to receive any more convicts. They received with open arms the convicts on the "Hashemy," whom Sydney had refused permission to land, and they also imported Chinese. All Queenslanders wanted separation and in this they were supported by Dr. J. D. Lang, but the small farmers and tradesmen and workers of Brisbane refused to have convicts and the squatters were defeated. Separation from New South Wales did not come till 1859.

7.—AUSTRALIA.—By about the middle of the century, therefore, there were six Australian colonies, independent of each other* and to be divided for decades by mutual jealousies. There was practically only the name, Australia, to connect them—even customs barriers dividing them. It was not till 1901 that the continent, its civilised existence begun as a unity, achieved a partial political unity again—partial because there are still many things to divide and sectional interests perpetuate developments of the period of disunity.

The name of the continent had for long been New Holland and Terra Australis, while to most Englishmen it was for many years merely New South Wales. The honor of giving it the name of Australia belongs to Flinders, who repeatedly used the name throughout his books. Gradually, during the first decades of the 19th century, the name Australia** came into general use and our people in the 'forties and 'fifties first felt the force of it when they united in the anti-transportation association that sounded the doom of convictism.

paid its original owners for their land. The annual rent promised would have amounted to about £200. It is a melancholy reflection to remember that that £200 a year would be of considerable value to the descendants of the blacks whose "chiefs" sold Melbourne to Batman—for there are very few of them left.

* Born in London in 1792, he had accompanied his father, sentenced for receiving stolen goods, to Port Phillip in 1803. He became bitterly hostile to official circles, often helping runaway convicts. In 1814, he helped some prisoners to escape, was caught and deported to Sydney. Later he went to Hobart, had a farm alongside his father's, mortgaged and lost it, became a baker and then went to Launceston. There he was in turn a baker, bookseller, timber merchant, landlord of the Cornwall Hotel and publisher and editor of the "Launceston Advertiser." He gained a reputation as a "bush-lawyer," often clashed with officialdom and always took the side of the people against it—pleading before magistrates and wielding a vitriolic pen.

** In addition to Fawkner, there were "John Lancey, a master mariner, Samuel and William Jackson and Robert Hay Marr, carpenters and builders and George Evans, a plasterer," and some servants and laborers—(Turner: History of Victoria, Vol. 1, pp. 118-19).

† See above, p. 379.

* Victoria was separated from N.S.W. in 1851.

** We have already called attention to the first recorded use of the name in 1625. See above, page 44, foot of second column.

Chapter XI

CLASS STRUGGLES AND PROGRESS

Just as he spoke, a coach and four
Came up in post haste to the door,
And some six feet of mortal sin
Sans leave or license tumbled in.
At its arrival cheers were given
That reached from Hell to Highest Heaven.
And all the denizens of Hell
With one rope pealed the greatest bell
That ne'er was known to sound or ring
Since Judas sold our Heavenly King.
Drums were beating, flags were hoisting;
Never before was such rejoicing,
Dancing, singing, joy and mirth
In Heaven above—and on the earth. . . .
"Of sense," cried Satan, "I'm deprived,
Since Governor Darling has arrived."

—Frank the Poet.[1]

1.—A Shackled Press; 2.—Public Opinion to be Heard; 3.—The Sudds Case; 4.—Exclusive Legislative Council; 5.—War on the Blacks; 6.—Roasted Bullocks and Impeachment; 7.—Banks; 8.—The Squatters; 9.—Immigrants.

THE campaigns between classes and cliques and castes, the struggles of people against power and privilege and of the masses against the classes, which form the warp and woof of which the texture of our story has been spun, were in full swing by the 'twenties. What had gone before consisted of mere skirmishes. The grand struggles that needed a continent for a stage were beginning. The swelling scene that we behold thereon does not lack interest and through it all breathe the hope of freedom and the spirit of independence. Exclusive against emancipist, British capital against Australian, squatter against townsman, immigrant against all—and all against the aboriginal; the fight for a free press, trial by jury, self-government, free labor, democracy: the whole story of our progress we see beginning in the humble episode of the martyrdom of a private soldier in 1826.

1.—A SHACKLED PRESS.—Australa's first newspaper was the **"Sydney Gazette and N.S.W. Advertiser,"** which was begun by

[1] Notes to this Chapter are at the end of Book III.

George Howe in 1803.* Even if its publisher had desired to be critical of the successive Governors, it could not have reflected his views, for it was subject to a strict censorship wielded by the Governor himself. The proofs were taken to Government House to be passed. Bligh censored the paper during his term, but he allowed free speech to his opponents, Macarthur being given space to present his side of the Thompson promissory note affair.[2] In Macquarie's time proofs were sent to the Governor's secretary, J. T. Campbell,[3] who, once, however, took advantage of his position to have a libel on the Rev. Marsden printed in the "Gazette."** Press censorship was, of course, only one aspect of the repressive measures against freedom of speech. We have already seen King animadverting against the alleged taint of "democracy" on some of the settlers and Macquarie characterising the drawing up of a petition to the House of Commons as seditious. The former gave orders against petitions and petitioners designed to prevent "seditious and ill-disposed persons going about getting up petitions signed by the credulous and unwary for the most destructive purposes";[4] the latter exercised complete control over public meetings. Both were echoing the repressive measures of the government at home against combinations and "seditious" meetings.

The full rigor of the law was felt especially by workers who attempted by strike action or by forming a union to increase their wages or to better their conditions. In 1822, for example, in the early part of Brisbane's term of office, a convict was charged at Liverpool with endeavoring to organise a combination of his fellow workmen to raise wages and increase their rations. Their "master admitted that he had agreed to pay his men £15 a year and a premium of £5 and 2/6 for every lamb above 300 in a flock of 350 ewes, but alleged that he had given them 9 lb. of flour and 7 lb. of meat per week, which was above

* In its first issue the Gazette had this "Address" to the reader: "Innumerable as the obstacles were which threatened to oppose our undertaking yet we are happy to affirm that they were not insurmountable, however difficult the task before us.—The utility of a paper in the Colony, as it must open a source of solid information, wi'l, we hope, be universally felt and acknowledged. We have courted the assistance of the **Ingenious and Intelligent**:—We open no channel to Political Discussion, or personal animadversion:—Information is our only purpose; that accomplished, we shall consider that we have done our duty, in an evertion to merit the Approbation of the **Public** and to secure a liberal patronage to the **Sydney Gazette.**"—Gazette, 5.3.1803

** The libel was an attack on Marsden's honesty as agent of the Church Missionary Society. A criminal case was proceeded with against Campbell, as well as a suit for damages, which Marsden won. It was undoubtedly due to these trials that the official control and censorship of the press lost much of their force.

the stipulated allowance. The convict servant admitted the additional rations, but contended that he and his fellows had been charged at such prices that they were always in their master's debt, and had not received even a penny in money."* Nevertheless, the convict received an exemplary sentence: solitary confinement on bread and water for a month, 500 lashes and penal servitude for the rest of his sentence!

In November, 1813, Macquarie issued a proclamation designating any meeting of six or more people held without authority an unlawful assembly and ordering that no public meeting should take place without the Governor's consent. Such consent might be obtained by means of a requisition signed by at least seven householders. If the Governor gave his consent the Provost-Marshal was to call the meeting and preside thereat![5] With the Governor in control of the only newspaper and the only printing press and having power to prohibit any public meeting, adverse criticism of the regime could take the form only of secret meetings and "pipes."[6]

2.—PUBLIC OPINION TO BE HEARD.—The year 1824 was marked by the lifting of the official censorship and the establishment of an opposition press. **The Australian** was founded in October of that year and conducted by W. C. Wentworth (who had just returned to Sydney) and Dr. Wardell. In May, 1826, a second opposition newspaper was started in Sydney: **The Monitor**, founded by Edward Smith Hall, who had come out as a free settler during Macquarie's term of office.** With the establishment of these two newspapers, public opinion for the first time in Australia became really articulate. Corruption in official circles, abuses and injustices were now ventilated. So vehement were their attacks on Governor Darling's administration that he sought to cripple the two papers and destroy once more the right of free speech. The cause of the most important clash between Darling and the press was what became known as the **Sudds Case**.

3.—THE SUDDS CASE.—The conditions of the soldiers of the garrison were all but intolerable. They saw some of the convicts whom they had guarded become emancipists and rich—appointed magistrates who ordered the lash for soldiers rebel-

* Coghlan, p. 39.

** The first newspaper in Tasmania was **The Derwent Star**, which began publication on January 8, 1810.—'The Australian' maintained its existence till 1848, 'The Monitor,' until 1842.

lious against a stupid and galling discipline. Many soldiers, who thitherto had had no stain upon their characters, began to commit robbery in order to be dismissed from the army, serve their sentence and then become free men—free to return home to England. Two such soldiers were Joseph Sudds and Patrick Thompson. They determined to commit some petty crime. The two would-be escapees stole a roll of calico from a George Street trader.

But they had reckoned without Governor Darling. He selected these two to furnish examples "to encourage the others." They were not to get out of the army. Brought to trial they were sentenced to seven years' transportation! Within a fortnight of the trial, the inhuman Governor issued an order that was to be a death sentence for one of the two. The seven years were to be served in chains on the public roads and, at the end of their term, the two soldiers were to return to their regiment. On November 22, 1826, the two purloiners of calico were paraded before their mates, publicly clothed in felons' dress, placed in irons and "drummed out as rogues and vagabonds." Each set of irons, especially made for the occasion are thus described by the "Australian."; "The rings from the ankles are made after a peculiar fashion and are of uncommon size. In place of having chains attached to them in the common way, they are connected by means of long and slender chains with another ring, which is put round the neck and serves as a collar. Two thin pieces of iron, each about eight inches long, protrude from the ring collar, in front under the chin, behind under the nape of the neck."

It will be seen that the unfortunate men could not be on either their backs or their bellies without twisting their collars around. And, if they did that, the chains would be twisted around the body and the legs drawn up. Thompson later described his predicament: "The projecting irons would not allow me to stretch myself at full length on my back. I could sleep on my back by contracting my legs. I could not stand upright with the irons on. The basil of the irons would not slip up my legs, and the chains were too short to allow me to stand upright."

Sudds fared the worse. He was ill, the weather was very hot, the irons cut into his flesh and his neck began to swell. On the first night—they of course slept in their irons—while, presumably, Governor Darling slept the sleep of the just, Sudds was in such a condition that a fellow-prisoner said, "He's not dead, but I don't think he'll live long." His gaoler ordered him to hospital, where the doctor told him he would be better out of the

world. To which Sudds replied, "I wish to God I was." His wish was soon granted. On Sunday, November 26, Darling, after returning from church, was informed that Sudds was dying. To prevent the holding of an inquest, which would result in unpleasantness to himself the Governor had ordered Sudds to be transferred from the military hospital to the Public Hospital. There he died on that Sunday night. He had obtained his release from the 57th Regiment and Governor Darling's inhuman discipline. . . .

On Monday morning the storm broke. Darling, in the opposition press, was called a murderer, and Wentworth drew up an impeachment of him and sent it to Government House. Shopkeepers closed their shops in mourning for Sudds. The demand was made that a public inquiry be held. That demand was so insistent that the inquiry had to be held. Then Darling produced a set of irons weighing 13 pounds as the irons worn by Sudds. But a Captain Robinson was able and willing to knock the bottom out of that story. It was then put forward that Sudds had died of dropsy and bronchitis. But the surgeon stated that no natural cause of death could be found. It was obvious that Sudds had been cruelly done to death by Governor Darling in the interests of an inhuman discipline.

The controversy lasted four years. It was, however, more than a question of the death of one man or the maintenance of a harsh discipline for many. It became a fight for the freedom of the press. Darling sought to silence his critics. He had his subservient Council pass laws curtailing the liberty of the press. One law made it illegal to publish a newspaper without a license —any license to be withdrawn at the Governor's will. Another placed a stamp duty of fourpence on every copy of a paper published! It became, also, a fight between the emancipists and the exclusive merinos. The latter supported the Governor to the full, he* who had eighteen years before imagined himself a Cromwell against a tyrant being to the fore! On the one hand were the emancipists and the bulk of the people; on the other the tory merinos and a tyrannical governor. The "Sydney

* "The late John Macarthur, Esq., who was a member of the Legislative Council during the government of General Darling," says Dr. Lang (History of New South Wales, p. 223), "proposed as a regular quietus for the colonial press, that a Stamp Act should be passed, subjecting every newspaper to a duty of **one shilling** only! He told me the circumstances himself: but this was too much even for Governor Darling. Mr. Macarthur had at one time been sufficiently **liberal** in his sentiments, as I have shown above, to take a prominent part in overthrowing the alleged tyrannical government of Admiral Bligh; but he was of that class of liberals, who 'Turk-like, can bear no brother near the throne.'"—(Dr. Lang's emphasis.)

Gazette" was as sycophantic and sickly in its support of the Governor as the opposition was indignant and clamorous.* The opposition had an ally in the Chief Justice, Francis Forbes.

By the Act of 1823, the Chief Justice had to certify any Bill passed by the Legislative Council as not repugnant to English law before it could have legal force. He would not certify the two Bills above mentioned and, in spite of the Governor's storming and a long correspondence between them, refused to reverse his decision. Darling was forced to withdraw the Bills. There is no doubt that Forbes was glad to be able to effect that withdrawal. He had liberal and republican sympathies and was no great admirer of the British monarchy. By John Macarthur he was called "a dangerous man."**

The third Bill passed by the Legislative Council was allowed by Forbes. It provided for a penalty of £100 for anyone guilty of libel—for the first offence—and banishment from the colony for the second! This weapon hit the popular party, but the Governor also found it expensive. For, when the editor of the "Gazette" libelled Wentworth, the latter sued him and won. The Governor paid the fine!

Darling made full use of this Bill, bringing libel actions against his opponents. Imprisonment and heavy fines followed. Hall, editor of the "Monitor," was convicted seven times: his sentences totalled over three years and hundreds of pounds! Hayes, publisher of the "Australian," was fined and imprisoned. Cap-

* The Gazette, says Dr. Lang (p. 219), praised the Governor "with all the nauseating fulsomeness of literary prostitution." Under the control of Robert Howe (son of its founder), the 'Gazette' was the "redoubtable champion of the Colonial Government," and it proceeded "in a spirit of absolute infatuation, which the local Government appear to have encouraged." It "listened with the utmost eagerness to the first murmurs of disapprobation, and not only commenced a regu'ar defence of the measures adopted by the Colonial Government in the case of the two soldiers, . . . but ever and anon launched forth whole paragraphs of the most provoking and unprovoked personal vituperation at the heads of all and sundry who presumed to think, or speak, or write otherwise." But, concludes Dr. Lang, "this was more than human nature unaided by Divine grace could be expected to endure." (pp. 217-8.)

** "Four newspapers are published," wrote Macarthur, "all in the convict interest, and the editors are all desperate radicals, alike shameless and unprincipled. Our Chief Justice is their idol, and on him they rely for protection, whether their libe's are aimed at individuals or against the Government. Fortunate'y this dangerous man has reached his mark. Col. Dumaresq says, without reserve, that Forbes is the most artful and dangerous man he ever knew. The most intimate companions of Forbes are Wardell, Wentworth, and Dr. Douglas. . . . You can have no idea of the operation of these firebrands upon the common people, and everyone not connected with the convict interest admits that most dangerous consequences are to be feared."

tain Robison had to suffer at the Governor's hands for giving testimony against him. Dr. Wardell fought a duel with Colonel Dumaresq, the Governor's brother-in-law, and, because he described the Governor as "ignorant and obstinate," was sued for libel. Every weapon was used. Hall was deprived of the services of a convict-compositor and was refused permission to rent unoccupied Crown lands. "Nay," says Dr. Lang, "a remarkably good-natured old gentleman, whose political opinion, on any subject at all interesting to the fate of nations, no person of the least discernment would have thought it of the slightest importance to ascertain, actually shot himself, because he had incurred the Governor's displeasure through his acceptance, on some occasion or other, of Radical hospitality. In short, to compare small things with great, the administration of General Darling was the **Reign of Terror** in New South Wales."*

4.—EXCLUSIVE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.—The pooling of fortunes, interests and prospects by the pure merinos of New South Wales, the capitalists of England and official circles is illustrated by the personnel of the first three Legislative Councils. Of the 20 members thereof mentioned below, 10 were shareholders of the Australian Agricultural Company! That company was allowed to share with British officialdom the political control of New South Wales.

According to the Act of 1823, the Legislative Council was to consist of official and non-official members. But the first Council—from August 5, 1824, till November 22, 1825—consisted of official members only. They were Colonel William Stewart (Lieutenant-Governor), Francis Forbes (Chief Justice), Frederick Goulburn (Colonial Secretary), James Bowman (Principal Surgeon) and John Oxley (Surveyor General). The warrant appointing these would be revoked, explained Lord Bathurst to Governor Brisbane, when he had received "the names of ten of the principal merchants and landholders, whom you may consider eligible to form the Council, from which His Majesty will select as many as may be deemed proper." This was done and the second Council, which met in December, 1825, included three non-official members: John Macarthur, Robert Campbell and Charles Throsby. The Executive Council consisted of the official members of the Council.

Members of the Legislative Council could not initiate legislation. Only the Governor could introduce measures and these could not be rejected by the Council. The latter was therefore

* History of New South Wales, p. 222.—Lang's emphasis.

only an advisory body. In 1928 the number of members and their powers were increased. By a majority vote they were now able to reject a Bill submitted by the Governor and the Chief Justice could no longer disallow an ordinance. All he could do was to express his disapproval and the measure remained law until disallowed by the British Parliament. The fifteen members of this third Council were: Governor Darling, Chief Justice Forbes, Archdeacon Scott, Alexander McLeay (Colonial Secretary), Attorney-General Baxter, Michael Cullen Cotton (Collector of Customs), Wm. Lithgow (Auditor-General), Lt.-Col. Lindesay (Commander of the Forces), Robert Campbell, Alexander Berry, Richard Jones, John Blaxland, Edward Charles Close, John Thomas Campbell and John Macarthur.

In 1832 the N.S.W. "Hansard" may be said to have begun, when reports of the Council's proceedings were given to the press. The first sitting thus reported was that of January 19. Six years later the first press gallery was opened and the public was permitted to listen to the debates.

5.—WAR ON THE BLACKS.—The Australian aborigines from the very beginning of the occupation of this country were treated as an inferior order of being. Extermination was deliberately adopted as the easiest way to be rid of a nuisance. As the colony began to grow in the 'twenties the extermination became systematic and relentless.

We have the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Threlkeld, for many years a missionary amongst the aborigines of New South Wales, who knew them well and who is the author of one of the first books upon their language. "A native," he tells us,[7] "was taken by a party of whites and made to ascend a tree with a rope around his neck: this he was directed to fasten to one of the limbs of the tree. When he had done this he was fired at again and again; he was wounded and clung to the tree. A volley was then fired at him; he let go his hold, and was suspended as a terror to others. Was it surprising when they were tortured by such acts of cruelty if they became apt scholars?" He adds: "I have been informed that a petition has been presented to the Governor containing a list of nineteen murders committed by the blacks. I would, if it were necessary, make out a list of 500 blacks who had been slaughtered by the whites, and that within a short time. It was known to many that a party of stockmen went in search of the blacks to the northward, and having found them ripped up a number of men and women, and dashed out the brains of the children."

Bonwick cites the early warning of Mr. Hoddle, first surveyor

of Melbourne who, in a small pamphlet he wrote, said: "As the country becomes occupied by whites the race will become extinct, unless better steps be adopted for their preservation."[8]

Putting aside the actual fact that the whites were aggressors by the very act of landing on this continent,* we are faced with overwhelming proofs that the blacks were not the original aggressors in the war that was waged on them. "If the settlers can tell," writes Bonwick,[9] "of stolen sheep and slaughtered shepherds, the natives can also rehearse a tale of seduction and murder." And he proceeds to quote[10] Mr. Protector Robinson, who assures us "that 'nine-tenths of the mischief charged to the aborigines is the result of the white man's interference with native women.'" The very first murder by the Port Phillip blacks, Bonwick tells us, was due to this course. Ruthless punitive expeditions, resulting in retaliatory mass murders, were often organised against the blacks—innocent and guilty alike and whether the black or white was the original aggressor. A case is cited.[11] A Mr. Franks, formerly of Tasmania, and his overseer were murdered in the Port Phillip district for some unknown reason. A party was organised to go after the blacks who presumably had committed the crime. The punitive expedition caught up with the natives and, says an eye-witness: "They let fly at them, killed a great many, and what was not killed and wounded ran away, leaving all behind them; a dray was loaded with what they had carried away, and their spears and waddies and tomahawks." Said the Launceston "Cornwall Chronicle," anent this incident: "The annihilation of the whole body of Port Phillip natives, in our opinion, would afford an insufficient revenge for the murder of such a man."[12] So did the civilised whites demonstrate their moral superiority to the barbarian blacks.

To the aborigines—and surely, too, to us if we stop to think—destroying or driving away the kangaroo—their source of livelihood—was not a whit different from stealing—or taking for food—the "woolly kangaroo," the sheep.

* Said Mr. Eyre, a former Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand and an authority on the aborigines: "Our being in their country at all is, so far as their ideas of right and wrong are concerned, altogether an act of intrusion and aggression."—Quoted by Bonwick, p. 74, who also quotes a despatch of Lord John Russell in 1839: "It is impossible that the Government should forget that the original aggression was our own; and that we have never yet performed the sacred duty of making any systematic or considerable attempt to impart to the former occupants of New South Wales the blessings of Christianity, or the knowledge of the arts and advantages of civilised life." Says Bonwick, writing eighty years ago: "We teach them to handle the spade; but it is to dig their own graves," and, in Victoria, "the ancient lords of the soil will soon be laid beneath it."

ERRATA

We have to apologise for the extensive list of errata and we thank correspondents who pointed some of them out. If we have missed any we would welcome being acquainted with the fact. Obvious literal errors are not included in the list.

Part 1.—P. 8, 7th line from bottom for **Incredulity** read **credulity**; p. 14, 19th line: for **de** read **da**; p. 16, 4th line from bottom: for **VIII** read **VII**; p. 23, 5th line, for **Galvana** read **Galvano**; p. 27, 21st line, for **Alvoro** read **Alvaro**; p. 29, 4th line from bottom, for the second **and** read **the**; p. 31, 6th line from bottom, p. 33, 5th line, p. 35, 10th line, p. 36, 13th line: for **Vera** read **Santa**; p. 36, 18th line, for **Tabar** read **Tobar** or **Tovar**; p. 40, 27th line, and elsewhere, for **Duyphen** read **Duyfken**; p. 42, 1st column, 12th line from bottom, insert **a** before **Columbus**; p. 43, 1st column, 28th line, for **Honduis's** read **Hondius's**; p. 48, heading for **Terra Australis** read **The European Background**; p. 53, 2nd line from bottom, for **ships** read **ships'**; p. 76, 27th line, for **Von** read **Van**; p. 80, 26th line, for **Viamingh** read **Vlamingh.**

Part 2.—P. 81, line 23, for **Portuguese** read **Dutch**; same page, line 24, for **Dutch,** read **Portuguese**; p 106, 5th line, omit **was**; p. 107, 4th line from bottom, for **Bonnet** read **Bouvet**; p. 132, lines 5 and 14, for "**Sirius**" read "**Supply**"; p. 155, line 15, omit *; p. 155, omit second line from bottom; p. 155, after **Contempt** read ".

Part 3.—P. 171, 9th line from bottom: insert comma after **chains**; p. 176, heading, for **Goose Off the Common,** read **Officers And Gentlemen.**

Part 4.—P. 255, 17th line: omit the first comma; p. 320, 3rd line from bottom: for **Wentworth,** read **Macquarie.**

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