A

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES

VOL. VI

AUSTRALASIA

BY

J. D. ROGERS

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

FORMERLY STOWELL FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

PART I. HISTORICAL

WITH MAPS

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1907

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PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION

This book owes its existence to the suggestion, advice, and moral and intellectual support of Mr. C. P. Lucas, C.B., Assistant Under-Secretary for the Colonies and author of the previous volumes in the series. I also owe obligations to the authorities of the British Museum Library, whom I have incessantly troubled, of the Colonial Office Library—especially Mr. W. Scott—and of the Record Office, the contents of which are only available down to 1830. Mr. H. E. Dale and Mr. C. T. Davis—both of the Colonial Office—gave me useful information with regard to certain matters in chapter xv; and I tender them my thanks.

In entering into somewhat minute details I cannot have failed to make mistakes which I should be glad to know of: and by mistakes I do not mean misprints or mis-spellings, of which there may be one or two. Indeed one misprint—1585 for 1595 on p. 5, l. 18—caught my eye just too late for correction; I am still not quite sure how to spell Manihiki, Urewera, Pango Pango, or Malmesbury; and I am puzzled whether to write Cook Islands or Cook's Islands. Nor do I mean by mistakes omissions. A book of equal or greater length might easily be made out of what I have omitted to relate, although it may be doubted whether it would be a book on Historical Geography. I have omitted or translated the curious Australian slang which grew up eighty years ago—such as 'expiree', 'emancipist,' 'corn-stalk,' 'currency,' and 'advance Australia'; nor will my readers be vexed with the three meanings of 'papa' in the Pacific. Military and personal details have been discarded as irrelevant; and I have abstained from expressing any opinion on the tendency towards imperial and colonial union

and on other tendencies which might be regarded as within the domain of politics, partly from want of sufficient knowledge, partly from inclination, and partly because politics lie outside the plan upon which this series of books is designed.

I have intentionally abstained from any attempt to compare these latter-day efforts at colonization with the efforts of earlier ages; although Australia and New Zealand were—like the American colonies—built up from the very foundations; and historical students who believe that history can repeat itself are apt to recognize or to think that they recognize American faces under Australian masks and old familiar events and tendencies under new disguises. Not but what there is something to be said for this view. America, like Australasia, lived and throve through its exports of raw material; and timber, wool, and oil did for Australasia what timber, tobacco, fur, and oil did long ago for North America. The very whalers and sealers of Australasia, who proved something more than visitors and less than settlers, seemed unconsciously to imitate the rôle played by the whalers and sealers of Virginia, New England, and Newfoundland. Again, were not the beechcombers of the Pacific marine counterparts of the Canadian 'coureurs des bois'? Might not Baron C. De Thierry have proved another Sir Charles de la Tour or another 'young Baron of St. Castine'? Was not Marsden's purchase at the Bay of Islands anticipated by De Brebœuf's settlement on Lake Huron? Was not Bligh's deposition a replica of the fate which befell Andros and Robert Johnson in America? Did not the poor ignorant Irish convicts who started for China overland from Sydney mimic the earlier error of Jean Nicollet and his great contemporaries? It is plausible too to suppose that the laws or charters of Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts and South Carolina, under which land was awarded in return for immigrants, may have suggested the Western Australian scheme; and that the unpopular quit-rents of New South Wales and Tasmania were derived

from Lord Baltimore or from Randolph. It might be urged that individualism emerged from communism by similar gradations in Sydney and New Plymouth; and that the same instincts urged American and Australian statesmen to meet from time to time and ultimately to federate, and American and Australian colonists to colonize, so that Carolina, for instance, like Victoria, was colonized from an island colony on its south, and from the oldest continental colony on its north, as well as from the mother-country.

But those who look deeper will be far more struck by the change of spirit than by superficial coincidences. Time and development make these casual resemblances illusory and unreal.

Every American colony owed much to pardoned felons and the victims of over-crowding and unemployment, but no American colony was founded, like Sydney, for the primary purpose of providing a state gaol, or, like the colonies promoted by E. G. Wakefield, for the primary purpose of furnishing a vent for the surplus population. Further, the natives of North America played a part to which nothing in Australasia corresponds. Hunting and trading Indians sold to the American colonists the very things which formed the staple export from America to England; taught them the use of wampum and of maize; and slew three hundred of them in a single night on at least half a dozen different occasions. In Australasia there is nothing analogous to this relation between the invaders and invaded. Again, wars, rumours of war, and revolutions in Europe awoke instantaneous echoes in America, for instance, in 1627, 1688, and 1757; but in the last century revolution had spent its force, the habit of Anglo-French warfare almost died out, and colonial peace became the rule and not the exception. Again, Canadian history, and to some extent the history of the neighbouring colonies, was for 150 years or more one long war of conquest or attempted conquest, every city was once

a fort, and the very mission stations were guarded by soldiers; in Australasia soldiers were used chiefly to guard convicts; missionaries were escorted, only, by their wives and their numerous children; the word fort is rarely, and the word conquest is never used by Englishmen; and when Frenchmen write of their 'conquests' in the Pacific the word sounds like a hollow anachronism or an oxymoron.

Again, American colonists included African slaves at the bottom of the scale, and at the top of the scale spiritual outcasts who cast one another out, and did the deeds described by Longfellow in 'John Endicott' and 'Giles Corey', and somewhere in the middle of the scale the cosmopolitan colonists of New York and Pennsylvania. These classes were not represented, nor were the deeds with which they are associated possible in Australasia. Again, the bad old colonial system of which Adam Smith wrote was dead or dying when Sydney was founded; England no longer looked on its colonies as means for promoting English trade or navigation; and before long set itself to the task of encouraging colonial self-government, inter-colonial federation, and last but not least the subjection of Crown colonies to self-governing colonies. Finally the geographical environment of Australia and North America is as dissimilar as its spiritual atmosphere. North American civilization crept mile by mile up some waterway, then over some short low portage, and then down some waterway into the heart of the continent; but in Australasia short low portages between riverhead and riverhead have had no influence, and in Australia each river was usually discovered by sections, each section being regarded as a different river and called by a different name.

For these reasons I try to avoid the temptation of looking beyond the century, or, except where imperial or world-wide policy forces itself upon my notice, the hemisphere with which I am dealing.

The world-wide policy which brings Australasia into contact with Europe is mainly conspicuous in the first and last chapters of the history. But the world-wide policy with which the first chapter deals is anarchical, confused, conflicting, and big with the possibilities of future war; while that with which the last chapter deals is harmonious, definite, and divided among separate claimants in a manner and to an extent which may fall short of perfection or disappoint the expectations of interested parties, but which is full of peaceful promise and would have been inconceivable to the people who lived and groped and waged blind wars or made mad claims in the crude cruel centuries which preceded the nineteenth century. Between the dates of these two chapters the world had progressed in its ideas. Ideas rule the world; and the chapters which intervene between the first and last will show how a wrong, unwholesome ideal of colonization was corrected partly by the higher idealism of one or two men only—notably Sir J. Banks—partly by the patient efforts of men like Phillip and McArthur; and how in the succeeding generation the wholesome but narrow ideals of men like the Wakefields were again enlarged and ennobled by the higher idealism of men like Coleridge and Carlyle, by the logic of facts and the unerring instincts of the race, and paved the way for that saner imperialism which dominates the English race to-day, and which is destined as some men believe to usher in an 'Imperium Pacificum', world-wide but not universal, united though free, whose example and influence may help to wean the world from its old wicked ways and contribute towards its regeneration. But I am already indulging in dreams, idle dreams, and must now descend or ascend from prospects to facts.

CONTENTS

PART I. HISTORY

		PAGE
CHAP. I.	*The Old Pacific*	1
CHAP. II.	*The Natives of Australasia*	27
CHAP. III.	*The South Sea Islanders*	33
CHAP. IV.	*The Plan of a Colony in Botany Bay*	44
CHAP. V.	*Australia in the First Epoch*	49
CHAP. VI.	*Second Epoch of Australian History—Dispersion*	76
CHAP. VII.	*Second Epoch of Australian History—Extension*	89
CHAP. VIII.	*Convicts and Emigrants; Land laws and Constitution*	102
CHAP. IX.	*New Zealand in the Second Epoch*	123
CHAP. X.	*Transition: The Age of Gold*	144
CHAP. XI.	*Transition: The Golden Age*	157
CHAP. XII.	*Australia in the Third Epoch*	163
CHAP. XIII.	*Australian Extension and its Effects*	179
CHAP. XIV.	*Extension in New Zealand and its Effects*	211
CHAP. XV.	*The Modern History of the Pacific*	239
APPENDIX I.	*The New Hebrides*	283
APPENDIX II.	*The Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth*	285
INDEX		291

LIST OF MAPS

1. Oceania, showing explorers' routes and modern spheres of influence . . . . . *To face page* 1
2. Australia, showing early discoveries
3. New Zealand, showing early discoveries . . . „ „ 26
4. Australia, showing settlements by dispersion
5. South-east Tasmania, showing Col. Arthur's drive
6. New South Wales, showing squatting districts, 1844 „ „ 88
7. Australia, showing explorers' routes . . . „ „ 179
8. New Zealand (North I.) showing tribelands, purchases, and confiscations . . . . . „ 211
9. Sketch Map, showing the Taranaki question, 1855

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p. 5, l. 18, *for* 1585 *read* 1595.

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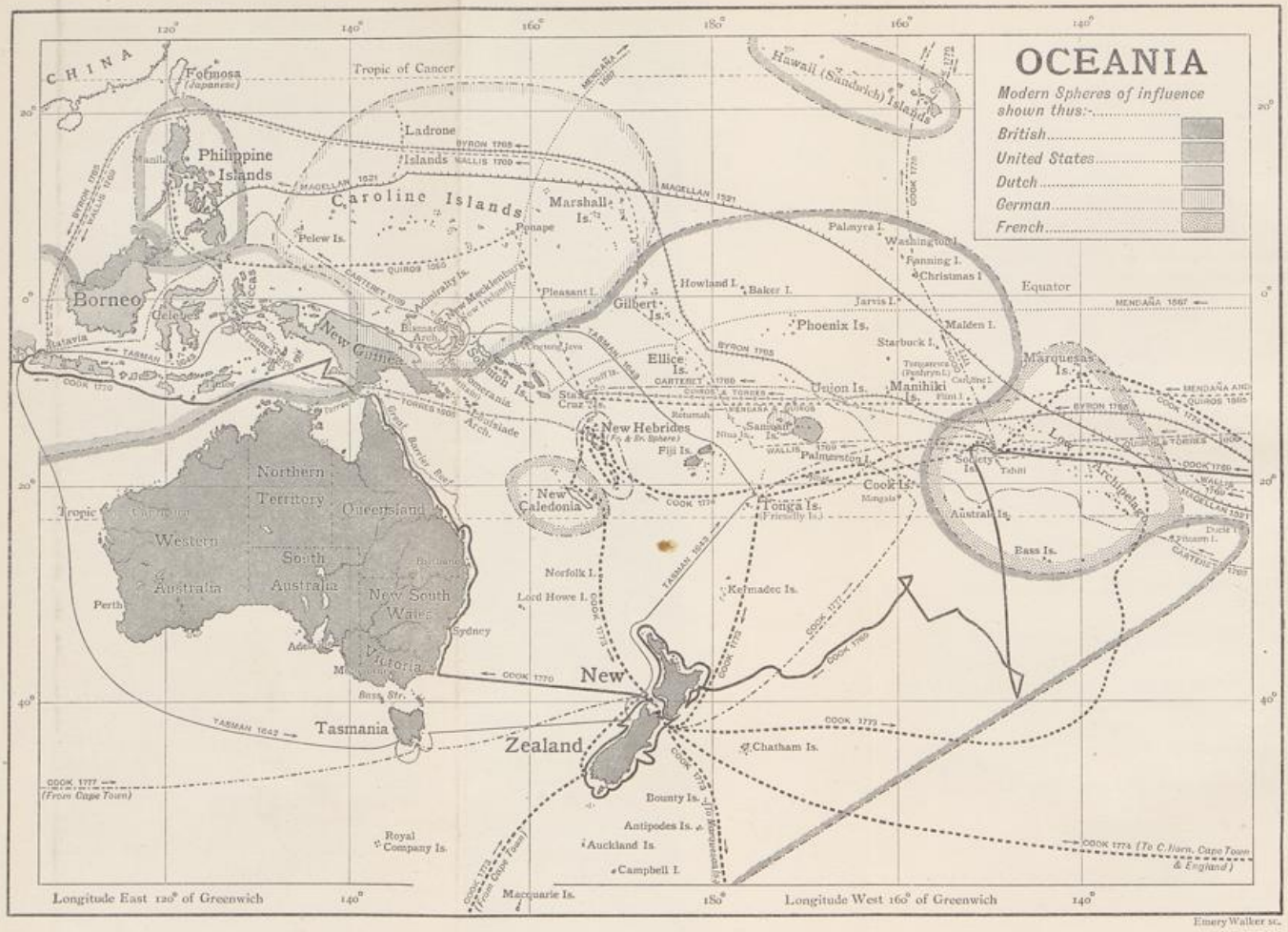

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AUSTRALASIA

PART I

HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE OLD PACIFIC

Prehistoric knowledge of the Pacific was chiefly mythical.

IN ancient times men often discussed whether there was a great Southland in which Southlanders dwelt. Aristotelians thought that there was, because the southern must be like the northern hemisphere (350 B. C.).[1] Pomponius Mela agreed, adding that the Southlanders (Antichthones) have never passed to us nor we to them, that being impossible. Bede echoed what Mela had said about the Southlanders (antipodes) (700 A. D.) and Roger Bacon (1267 A. D.) and Albertus Magnus (1270 A. D.) peopled Bede's Southland down to 66° and 50° south latitude respectively;[2] but all during the middle ages experience and theology ranged themselves on the side of Ptolemy, in whose geographical scheme there was no room for the Southlanders of whom Aristotle and Mela had written. When the doubling of the Cape by Diaz

[1] Aristotle, Περὶ Κόσμου, chap. iii, v.

[2] Mela, *De Situ*, I. i; Bede, *De El. Phil.*, iv.; ed. 1688 of *Opera Omnia*, vol. ii. p. 225; R. Bacon, *Opus Majus*, ed. J. H. Bridges, i. 293; Albertus, *Phil. Princ. lib. cosm.*, 14 b, &c., cited by Humboldt, *Ex. crit. de l'Hist. de la Geogr.*, i. 55.

(1487) and Da Gama (1497), and the discovery of the New World by Columbus (1492) had dealt the first blows to Ptolemy and all his works, Mela became quite popular and was translated into Italian (1557), English (1585), and other modern languages. Moreover, by that time Southland and Southlanders were believed in for reasons more solid and substantial than the thin-spun arguments from analogy upon which Aristotle, Mela, Bede, Bacon, and Albertus relied.

There are two faint traces of actual intercourse with living Southlanders in ancient times. Thus Pliny (70 A. D.)[1] writes of a Roman freedman driven into some great Southern islands by Northern gales upon the Indian Ocean. The Southlanders entertained him hospitably, and sent envoys back with him to Rome. Now these envoys—says Pliny—used to see Canopus all the year round, had never seen the North Polar stars, nor had they seen their shadows cast toward the north at midday. Then Pliny spoilt everything by identifying this Australasian island—just as he had identified Southland (Antichthon)—with Ceylon! Indeed, he seems to have had Ceylon upon the brain, just as our forefathers had Java upon the brain. So that this clue was not followed up. Secondly, Lucian (150 A. D.)[2] describes animals who 'use their belly like a pouch: it opens and shuts: there is nothing in it, but it is shaggy and hairy, so that their young creep into it when cold'. This, the first authentic record of an Australian marsupial, bore no fruit, because no one believed it, and Lucian swore that it was a lie. The evidence for the existence of Australasian islands and of Australia was there, but no one was aware of it. It was written, but no one could read what was written. Southland and Southlanders lived as yet only in the dreamland of philosophers.

In the Spanish-Portuguese period,

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI issued his famous bull forbidding any but licencees of the Crown of Castille to sail or trade in the seas west (and south) of a line of longitude

[1] Plin. *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 22. [2] Lucian, Ἀληθὴς Ἱστορία, I. 24.

drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores: and gave the continents and islands in those seas to Castille. A few months later the kings of Portugal and Castille agreed to shift the line 270 leagues further west, and to share the unknown world equally—the Portuguese taking everything to the east, the Castillians taking everything to the west of this line—subject to a right of way for Castillians over the Portuguese ocean.[1]

Prescriptive rights already acquired by Christian powers were saved both by the bull and by the agreement. Unfortunately for this agreement, no one at that time was able to determine lines of longitude; so Portugal and Spain fixed their East Indian boundary by trying who could reach it first.

Magellan,

Portugal raced eastward to India (1497–8), Malacca, and the islands of Molucca (1511), where she built a fort (1521); and Magellan, a Portuguese, was employed in these enterprises.

Spain replied by racing westwards to the same goal. In 1519 she sent 237 men of different nations in five old patched-up boats under Magellan and an Italian pilot. Sailing through the straits of Magellan, they were borne by the Antarctic current up and out from the American coast. Then the mighty current which courses along both sides of the Equator from the east to the west of the Pacific and its ally the trade wind swept them along, with the Marquesas to their right and the Low Archipelago to their left, to a point 5,000 miles from America and 5,000 miles from the Moluccas. At that point they crossed the Equator, and with the help of the north-east trade wind and the north equatorial current, which soon began its northward trend, discovered the Ladrones and Philippines. On arriving at the Moluccas (1521) they found the Portuguese already there. Thence eighteen sick survivors arrived home by the Cape of Good

[1] Purchas, *Pilgrims*, ed. 1625, vol. i. lib. II. chap. i. §§ 6, 7. (Both Hakluyt's *Voyages* and Purchas's *Pilgrims* are reprinted by Messrs. MacLehose of Glasgow.)

Saavedra,

Hope. They, and they only, were left.[1] Next, Saavedra—thanks to the same ocean current and the trade wind—reached the Moluccas from West Mexico (1527), and on his return was wafted by the westerly monsoon along the whole of the north coast of 'Papua' (1529) or 'New Guinea', as its next Spanish visitor called it (1545); but there too the Portuguese had been before him (1526).[2] In 1529 Portugal—wrongly thinking that the Moluccas were in the Spanish sphere of influence—bought up the Spanish title. This took the edge off Portuguese and Spanish rivalry in that part of the world; and during the rest of the century the Portuguese and Spaniards directed their best efforts into different channels.

and possible discoverers of Australia,

It has been suggested on the authority of four maps made by Desceliers of Dieppe in 1536, 1546, 1550, and 1553, and of two English (1542) and two French maps (1547 and 1555), based on the map of 1536, that during this time the Portuguese silently busied themselves with exploring the east and west coasts of Australia, which they called 'Java the Great'.[3] On the north 'Java the Great' was represented as divided from Java by a narrow strait; on the south it swelled out and merged into 'La Terre Australle non du tout descouverte' which stretched towards the Pole; so that little, if anything, can have been known of the north coast and nothing of the south coast of Australia.

Many books have been written about these alleged discoveries on the east and west coasts of Australia, with little result. It seems probable, however, that before 1600 some people knew that below New Guinea was a strait, and below the strait a continent; and they could only have got this information from the Portuguese.[4]

[1] Hakl. Soc. Pub., 52, *Magellan*, pp. 162, 175.
[2] Hakluyt, *Voyages* (ed. 1810), iv. 436, 450.
[3] *Biblioteca Lindesiana.* Collations, &c., by C. H. Coote (1898): Hakl. Soc. Pub., 25, *Early Voyages to Australia*, ed. Major.
[4] Major, op. cit., pp. lxviii, lxix: Hakl. Soc. Publ., 2nd ser. 7, *Sol. Isl.*, p. lxxxvi (map).

Mendaña and Quiros and Torres

Meanwhile the Spaniards sailed again and again along Saavedra's ocean-way from Western Mexico, and after some failures (e. g. 1542) and some discoveries—notably of the Sandwich Islands (1555)—settled in the Philippines (1565). They also set up an outpost to the Philippines in the Ladrones. In 1567 Mendaña and Sarmiento sailed from Peru with a motley crew of half-breeds and Castillians and an Italian or two in quest 'of certain islands and a continent' near Peru: and after sailing almost along Magellan's track, but without crossing the Equator, saw the Ellice Islands and thoroughly explored the Solomon Islands. It was only after holding a 'Parliament' that they decided not to settle there. They then beat their way north by the Marshall group and Wake's Island until they crossed the limit beyond which the trade winds do not blow and the Equatorial current does not flow;[1] then went to California, and so home. It was thought a great triumph for Mendaña that only one-third of his men perished by the way. In 1585 Mendaña and Quiros sailed forth in search of the Solomon Islands, but found instead the Marquesas; and, drifting too far south on a south branch of the south equatorial current—which here begins its southward trend—explored Santa Cruz, which is half way between the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides. They settled at Santa Cruz a month or two. Mendaña, however, died and Quiros returned by Manila and Mendaña's route to California, and so home. About three-quarters of the men who started did not return. *Κύμασιν ἐμφορέοντο θεός δ' ἀποαίνυτο νόστον.*

Quiros was quite sure that at Santa Cruz he was on the very threshold of Southland, which he described—in words which echo and add to Bacon and Albertus—as the Antipodes to all Europe and half Asia and Africa, 'where from 20° to 60° God has made men so useful'; so the king sent him once more to seek this 'earthly paradise' (1606), and after

[1] Circa 28° N. lat.

passing through the Low Archipelago and Society Islands and Duff group, he reached one of the New Hebrides, which he called Australia del Espiritu Santo, because he declared until his dying day that it formed part of the long-lost continent. This is the first occasion on which a country was called Australia. Then with a scanty starving remnant Quiros returned as before. After he went Torres sailed round this huge new continent in a few hours, and was carried along a little offshoot of the great south branch of the equatorial current through the Torres straits between New Guinea and Australia. Thence he passed to the Moluccas and Manila, where his story ends. Torres was forgotten, Quiros was remembered. Until 1770 very learned men declared that there were no such straits, and that Espiritu Santo was a part of Southland.[1] Indeed Quiros, like Mendaña, was only remembered in the way in which dreams are remembered. For the Solomon Islands vanished for 200 years, Santa Cruz for 172 years, the Duff group for 191 years, the Society group for 161 years, and the Sandwich Islands for 224 years.[2] They lived only in myth and story, alongside of the great unknown Southland of the ancient and mediaeval philosophers.

were religious, feudal and seekers after gold and silver.

Hitherto we have written 'discovered' as though Magellan and the rest were scientists or tourists. But these 'discoverers' were one and all state servants sailing in state ships, cross in one hand and sword in the other, to enter on the government of some kingdom, and to receive tribute from it and 'the King's fifth', or what we call customs' duties. Their historians celebrated their 'discovery, conquest, and conversion of lands abounding in rich metals'. Pope Alexander VI's bull put

[1] See e.g. maps in John Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Biblioteca* (1705), ed. Campbell (1764), vol. i. p. 6; J. Callander's *Terra Australis Cognita* (1766), vol. ii. p. 1; A. Dalrymple's *Account of Discoveries in the South Pacific* (1767), and *Historical Collection of Voyages* (1770).

[2] H. B. Guppy, *Sol. Isl.* (1887), ch. xii.

two motives into the forefront—Conversion and Dominion; then, as a sort of bait to this double hook, 'gold and spices.'[1] Magellan 'set up at the top of the highest mountain a very large cross as a sign that this country belonged to the king of Spain . . . and gave to the mountain the name of the Mount of Christ'; made rude chiefs mumble Aves, Paternosters, and Credos, like parrots, and do homage and swear fealty to the king of Spain: baptized them and 800 of their followers at a time; and finally fell while fighting for these 'Christians' against their 'heathen' foes.[2] A great Portuguese governor of the Moluccas spent all his money in 'bringing many kings . . . to our holy faith and in war'. Mendaña started on his career of conquest and conversion with friars 'and more than 70 soldiers who with the sailors and servants made more than 150 men'. Note how the soldiers are put first and the sailors and servants added as an afterthought. The Spanish soldiers, said Hawkins, did nothing but 'watch and ward . . . except cleaning their arms . . . the mariners are but as slaves to the rest'.[3] But to proceed—Mendaña, besides erecting crosses, burnt temples. When his 'Parliament' discussed the question—'to settle or not to settle'—the 'noes' had it on the ground that 'there was no gold nor silver nor other kind of metal; and the ammunition was running short'.[4] They never asked whether trade was to be had. They never thought of white women. Sarmiento, as he passed a desert island, cried that they had 'left a great kingdom behind'.[5] This is he who had the heart of a lion and a will like steel, who sold the clothes off his back to pay his soldiers, who wished to annex a cloud-bank in the Pacific, who landed on the desert shores of Terra del Fuego, 'cut down

[1] Comp. Hakl. Soc. Pub., 39, *Philippines*, i. 5, 6.

[2] Hakl. Soc. Pub., 52, *Magellan*, pp. 57, 81, 93, &c. Reproduction of J. Schöner's *Globe* of 1523, ed. H. Stevens and C. H. Coote, 1888, pp. 128, 129, &c.

[3] Hakl. Soc. Pub., 57, *Hawkins*, pp. 280, 281; Callander, op. cit., ii. 107.

[4] Hakl. Soc. Pub., 2nd ser. 7, *Sol. Isl.*, pp. 92, 93, 207.

[5] Hakl. Soc. Pub. 91, *Sarmiento*, p. 296; *Sol. Isl.*, pp. 129, 272.

some branches of trees with his swords, took up some stones which he removed to another place, taking some turns in the fields and along the seashore', and erected crosses amid lighted candles, and to the solemn tune of 'Vexilla regis' drew up verbal processes thereof and built a square city with church, monastery, state storehouse, 400 men, thirty women, six guns, 100 needles, a few provisions and a fort which commanded nothing but was meant to scare away pirates, one of whom rescued the sole survivor of those 430. The others died of famine. Could Don Quixote have done more? Torres's crosses, vassals, and wars are like Magellan's; Quiros's town of 'New Jerusalem', in Espiritu Santo in which 'we established Alcalds, Corregidors and other civil and military officers', but in which no one ever dwelt or was meant to dwell, because its founder left it as soon as he had founded it—recalls the famous city of Sarmiento. Quiros's petitions to the king to people these lone lost lands contain passionate appeals to religion and power; and he dwells lovingly on their silver and pearls and also 'gold which are the three most precious darlings which lie in the bosom of nature': but the appeal was in vain.[1] The official view was that the isles could only be of use 'to make slaves of the people or for provisioning ships bound for a mainland, where it is reported that there is gold and silver and that the people are clothed', but that the reports of such a mainland were too vague and had already lured Magellan, Mendaña, Sarmiento, Quiros, and Torres to unspeakable disasters from which no good had come, except that islands had been found which could never be found again. So the king of Spain closed his ears to these sirens and gave up pursuing will o' the wisps. Moreover, he had found something useful to do; and was already (1600) sending an annual fleet with silver from Mexico to Manila, whence Spanish settlers sent back to Mexico the goods which Chinese junks and a few Malay and Portuguese

[1] Callander, op. cit., ii. 178, 187; Purchas (ed. 1623), iv. 1424.

boats had unloaded at Manila. The Spanish settlers sat at the receipt of custom or levied tribute from the natives. This passive officialism suited their temper and was just what was wanted in a clearing-house like Manila. It would have been useless elsewhere in the Pacific. The time, too, had gone by when states could with a clear conscience and whole heart let loose on the world treasure-hunting, conquering crusaders. Feudalism, 'Swords of God,' and men who thought that gold and silver was the only wealth worth seeking had to go, because they were not suited to the times and because other powers had arisen in Europe which were suited to the times and which waged war against anachronisms.

Then came (1) English and Dutch privateers whose aims were negative,

The first of these powers was the power of self-help and was symbolized by English privateers. Drake was the second man who sailed westward round the world, and the first man who made the voyage on his own ship and on his own account (1577–80). Then came T. Cavendish (1586–9); then two Dutchmen, Van Noort (with an English pilot) (1598–1601), and Jacques le Hermite (1623–4); then came Sharp (1680–1), Cowley (1684–5), Dampier (1679–81), Funnell and Dampier (1703–7), Woodes Rogers (piloted by Dampier) (1708–11), Clipperton and Shelvocke (1719–21). Lastly—like some clown in a circus—Anson sallied forth with 259 old broken-down Chelsea pensioners to smash Spain (1740–44). Being privateers or pirates they stuck close to the Spanish track and discovered little: but Drake discovered the Pelew Islands, Sharp the right way round Cape Horn; Cavendish sailed along the little-known southern coast of Java; and Dampier was the first Englishman who ever set his foot on New Holland, and the spot is still known as Dampier's Land. They wished not to discover but to oppose, and therefore took their tone from those whom they opposed. The Spaniards threatened to treat as pirates all who sailed on the Spanish ocean; so Englishmen behaved like pirates. That was the only way the freedom of the ocean could be

won. Instead of Spanish crosses and Gregorian tones, we have Drake's brass plates and silver coins, and his bumpers of rum-punch, diluted with a tear or two over the idolatry of the queen's new subjects. And these men had a Spanish thirst for silver and gold. 'We found,' said Drake, 'a Spaniard asleep who had by him thirteen bars of silver: we took the silver and left the man.'[1]

and whose methods were industrial,

Yet these 'water-thieves' had method in their madness; and the laws of the lawless were—not what we read in Schiller and Byron—but the by-laws of a commercial company of a type which we can trace back to the sea-laws of Oléron, Lübeck, and Barcelona, if not earlier. Twenty Bristol merchants fitted out Woodes Rogers's fleet; a few of whom were trustees or nominees of London financiers. Two—called supercargos—sailed with the fleet in order to observe and report to those who did not sail, and to form—along with eight other officers—a board of directors who controlled the policy of those who sailed. The board voted and the votes of the majority bound the minority. There was a partnership between capital and labour. When a prize was taken half its value went to the twenty capitalists rateably; the other half was divided into shares, of which the chief captain took fifteen, the second officer seven and a half, the third five, and the sailors one apiece. If a ship was lost officers and sailors lost their shares.[2] Privateering and piracy were worked by syndicates in the same way as an industry. But these syndicates were only formed for one voyage. A permanent company required a charter which would only be given where the object was legitimate trade. This brings us to the second great power which was at that date transforming Europe—namely, co-operative capitalistic trade—symbolized by the chartered company.

[1] Hakluyt, *Voyages*, iii. 523, iv. 238; Hakl. Soc. Pub., 16, *World Encompassed*.

[2] Callander, op. cit., ii. 219, 220, 224; iii. 231–4, 489, 607.

(2) *English and Dutch Companies,*

In 1600 A.D. the English East India Company, in 1602 the Dutch East India Company took in hand 'India and the countries thereabouts'. Each began by plundering as well as trading; and prizes and purchases appear side by side in their credit columns. Soon, however, they limited themselves to trade, using force as a weapon only of defence. Because they had one clear object they pursued it with persistence. We never hear of deserted colonies, like that of Sarmiento; indeed, many of their expeditions were sent to search for missing comrades, and they used to repair the leaking ships of employees, duties which were neglected by the Portuguese and Spaniards and those who attacked and mimicked them. Briefly they worked a business on business principles, and that was why they elbowed out their Portuguese and Spanish competitors. Of course they were trade monopolists, for men do not undertake new great risks unless they secure some rights of property beforehand; and of course their monopolies had to be broken by 'interlopers' who were a second and improved edition of the privateers and pirates whom we have described. But that battle was not fought in Australasia so it does not concern us. What concerns us is that these companies were the first great traders to carry on with definiteness, continuity, and success a great trade policy on the outskirts of Australasia. And of these companies the Dutch came first into Australasia.

which were mercantile in aim and method,

Dutch discoveries in Australasia were simply trading expeditions: 'You are to show the samples of the goods which you carry along with you, to inquire what materials and goods they possess and what is wanted of ours' is the be-all and end-all of the instructions of the Dutch East India Company to Tasman. 'He is to converse with . . . behave well and friendly' to the natives: to open up trade wherever he could, and make exclusive commercial treaties with superior races. He is to note the ports, rivers, and products of each country. 'Premiums' are offered 'if in this voyage

are discovered any countries, islands, or passages *profitable* to the company'. He is armed only for defence, and there must be no kidnapping. There is no word about religion. Briefly he is to be a polite but pushful bagman, and the only far-off echo of the Spanish method is heard in the following sentence: 'To prevent any other European nation . . . from reaping the fruits of our labour and expenses . . . you are everywhere to take possession in the name . . . of the Dutch E. I. C. of the countries and islands . . . *not* inhabited by savages' by means of posts and plates, and declare 'an intention . . . to establish a colony'.[1]

which discovered Australia, and condemned it,

The chief discovery which the Dutch E. I. C. made was the discovery of Australia from the Dutch East Indies. The first discoverer of Australia was the captain of the *Duyfhen* ('Dove') who sailed along the coast of what he thought New Guinea 'from 5° to $13\frac{3}{4}$° S. lat.' i. e. from the west coast of New Guinea to Cape Londonderry or thereabouts in Western Australia (1606).[2] Edel's ship (1617) discovered Edelland off Houtman's Abrolhos, Dirk Hartog's *Eendragt* discovered (1619) Eendragtland and Dirk Hartog's island—where he set up a tin plate which existed there only the other day—with his name and date—and the *Leeuwin* discovered Leeuwinland (1622) in south-western Australia. Pieter Nuyts discovered Pieter Nuytsland between what is now Cape Leeuwin and some point in the Great Bight (1627); and along the north the *Arnhem* discovered Arnhem's Land and Liverpool River (1623), Poel's ship Van Diemen's Land[3] (1636), De Witt's ship De Witt's Land (1628), and Tasman the east[4] as well as the west of what he named the Gulf of Carpentaria (1644). These discoveries made a continuous ring

[1] Major, op. cit., pp. 53–5.

[2] See A. Dalrymple, *Collection concerning Papua* (1780), pp. 5 et seq.; Major, op. cit., misprints $19\frac{3}{4}$ for $13\frac{3}{4}$.

[3] Near Arnhem's Land.

[4] M. Thévenot's *Relations* (1663), Pt. I. *Découverte de la Terre Australe*, and *Recueil* (1681), and Knapton's *Voyages* (1729), show the point in their maps, but it is not accurately known.

round the coast, from almost the north-east tip of the Gulf of Carpentaria west, south, and eastward almost to Spencer's Gulf. The knowledge gained was skin-deep, but clear and systematic. Indeed, one spot became too well known. On Houtman's Abrolhos lay the wrecks of at least seven vessels bound from home to Java; and many rescue parties sailed thither from Java, one of which discovered Swan River with its black swans (1697). The explorers returned a unanimous verdict against 'the miserable Southland'. It was savage, barren, waterless—but for two rivers or so—harbourless and utterly bad for trade. The better half of Australia was still a sealed book. The coasts of Queensland (east of the Gulf of Carpentaria), of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia as far as Spencer's Gulf were as yet virgin soil. Why was this? Two Dutch captains—before Tasman—had explored in the direction of Torres Straits; and both had been murdered by natives. A like fate awaited Bampton's companions in 1793. It was known that the straits, if any, would prove narrow, shallow, and either windless or exposed to the alternate blast of the NW. monsoon and SE. trade wind. Tasman 'dreaded that we should fall to the south of New Guinea'.[1] Shoals guarded the eastern approaches of the strait, as Bligh, Edwards, and Wilson (1804) found out to their cost; and along the east coast of Queensland lies the barrier reef which Cook was the first to cross, and then he was nearly wrecked. Dampier thought of exploring Eastern Australia from Cape Horn, but it was too late in the year and too far.[2] Doubtless the Dutch company had some inkling of the knowledge which the English explorers learned long afterwards. If so, they were wise in not approaching Torres Straits or Australia from the East. Besides, they

[1] Callander, op. cit., ii. 368.

[2] Dampier, *New Voyage round the World, Continuation*, &c., p. 4, in Knapton's *Collection* of his Voyages in 4 vols. (1729), vol. iii. p. 125. Cp. De Bougainville, *Voyage autour du Monde* (1771), pp. 257–8; Flinders, *Voyage*, pp. xv to xlviii, &c.

argued from what they knew to what they did not know: and what they knew of Australia was 'of no use' to them. So they left it alone.

One protest, and only one protest, was raised. It sounds almost prophetic. J. Purry, a Swiss employee of the company, urged them to plant Nuytsland, which is the barren part of South Australia, and make it 'their vineyard and granary'. If men asked, who would labour in the vineyard and at the wheat? he answered that poor people would gladly come from Europe, 'not to enrich themselves and return, but to remain'—or if not, there were always slaves.[1] This answer—except in its reference to slaves—was a good century before the times, and did not convince anybody. Purry said that the Dutch company refused to hear the voice of the charmer because they had too much land already, and wanted not to plant but to trade. So he tried to frighten them by saying 'the French or English are sure to settle there if you do not; and suppose they find gold?' But they were as deaf to his threats as to his entreaties; and his voice was as the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

and which (under Tasman) discovered Tasmania and New Zealand;

Meanwhile Tasman had sailed round the west of Australia, had discovered Tasmania (1642), landing in Frederick Henry Bay, carving his name and date on a post, raising his flag, hearing the sound of many voices, but seeing no one; had discovered New Zealand, sailing from near Greymouth on its west coast by Tasman's Bay to its northern extremity where Cape Maria van Diemen enshrines the name of his ladylove; and had discovered the Tonga and Fiji Islands, whence he sailed by Ongtong Java, home. He was the first white man who visited Tasmania[2] and saw New Zealand and New Zealanders from the sea. Tasman just lifted the veil which fell once more on Tasmania, New Zealand, Tonga,

[1] Purry, *Mémoire* (1717–18), ii. 31, 40.

[2] Called by the Dutch 'The New Van Diemen's Land,' and by the English until 1853 'Van Diemen's Land.' I refer to it as Tasmania.

and Fiji for the next 130 years. After him—as after Mendaña, Quiros, and Torres—night resumed her sway: but thenceforth accurate geographers called Australia New Holland to distinguish it from Southland. However, all these Dutch names for Australia and parts of Australia—New Holland, Nuytsland, Leeuwinland, and the like—are used vaguely and in different senses on different maps; and many people continued to call Australia Southland.

During this period two Dutch expeditions sailed westward to the East: Le Maire's (1615) was organized by a syndicate, Roggewein's (1721) by the West India Company. The former sailed along the north coast of New Guinea; the latter discovered Easter Island.

Our East India Company, after being turned out of the Moluccas by the Dutch East India Company, left Australasia alone. Its hands were full elsewhere. And it had power to keep other English vessels out of the Indian and Pacific Oceans to within 300 leagues of America. English enterprise in Australasia was therefore stifled. But the statutes and charters which conferred upon it these rights did not bind the Crown.

(3) *and mercantile States, of which England was influenced by Dutch ideals,*

The third new influence in Europe was a state imbued with modern ideas. These ideas surged up from a hundred pamphlets, the drift of which may be gathered from their titles and catchwords. 'States-Merchants' were the true statesmen, and fishing fleets brought back the only 'Golden Fleece'. There was 'Treasure in Traffic'. 'Trades Increase' and new vents for our manufactures by the 'Advancement' and 'Encouragement of Trade' were the only cure for 'Britannia Languens'. It used to be said that tillage and pasturage were *les deux mammelles* of the state, but tiny landless Holland had proved that 'work and thrift' (*labor et parsimonia*) could create almost everything out of almost nothing. Envy of Dutch 'riches and strength', 'wealth and welfare', inspired every seventeenth-century

writer with admiration or hatred. Those who admired most pointed to Holland as the new wonder of the world. Those who hated most went themselves 'to the Belgian pismire to learn frugality, industry, and policy'. One outcome of this enthusiasm was Cromwell's 'Council of Trade', 1651 et seq., and Charles II's Council 'for Trade and Plantations', 1661 et seq. Another outcome was an almost annual harvest of trade laws. The state became patron of trade. A third outcome was the dispatch of fleets—in those brief intervals in which the state was at peace—to the South Sea.

There were two of these expeditions in the seventeenth century. Charles II, between his first and second anti-Dutch wars, sent out Narborough (1669). William III, between his first and second pro-Dutch wars, sent out Dampier (1699)—ex-pirate and future privateer—into the Pacific. The latter explored and named Sharks' Bay in Western Australia—for it was there that his men ate sharks—and thought much what Dutchmen thought of New Holland; sailed round New Britain (in which term he included New Ireland) through Dampier's Strait and (like Saavedra, Le Maire, and others) along the north coast of New Guinea, and by Dampier Island. The instructions to these commanders were to discover and 'if possible to lay the foundation of a trade', to note the rivers, ports, and products of each country, to converse affably with the natives, and to explain 'the great power and wealth of the prince and nation to whom you belong, and that you are sent on purpose to set on foot a trade'. And they regarded it as their first duty to observe 'whatever might be beneficial for navigation, trade, or settlement or be of use to any who should prosecute the same designs hereafter'.[1] We have passed from a Spanish to a Dutch atmosphere. Strike out the reference to the greatness of England, insert a reference to exclusive trade-concessions, and these instructions read like a *précis* of Tasman's instructions.

[1] Dampier, l. c.; Callander, op. cit., ii. 428–30.

and by French imagination.

In the eighteenth century writers pricked the fat sides of the British public with a French as well as a Dutch spur. From the very first English and French 'collections of voyages' had influenced one another. The Italians had led the way. Then came Hakluyt (1582) and Purchas (1625), who inspired De Bry (1590) and Thévénot (1663); who inspired Churchill (1704), Harris (1705), Knapton (1729), Campbell (1744), and Astley (1745); who inspired Prévost (1746) and De Brosses (1756); who inspired Callander (1766), Dalrymple (1770), and D. Henry (1774). French and English writers responded like the strophé and antistrophé of a chorus. But it is to the mutual influences of Harris, De Brosses, and Callander that we must refer at length.

An Anglo-French ideal was formed,

Harris regarded his 'Voyages' as incidents only in the history of Commerce. He had two mottoes—'To commerce we owe our wealth', 'Wealth is the source of power'. Colonies and plantations were looked at as mere aids to commerce. He wrote of 'the extension of trade'—no one at that date cared for the extension of the people—'of England' as the only object of his book. For the purpose, then, of extending the trade of England he proposed a scheme for establishing trade settlements on the lands visited by Tasman and Van Diemen, e. g. in Robinson Crusoe's Island (Juan Fernandez),[1] Tasmania, and New Britain, but especially the latter. While he was writing the fire was kindling, and the 'Temple of Janus' opened: so that the idea slept until it was revived by De Brosses, who had inherited the traditional French attitude towards the question of colonization.

De Brosses, like Thévénot, put glory into the front place; commerce came second. Glory might mean what La Salle and Dupleix meant by glory—a big black victorious empire;[2]

[1] It vanished in the earthquake of August, 1906.

[2] B. F. French, *Hist. Coll. of Louisiana* (1846), i. 37–44; T. Hamont, *Dupleix* (1881), pp. 15, 100, &c.

or scientific knowledge: thus Maupertuis sailed *chargé de la gloire de sa patrie*—or the peaceful pursuit of a great civilizing mission by means of a few trade settlements 'in a part of the world hitherto unoccupied by any European potentate'. De Brosses' meaning was the third meaning: and, like Harris, he chose Australasia as the site, and New Britain as the chief site, for his experiment. The Spaniards, he said, had been wrong: for Dutch and English experience had proved that 'in those distant climes one ought not to conquer but to trade'; and vegetables were better than minerals as articles of trade. Trade would 'create new nations'. That was his 'grand object'. Up to this point he follows Harris, changing only Harris's 'wealth and power' into 'glory and wealth'. When he was asked who were to be the settlers?—was France to be unpeopled in order that these lands might be peopled? he soared above Harris and all his contemporaries in his reply: 'If a state exports its people it does not lose its rights over them; they are still its people, and remain attached to it like branches to a tree-trunk from which they derive their nourishment and to which they communicate their sap.' He alone realized that colonies are a part and not a possession of the mother country. Then descending from this pedestal, he advocated the dispatch of foundlings, beggars, and criminals; although his reason for this conclusion somewhat redeemed its bathos: 'Criminals,' he said, 'tend to cure one another of crime, and disorder destroys itself.' This great work would pay in the long run, but not at first: so it must be undertaken by a great state, and that state was France. Men were not in a mood to listen to these lofty musings: for English and French colonists held one another in the death grip: the dreams of La Salle and Dupleix had taken shape, and became like a sword with which the French tried to smite the English—who at that very moment were wresting it from their foes' hands and turning it against its maker.

Hardly had peace been restored when Callander published

his *Terra Australis Cognita* (1766), in which, while acknowledging indebtedness to De Brosses, he translated De Brosses, substituting 'England' for 'France' and 'English' for 'French', and passed off the composition as his own. De Brosses had worked Harris's tweed into a suit; and Callander stole the suit.

and Anglo-French competition was the cause (1764)

The upshot of this odd transaction was a keen competition between England and France for the 'discovery' of the Antipodes. It was all the keener because the competitors were animated by the same spirit. De Brosses was the spokesman for France, and Callander for England. They wanted the same thing. If one won it the other must lose it. The competition began in a critical year—1764—the year after Maskelyne put within the reach of sailors the modern method for determining longitude. Hadley's quadrants and sextants were coming into use. Thanks to pressed lemon-juice scurvy scourged sailors with mild whips, not with fierce scorpions as of yore. Both competitors were well equipped for the race; both spoke of glory, but of glory only in Maupertuis's or De Brosses' sense; their rivalry was scientific, philanthropic, and in the arts of peace; yet neither had forgotten the Heights of Abraham, Plassy, Pitt, Hawke, and Howe.

e.g. of Cook's voyages,

The state being 'in a time of profound peace' Byron (1764–6), Wallis (1766–8), Carteret (1766–9), and Cook (1768–71, 1772–4) set forth with royal ships and with a royal commission to advance 'the honour of this nation as a maritime power . . . and the trade and navigation thereof'.[1] Cook's voyage in 1776–9 was a sequel to his first two voyages, and was undertaken with the same object and under the same authority. Hawkesworth wrote that the aim of these voyages was 'not the acquisition of treasure or the extent of dominion, but the improvement of commerce and the increase of knowledge', but that secret instructions

[1] Hawkesworth, *Voyages of Byron, Cook*, &c., Gen. Introd. and Pref.

added—'You are also with the consent of the natives', if any, 'to take possession in the name of the King of Great Britain of convenient situations in such countries as you may discover that have not already been discovered or visited by any other European power'.[1] Cook's first voyage had as a by-object the observation of the transit of Venus from the Pacific—an object urged first by the Academie des Sciences (1765–7), then by the Royal Society (1767), on their respective Governments.

In the course of these voyages Byron—an old comrade of privateer Anson—annexed the Falkland Isles, then occupied in the name of France by a handful of French Canadian refugees under De Bougainville, and saw the Tokelau and Gilbert groups, but did little else; Wallis—a far better explorer—discovered and annexed one island in the Low Archipelago and another in the Society Islands, which he called King George III's Island, and natives called Tahiti. Carteret—a still better explorer—discovered or rediscovered islands in the Low Archipelago, Mendaña's Solomon Islands and Santa Cruz group, Dampier's New Britain, which he proved to be separate from New Ireland, and other islands off New Guinea. He too annexed by means of lead plates as he went. The great Cook and his companions Dr. Solander and Sir J. Banks after studying Venus at Tahiti —which De Bougainville described as 'an earthly Paradise where Venus was goddess of hospitality'—explored both islands of New Zealand. His names which still survive tell the story of his voyage. From Poverty Bay on the east he sailed south by Hawke Bay and Cape Kidnappers to Cape Turnagain; thence north by the Bay of Plenty, River Thames, Cape Brett, and the Bay of Islands to North Cape; thence SW., by Queen Charlotte's Sound and Cook's

[1] Hawkesworth, *Cook's Third Voyage*, vol. i. p. xxxiv; Br. Mus. MSS., Egerton Collection, 2177 B. f. 5., page 11, 'Secret Instructions to Capt. Cook.'

Straits to Cape Turnagain; thence S. by Banks's Peninsula (which he called Banks's Island) to South Cape (which he mistook for a peninsula of Middle Island); thence by Solander Isle, Dusky Bay, and Cape Foulwind to Cape Farewell. He annexed the northern island by writing his master's name—like Orlando—upon the trunk of a tree; and recommended the Thames as the best site for a colony 'if the settling of this country should ever be thought worthy of the attention of Great Britain'. He did not land on Middle Island except at Queen Charlotte's Sound; and he 'took' formal possession of Motuara Island in the sound and of the adjacent lands. Thence he sailed to Australia, and, after sighting Point Hicks on the southern coast,[1] sailed east by Ramehead, Cape Howe, and Mount Dromedary to Botany Bay, where he landed and Sir J. Banks and Dr. Solander gathered plants—whence its name.[2] There he took possession in his usual way, but without the consent of the natives. Ports Jackson and Stephens, Cape Hawke, Smoky Cape, Cape Byron, Point Danger, 'Morton' Bay (where a river was conjectured to exist), Sandy Cape, Hervey's Bay, Bustard Bay, Cape Capricorn, Keppel Bay (where fresh water was conjectured), Cape Townshend, Thirsty Sound (near Stanage Bay), Broad Sound, Cape Palmerston, Cape Gloucester, Cleveland Bay, Halifax Bay, Rockingham Bay, Cape Grafton, Cape Tribulation, Endeavour River—which he named after his ship—and where he saw the native bat and kangaroo on the site of what is now called Cooktown—Cape Flattery, Direction Islands, Cape Grenville mark his course towards the culmination of his discoveries and of Australia in Cape York, Endeavour Strait, and the Prince of Wales's Islands and Possession Island, where he again took possession of 'that part of New Holland now called New South Wales'.[2]

[1] Circa 70 m. WSW. of Cape Howe.

[2] *Hist. Records of New South Wales*, I. i. 161, 169; Sir J. Banks, *Journal*, ed. Sir J. Hooker (1896), p. 296; J. Bonwick, *Captain Cook in New South Wales* (1901); Sir W. Wharton, *Cook's Journal*, p. 312.

Thence he sailed through Torres Straits– the existence of which had been forgotten. Cook did all that the Dutch had left undone. The circuit of Australia was complete but for one or two gaps. The most important gap—that between Tasmania and Hicks's Point—was filled in by Cook's lieutenant Furneaux (1773), by Bligh (1788) and by Flinders and Bass, the discoverers of Bass's Strait (1798). The second most important gap—that between Tasmania and Nuyts Land—and the third and least gap of all—that between Endeavour Strait and that point on the east coast of Carpentaria which the Dutch had attained—were filled in by Flinders (1801–3). Others, like Vancouver and Grant, did good work—dotting 'i's and crossing 't's. The Dutch and Cook between them had discovered the whole coastlines of Australia and New Zealand.

Cook, too, was the first man who beheld from afar the glaciers of the Antarctic continent. He also discovered Norfolk and Lord Howe Islands, New Caledonia, the Cook's and Austral Islands; visited the Friendly and Society Islands; and rediscovered and named the New Hebrides and Hawaii (Sandwich) Islands, where he was killed (1779). Wherever he thought he was first to land he cut the usual inscription to that effect on tree-trunks. He lives mostly in New Zealand and Australia—where, with the aid of a modern map, we can trace his course from point to point; for, as we have said, his names live; and sometimes they immortalize his adventures, sometimes his companions, sometimes his masters; and among the latter readers of what is usually called English history will note with surprise that equal immortality is bestowed on Grenville, Rockingham, Townshend, Halifax, Sandwich, Keppel, Hervey, Howe, and Hawke. That was how Cook wrote history.

and of De Bougainville's voyage;

Meanwhile the French were invading the Pacific under De Bougainville (1766–9), Surville (1769–70), Marion (1771), La Pérouse (1785), and Dentrecasteaux (1792). De Bou-

gainville's by-object was to restore the Falklands to Spain, Marion's to repatriate De Bougainville's Tahitian interpreter, Dentrecasteaux's to search for La Pérouse. The first, fourth, and fifth expeditions were organized solely by the state, the second by the French East India Company, and the third by the French colonial governor of the Mauritius backed by the state and by private enterprise. All sailed with De Brosses in their pocket and colonies in their heads. De Bougainville and La Pérouse were fresh from Canada; Surville and those who sent him were fresh from Pondicherry. Surville went to reconnoitre a non-existent Pacific island which the English were supposed to have discovered, Marion to select a sub-colony for the Mauritius, La Pérouse to fix the site of a South Sea fishing-station. La Pérouse and Dentrecasteaux had orders to scatter royal medals broadcast on uninhabited shores and to distribute them to chieftains; to regard Nuytsland as new land; and to watch with a jealous eye British doings in those parts; although, it was explained, the Pacific seemed too remote for colonization by any Europeans other than Spaniards.[1] De Bougainville, not unlike the New Zealanders of to-day, had visions of a 'Confederation' between France and South Sea islanders; and on finding Carteret's broken lead-plate which annexed New Ireland, mused over the odd fate which put in his way 'this monument by a rival nation of an enterprise similar to our own'.[2] The English and French were bound on the same errand, to the same spots. This is even clearer when we remember where and when they went.

De Bougainville rediscovered the Low Archipelago, Society Islands, Solomon Islands, and New Britain just after Carteret and Wallis; rediscovered the New Hebrides, and discovered the Samoan and Louisiade groups—whence he

[1] So Rossel's *Dentrecasteaux* (1808) and Destoufs de Milet Mureau's *La Pérouse* (1797).

[2] De Bougainville, *Voyage*, pp. 224, 276: cp. Crozet, *Nouveau Voyage à la Mer du Sud* (1783), p. 140.

started for Eastern Australia and the Torres Straits, two years before Cook, but was turned back by reefs and sickness. Surville, who was in New Zealand two months after Cook, and afterwards in the Solomon Islands, annexed the latter but (probably) not the former, which was annexed by Marion and called France Australe eighteen months later. Marion also left his name to Marion Bay in Tasmania, which he visited but (probably) did not annex, two years before Furneaux. We can only write 'probably' because neither Surville nor Marion ever returned. Nor did La Pérouse, who, after reaching Botany Bay six days after Phillip (1788),[1] wrote word that he was about to sail round Australia from Carpentaria westward to Tasmania—thus anticipating Flinders by seventeen years—and then sailed away in the *Astrolabe* Ἡ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἵκανε βαθυρρόου Ὠκεάνοιο. He perished, and his crew perished with him, and his wreck was found thirty-eight years later, rotting in Vanikoro (S. Cruz). Dentrecasteaux and his ship carried out a small part of this programme and left their names between Cape Leeuwin and Tasmania; but Vancouver had been over the same ground a year earlier. Dentrecasteaux, too, was not fated to return. The French had less luck than the English.

and this Anglo-French rivalry

At this date England and France haunted and pursued one another as the shadow follows the substance: and no one knew which would prove substance and which shadow. Each and all left memorials of where they had been; memorials which might be as harmless as a visiting-card put in a bottle on a mountaintop, or else might serve as emblems of conquest. Without actual possession these pale parodies of Spanish methods were meaningless: and, at present, neither party seemed disposed to take possession. It seems strange that French and English rivalry did not lead to war, or at least to a commercial war in the Pacific. The perfect sincerity with which the ideals of De Brosses and Callander

[1] Jan. 24, 1788.

were pursued, and the nobility of those who pursued these ideals alone averted this calamity: and La Pérouse's maxim *Des Européens sont tous compatriotes à cette distance de leur pays* had already become Anglo-French policy by which Cook profited in his third voyage [1] and by which Kerguelen, Rossel, and Flinders only failed to profit because they transgressed its conditions. This rivalry, instead of producing conflict, produced mutual aid and admiration: and the rival explorers, forgetful of their hostile political and commercial interests, united into a single group of great men of whom Cook was greatest. That group achieved three results.

made the Pacific attractive,

First, they robbed the Pacific of its terrors. In Cook's second voyage his losses were one per cent. per annum and no more.[2] The delicate veil of *opéra bouffe* which De Bougainville threw over the scenes of so many false ideals, dark treacheries, and long-drawn agonies ushered in a new epoch. Where all had shuddered no one could help laughing, except Dalrymple—and he was Scotch.

and frequented,

Secondly, every island-cluster in the Pacific was made known and the outlines of Australia and New Zealand stood out clearly through the mist. Much work remained to be done, but for gleaners only. The harvest had been gathered in. The arch-mystery of the Pacific was pierced. Mela's Southland, which Cook's sailors hailed when they sighted New Zealand, had resolved itself into an unreal phantom or an ice-bound, uninhabitable region. Even Dalrymple accepted the new proof: Dalrymple, who tried in 1771 to start a colony of landowners in 'Australia'—as he called that part of Southland which fronted the Atlantic—but failed because the government refused to alienate its land-claims or rather ice-claims in that part of the world. By dispelling these nightmares—by relegating Mela and his followers

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine* (1779), p. 209.
[2] *Philosophical Transactions*, lxvi. 402; British Museum Coll. MSS. 8945, fol. 58.

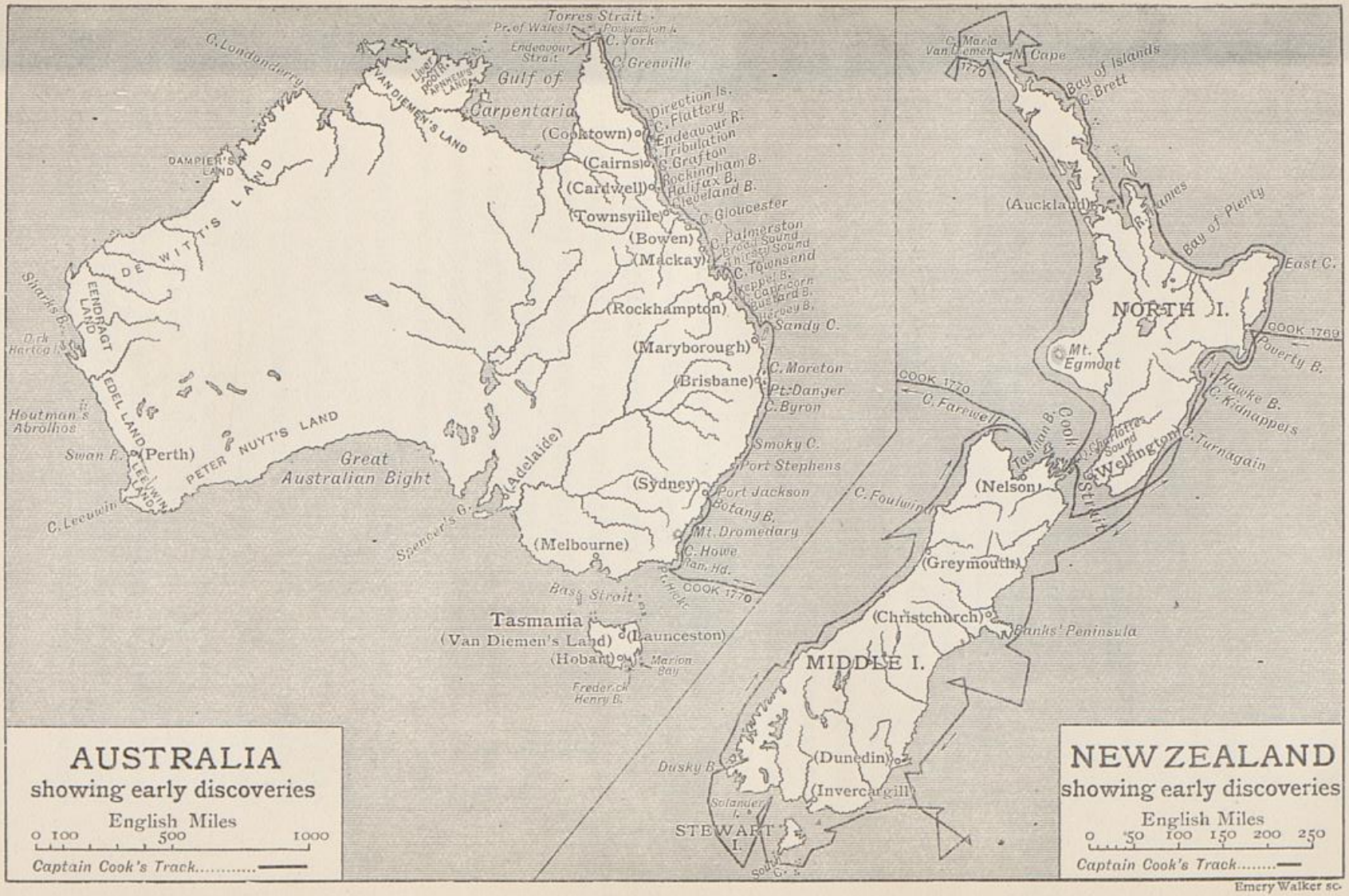
along with Ptolemy into the limbo of forgotten things—by casting off the slough of the middle ages—this group of pioneers for the first time rendered sane schemes of commerce and colonization in the Pacific possible. It was in that sense, and that sense only that they furthered commerce. And it was in the sense, not of La Salle and Dupleix, but of Maupertuis that they enhanced the glory of their country. That was how the ideals of Harris, De Brosses, and Callander were fulfilled.

and ushered in Pacific history

Thirdly, up to this point the History of the Pacific forms an inseparable whole: henceforth separate parts of it begin to have a separate history of their own. Up to this point the history of the Pacific is the history of all Europe, or of two or three European powers running abreast or pulling different ways in the Pacific. Henceforth the ways of the different European powers diverge; and for a time at least the history of England in the Pacific can be written without anything more than casual glances at the history of Spain or Holland or France in the Pacific. And, up to this point, the only historical progress worthy of record has been geographical progress. Henceforth Geography and History can be looked on as different things.

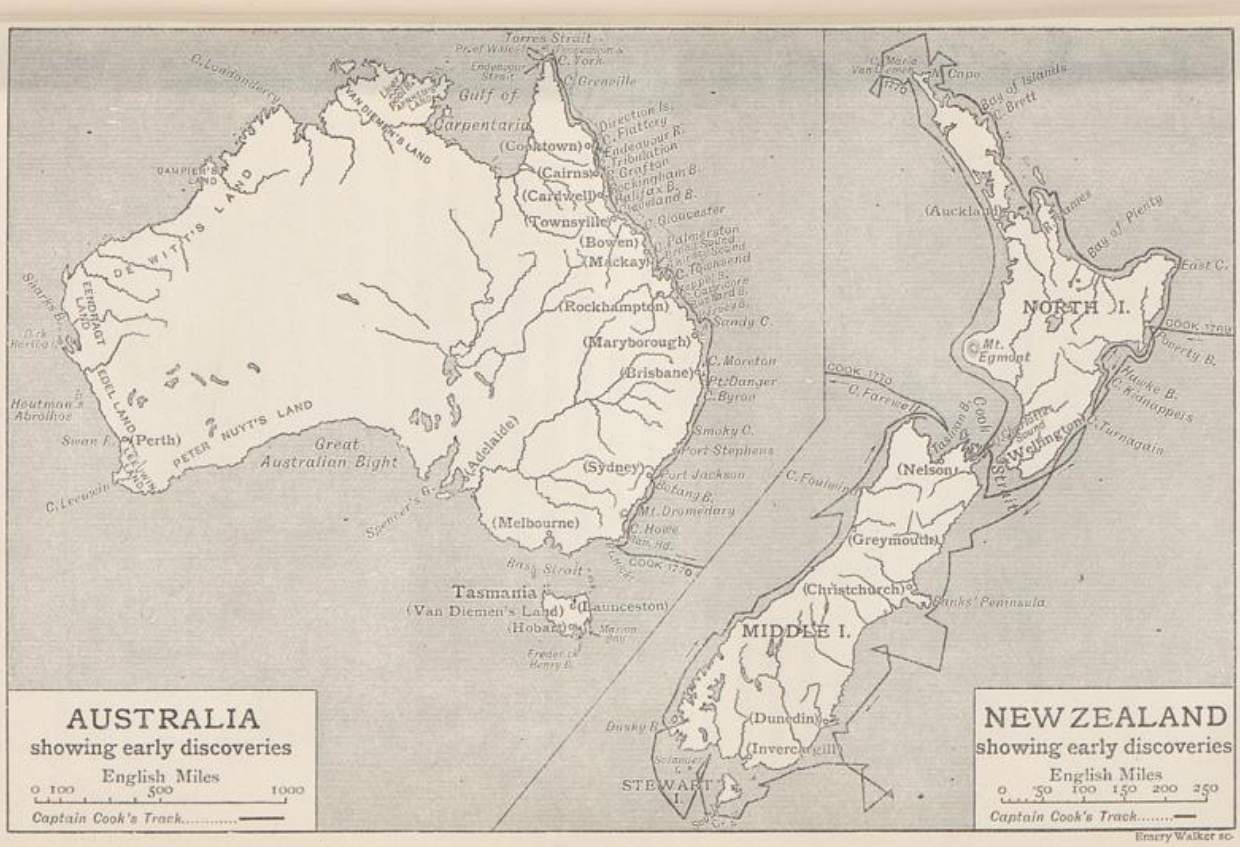
so far as Europe was concerned.

But we are already beginning to write as though there were no other nations except European nations which made history in the Pacific, and as though there were no aborigines.



Emery Walker sc.

To face p. 26



Emery Walker sc.

To face p. 26

CHAPTER II

THE NATIVES OF AUSTRALASIA

There were six native races.

Our Dramatis Personae include one semi-civilized race, the beardless, straight-haired, high-cheeked Malay—who is Mongolian, who lives outside Australasia, and whose trade and ironwork have left indelible traces on Madagascar and Dutch New Guinea—and four representatives of the stone age, who know nothing of metals and very little of trade, the Australians, Papuans, Polynesians, and Mikronesians. Of these five the Australians are least mixed, and their civilization is lowest and most monotonous. The Tasmanians who form a sixth race are extinct.

The Australians have low physical and social characteristics,

The Australians—like the Dravidians of India and Veddahs of Ceylon—have wavy hair, full beards, and chocolate-brown colour, and might be mistaken for some nude, scarred, dyed European, but for their thin skins, beetling brows, deep-set nose-roots, spreading nostrils, receding foreheads and (often) their low but narrow skulls. The traditions of their totems take no note of time, and claim descent from some autochthonous man-beast or plant-man. Their languages—which are over 200—and between which there is a link of grammar but scarcely any link of vocabulary—change too quickly, and their modes of life are too simple to yield clues as to their kin. They neither sow nor plant, nor take thought for the morrow. The men hunt, and the 'gins' (women) gather wild roots and plants for food, and their food is either eaten raw or broiled. Their canoes, which are of bark, would not carry them across 'Torres' Straits. Their houses are bark-and-grass wind-shelters, and they have no domestic animals except the more than half-wild 'dingo' (dog). Their weapons are of wrought wood and stone; and their 'male' spear-throwers

and boomerangs—a toy variety of which returns to the thrower—recall the weapons used in paleolithic Europe. They are without bows, arrows, pots, sails, cloth, or clothes, except (possibly) skin-clothes. The string-bag is their highest industrial product.

some religious ideas,

Australian religious institutions present the most perfect picture of the symbolizing ghost-haunted mysterious Tory spirit of primeval man. What is of old (Alcheringa) is holy (Churinga) and accounts for and justifies everything.[1] The Australian confuses reality with appearance, why with whence; and expresses his dim thoughts without the aid of an auxiliary verb. His only objects of worship are unwrought stocks and stones, which are hidden away in some holy hole near which 'gins' and boys may not come, nor foes nor beasts be slain; and his only worship consists of smearing those objects with blood, of month-long dances, by way of spring festival, around something which resembles a maypole, a standard, or a cross; of rare prayers to avert evil,[2] of burial rites with offerings of blood and the like, and of the rite of initiation into manhood. This rite differs in different parts: thus circumcision and the unique objectless operation of subcision are conspicuous by their absence on the east and west coasts: but the spirit of the rite is everywhere the same. Eldermen of tribe and totem silence, starve, paint, bind, bite, bleed, and burn the novice into submission to the general will; then whisper in his ear awful secrets—and it is then that he is 'made a man of' and 'born again'.[4]

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904), *passim*; L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 169; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-eastern Australia* (1904), *passim*.

[2] S. and G., op. cit. (1904), pp. 253, 495.

[3] e. g. Food: W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among Queensland Aborigines* (1897), p. 165; or Arms; W. Tench, *Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson* (1793), p. 187; D. Collins, *Account of the English Colony in N. S. W.* (1798), ii. 66.

[4] S. and G., op. cit. (1899), p. 215, &c.; (1904), p. 343; Howitt, op. cit. (1904), pp. 589, 645.

some ideas of property,

Eldermen of tribe and totem have the custody of its sacred emblems as guardians or trustees: and the objects are loaned out and inherited.[1] Wives are owned sometimes jointly, and they too are loaned, exchanged, and inherited. Weapons are sometimes buried with their owner, sometimes inherited. The ownership of broiled game is so minute as almost to give a new meaning to joint ownership.[2] A European imagination may detect in the native message-sticks far-off germs of ambassadors, factors, and the art of writing.[3]

and laws,

The Eldermen doom those who sin against essential tribal custom, and issue a mandate to 'an avenging party' to slay the sinner. Death by sickness is attributed to magic, and incessant 'avenging parties' sally forth against the magician: but these quests often end in sham-fights or the handing over of human scapegoats. Lesser offences are expiated by trial, by combat, or by the offender playing the part of 'Aunt Sally'. The local limits of each tribe are fixed and trespassers are prosecuted. Thus Sam, a tribesman of tribe A. B., took stones from tribe C. D.'s quarry. C. D.'s Eldermen summoned A. B.'s Eldermen, who disclaimed Sam and were dismissed with a caution.[4] The Australian has a sense of property and punishment, but he is not warlike. Perhaps he is too sensible.

are prosy and sensible,

And perhaps he is too prosy. The imaginative tribes of the Pacific hunger after victory in a metaphorical as well as a literal sense. Not so the Australian. The myths told with bated breath by Eldermen to novices celebrate the eternity of tribe and totem in some such arid un-Tyrtaean strains as these: 'This spot where yonder stone or stock stands is where so-and-so went under all in the olden time: his spirit still dwells in yonder stock or stone, and it or its

[1] Roth, op. cit., p. 164; Nicolas, *Western Australia* (1886), p. 9.
[2] L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, op. cit., p. 207, &c.
[3] Roth, op. cit., pp. 136–8; Howitt, op. cit. (1904), ch. xi.
[4] Howitt, in *Trans. Royal Soc. of Victoria* (1888), p. 110.

counterpart was born again in such and such a member of our tribe and totem'. The rites are very bloody, but not fierce; and that practical good sense which turns their myths into catalogues of landmarks teaches them to use their own blood as drink and glue, and their ancestors' hair as belt and string. The Elderman is chief: 'A man is the boss of his wife and children. An old man is the boss of the young men. The Elderman is the boss of all the men, and "Daramulun", the tribe-god in the south-east, is the boss of all'; he may be hereditary and must be 'open-eyed and no chatterer' —a quotation not from Carlyle but from a nameless Arunta:[1] yet, not having been leavened by war, he resembles Donald Bean Lean rather than Vich Ian Vor, and there are usually many Eldermen of equal power. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the tribal and totemic organization, which characterizes Australia from end to end, could have survived the ordeal of one intertribal or intertotemic or any other war.

revere age,

and are too elaborately organised for common action.

The typical Australian tribe splits into two halves—the A-half and the B-half—which, when they meet at the tribal gatherings, camp like foes upon opposite sides of a creek. Class A is divided into sub-classes 'a' and α, class B into sub-classes 'b' and β; last come the totems, which are named after an ancestral beast or plant, which exist under the same names throughout Australia, and which are either subdivisions of the four sub-classes or are cross-divisions. Members of sub-class α may only marry members of sub-class β[2], and their children are 'a' in some tribes and 'b' in other tribes. That is to say children often differ in class and nearly always differ in sub-class from their father with whom they live. The house is divided against itself. Strength is sacrificed to a dichotomy in which Parmenides would have revelled. And further—tribe-lands are parcelled out amongst (say) twenty

[1] Howitt, op. cit. (1888), pp. 106–7; S. & G., op. cit. (1899), pp. 5151–6.

[2] Cp. Genesis xxxiv. 9 et seq.

district groups—a group numbers (say) thirty or forty all told, and its district covers (say) 100 square miles: yet, however much single families or totems identify themselves with a group, the identification is never complete ; there are always members of other or opposite totems present, and the natural allies of the group-member are scattered over an adjoining area of (say) 2,000 square miles. No wonder we never hear of a tribe—as such—going to war—except against the ghosts of its dead members. When a totem unites—as it does for kangaroo hunts and the like—members of the same totem of an adjoining tribe sometimes assist. This system is admirably adapted for the dispatch by totem, district-group, class, or tribe, of an avenging party ; but it is far too complicated and elastic for purposes of war. There is no one coherent unit, and there is no one harmonious scheme for combining units.

They are separate from the Tasmanians who are below them,

The Australians do not extend to Tasmania. Between Australian and Tasmanian there is a great gulf fixed. The Tasmanians were black and woolly-haired[1], lacked carving, grinding, and polishing—so that their weapons were the rudest of the rude—were uncircumcized, without spear-thrower, boomerang or (perhaps) shield ; and ate unskinned embowelled meat. In these respects they were lower, in no respects were they higher than the Australians. Their twelve languages were radically unlike Australian languages: although, if our information is correct, similar words for 'you',[2] 'two',[3] 'kangaroo',[4] and 'woman',[5] in certain Australian and Tasmanian languages suggest casual intercourse.

and from the Papuans who are above them.

As on the south, so on the north, the Australians are cut off from the rest of the world or are connected with it by the feeblest links. Sir J. Banks was amazed to see off north-east Queensland a log-hewn canoe with outriggers, and on Posses-

H. L. Roth, *Aborigines of Tasmania* (1890), pp. xiii, xiv ; Collins, op. cit., ii. 188 *n*.

[2] 'Neena'.

[3] 'Terrar', 'Tirrar.'

[3] 'Boula,' 'boola'.

[5] 'Lowa', 'Laua.'

sion Island a man with bow and arrow. This mystery was solved by MacGillivray (1850), who found the Prince of Wales's Islands occupied by a blend of Papuans and Australians, while the other islanders seemed pure Papuan and the mainlanders pure Australian.[1] Further, since the English came into Australia, Malays sell log boats to Australians on the north coast.[2] Doubtless (like Torres) Sir J. Banks saw some Papuan with his bow and arrow, and the boat he saw belonged to or was bought from a Papuan or Malay. Other possible evidences of accidental contact with their northern neighbours are furnished by circumcision, the nose-bar, a rock painting which represents a clothed figure and Malay writing,[3] and two or three words which are probably the same in parts of Melanesia and of Australia—e. g. the word for 'earth'[4] and 'two',[5] and 'fish'.[6] These scraps of evidence point at most to sporadic and interrupted visits. The Australians are and have been the loneliest of lonely races.

[1] Cited, E. Curr, *Australian Race*, i. 204; cp. A. C. Haddon, *Expedition to Torres Straits* (1904); S. H. Ray, at British Association (1899), &c.

[2] Curr, op. cit., i. 273; S. and G., op. cit. (1904), p. 680; cp. Tench, op. cit., p. 108.

[3] J. Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow* (1899), pp. 127, 131; A. R. Wallace, *Studies* (1900), i. 469–71.

[4] 'Tano' = 'Taon'.

[5] 'Boola' or 'Booa' = 'Rua' (?).

[6] 'Wappie' = 'wappy'.

CHAPTER III

THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS

The country and people of Melanesia,

The Papuans or Papuasians as Keane calls them, inhabit what I will call Melanesia—or the ocean strip 3,000 miles long, which includes New Guinea, New Ireland, the Solomon, Santa Cruz, Banks, New Hebrides, Fiji and Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia. They might be mistaken for West African negroes, but their brows are more and their jaws, noses and lips are less prominent, and they wear their hair like kitchen mops, although short-shorn wool is not unknown.[1] Moreover, a 'small weak lower jaw' is a characteristic feature;[2] about one in five have a long aquiline nose whose tip resembles M. Rigaud's nosetip when he smiled; the skull is often both high and narrow:[3] there is a great variety of shape, size and colour, even in one village and 'the much finer, milder, and grander Fijian'[4] is very tall and very brown.

Mikronesia and Polynesia are very distinct,

The Papuans are bounded on the south-west by Australians, on the west by Malays, on the north by the sworded, armoured, stone-building Mikronesians, and elsewhere by Polynesians who resemble their Mikronesian neighbours in colour, features, and language. Go halfway round the world from Greenwich; then draw a straight line from north-west Fiji to a point 3,000 miles due north; then after excluding Fiji produce it to a point 2,000 miles south by west, and you have the western boundary of Polynesia. From the top to the bottom of this line draw an arc which shall bend eastward

[1] Krieger, *Neu-Guinea* (1899), pp. 372, 373, &c.
[2] Sir W. Macgregor, *British New Guinea* (1897), p. 29.
[3] But see M. Miklukho-Maclay in *Nature*, xxvii. pp. 137, 185.
[4] Macgregor, op. cit., p. 40.

then southward round the Hawaii, Marquesas and Easter Islands, then south-westwards round the Chathams and New Zealand. Everything within this huge giant's bow, 5,000 miles high, 4,200 miles across, is Polynesia. A gap of 2,000 miles or more of barren ocean or fertile never-inhabited islands separates Polynesia from America. The Polynesians have European hair, eyebrows, nose, mouth, and chin: their colour is copper: and their height more than European.

yet their languages are akin

A more startling contrast than that between the Papuan and Polynesian physique cannot be conceived, yet most Papuans speak Melanesian, or a blend of Melanesian and something else; and Melanesian and Mikronesian are elder sisters of Polynesian, to which they stand in the same kind of relation—within the 'Austronesian' circle of languages—that Greek stands to Italian within the Aryan circle of languages. Further, Melanesian—as we know it—is very unstable: in the Fiji Islands, where the language is most stable, T. Williams found fifteen, and in one little Banks island, fifteen miles long, Codrington found fifteen Melanesian dialects which differed as much as Spanish differs from Portuguese. On the other hand, Polynesian is the most stable language in the world: thus Hawaiians and New Zealanders who dwelt 5,000 miles apart understood one another after being parted certainly for 400 possibly for 1,100 years. Further we find several tiny detached Polynesian colonies in Melanesia—e. g. in Fiji, Loyalties, New Hebrides, Ongtong Java,—and tiny detached Mikronesian colonies in Polynesia,[1] but the colonists invariably preserve their mother tongue intact. It seems clear, therefore, that the use of the Melanesian language by Papuans is not due to their eastern or northern neighbours. It would be equally easy to show that west-Austronesian influences such as Malagasy and Malay have not been at work.

Moreover, we have direct proof that Melanesian is not the

[1] Codrington, *Melanesians* (1891), pp. 2, 5 et seq.; George Turner, *Samoa*, &c. (1884), pp. 300, 331.

native language of the Papuans.[1] During the last few years philologists have investigated certain Papuan languages which are still spoken by very Papuans of very Papuans on or near the Torres Straits, and in parts of British and German New Guinea, and which are equally unlike Austronesian and Australian in sound and structure. Austronesian languages have peculiar features, such as the prefixed verbal particle, the possessive suffix, the personal article, the absence of conjugation and declension: Australian has a peculiar feature in its absence of prefixes: the Papuan languages contrast both with Austronesian and with Australian in these respects. Papuan is harsh: Australian not unvocal: Mikronesian and Melanesian are vocal, and Polynesian is the most vocal language in the world.

(Melanesian being an acquired language on the part of Papuans)

The inference seems irresistible that Papuans caught echoes of some Austronesian language from representatives of the Austronesian race who invaded Papuan lands—but not through Torres Straits—who mixed with the Papuans and lost their physical individuality in the process of mixing. The only physical traces of these lost tribes are seen in the curious varieties of colour, height, and features which diversify the Papuan of to-day. But for these tell-tale varieties, these nameless Austronesians have left not a wrack behind. They are *vox et praeterea nihil.*

If the similarity between the prevailing language of the Papuans and the Polynesian language surprises us when we reflect upon the physical dissimilarity of the speakers, the identity of Papuan and Polynesian civilization is still more surprising. For, although there are many grades, there is only one type of civilization in the Pacific islands: and although the highest grades are confined to the east, the lowest grades are confined to the west. All these grades melt and merge into one another: and there is no one frontier between grade

and their civilization is akin,

[1] Haddon and Reay, u. s.; P. W. Schmidt, in *Zeitschrift für . . . ozeanische Sprachen*, 1900–2.

and grade. The lowest grade is just superior to the dead Australian level; and in this short sketch of Pacific civilization only those characteristics will be mentioned which are inapplicable to Australia.

their habits and manners are similar,

From end to end of Melanesia and Polynesia men sit like tailors, beckon with palms downward, nod upward, and rub noses, or rather sniff one another.[1] Slavery, enemy-eating,[2] and dedication by human sacrifice[3] are motives for war, and Pacific war often implies extermination of women and children.[4] Bows and unpoisoned featherless arrows are habitual in New Guinea, exceptional in Fiji, Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii,[5] and forgotten or unknown in New Zealand and parts of the Bismarck archipelago. Spear-throwers are known; but the Australian pattern which is 'male' is unknown.[6] The boomerang only survives as a dancing-wand.

and the village is their unit of war,

For purposes of war the village serves as an ever ready instrument. It contains from 40 to 3,000 inhabitants, all of whom are related. The houses are of wood, and marquee-shaped, with hearth in centre, and door at one end, and are often raised on piles and built against one another or as one

[1] A. C. Haddon, *Decorative Art of British New Guinea* (1894), pp. 254 et seq.; Seemann, *Fiji* (1862), ed. F. Galton, p. 250; H. B. Guppy, *Solomon Islands* (1887), pp. 124–6; C. F. Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji* (1882), p. 262; W. Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands* (1817), ed. 1818, vol. i. pp. 51, 228; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (1829), ed. 1834, vol. i. p. 189; T. Williams, *Fiji* (1858), vol. i. p. 152; S. E. Scholes, *Fiji* (1882), p. 70, &c.; C. M. Woodford, *A Naturalist among the Headhunters* (1890), pp. 32, &c.

[2] H. H. Romilly, *Western Pacific and New Guinea* (1887), pp. 49–61; ibid. *From my Verandah in New Guinea* (1886), p. 60; W. Ellis, op. cit., vol. i. pp. 310, 359; Turner, op. cit., 313, 345; Mariner, op. cit., vol. i. pp. 110, 194, 284, 318; S. Dibble, *Hist. of the Sandwich Islands* (1843), p. 134; L. Fison, *Tales of old Fiji* (1904), pp. 59, 66, 67.

[3] C. M. Woodford, op. cit., p. 154; Codrington, op. cit., p. 134; *Acc. and Pap.* (1895), *Rep. on Br. New Guinea* (1892–3), p. 24.

[4] Ellis, op. cit., i. 304; Turner, op. cit., 344; James Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea* (1887), ed. 1902, p. 92; Hawkesworth, *Third Voyage of Captain Cook*, i. 137.

[5] T. Williams, op. cit., pp. 57, 77; Ellis, op. cit., i. 220, iv. 133; Mariner, op. cit., i. 207.

[6] Krieger, op. cit., p. 455.

house. There is always something between a public-house and a temple for men only, and the village is a model of compact unity. There are exceptions: thus bell-shaped houses may be seen in the Louisiade, New Caledonia and Samoa: in a Banks island a stone house has been built; the platform with stone steps becomes common in Fijian and Hawaiian temples:[1] and the inland village to which men fly in war time while they neutralize their usual homes by 'tapu' signs is fortified by clay and stones in parts of New Guinea as well as in Tonga and New Zealand. These and other exceptions to the general rule occur in Melanesia as well as in Polynesia.

Outside the village the bond of union is frail. In Samoa 'districts' of eight or ten, in the New Hebrides leagues of six or eight, in New Guinea leagues or tribes of three or four villages, in New Zealand sub-clans or leagues of villages, comprised within the clan, are the usual fighting units. Islets are often, islands are never united for long. Niue in Polynesia, and each of the Papuan Loyalties has been rent asunder from time immemorial by two contending parties. In the Solomon, Fiji, Samoan, Tongan and Hawaiian groups some one chief has been for ever fighting for and nearly attaining ascendancy: and in New Zealand, says Cook, 'the people of each village by turns applied to me to destroy the other',[2] and the village usually drew in the sub-clan or clan. Romilly beheld a battle of 1,500 New Irelanders, Mariner a battle of 5,000 Tongans on a side, and in New Zealand the Whatua clan, which inhabited Auckland, is said to have slain 3,000 of their foes in battle (1750 A.D.). The Papuan Colonists of the Laughlan Islands,[3] and the New Zealand Colonists of the Chatham Islands, laid aside lethal weapons and tried to bring

(above which is the league, sub-clan or other unit which is always imperfect)

[1] Gordon-Cumming, *At Home*, p. 234; J. Edge-Partington, *Album* (1898), ii. 28.
[2] Hawkesworth, *Third Voyage of Captain Cook*, i. 124.
[3] H. H. Romilly, *W. Pacific and N. G.*, p. 131.

back the golden age: otherwise, neither Papuan nor Polynesian has made the slightest effort to shake off the secular curse of internecine civil war. Beyond the organization of the village, neither Papuan nor Polynesian has displayed the faintest gleam of political capacity.

and their industrial and social unit (though their industries have many varieties),

The village is also organized for hunting, fishing, canoe-building, religious rites—which are men's affairs—cloth- and mat-making—which is women's work, and above all gardening, and social life in which men and women bear distinct parts. In gardening—which gives its characteristic colour to Oceanic civilization—communism and individualism exist side by side. Fences, like houses, are built or paid for by the joint labour of the families who inhabit the village.[1] Near each village there are fenced cultivated gardens of paper-mulberry (for cloth), yam, sweet potato, taro, cocoanut, areca and sago-palm, Canary-nut, banana, sugar-cane, and (in New Guinea) tobacco, or of some of these plants—for island foods are proverbially capricious—and these plants are often 'tapued' in order to ward off trespassers or future famine, and can be sold, and bequeathed;[2] and so are dogs, fowls, and pigs, which the villagers domesticate.

Stimulants and narcotics exist: betel-chewing pervades the west, kava-drinking pervades the east and to some extent the west; the south abstains: and Tikopia, near S. Cruz, is the dividing line between chewers, non-chewers, and total abstainers. Men and women eat apart: new-made widows ask to be strangled: from New Guinea to Niue men commit suicide from a height if their feelings are hurt.[3] We can trace Polynesian stone boiling and ovens to the forests of New Guinea: the decked and masted double canoe of Samoa to the tiny outrigged dugouts of Torres Straits: and the taste-

[1] Krieger, op. cit., pp. 195, 196, 214; Turner, op. cit., 158–9; Hawkesworth, *Cook's Third Voyage*, i. 122.

[2] Codrington, op. cit., 65–6; Ellis, op. cit., iii. 115; E. Shortland, *Maori Religion* (1882), p. 94.

[3] T. Williams, op. cit., vol. i. p. 123; Turner, op. cit., p. 305, &c.

ful costumes of the east to the T. bandage or rude sporran of the western men and the grass apron or kilt of the western women.

and outside it are evanescent religious and other bonds, but Polynesian are superior to Melanesian varieties of religion, industry, art,

The totems and the tribe-classes which divide the units of Australian life, only create social links between islander and islander or regulate marriages, but have no political significance, and fade away as we go eastward and southward. Tribe-classes rarely if ever dwell apart.[1] The six classes of the Solomon Islands bear partly local, partly totemistic names: and doubtless the six local divisions of Hawaii and Aitutaki, the six Maori canoes of 1350, the six children of heaven and earth and the six 'Mauis' of Polynesian mythology point to tribe-classes. So, too, as we leave New Guinea rites of initiation lose their meaning, and degenerate in New Britain and the New Hebrides into mummeries used for intimidation and extortion,[2] and are exalted in New Zealand into a school of mythology. In these rites Papuans wear gigantic masks, beautified editions of which adorn the priests of Tahiti.[3] Stone-carving is rare, tattooing widespread, wood-carving universal: and most houses have an ugly representation of an ancestor to whom the householder prays or talks: it is ugly because neither Papuan nor Polynesian seeks beauty in 'the human face divine'. In New Guinea, curves imitative of tusk or beak, and spirals may be admired:[4] but curves and spirals attain perfection only in New Zealand. It is only in the head-rest that Papuan excels Polynesian Art: and one Papuan head-rest is a miniature capital with telamons, volutes, and abacus complete.[5] In every other work of art and of

[1] A. C. Haddon, *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* (1904), vol. v. pp. 174–5; Codrington, op. cit., pp. 21, 24, 30, 61, &c.

[2] Codrington, op. cit., chs. v and vi; Romilly, *W. P. and N. G.*, pp. 28 et seq. (dubu = supwe).

[3] Edge-Partington, op. cit., i. 27, 335.

[4] Krieger, op. cit., p. 494; Haddon, *Dec. Art.* (1894), p. 184.

[5] Prof. Luschan, *Beiträge zür Völkerkunde* (1897), and in Krieger, pp. 440 et seq.

the imagination the Papuans are as much behind the Polynesians as the Spartans were behind the Athenians. Everywhere myths are well-springs of poetry: and in Papuan and Polynesian myths we find Neptune,[1] a cosmic hero,[2] Charon,[3] ships of the dead, Hades and Elysium; we learn how disobedience 'brought death into our world, and all our woe with loss of Eden'; and we hear of earth being pushed apart from heaven by some demigod; but the Maori myth of the raising of the firmament compared to the very best Papuan version is as gold to silver-gilt.[4] Hereditary priests are found in New Caledonia and traditions eleven generations old in the Solomons;[5] but priests have preserved Polynesian traditions for 100 generations or more. All these genealogies end—like Jacob's ladder—in heaven, and these chronicles fade into myth; yet by checking name by name, pedigree by pedigree, and story by story, we dimly though surely discern through the mist how Hawaii was peopled from a mythical Hawaii[6] somewhere near Fiji, somewhere about 650 A.D., and New Zealand a little later,[7] and that war was the cause; how about 1150 A.D. new troubles arose in Central Polynesia through war; and new purposeful emigrations took place, ending in the emigration of the six canoes from Rarotonga to New Zealand about 1350 A.D.; and how between 1150 A.D. and 1350 A.D., but not since, men went to and fro between Central Polynesia and Hawaii and New Zealand.[8] Certainly these Polynesians were mighty sailors and combined colonial enterprise with a dearth of commerce, and cherished their unwritten history, as well as their language, with a reverence, and devoted themselves to spiritual unity and to civil war

[1] Tangaroa, Tagaro, &c. [2] Maui, Qat.
[3] Balum, &c., comp. Shortland, op. cit., p. 45; C. F. Gordon-Cumming, op. cit., p. 352.
[4] Codrington, op. cit., pp. 163–5; Grey, *Pol. Myth.*, no. 1.
[5] Turner, op. cit., p. 345; Codrington, op. cit., p. 50.
[6] Qu. = Java the little?
[7] J. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, iii. 189.
[8] S. P. Smith in *Journ. of Pol. Soc.*, 1898 et seq.

with an impartiality which we do not find elsewhere, not even amongst the ancient Greeks, whom they resembled in many ways. The Papuan who receives gifts gaily asks for more; he invented money lending at cent. per cent. interest 'without regard to time':[1] and his mind is jolly, covetous, and grovelling beside the larger idealizing humanity of the Polynesian. The outward trappings of their civilization are the same, but the national characters of Papuan and Polynesian are as opposite as black to white.

and Polynesian exemplifies the highest stage of Austronesian civilization.

In noting some of the distinctions between Eastern and Western civilization in the Pacific, the frontier as a rule never coincides with the frontier between Papuan and Polynesian, but there are two exceptions of great importance. In the first place, in Melanesia tattooing and circumcision compete with the raised scars and nose-rings of the Papuan male; in Polynesia they supersede these forms of mutilation or decoration.[2] Secondly, women work pottery throughout Melanesia, well in the Solomons, but best in Fiji; east, south and north of Fiji pottery is unknown. These two exceptions are held by many writers—from whom I respectfully differ—to indicate a fundamental distinction between Papuan and Polynesian civilization; but, whether this is so or not, it must be conceded first that the Polynesian and the better kinds of Papuan civilizations appear in eighteen points out of twenty indistinguishable; and secondly, that the lowest form of Papuan civilization, beginning as it does after the point at which Australian civilization ends, leads step by step up into the highest forms of Oceanic civilization. If we judge what is highest by externals only, it is doubtful whether Fijian glazed pottery and printing blocks, or New Zealand flax and

[1] Codrington, op. cit., pp. 324–6; John W. Anderson, *Notes of Travel in Fiji*, &c. (1880), pp. 127–37; T. Williams, op. cit., vol. i. p. 126 et seq.; Macgregor, op. cit., p. 36.

[2] But see Hawkesworth, *Cook's First Voyage*, iii. 457; *Cook's Third Voyage*, i. 155.

jade ornaments, or Samoan boats, or Hawaiian mats merit the palm. If we adopt mental tests the normal level of the Polynesian character and intellect is upon a higher plane than the highest which Papuans have attained.

Why did these men oppose Europeans?

These men sometimes welcomed and sometimes warred against the Europeans who first landed amongst them: why was this? First—the natives thought it no crime to steal from strangers, or cause for war if strangers punished thieves; but excessive punishment, or the dread of excessive punishment, cost Cook his life and led to many fights. Secondly, wrecked men and the victims of accident were regarded as legitimate objects of plunder or hostility. Thirdly, nothing is more difficult to understand than native causes for war. 'Tapus' and witchcraft are frequent causes; yet beneath this madness there is often an element of reason which our forefathers ought to have understood and did not understand. Roggewein, one of the best Dutchmen (1722), was surprised that he was attacked off New Guinea though he 'cut down cocoanut trees as the easiest method of getting at the fruit':[1] and Carteret's men acted in the same way, in the same neighbourhood, with the same results. We know now that 'the cocoanut is all in all to the Papuan, gives him food and drink with its fruit, yields him wood for house and canoe, covers with its leaves his roof, clothes him with its bark, and with its leaf-fibres provides a sieve'.[2] There is a Polynesian story of how a 'sacred' tree was felled for shipbuilding—whence arose war and the earliest emigrations to Hawaii and New Zealand.[3] Marion, a blameless Frenchman who cut down New Zealand firs for masts, was believed by the natives to have 'violated sacred places':[4] and that was one reason,

[1] Burney's *Voyages*, iv. 578; Hawkesworth, *Voyage of Byron, Carteret*, &c., i. 573.
[2] Krieger, op. cit., p. 157.
[3] *Journ. of Pol. Soc.*, vii. Suppl., pp. 7, 8.
[4] Crozet, ed. H. L. Roth (1891), s. n. *Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania*, &c., pp. 46, 121–2.

and the memory of De Surville was another reason, why he was slain. Visitors at Niue were driven off or killed through 'dread of disease'.[1] Was not this dread prophetic? And lastly, a sentence from Virginia's Verger—'Christians hold the world and the things thereof in another tenure, whereof hypocrites and heathens are not capable', was in those days a maxim of state-craft whose bitter fruits we have reaped, more especially in New Zealand.

[1] Turner, op. cit., p. 306.

CHAPTER IV

THE PLAN OF A COLONY IN BOTANY BAY

Australian colonization was penal in origin.

In 1781 a Frenchman named N * * * wrote that Captain Cook had sailed to the Pacific in order that the loss of an English empire in one hemisphere might be retrieved by the discovery in the other hemisphere of men tame enough to bear the English yoke![1] Nothing was further from our thoughts at that date. When the war with America (1775–83) was over, and America was lost, faint echoes of this idea may be traced; but this idea was not even the decisive motive of the expedition to Botany Bay in 1787. If we may judge by the literature, debates, and dispatches of the time, that expedition had only one motive, which was to punish criminals in the way in which they had been punished for the last 170 years, and it was organized by the Home Secretary in his capacity of chief jailor.

The American colonies were substitutes for prison;

In Tudor times work was looked on as a cure for crime; and the galleys were tried and banishment threatened.[2] In Stuart times vagrants and felons were sent as serfs to our American colonies by way of penalty or of 'conditional pardon'. This system began in 1618;[3] and in 1664 and 1665 the judges directed that in order that such persons might not be 'perpetual slaves' indentures should be made whereby they should work for four years as pure serfs; for three years as serfs for wages, and then be free, but might not return.[4] Sometimes land was offered in lieu of wages.

[1] N * * *, *Oeuvres Posthumes* (1781), vol. i. *La Découverte Australe*, p. 11.

[2] 39 Eliz., c. 4, s. 4; Camden Soc. Pub., vol. xii. (1840) p. 116.

[3] John A. Doyle, *English in America* (1882), ch. xiii.

[4] Sir J. Kelyng's *Reports*, pp. 4, 45.

In the eighteenth century judges and magistrates were authorized by statute to pass sentence to a like effect: and transportation to America became the favourite specific of law-reformers and economists. It appealed to law-reformers by making punishment a means of correction instead of vengeance—indeed the Lord Justice Clerk said that 'transportation ... begins to lose every characteristic of punishment';[1] and it appealed to economists, because it was always cheap, and from 1772 to 1775 ship-masters took these servants to America for nothing, and made money out of the sale of their 'services'.[2] During the war (1776–83) this traffic in white labour ceased. There was no law by which offenders might be sent elsewhere than to America. If then, when the war was over, America should reject what England expelled, what could be done? Committee after Committee discussed this question and three expedients were tried:—

hulks (which were tried and failed),

First, in 1776, hulks were started like those we read of in *Great Expectations*, and ironed convicts were put to dredge the Thames. The worthlessness of such work soon became apparent; on four occasions in two years the pupils of these 'floating Academies' arose and slew, or were slain by, their taskmasters;[3] and a Committee declared that the hulks invariably made criminals more criminal. Besides this system was only meant as a makeshift; criminals who were there being 'in the eye of the law on their way to America'.[4]

penitentiaries (which were not tried),

Secondly, penitentiaries were invented, on paper, where by silent work offenders might purge their sins and pay their way. 'Humanity with profit' was the motto of this new scheme[5]—Blackstone, Bunbury, Bentham, Howard and Eden were its sponsors—it was made law in 1779; and the founda-

[1] *Cal. of Home Office Papers of the Reign of G. III* (1773), No. 324.
[2] *Journ. of H. of C.* (1779), vol. xxxvii. pp. 306 et seq., D. Campbell's evidence.
[3] *Gentleman's Magazine* (1778), pp. 284, 494; (1783), pp. 800 et seq.
[4] Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* (1784), p. 756.
[5] Colquhoun, *Police of the Metropolis* (1796), ed. 1806, p. 492.

tion stone of the first penitentiary was laid somewhere in the nineteenth century—by which time 'philanthropy and five per cent.' began to make a very different kind of history. Meanwhile 'prisons were so crowded that it was scarcely possible to secure the prisoners';[1] jail fever raged; and Howard went from prison to prison asking 'how long?' Besides, now that peace was restored prisons filled at twice the rate at which they had filled during the war, so that matters grew worse and worse and the difficulty more and more urgent.

and transportation

In 1784 a third expedient was adopted, and a law was passed directing the Privy Council to fix on a place of transportation either within or without the Empire, and a Committee was appointed to answer the question: 'whither?'

to other parts of America,

The Committee had before it four proposals. 'Let them try America': but a contractor named Moore had already taken convicts to the United States and elsewhere (1783–4) had knocked at every door, had been driven off with curses, and had dumped his living cargo in Honduras, raising a storm of fury along the Atlantic sea-board from Honduras to Nova Scotia.[2] It was not thought wise to repeat this experiment.[3]

to N.W. or S.W. Africa,

'Let them turn convicts loose on some island in the Gambia and see what will happen.' This scheme was nipped in the bud by Sir G. Young and Captain Thomson telling the Committee what would happen. 'Let them place the convicts under civil government on some fertile spot in (what is now German) South West Africa'—under civil government, because, said Lord Beauchamp, 'the outcasts of an old country will not serve as the sole foundation of a new one'[4]—words which point to something grander than a 'felon's workhouse'. This plan was approved; so Captain Thomson went

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine* (1784), pp. 289 et seq.

[2] G. B. Barton, *Hist. of N. S. Wales*, vol. i. p. 466; *Journ. of H. of C.* (1785), vol. xl. p. 956; *28th Rep. of Sel. Com. on Finance*, printed in *Rep. from Committees of H. of C.* (1803), vol. xiii. App. L (1798).

[3] But see *Hist. Rec. of N. S. Wales*, ii. 752–4.

[4] *Journ. of H. of C.*, xl. 1162.

and looked for, but found no such spot.[1] Only one other alternative remained and that was to revive Sir J. Banks' proposal to the Committee of 1779 of Botany Bay in New South Wales.[2] The reasons which Sir J. Banks had urged in 1779 were that escape would be difficult, and that the colony would soon be self-supporting and, 'if the people formed amongst themselves civil government', a source of profitable trade. His soul, like Lord Beauchamp's, saw beyond the prison bars. Matra (1783), writing with Banks' approval, Sir G. Young (1785) and some one else[3] coupled with Banks' proposal a suggestion to transplant American loyalists thither; quoted without acknowledgement from Harris and N * * *; and recommended Chinese labourers and South Sea Island women. Lord Sydney, who was Home Secretary from 1782 to 1789, was deeply impressed with Banks' scheme, and with the idea of importing Chinamen and South Sea Islanders, an idea which, though never carried out, was cherished for many years. Accordingly Banks' scheme won the day for two and only two reasons; something must be done, and there was nothing else to do.

or to Botany Bay were meant as penal substitutes for our former colonies. Sir J. Banks who originated the Australian scheme was also imperialistic,

The fateful decision was made on the 18th of August, 1786: an Act was passed early in 1787 setting up a criminal Court modelled on a Court martial: and Captain Phillip was made governor and autocrat of the new colony, whose limits were defined as extending from Cape York on the north, to South Cape (Tasmania) on the south, and from the 135th parallel of longitude, just west of which the great telegraph wire runs to-day, to 'the adjacent islands' on the east. In May, 1787, Phillip started with 212 marines under Major Ross, 28 marines' wives, and 600 male and 185 female convicts (or thereabouts). Seven-eighths of the convicts had been sentenced to a term of seven years, which was the shortest

and Captain Phillip who carried it out (1787)

[1] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. Wales*, vol. i. part ii. p. 14; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1791), pp. 79, 80; *Hist. of New Holland* (1787), Eden's Preface, p. v.
[2] *Journ. of H. of C.* (1779), p. 311.
[3] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. Wales*, ii. 359, 364.

term then known, and only one out of every thirty was a lifer.[1] Two or three convicts were Africans. Three volunteers went with him—namely Dodd, Daveney and Livingstone, two of whom were consumptives. Two years' rations were provided. A few cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry, goats and rabbits were shipped on board at the Cape of Good Hope.

was also imperialistic.

Phillip had a vision of Empire and a plan for realizing his vision, 'As I would not wish convicts to lay the foundations of an Empire, I think they should ever remain separated from the garrison and other settlers that may come from Europe': and he classed ex-convicts with convicts.[2] An officer of the *Prince of Wales* transport wrote like Matra and N * * * *: 'Perhaps the distant idea of replacing lost colonies might operate some way towards it.'[3] Tench, a captain in the marines wrote: 'I hope the foundation, not the fall, of an empire will be dated' from May, 1787. All sailed with empire in their heads. Phillip, the most important of them all, was planning empire.

As a substitute for prison it was indefensible.

Critics denounced the extravagance of this prison-scheme; 'it will be cheaper', said Ross, to feed the convicts on 'turtle and venison at the London Tavern': to whom Tench replied—'Undoubtedly, but where else can they be sent?' *The Gentleman's Magazine* and Colonel Luttrell supported Ross but did not answer Tench: and they were right as far as they went. The expense proved gigantic. Dalrymple alone soared above or dived below the cheap prison point of view: and he opposed the 'thieves' colony' with all his might, on the odd ground that it would usurp or disturb the East India Company's trade (which did not yet exist) in those parts.[4]

Pitt and Sydney relied on Banks and Phillip, who were imperialistic.

Did Pitt and Sydney take the wider view? They certainly took the narrower view, that it was necessary 'to remove the

[1] *Phillip's Voyage*, App.

[2] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. Wales*, I. ii. 53, 179.

[3] *Authentic Narrative of the late Expedition to Botany as performed by Captain Phillips . . . by an Officer*, &c. (1789), pref., p. v.

[4] *Serious Admonition . . . on the intended Thief Colony at Botany Bay* (1786).

inconvenience which arose from the crowded state of the jails of the kingdom'[1]; nor did they express any other aim. But their actions belied their words. They were running a neck-to-neck race with La Pérouse. If they did not share Phillip's hopes, why did they make him governor of half Australia and a great part of the Pacific? Why did they and their successors lean on Banks, and take his advice in everything they did down to Banks's death in 1820? Had they not read Harris, De Brosses, or Callander, or even N * * *? If they had not, Banks had.

CHAPTER V

AUSTRALIA IN THE FIRST EPOCH

Phillip discovered the western route to Botany Bay,

In his voyage to Australia, Captain Phillip made two important geographical discoveries. First, a little below the Cape of Good Hope, he hit on a steady west wind and current which took him almost without a tack to Tasmania. What this meant may be shown by the following table:—

Miles.	*Voyage.*	*Arrival.*	*Time.*
1,200	Norfolk Island to Sydney	Aug., 1794	38 days
6,200	Cape of Good Hope to Sydney	Oct., 1792	38 days

People at home saw at a glance that it would be easy to go to Sydney, but hard to return; and this was what they wanted. Moreover, this discovery opened up a new trade route between New England (U. S.) and China or North-West America. New Englanders had tried this trade route in 1786, but without success; they regularly used it after 1792. Theirs were the first non-convict ships to call at Sydney for purposes of trade. East Indiamen, which still enjoyed exclusive rights in those seas, came two months

[1] King's Speech (1787).

later. In 1793 and 1794 two East Indian and four New England ships traded with Sydney, and it was long before the Americans lost their lead.[1]

and discovered Sydney where he fixed his colony,

In writing 'Sydney' we have anticipated Phillip's second discovery. There are three parallel leaf-shaped bays, each of which runs from fifteen to twenty miles westward into New South Wales, and ends in one river: Botany Bay, where Phillip first cast anchor, is the southernmost of these bays and ends in the George; next comes the then unexplored Port Jackson, eight miles further north, which ends in the Paramatta; fourteen miles further north is Broken Bay, into which the Hawkesbury flows. Botany Bay has the broadest base and fewest lobes, and is therefore the worst harbour. Port Jackson, which is acute in base and apex and many-lobed, was described by Phillip as 'one of the finest harbours in the world, in which 1,000 sail of the line might ride in perfect security', and he fixed on a southern lobe, about five miles from the base, as the site of his settlement, and named it after his master, Sydney Cove. Thither he sailed from Botany Bay, La Pérouse sailing in as he sailed out. He thought afterwards that Paramatta, at the apex of the bay, might have been better for his purpose; so, he said, might Broken Bay, with its hastate lobes, and noble but treacherous river Hawkesbury; but Phillip had only a day or two to choose in, and never was a choice quicker or better. There never was a convict settlement at Botany Bay.

without native consent or opposition.

No leave was ever asked of the native tribe which wandered around the three bays, or of its local groups. We read that natives seized our fish (if they were ours), and resented our settlement 'in their former territories', or 'in the few places where they could procure food'[2]; and we know that they

[1] See e. g. *Gentleman's Magazine* (1788), p. 1112.

[2] Captain W. Tench, *Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson* (1793), p. 61; *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, v. 513.

attacked stragglers. Phillip once saw 212 together, probably at some tribal or totemic gathering; but the attacking parties were never more than what 'two or three armed men' could easily disperse. In December the first native was kidnapped, with two strange results. One result was that friendly intercourse began, and the natives used to come in and out, exhibit what I have called their game of Aunt Sally, and inhabit a brick house, or in later days go to school (1815) close by. Another result was that in April, 1789, natives were found dead and dying along the seashore of smallpox. There had been no known cases of smallpox amongst us, though our medicine chests were full of smallpox germs for purposes of inoculation. It is said that smallpox raged throughout New South Wales south of the tropics from that date until 1845, and killed half the people.[1]

He set up a sub-colony at Norfolk Island.

In February a sub-colony was formed, under Lieutenant King, R.N., in Norfolk Island—a reef-girt, mountainous island about the size of the Isle of Sheppey, 1,200 miles away to the north-east, without grass, harbour, or then mammals other than rats, but with many birds, flax plants, and giant firs, like those of New Zealand, from which it is 500 miles distant. The existence of this sub-colony made it necessary to retain the frigate *Sirius* and the tender *Supply* for local use.

The first epoch of Australian history falls into three periods.

The first epoch of the history of New South Wales falls into three periods, which ended, roughly speaking, in 1801, 1810, and 1824. During this epoch government was intensely personal. There was no Council until 1824. Until 1824 the Criminal Court was composed of a judge-advocate, and six officers, all of whom were amphibious beings, half judges and half jurymen. From 1788 to 1810 the autocrat of this little realm was a naval captain, except during two brief interregna, 1792–5 and 1808–9, during

[1] E. M. Curr, *Australian Race* (1886), i. 208 et seq.

which the officers of a specially raised corps, called the New South Wales Corps, reigned. The advantage and disadvantage of the military régime was that there was always a coherent aristocracy round the throne. Indeed, the aristocracy cohered too closely for public interests. The naval officers were always on a pinnacle by themselves. The following dates should be remembered :—

Dates.		*Duration.*	*Periods.*	*Soldiers.*
1788–92	Governor Phillip	4 yrs. 11 mths.		Marines, 1788–92
1792–5	Lt.-Govs. Grose and Paterson	2 yrs. 9 mths.	Struggle for existence, 1788–1801	New South Wales Corps, 1791–1810
1795–1800	Governor Hunter	5 yrs.		
1800–6	Governor King	5 yrs. 11 mths.		
1806–8	Governor Bligh	1 yr. 5 mths.	Capitalistic struggle, 1801–10	
1808–9	Lt.-Govs. Johnston, Foveaux, and Paterson	1 yr. 11 mths.		
1809–20	Gov. Macquarie	12 yrs.	Both struggles succeed, 1800–25	Temporary regiments of the line.
1821–5	Gov. Brisbane	4 yrs.		

In the first period (1788–1801) food was the only problem.

During the whole of the first epoch food was the most important, and during the first period it was the only problem of State. When the second fleet arrived from England (1790) both settlements were on the brink of starvation, and letters crying for help and cursing the barrenness of the land went home in the very ships which brought help. Horror and pity for the prisoners (not for the marines) thrilled the readers of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Morning Chronicle*.[1] Indeed, but for the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia, whither Phillip sent for supplies, both settlements would have been wiped out as clean as the city of Sarmiento. The wrecks of

[1] Cf. G. Thompson, *Slavery and Famine, punishments for Sedition, or an account of the miseries and starvation at Botany Bay* (1794); T. Pennant, *Outlines of the Globe* (1800), vol. iv. p. 111, &c.

the *Sirius* and of a storeship were partly to blame; so was the long voyage to the Cape of Good Hope via Cape Horn, and back by Phillip's route; but over population, in the possibility of which pre-Malthusians (1798) rarely if ever believed, was also a cause both of this crisis and of the equally severe crisis in 1792. Dundas, who became Home Secretary in 1791, grasped the situation, and only one-third of the convicts who sailed to Sydney during this period sailed during the last two-thirds of the period. Indeed, during the great Napoleonic wars few came, and those the worst.[1] After Waterloo they began to come as in 1790, 2,000 per annum, and more than half were criminals of the mildest type.[2] But then they did not come fast enough. Another cause was the ill-success of State Socialism, for the State produced, exchanged, and distributed wealth. And the State was Phillip, the marines holding aloof; and this was more than Phillip or any one man could be.

Phillip started State agriculture (which private agriculture ousted),

The first thing Phillip did was to set a hundred men to cut down trees, hoe the soil (for there were no ploughs before 1795, and only a few in the second period[3]), and to sow corn under the superintendence of Dodd and Daveney, first at Sydney, then at Paramatta. At the end of 1790 four or five other industrial centurions arrived, but only one was a farmer. At the end of 1794 the colony provided its own corn; but at that date only one out of eight, and in 1801 only one out of thirteen acres of wheat-land belonged to the State.[4] King revived the State's corn-lands in order to compete with monopolists; Bligh neglected them, and in 1810 they ceased to appear in the returns. Flax, hemp, grapes, and hops had a similar history. The State, after

[1] D. Collins, *Account of the English Colony in N. S. W.* (1798), ii. 112; *Rep. on Transportation* (1812), pp. 9 and 10 in *Acc. and Pap.* (1812), vol. ii. p. 581.

[2] *Acc. and Pap.* (1821), vol. xxi. 459; (1823), vol. xiv. 639 give numbers and sentences, 1810–20.

[3] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, ii. 510; v. 195, 292; vi. 155.

[4] Ib., iv. 473.

creating agriculture, was beaten out of the field by private producers.

State cattle, In pastoral industry the State was equally unsuccessful. Four months after landing, the State herdsman lost all the cattle except one cow; and the lost cattle were not found for seven years, and then they were wild, a hundred strong, and forty miles inland in what is now Camden county. They were not caught until Macquarie's last two years, when drought and theft had thinned them, and when tame cattle already exceeded 100,000, and wild cattle were not wanted. Fresh cattle were introduced in their place from the Cape and India, and in 1801 cattle in colonial pens numbered 1,200, three-fourths of which were State cattle.[1] As yet they were not articles of merchandise, but reserves against future famine.

State sheep (which officers' sheep ousted), Fresh mutton became food in 1796 thanks partly to the officers of the New South Wales Corps who began to buy sheep from needy settlers in 1793. In 1797 Spanish sheep were imported from the Cape by two officers of the New South Wales Corps in order to resell. The whole lot was offered to the State twice, and twice refused. So other officers — Foveaux, McArthur, and Chaplain Marsden — bought them, and by cross-breeding with the hairy sheep (which were till then the only sheep in Australia) produced woolly sheep. In 1801 woolly sheep were private sheep; private were to State sheep as ten to one, and of private sheep officers owned four out of every five. In that year Foveaux' and McArthur's herds were offered to the State; but the State hesitated, and its third and last opportunity irrevocably passed away. Thenceforth sheep-breeding became scientific, and the affair of private capitalists. State pigs and goats were dwindling in 1795, and had vanished in 1801. State herds compared to private herds failed, and therefore perished, or were transformed into private herds.

In 1795, when men were pinched for food because they

[1] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, iv. 473.

lacked mills, the State horse-mill, put up by a millwright who had come all the way from England for that purpose, struck two convicts as so unutterably bad that each went his way and put up a better. The most successful State industry was brickmaking; then came houses, roads, and ships; but in building ships, master-carpenter Livingstone and his convict-serfs got help from visitors. Sydney turned out its first schooner, the *Francis*, in 1793, and Norfolk Island followed suit with the *Norfolk* sloop in 1798.

and other industries (which private competition menaced).

The failure of State Socialism was due to the badness of forced labour. State labourers, we are told, did in two days what English labourers did in one;[1] and when the State substituted task-work for work by the hour, good labourers ended their State day at 10 a.m., and worked for wages during the rest of the day.[2] As Phillip said, 'Scarcely ever had there been a thorough day's work obtained from them; they never felt themselves interested.' When working at their gardens—for in Paramatta as in Utopia each hut had a large garden—or for wages, or as settlers, they were changed men. 'We are now,' they said, 'working for ourselves.'[3] It was the same with the superintendents, most of whom were convicts. Master-fishers sold their best fish on the sly, and rural overseers looked chiefly after their own farms. Well did Phillip ask again and again for 'a few intelligent good settlers who would have an *interest* in their own labour, and in those who might be employed under them'. Without them, he said, the colony would never become self-supporting, nor could it expand, for convicts worked only in gangs, and under the eye of a task-master.[4]

He deplored the worthlessness of unwilling work and asked for interested settlers.

Hardly was Phillip's back turned when his prayer was more than answered by the military lieutenant-governors who

[1] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, v. 296.
[2] Ib., vi. 149; comp. Bigge's *Report* (1822), p. 68.
[3] D. Collins, op. cit., i. 250; ii. 202.
[4] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, I. ii. 557.

The officers acted as such, too zealously,

began to display a zeal for industry which would have surprised Phillip. During the two or three years when they were the State they distributed the best plots of land and the best workers among their fellow officers who played boldly for their own hand: and when Captain McArthur was inspector of public works (1793-6), he guarded State interests in the same way as a cat guards cream. The interested free settlers for whom Phillip sighed were people unconnected with the State, such as private immigrants, ex-marines, or in the last and worst resort ex-convicts.

ex-convicts were the earliest and chief bona fide settlers,

The first free settler was an ex-convict who took land at Paramatta in 1889, refused support from the State in 1791, and was the first to settle on the Hawkesbury, thirty miles away, in 1794. Others gathered round him. Each held one hundred acres or less in fee, subject to conditions of residence and improvement for five years, and thereafter to quit rents: and subject to the maintenance after the first year or so of the convicts whose services were 'assigned' to them. Early in 1793 we read of five immigrants settling on 'Liberty Plains', and at about the same time of eight ex-marines and many private soldiers of the New South Wales Corps settling in the 'Field of Mars' both of which settlements are now absorbed into the suburbs of Sydney. They too formed nuclei. Indeed two or three immigrants from England and a few soldiers used to take up land almost every year, but King thought them of less use than ex-convicts.[1] In 1803 there were (excluding 'officers') 328 free settlers, nine-tenths of whom were ex-convicts. These men started without capital of their own. Their head quarters were on the Hawkesbury, and though their farming methods were crude in the extreme, they were the corn-growers *par excellence*.

but quickly became labourers also,

They, too, were the free labourers. No provision had been made for repatriating ex-convicts. In 1823 (wrote Bigge) all the older people looked on the colony as their home. But in

[1] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, v. 325.

the first period all hearts yearned after their English homes. So some ex-convicts became desperate and—imitating what a convict did in 1788—took to the bush, lived by robbery, and were outlawed like the bushrangers of a later date; two lived with natives (1791); one stole a boat and escaped with some convicts to Batavia, 3,500 miles away—where the pirate crew fell into the clutches of Captain Edwards of the wrecked *Pandora*[1]; some worked their passage home or enlisted; and in 1794 three hundred worked as day-labourers in the hope of earning their homeward fares. Then commerce came and raised the wage rate to five shillings a day (1795): a bribe which induced them to put off their return for ever and a day. But who could pay such wages? How were wages to be paid?

and the officers supplied a wage-fund and became middle-men and traders,

There was no currency in the country except one small load of silver (1792) and copper (1801), which passed for twice its face value, a few Spanish dollars which invariably disappeared, and paper money consisting partly of notes received by officers from the paymaster, partly of receipts which were given by the storekeeper for purchases of food-stuffs and were usually tainted with fraud. Wage-earners spurned both notes and receipts, and demanded something immediate, something tangible, and something which the State did not give away. What possessed these three virtues? Rum. Who could buy rum? Officers' notes alone passed current with ships of passage: therefore officers alone could buy rum and convert it into the one and only wage fund. Lieut.-Governor Grose's first act of office was to buy 7,597 gallons of rum from an American vessel: and it was immediately after this purchase that settlers' sheep poured into officers' pens, and officers' rum poured down settlers' throats. Rum became the driving wheel of labour and every infant industry was floated in rum. Officers controlled the money-market, war lords became rum lords, and discharged the

[1] *Post*, p. 157.

function of middlemen and mortgagees, of banks of issue and credit banks. Rum ruled the roost, and 'Simon the Cellarer' was industrial autocrat.

(of which the War Office disapproved),

As soon as the War Office heard that officers were trading, it put its foot heavily down, but that foot being 12,000 miles away did little harm, and Governor Hunter, being gouty, was loth to put his down. Governor King, though gouty, did, and the only effects were—first, that Captain McArthur, chief of 'the commissioned hucksters', having winged his colonel in a duel for not boycotting the Governor, was sent home to be court-martialled (1801): and secondly, that the officers, being the only possible traders, continued to trade like Roman citizens under aliases, buying through an agent—usually Campbell of Calcutta—and selling through many agents, usually convict women, down to the date of their recall (1810). Captain King's shops and substitutes for coin began to dispute their monopoly in 1802, and the coin crisis was finally dispelled by Indian dollars which Lord Liverpool dispatched in 1813. After 1813 rum ceased to be an economic force.

and bought land and became large landowners

Besides the social service which officers rendered as brokers and traders, they initiated a new departure which produced momentous consequences. Early in 1793 Lieut.-Governor Grose granted a hundred acres of land to each of his fellow officers who desired to cultivate it, and shortly afterwards made similar grants on a smaller scale to the rank and file. The authorities at home approved of these grants without anticipating the extensive private purchases to which they inevitably led. In 1795 there occurred the first glut of corn, and in 1800 twice too much corn was brought to the stores. Consequently, poor land near Paramatta came into the market, and was bought by the only men with ready money, namely the officers, who started large farms, turned them into pasture, and, as we saw, put fresh mutton on the market, bought stud-sheep and founded the wool-trade. Amongst

these officers Foveaux was first and McArthur second in 1801, McArthur owning 1,900 acres and 900 sheep. McArthur then bought Foveaux' farm and stock, and in 1803 owned 4,000 out of 18,000 acres of pasture land, and between 3,000 and 4,000 sheep. He thus became the largest shepherd-king, the next largest owning 1,500 acres. Now at this date corn-lands, actual and potential, were only 10,000 acres. Hunter, alarmed at the disproportion between corn-lands and sheep-runs, uttered futile anathemas against monopolies, against the decay of husbandry, and against traffic in land and growing crops. His language resembled the language of Henry VIII, but his spirit was the spirit of Jeremiah. Even King lost his head at first; declared that industry was going backward when it was going forward, and damned 'the basilisk eyes' of McArthur, who he said owned 'one-half of the colony', an absurd exaggeration. But at this date McArthur was already in England.

(which inspired alarm).

In England, meanwhile, a committee of Finance (1797–1801), advised the discontinuance of a system of dealing with felons which had cost £180 per felon, and was likely to cost more: and recommended further inquiry as to whether New South Wales was worth retaining.[1] Australia was *in extremis*, and it looked as though Australian colonization was doomed.

At home Australian colonization seemed doomed.

Then the second period dawned and men's minds changed. They forgot that Australia was a place of torment, forgot the expense, forgot those figures of 'gaunt famine, mad despair' which brooded over the scene, even forgot that the abandonment of Australia had ever been discussed, and began to turn to Australia as an inexhaustible source of wealth, and an impregnable tower of strength. Australia was *in excelsis*. The transformation was sudden and complete: and men ascribed it to the magic of one man, McArthur, but other men and other causes were at work.

In the second period (1801–10) *Australian colonization excited great hopes,*

[1] P. Colquhoun, *Police of the Metropolis*, i. (1796), p. 480; *28th Rep. of Select Committee of H. of C. on Finance* (1798) in *Reports of the H. of C.*, vol. xiii. p. 389.

In the first place New South Wales had become important for blended purposes of war and commerce in a way which appealed with peculiar force to Englishmen of that time: and the transference of the colonies from the Home Office to the War Office (1801) pushed imperialistic views into the foreground.

(1) *because Sydney became a naval and commercial centre (prizes being captured)*

From 1793 to 1815 England was at war against France by sea and land, with hardly a break. In 1796, Spain joined France and drove English whalers out of South American waters. In 1798 these whalers transferred their industry to Australian waters, where whaling and sealing had been pursued with some success by the East Indian ships which brought convicts in 1791 and 1793. But South Sea whalers were only allowed to ply their trade in what were then East Indian preserves by an Act passed in 1798, of which they had not yet heard: so, thinking that fighting was safer than poaching, they turned privateers, and in 1799 two Spanish prizes were towed into Sydney and condemned. One was bought by a syndicate of officers who converted it into a trading ship. Meanwhile, 'in 1798, Hunter allowed a vessel of thirty tons to be built by some individuals to procure seal-skins and oil from Bass Straits.'[1] In 1800 the first customs-duty, the first rate, and the first volunteer force were raised. Sydney was becoming a naval and military, as well as a commercial centre.

(*whales and seals being caught*)

Whaling and sealing employed three hundred ex-convicts in 1806; some twenty small colonial ships did the sealing, and big English ships did the whaling, but the whales could only be sold in London or locally until 1813, and the seals only locally until 1819, after which the East Indian monopoly was abolished, except as to trade with China and in tea—exceptions which persisted until 1834. Thanks to this monopoly, American ships shared the wealth of the Australian waters.

(*coal being quarried at Newcastle*)

Its commerce in coal and wood was a small thing, but its own. Coal, which had been found at Hunter river in 1796

[1] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, vi. 145.

and 1798, figured in 1799 and 1801 as an export to Bengal; and in 1801 a sub-colony consisting of some twenty persons was planted at Newcastle, on the mouth of the Hunter, to work the coal. Timber, thanks to Hunter, was regularly exported after 1802 to England, where it was used in the naval dock-yards. In 1803, King wrote of timber as 'our only staple'.

(timber being exported to England)

In 1804, colonial ships discovered that sandal-wood could be got from Fiji, and King entreated the Government to enable them to sell it in China: but the East India Company were inexorable. They did nothing themselves and prevented others from doing anything. 'Strange to say', said King, 'every means is taken to throw that object into the hands of the Americans.'[1] In spite of the prohibition, both Campbell and McArthur smuggled sandal-wood from time to time into Chinese ports; but the principal trade remained in American hands. King bought salt pork from Tahiti in 1801: and trading mission-ships directed by Marsden improved what he initiated.[2] This was the germ from which, in the far future, Auckland was destined to develop her Polynesian trade.

(and sandal-wood being exported from Fiji),

Secondly there was a recrudescence of French rivalry. Two French ships under Baudin arrived at Sydney in 1802. King, suspecting designs on Tasmania, urged a settlement at Port Phillip—which Murray discovered in January (1802) and where a year later Grimes discovered the Yarra Yarra (1803) on which Melbourne stands[3]; and in 1803 King sent a handful of convicts and soldiers from Sydney to Risdon near Hobart, on his own responsibility. Collins led a new batch of convicts and soldiers from England to Port Phillip (1803); missed the Yarra Yarra; cheerily built his house on the sands; and was compelled by want to remove it a few months later to Hobart. A similar settlement was planted at York near Launceston (T.) in 1804; and an easy way

(2) because of new French rivalry (which caused colonies to be founded at Hobart, Port Phillip, and Launceston)

[1] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, v. 627. [2] *The Queen Charlotte* and *Active*.
[3] Labillière, *Early Hist. of Col. of Victoria* (1878), vol. i. chs. v–vii.

was found from Hobart to Launceston in 1807, and made into a road in 1818. Meanwhile, in 1805 and 1808, the hunger-fiend emerged from his closet, and Collins offered a high price for kangaroos. Masters sent their assigned servants into the bush to hunt; prisoners, too, 'were sometimes permitted to disperse in search of subsistence'[1], and the Tasmanian Highlands became a pandemonium of bush-rangers until 1818. The word 'bushranger' is Tasmanian, and dates from 1808.[2] Tasmanian bushrangers—unlike those of New South Wales and Norfolk Island—found it easy to live by hunting, and it was through their exploits that the natives became few and lean, and that colonists learned bushcraft and pushed inland.

(Norfolk Island being disestablished);

While peopling Tasmania, the Home Government decided, in the teeth of King's advice, to unpeople Norfolk Island on the score of expense. Yet Norfolk Island fed itself before Sydney did. The transportation of the Norfolk islanders, many of whom were ex-marines, to Tasmania entailed much cost and hardship, and occupied nine years. Twelve years later what was done and undone was redone, and Norfolk Island was once more a penal settlement.

But to return—New South Wales had blossomed into four daughter colonies—Norfolk Island, Newcastle, Hobart and Launceston—in spite of irrefragable proof that its moments were numbered. Sheer jealousy had stimulated the dying man to make abnormal signs of vitality.

(3) and because of Banks' faith,

And lastly, three men saved the state. Banks tended the sacred flame, saying to minister after minister in his idealistic way, 'I see the future prospect of empires and dominions which now cannot be disappointed. Who knows but that England may revive in New South Wales when it has sunk in Europe?'[3] King restored the sick commonwealth to health

King's economy,

[1] John West, *Hist. of Tasmania* (1852), i. 41.
[2] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, vii. 189.
[3] Ib., iii. 202, 532.

and vigour. Cattle and sheep—hitherto little more than a store of wealth—became capital: and were distributed to settlers tentatively in 1804, and to all who could buy in 1806. Each 'district' was given leasehold commons of pasturage over adjoining State lands. The success of this policy was proved by its progressive adoption. Thus in the third period Macquarie only retained 5,000 State cattle as a threat to monopolists, and in order to train stockmen, and State sheep ceased to exist. Stock-raising became a private concern, and famine-prices gradually dropped to normal as the following price-list will show.

Date.	*Price of Cattle.*	*Price of Beef, per lb.*
1799	£80	none
1802–3	£46 15*s.*	3*s.*
1806	£28	2*s.* 6*d.*
1809	£28	1*s.*
1810	?	9*d.*
1820	£8 to £10	5*d.* to 7*d.*

In 1802 King turned the State store into a State shop in which corn was legal tender. Locke and Adam Smith had approved, and a strong party in the English House of Commons advocated (1822) the corn standard. King actually tried it: and although the door of the State shop creaked on its hinges, so that a Hawkesbury settler spent three days and three nights in buying one article, State competition broke the monopoly of the 'commissioned hucksters', and was after 1806 displaced in turn by competitive capitalists, as we shall see. King, too, opened the first (Paramatta) factory which took wool and other raw material from private people, to whom it returned by way of payment much of the resulting manufactures. This factory was also undersold after 1806 by private imitators. In shop and factory, State competition cleared the way for private competition. King made the 'assignment' of convicts' services to free settlers in return

for their keep systematic. Indentures were introduced, and the wage-rate when the 'State day'[1] was done was £10 a year.[2] This measure was one cause of the high minimum wage which has always prevailed in Australia. It also dispersed people from a capital which has always suffered from congestion, and depauperized Sydney as the following table will show.

Date.	*Men on the Stores.*	*Men off the Stores.*
1800	3,530	1,122
1801	2,702	3,273
1806	1,445	4,669

When he came, three-fourths of the colonists were State-fed; when he left, three-fourths fed themselves and the other fourth paid in timber and coal for much of what they ate. Well might men forget how nearly the struggle for existence failed. All fear of bankruptcy was dispelled by King's unflagging zeal.

and McArthur's agitation about wool,

And McArthur put new life into the State by opening up vistas of illimitable wealth. He arrived in England in 1801, at a critical moment. England was becoming richer and richer every day by means of the export of cloth. She had capital, machinery, and workpeople; she only wanted more wool. Wool poured in from Spain at a steady rate of five million pounds a year; and the driblets which began to trickle in from Germany multiplied themselves seventyfold between 1800 and 1825, when they attained their maximum. And the cry was still for more wool. Wool was at the bottom of every question: of the war question, because war menaced the foreign supply and produced from time to time wool famines; and of workhouses and apprenticeship, because the labourers in the factories were often paupers and children. Every line of the Act of Union was stuffed with wool. Committees sat and debates agitated the question of the hour

[1] *Ante*, p. 55.

[2] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, vi. 153.

It was at this moment that McArthur landed and offered to raise in New South Wales all the wool which was then imported from the Continent, if he might only 'have a few shepherds', and possess some of 'the unlimited amount of luxuriant pastures with which that country abounds'. Every ear was pricked. Men were astounded. McArthur was hailed by some as a saviour of society. Even Banks, who looked at McArthur through official eyes and therefore askance, offered sheep-walk easements in lots of 100,000 acres each, resumable when wanted for 'private property', or exchangeable for lots further off. The Privy Council endorsed Banks's views, which were however impracticable without legislation. Strangers asked, 'Who is McArthur?' and hearing from his enemies that he had made £20,000 in ten years, out of a country which was said to live on charity, resolved to sail thither in order to compete with this new Jason in bringing back the golden fleece. The magic word 'wool' stopped the mouths of the generals, who allowed McArthur to leave the army unconvicted and return to Sydney as a private capitalist. He returned in 1805 with authority to pick and choose 5,000 acres 'in perpetuity with the usual reserve of quit rents', and thirty convict shepherds.[1] Nor did he return alone. Two Blaxlands, ex-captain Townson, Dr. Townson, Davidson, Short, and one or two other capitalists sailed on the same errand with a similar authority. The history of Sydney turned over a new leaf. The invasion of capitalists began, and their aim was not to avert ruin but to win untold wealth. These budding millionaires thought in continents, while former emigrants had thought in acres. Nor would they hug the shores like those who went before them, but push boldly inland, expand year by year, and open up the vast interior with woollen key. McArthur tried to float a company for this purpose, but the home authorities disapproved, so these seven or eight model

(which caused the invasion of capitalists).

[1] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, v. 173, 365, 398, 661.

pioneers went out to compete with one another. Every prospect promised success. McArthur only saw one rock ahead, and expressed a fear that the omnipotent sea-captains who paced the quarter-deck at Government House, Sydney, would wreck the scheme.

King welcomed the capitalists,

King's term had only a year to run. Accordingly, when he heard that McArthur had picked out the very pastures occupied by the wild State cattle, he granted them promptly, but subject to the approval of the home authorities. Davidson and G. Blaxland met with equally prompt treatment. Then King sold them State sheep and State cattle, and they opened shops in Sydney—with what results may be seen in our price-list on p. 63.

Bligh minded his own business,

In 1806, King was succeeded by Bligh, the famous grim sea-captain, against whom the men of the *Bounty* mutinied (1789).[1] Bligh began by sending King's officials packing, and putting in his own. He then turned farmer, and stocked the three small farms, which he bought upon the Hawkesbury, thus:—pregnant State sows were driven thither, deposited their little pigs there, and then after six weeks waddled back, childless, to the State farm. As with the sows so with the cows. And this is how Bligh's oxen returned the call which the State cows and sows paid. One day, Bligh's bailiff thought that nine of his kine looked lean, so he drove them up to the State farm, left them there, and drove nine fat State kine back. Bligh's cleverness would have made the unjust steward green with envy. But he was prejudiced as well as clever. McArthur approached Bligh with the best scheme ever devised for catching the wild State cattle by commission.

and thwarted the capitalists,

Bligh refused because it was 'self-interested'. He thwarted the Blaxlands at every turn, because he said that those wicked men acted on 'a principle of buying as cheap as they can and selling dear'.[2] Clearly this governor meant to run full tilt against private enterprise, and more especially

[1] *Post*, p. 67.

[2] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, vi. 354, 358.

against capital. He ordered a line of houses built in Sydney on land leased for that purpose by Hunter and King to be pulled down, on the ground that they encroached on Phillip's building lines. Why should Hunter's and King's leases estop Bligh? Dr. Townson—after seeing his brother wait one year and a half, and after vainly waiting ten months for land and cattle, wrote, 'Our spirits are broken and our fortunes injured before we even begin.'[1] And for him the end was not yet! It looked ugly when these men, all of whom brought with them promises of land, wrote, 'As soon as the real state of the colony is known, your office will not be troubled by many respectable men with capital soliciting a grant of land. I hope, sir, you will give the necessary orders that the promises held out by His Majesty's Ministers may be fulfilled.'

especially McArthur.

All these men were opposed to McArthur, at whom Bligh could only bark thus: 'You have got 5,000 acres of land in the finest situation in the country, but by God you shan't keep it.' When Bligh began to bite McArthur, he used not his industrial incisors but that dog-tooth which he had hitherto fleshed only on sailors and Irishmen. The sailors of the *Bounty* mutinied and turned him adrift on the Pacific 3,300 miles from Timor, which he reached (1789).[2] Eight Irishmen (five of whom were not and never had been convicts) were accused of sedition, tried, acquitted—most of them—and then sent by Bligh in chains to sub-colonies as serfs (1807). What cared he for Habeas Corpus? Bligh then persecuted McArthur, a man born to shine in many spheres of life, but not at the stake.

Bligh's persecution of McArthur led to the Great Rebellion.

In the first bouts McArthur came off best: but one day Judge Advocate Atkins—who knew no law, who was heavily in McArthur's debt and when dunned used to write back, 'Viper, you bite a file'—sent an unsworn constable to arrest McArthur for disobeying an unserved summons. McArthur submitted, but on Atkins's refusal to say what offence he was

[1] Ib., vi. 571. [2] *Post*, p. 158.

accused of, challenged Atkins's competency to sit on the bench on the ground of interest. Atkins's position in the Court being half juryman, half judge, the challenge was reasonable, and the six officers, who with the Judge Advocate constituted the Court, refused to tender to their colleague the oath without which the trial could not begin, and McArthur was free again. Bligh recommitted McArthur to gaol for escaping from that custody in which he had never been lawfully confined, and invited the six officers to Government House 'charged with certain offences'. Had they obeyed they could not have been tried, because there were not six other officers in the district. They might also have disobeyed the invitation—for it was only an invitation—with impunity. They did neither. They obeyed, with interest; and next day, on January 26, 1808, Johnston, who as senior officer on the spot was entitled to act as Governor in the Governor's absence, after ordering the release of McArthur, marched not only with the six officers but with all his corps, colours flying and band playing, to Government House, pulled out Bligh from under his bed, placed him under arrest, and reigned in his stead. Such was 'the great rebellion' or rather *coup d'état* of 1808, and assuredly of all *coups d'état* it was justest and gentlest. Bligh posed as 'Charles the Martyr,' and enjoyed the rôle. No one was hurt, no one grumbled, except a few free settlers and dispossessed officials. It was the first and last statesman-like act which the officers ever perpetrated. Johnston immediately communicated what had occurred to Colonel Paterson, who was at Hobart and replied that he would return instantly and become acting Governor, but, being a lazy man, took exactly a year in returning. Johnston was not industrious; for after faking-up an *ex post facto* requisition, he spent two and a half months in composing his apologia to Lord Castlereagh, who must have sniffed stale Jacobinism in every line of that windy composition. Moreover, he made the hearts of the capitalists

sick once more with hope deferred, and, after promising to Dr. Townson his often promised land, allotted it to an absentee seventeen-year-old son of his own. Colonel Foveaux, who happened to come upon the scene in July, relieved Johnston, recognized the *status quo*, and distinguished himself by ordering the free settlers on the Hawkesbury to attend a general muster thirty miles away while harvesting. A year later the 2lb loaf which had been 4*d.* went up to 11*d.* Colonel Paterson, who arrived in 1809, also recognized the *status quo*, conferred on officers immense preemptive rights over imported rum, and did nothing else. In December, 1809, the whole New South Wales corps was superseded by a regiment of the line under Colonel Macquarie, the new Governor, a hundred of the old corps settling in the country as veterans or *invalides*, under three of their old officers.

In the third period Governor Macquarie

Colonel Lachlan Macquarie, the first military Governor of New South Wales, had orders to reinstate Bligh for an hour or two; but Bligh, having given his word of honour to sail straight home, had embarked nine months ago on the *Porpoise*, and chuckling over his 'finesse', as he called it, was still engaged on a pacific blockade of Hobart. 'It is impossible,' wrote Macquarie, when, after five months' effort, he finally shook off this old man of the sea, 'to place the smallest reliance on the fulfilment of any engagement he enters into.' Macquarie was also ordered to send Johnston home, but Johnston and McArthur were already homeward bound to face the music. Johnston, after being court-martialled for mutiny and cashiered (1811), returned as one more private capitalist (1812). McArthur, who could not be tried, was detained in England, eating his heart out, until 1817.

introduced new ideas

Macquarie inaugurated the third period; and the past was once more spurned or forgotten. Macquarie wrote of the preceding periods as periods of 'infantine imbecility'. Commissioner Bigge noted with amazement that 'some regulations of so early a date as 1802' were actually

enforced in 1817. Even so Blackstone wrote of the laws of Ine. The sea-captains had been very lonely, and had only struck shallow roots in the country.

or old ideas which he thought new.

There was one tradition of theirs to which Macquarie adhered, and that was their generous treatment of ex-convicts. Phillip appointed convict constables; Hunter made Barrington, who 'left his country for his country's good', chief constable, if not magistrate[1]; King hobnobbed with ex-convicts Bellasis and Fulton; and each of these actions had provoked wrath among the soldiery. Macquarie made ex-convicts magistrates, and treated them as gentlemen —conduct which was denounced by men like Marsden and McArthur as 'degradation'; but ex-officers were no longer a powerful political caste. A few officers murmured, and irritating legal distinctions between ex-convicts and free men survived until 1828. The only singular thing about Macquarie's treatment of ex-convicts is that he believed that he was striking out a new line when, for once in his life, he was treading in the footsteps of his predecessors.

He instituted banks and abolished mediaeval licences and price lists,

Very real changes were made. Loans, hitherto penalized, were encouraged by the institution of the New South Wales Bank. Licences to trade were abolished; so were the old price lists, except in the case of corn, for until Brisbane's time corn was bought by the State at a fixed price instead of by tender, and it was bought badly, because Macquarie was not an economist like King. Sydney leaped at a bound from the depths of the Middle Ages into the nineteenth century. The new force of competition, which came in with the capitalist invaders, put these old-world weapons out of date. The State retired from the industrial stage, where it was superfluous, and devoted itself to the task of organizing a new civil court under a real judge with real lawyers, to police, to building, and map-making. In building barracks for convicts the old ideal of a garden city was cast aside, and the

[1] *Hist. Rec. of N. S. W.*, iii. 474, 730.

convicts were re-concentrated until Brisbane re-dispersed them. Turnpike roads were built. But map-making, as distinct from chart-making, was the newest feature of the third period.

drove Hawkesbury settlers to the hills,

Macquarie first directed his map-making instincts to the dwellers on the Hawkesbury. The Hawkesbury had just risen its fifty feet or so in a night, and swept away the corn on which the country depended (1809). Corn growers at that date dared not grow more than was wanted for flour, because distillation was illegal before 1819; consequently one calamity was enough to conjure up the hunger-fiend while flour was being fetched from India (1810) or Tasmania (1816). Macquarie visited the Hawkesbury, pointed out hills out of reach of its floods, and bade the settlers occupy new townships on these heights, or else forfeit all claims to future charity.

and encouraged the new capitalists,

His next step was for the benefit of the new capitalists who, though they came in year by year, can hardly be traced in the census of the people. Thus, Macquarie's figures for 1819 give 27,294 inhabitants, of whom one-twentieth were free immigrants, one-fourth ex-convicts, one-fourth children, and the rest were bond. Grown women were to grown men as one to three. The free immigrants were just 100 more than the soldiers; yet they transformed the colony, as the following meagre extracts from the Domesday Books show:—

Date.	*Owners of over 1,000 acres.*	*Ex-convict ditto.*	*Number of Freeholders.*	*Ex-convict ditto.*
1803	7	?	583	464
1807	15 (cā)	?	737	500 (cā)
1813[1]	31	1	a little	?
1821	81	6	over 1,000	?

'Latifundia' were multiplying, and the new landed

[1] *An accurate List of the names of the Landholders in New South Wales* (London), (1814).

aristocracy comprised new-comers, ex-officers, and a few ex-convicts. In 1813 Cumberland County was full to the brim, and graziers were just beginning to overflow into Camden County. Macquarie encouraged the overflow, and directed the pent-up waters into new channels.

and made new routes across the mountains,

His predecessors spoke with bated breath of the Blue Mountains, which stretch north and south between 40 and 140 miles west of the sea, as an impassable barrier beyond which mortals could not penetrate. In 1813, G. Blaxland, the capitalist immigrant, W. C. Wentworth, who was colonial born, Lawson, a lieutenant of the veteran company, and Surveyor Evans discovered that route across their crests along which the road and rail still go—from the Nepean to Bathurst; discovered, too, the rivers Macquarie and Lachlan (1814), which branch off from near Bathurst west by south and north by west on their mysterious ways. Macquarie made the route into a road (1815), and hardly was the road built when graziers drove their flocks to the new pastures on the tableland. A second similar group, among whom Hamilton Hume, a colonial-born grazier, was pre-eminent, explored the rivers Wollondilly, Shoalhaven, and Clyde, on the south-west (1814–22), and discovered lakes Bathurst and George, on the summit of the great range (1817), and easy passes from the Upper Wollondilly to Bathurst. A State road, the germ of the great south road, was built along this track in 1820, and the explorers and their friends took up new land between these rivers and lakes. It was not until 1820 that a stock route from Sydney to Newcastle was discovered by Bell and some other settlers. Until 1820 the sea route was the only route to Newcastle. At the close of the third period three land routes led north, west, and south-west from Sydney, and each was a hundred miles or more in length.

and sent Oxley on his great explorations.

In 1817–18 Surveyor Oxley essayed a bolder flight; traced the fateful rivers Lachlan and Macquarie to points 300 miles distant as the crow flies from their sources, and 350 miles

distant from one another, where they seemed to lose themselves in infinite inland seas. On his way back he noted Wellington Valley, crossed the mountain barrier between the Macquarie and its easterly sister-streams, admired 'Liverpool Plains' at the headwaters of the Conadilly, discovered the Conadilly and Peel (but not the Namoi in which both unite), crossed the great range 200 miles north of Sydney, explored River Hastings and Port Macquarie, which was colonized by convicts in 1820, and rode home to Newcastle. Oxley's tours are the first of those heroic inland tours which redeem Australian history from its monotony, and surround it with the halo of romance.

Hence arose nomadism and absenteeism and a new expansion,

The prosaic importance of these tours is that they represented a new policy. Hitherto convicts in Bathurst and the south-west capitalists pushed forward to the front. Inland exploration was now for the first time the immediate prelude to colonization. And Bathurst was the earliest scene of nomadic occupation. 'Tickets of occupation'—or land licences instead of land purchases—were already in vogue in Tasmania. Many of those who drove their flocks to Bathurst in 1816 did so because Oxley told them that it rained west when it was fine east of the great dividing range (as Bigge called it), and because Macquarie urged them to go to and fro[1]. Of those who went to stay many became absentees, living most of their time in Sydney. The pastoral industry became unsettled, temporary, and managed from afar. The nomadic phase—which squatting at first assumed—coloured Australian land-tenures for the next thirty years. Its absentee phase led to the formation of mammoth English companies in the next epoch. But nomadism and absenteeism were only temporary characteristics of the new principle of expansion which now, for the first time, commenced operations.

The new principle only demanded motive, space, and men,

[1] W. C. Wentworth, *Stat., Hist. and Political Description of the Colony of N. S. W.* (1819), ed. 1824, i. 208; Bigge's *Report* (1823), p. 14.

stimulated by the 'romance of the wool trade',

and if it got what it required was bound to work unceasingly, automatically. The motive was wool. Wool was already 'the only source of productive industry from which settlers can repay the mother country'.[1] Wool imports into England from New South Wales stood in lbs. at three figures in 1810, five in 1815, six in 1821, and seven in 1829. Yet in 1829 the wool trade was still in its infancy.

by the conception of Australia as one country,

The space in which the new principle was meant to operate was the whole continent, which now received a new name, and was baptized Australia, a name used, as we saw, by Quiros and Dalrymple for other portions of what was believed to be the great south land. Foreign naturalists like Zimmerman (1810) used Australia in the sense of Oceania. An English naturalist named Shaw (1794), Flinders (1814), who first proved that Australia was one island and not two islands, and Wentworth, the writer (1824), diffidently suggested the new name, Australia, for the island continent. Macquarie (1817) urged the adoption of Flinders' suggestion, and an Act passed in 1824 sealed its triumph. Still, in the Forties, Lord J. Russell, Lord Derby, Lord Grey, and Gladstone, Pridden (1843), Hodgkinson (1845), Atkinson (1847), Dunning (1847), the Twelve-Year Resident (1849), and the Minute of the Privy Council which invented the new title 'Governor-General of Australia' (1849), wrote of New South Wales as a part of New Holland, just as Banks, Bigge, and Bellinghausen (1831) had done. P. P. King (1826), Stokes (1846), and Jukes (1847) wrote of Australia. This new name implied that English people, if they could, meant to own and spread over the whole continent. But the intention was as yet half-formed, dim, and dreamlike.

and by new ideas about emigration, which affected England in 1817,

A new supply of Englishmen was obtained through the dawn of a new idea. England definitely broke with her prejudices about population. Ante-Malthusians had been anti-Malthusians. Eden, Colquhoun and the Committee of

[1] Bigge, op. cit. (1823), p. 18.

1798-1801 bemoaned the loss to England of labourers by the export of criminals. Twenty years later these laments read like bad jokes. In 1817 the Poor Law Commissioners attributed the terrible poverty which succeeded Waterloo to a 'redundant labouring population'. Such a phrase would have sounded like unintelligible blasphemy to men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Henceforth, Englishmen looked on emigration not as a punishment for crime, but as the means of preventing poverty.

and Australia in the second epoch.

Again emigration began to be a privilege. The first presages of this changed view occurred in a letter from Sir R. Peel, given in the *Report* of 1812: 'No persons are allowed to go out as free settlers unless of sufficient property to establish themselves there without assistance of Government.' Hitherto they required the spur, now the bit. The second presage was contained in Lord Sidmouth's saying: 'The dread of transportation had almost entirely subsided, and had been succeeded by a desire to emigrate to New South Wales.'[1] But it was only in the second epoch that this new spirit was carried to its logical conclusions.

Again in the last year of the first epoch W. C. Wentworth proposed a system of sending free settlers from England to New South Wales. The immigrants were to become peasant proprietors, not labourers, and the scheme, though started with some aid from English rates, was to rely for its continuance solely upon the quit rents paid by the new settlers. Human beings were to be paid for by the produce of land sales. When we read this scheme we feel as though we were three chapters ahead of that which we now conclude.[2]

[1] *Hansard*, June 3, 1818; comp. *ante*, p. 45 n[1].

[2] See, generally, James Bonwick, *First Twenty Years in Australia* (1882); *Discovery of Port Philip* (1856); *Romance of the Wool Trade* (1893); Ida Lee, *The Coming of the British into Australia* (1906); and the authorities mentioned in the notes to this chapter.

CHAPTER VI

SECOND EPOCH OF AUSTRALIAN HISTORY—DISPERSION

Governors.	*Explorers.*	*Marine Surveys.*	*New Settlements.*
(Sir T. Brisbane, 1821–5)		P. P. King, 1817–22	Brisbane, 1824–40*, 1840 et seq.
(Sir G. Arthur, T., 1824–36)	Hume, 1824–5 [d]		Melville Island, 1824–9 [c*]
(Sir R. Darling, 1825–31)			Western Port, 1826–8 [d*]
	Cunningham, 1827–8		King George's Sound [a*], 1825–30
	Sturt, 1828–9, 1829–30 [b]	Dumont D'Urville, 1826–9	Raffles' Bay, 1827–9 [c*]
	Bannister, 1831 [a]		Swan River or Western Australia 1829 et seq. [a] / 1850 et seq. [a*]
(Sir R. Bourke, 1831–7)	Mitchell, 1831		
	Mitchell, 1835		
	Roe, 1835 [a]		Portland Bay, 1834 [d]
		Dumont D'Urville, 1837–40	
(Sir J. Franklin, T., 1837–43)	Mitchell, 1836 [d]	Stokes, 1837–43	Melbourne, 1835 [d]
	Bonney, 1838–9 [b]		
(Sir G. Gipps, 1838–46)	Eyre, 1839–41 [ab]		South Australia, 1836
	McMillan, 1840 [d]	Jukes, 1842–6	New Zealand, 1839
	Strzelecki, 1840 [d]		Port Essington, 1838–50 [c]
(Sir G. Grey, S.A., 1841–5)	Leichhardt, 1844–5 [c]		
	Sturt, 1844–6 [b]		
	Mitchell, 1845–6		
	A. C. Gregory, 1846 [a]		Gladstone, 1846
(Sir G. Grey, N.Z., 1845–53)	Kennedy, 1847–8	Stokes, 1847–51 N.Z.	
	,, 1848		
(Sir C. Fitzroy, 1846–55)	Leichhardt, 1848		
	Roe, 1843–9 [a]		

[a] Western Australia. [b] South Australia. [c] Northern Territory.
[d] Victoria. * Convicts admitted.

The second epoch was peaceful, political, and impersonal,

THE second epoch of Australian history stretches in one unbroken line from Sir T. Brisbane (1821–5) to Sir C. Fitzroy (1846–55). It was full of political excitement from the time when the first nominee Council, the first trial by jury, and the freedom of the press—which *The Australian* was the first newspaper to enjoy—rang in the new era (1824) to the time when the squatting laws, the abolition of convictism, and the first grant of representative institutions rang it out. It was not personal. The coming and going of governors were ceremonies rather than events. Indeed character counted for little—except in the case of two governors and one or two explorers. Two governors of real distinction adorned this epoch, Sir G. Grey and Sir G. Gipps.

but for Sir G. Grey,

Grey, 'one of the Tetragonidae, built four square solid, as one fitted to strongly meet the winds of heaven and the waves of fate,' staved off ruin from South Australia and from New Zealand: and his scientific study of Australian blacks and unique sympathy with the Maori made him the first of a new race of governors.

Sir G. Gipps,

Gipps began his career in New South Wales by confirming the death sentence on seven convicts or ex-convicts who had killed black men. Such severity was unheard of since Macquarie's time, and then the offender was one convict. A year later he dealt as sternly with black men who killed white men. He steered the ship of state unerringly through a great commercial and agrarian crisis, and would not allow citizens to evade their debts to the State. King and Gipps were the only financiers whom New South Wales had yet seen: the former drove the wolf from the door, the latter put sharks to flight: the former made his colony solvent, the latter made it honest: with the former, colonial self-dependence began, with the latter it was finally established. But duns and just stewards are rarely popular; moreover, Gipps was unsympathetic towards representative institutions which were overdue, and those brilliant exponents of the new democracy —Lowe, Wentworth, and Lang—never grasped the economic

agrarian or financial problems of the day with half his clearness, so he was hated more than ever, because he was right and they were wrong in matters requiring mind.

and certain explorers by land.

Passing from statesmanship to exploration, sea-surveyors like P. P. King (son of Governor King) and Stokes did useful but minute work. The land-explorations of Hume, Cunningham, Sturt, Mitchell, Roe, McMillan, Strzelecki, Eyre, Leichhardt and Kennedy are historical landmarks and were on an heroic scale. Indeed all these men were heroes, in the classic sense of men who made the unknown known and the uninhabitable habitable; but only one of them was a hero of romance, and he was Sturt.

It was an epoch of dispersion and extension.

In the second epoch new seed-plots or midden heaps were planted as far as far could be from Sydney; and those which were already planted spread as far as they could spread, and in some cases grew into one another. The first process may be described as a process of dispersion, or the deliberate opening up of new centres; the second process as almost unconscious extension from a single centre. Dispersion was invariably preceded by little maritime discoveries and involved mighty political issues. Extension was invariably preceded by great discoveries by land and was solely due to the simplest economic causes. When the curtain fell, both dispersion and extension were incomplete—like broken fragments and half-told tales; for new interests and events intervened and brought the old drama to an unexpected end which was also a beginning.

There were four motives for dispersion: (1) to segregate bad convicts, e.g. at Brisbane, 1824;

There were four main motives for dispersion. First, the worst convicts—including the reconvicted—had to be banished from the haunts of free, busy, and prosperous men. Bigge's *Report* (1823) may be paraphrased thus: 'Keep sheep and goats apart; hide ugly spots away in Port Macquarie, Macquarie Harbour (T.), Moreton Bay, Port Curteis, Port Bowen, or anywhere out of sight.' So Oxley went to Port Curteis, which he condemned; went to Moreton Bay, where a shipwrecked Englishman who had

been living with the blacks pointed out to him Brisbane River, which the nautical surveyors failed to find, and the worst convicts were sent to Brisbane (1824), to Macquarie Harbour (1822) and to Norfolk Island (1826). They were already at Port Macquarie (1820).[1] On the arrival of free settlers these birds of omen withdrew, from Port Macquarie between 1830 and 1840,[2] and from Brisbane in 1840. In Tasmania, Port Arthur on Tasman's Peninsula was substituted for Macquarie Harbour.

(2) *to forestall the French, e.g. at Western Port, Melville Island, and Albany, 1824–9;*

Secondly, the old, undying fear of France still smouldered. Western Port (1826–8)[3] was to some extent an effect of extension but was originally occupied for the same reason as that for which Tasmania was occupied. In the west, Albany (1825–30) and, on the north, Melville Island (1824–9) and Raffles Bay (1827–9) had a similar origin. All were convict settlements. In every case the founder of the settlement was ordered to snatch these scenes of P. P. King's surveys if possible from the French. For the Frenchman was once more abroad—armed with medals and instructions to promote science and commerce—in the person of that fine, disinterested explorer, Dumont D'Urville (1826–8). When D'Urville's work was done, all these settlements were abandoned except one, and the exception proved the rule. The Swan River Settlement (1829) comes under our next heading, but it was founded under the influence of the same scare: said Lord Ripon—'The present settlement of Swan River owes its origin to certain false rumours of the intentions of a foreign power to establish a colony on the west coast of Australia';[4] so in 1830 Albany, instead of being abandoned, was purged of convicts and transferred to Swan River and they twain became Western Australia.

(3) *to carry out theories of colonization,*

Thirdly, there was the motive which animated the founders of Swan River; a motive which was partly idealistic, partly practical.

[1] *Ante*, p. 73.
[2] *H. of C. Committee on Transportation* (1837), p. 84, and evidence of Forbes and Mudie.
[3] *Post*, p. 90.
[4] *P. P.*, March 8, 1833.

e.g. at Swan River, W. A., 1829;

In the background there was Coleridge's dim ideal of a 'colonization of hope, not of despair, . . . as a duty . . . God seems to hold out his fingers to us over the sea'; in the foreground there were men bent on founding colonies as the old Greeks did, purposefully and systematically. These colonists meant to purify themselves from pauper and criminal associates, do without State money, and be self-supporting. They were not Utopians, but capitalists, who wished to transplant a bit of old England to new soil and make the operation pay. They relied on economic self-interest, joint-stock companies, and land-and-labour-exchange schemes. The State was to buy population, labour, and capital, by selling land out and out for money—not paid to the State but—spent on improving the land or in importing young labourers and women. If in three years 30*s.* was spent on twenty acres, the twenty acres became freehold. The price was low and fixed, and the freehold absolute. The South Australian and New Zealand Companies illustrated a later version of the same views. Theories work best in a vacuum; and Western Australia was the nearest approach to a vacuum in this imperfect world. Yet success was but partial. T. Peel, the promoter-in-chief of the Swan River scheme sank £50,000 of capital, landed 300 indentured labourers at his own expense, and received 250,000 acres: but his capital was poured out upon the sand like water and his labourers melted away.[1] Only the soil—most of which was barren—remained. Goodman, one of his best men, scoured the country far and wide and declared that it 'was nothing but sand and rock', that 'everything they had sown soon after it came up died and withered away', that 'nothing whatever would grow to be of any service to the settler', and that 'the country would never support either men or cattle'; and flitted to Tasmania.[2] Peel had not got the right sort of

[1] F. C. Irwin, *Western Australia* (1835), p. 38.
[2] Official Letters from Col. Arthur, Nov. 8, 1829 (Record Office).

land or of labour: so he sold such of his land as was saleable at a ruinous loss, and spent the proceeds in buying those necessaries which he had intended to produce.

Most of the settlers who came in 1829 were similarly disillusioned. They were fed chiefly from Tasmania until 1832, when the population which had been 4,000 sank to 1,500. Then the colony fed itself and its prospects brightened. Better pastures were found east of the Darling false-range, along the upper reaches of the Swan; and York, ninety miles from the Swan's mouth at Fremantle, became the pastoral capital and was soon united by road to Albany.[1] Bald patches were so frequent, especially along the coast, that occupation on the 300 odd miles between Perth district and Albany was discontinuous during this epoch. After 1832 the colony grew inch by inch in population, trade, and wealth, with scarcely a break until 1849. Its population was now 4,654. It shared the wool and oil trade of Australasia. A company formed on the model of the South Australian Company founded Australind (1842), one hundred miles south of Perth, at great cost to themselves and with some profit to the colony; and the southern districts began to export sandal-wood (1846) and Jarrah-timber (1848). In the north, a rich lead-mine was worked at a detached settlement between the Murchison and Port Geraldton, 300 miles from Perth (1848); and coal was found on the Irwin. Its exports only lagged behind its imports by £2,000 a year. But it was poor—a Cinderella amid proud sisters—and in twenty years cost England almost as much as South Australia cost England in ten years. Then by a strange irony of fate the first colony to protest against convicts was the last to sue for convicts and they came in 1850. Immediately imports exceeded exports by sums varying from £30,000 to £90,000; and the colony raised paeans of joy over 'the unusual stimulus given to the colonies by the convict expenditure'.[2]

South Australia, though suggested by Sturt's discovery of

[1] *Western Australia* (1842), p. 63; *post*, p. 96.
[2] Gov. Fitzgerald, *P. P.*, Sept. 22, 1850.

and in South Australia, 1836;

the Murray mouth (1830),[1] was a detached colony like Western Australia, founded by theorists whose watchwords were—'self-help by means of economic law,' 'coin land into labourers,' 'away with convicts.' Their method differed from that of the founders of Western Australia in three respects: the land must be sold dear; State and land authorities must be separate, like Church and State; and young labourers and women were imported by means of the proceeds of sale of land—as in eastern and western Australia since 1831[2]—so that the land was paid for before the people came. This was the first sole and separate incarnation of E. G. Wakefield's project. A London company raised the initial funds, and South Australian Commissioners were incorporated by an Act (1834) which recited that persons 'possessing considerable property' were about to settle on 'unoccupied lands' south of 26° lat., west of the Glenelg (141° long.) ,and east of Western Australia,[3] and which carved out this province to their use, putting the land under the Commissioners and the government under the orthodox Governor and Council. Thanks to G. F. Angas, who did for South Australia what T. Peel did for Western Australia, but with less loss, many thousands of acres were sold at 12*s.* an acre for rural and at more for urban land, and the first batch of colonists set sail in 1836. With them went Colonel Light, who as surveyor was under the land power and not under the State power, in order to determine where along these thousand odd miles of coast-line the bought land should be deemed to lie. Being a landsman, he rejected Port Lincoln, with its fine harbour, desert background, and galaxy of Lindsey names bestowed by Flinders (1801–2); and proceeding to the east coast of St. Vincent's gulf—the fertility of which a naval surveyor (1831) and a Tasmanian whaler (1833) had praised[4]—selected the only site for a great

[1] *Post*, p. 92. [2] *Post*, p. 112.

[3] East of 132° (1834-9); N.S.W. had 129° to 132° from June 15, 1839 to 1861; then S.A. had it.

[4] Captain Barker and John Jones; see Sturt, *Two Expeditions* (1833), vol. ii. pp. 232 et seq.; Sir C. Napier, *Colonization* (1835), p. 250.

Australian city which is not a port. Adelaide, as it was called, is six miles from its port and six or seven from the foot of Mount Lofty range, which runs due north from Cape Jervis for 200 miles, where it is continued by, or merges into, Flinders range. Mount Lofty range is often 3,000 feet high; its streams which flow eastward into the Murray are short, few and meagre, and the land between range and river is often scrubby and barren; but its streams which flow westwards into St. Vincent's and Spencer's gulf water the famous plains of Adelaide and Gawler, which 'are of immense extent (in some places a plough might be driven twelve or fourteen miles without a single obstruction) and equal to the best at Swan River.'[1] The mountains provide limitless pastures; and Mount Barker district, on the east slope of the range, provides admirable agricultural land in addition to its pastures. Geographically, it was the easiest country upon which colonists had yet fluked; and its isolation and smallness, as well as its fertility, made it admirably suited for a social experiment. Yet its early years were even more disastrous than those of Western Australia. There was no advanced party; and the main body came too soon and was too numerous. Sir C. Napier, on being offered the Governorship, stipulated for leave to draw on the Treasury in case of need, but was refused on the ground that it was 'the essence of the scheme that it should be self-supporting'. The colony was being run by optimists. And its first two Governors—Hindmarsh and Gawler—were optimists to the core. Hindmarsh (1836–8) practised *laissez faire*. Gawler (1838–41) built a huge Government House, hospital, and jail; and his extravagance produced the same inflation as convict expenditure had produced elsewhere. When Grey came (1841–4) capitalists were living on the fag ends of their capital; and labourers were huddled in Adelaide and were drawing large wages from State works, their wages being paid out of land funds, or by State paper. Prices

[1] Dutton, *South Australia and its Mines* (1846), p. 88.

were high; and funds for paying wages were all but exhausted. South Australia was on the brink of a precipice.

Grey (1841) pushed it over the brink, dishonoured the State paper, and reduced State expenditure from £94,000 to £34,000. A few months later there were thirty-seven bankruptcies and 2,000 unemployed. The unemployed were drafted out of Adelaide to construct a road to Mount Barker at reduced wages. At home, £155,000 was given towards meeting Gawler's debts, £17,000 for relief works, and other small sums for current expenses; and it was resolved that the £87,000 abstracted from the land fund should not be returned to it, and that the land system should be assimilated to that of New South Wales.[1] The crisis was sharp and sudden. In 1843 there were no paupers. In 1844 revenue balanced and in 1845 revenue exceeded expenditure. In 1852 the State paid the last farthing of the earlier unproductive loans, and raised its first loan for improvements. South Australia achieved in twenty what New South Wales and Tasmania achieved in fifty years. Thus in 1855–6 its population, general exports, and wool-exports just outstripped those of Tasmania in the same year and those of New South Wales in the year when Victoria was colonized (1838). It grew more quickly than they grew, partly because it profited by the pastoral skill, the bushcraft, and the wool and oil trade which they had so laboriously acquired, partly because of its wheat and minerals.

In 1843 wheat was exported; and in its tilths and exports of breadstuffs South Australia excelled Tasmania (1855–6) which had hitherto been the granary of Australasia. Luck contributed to this success. When in 1842–3 the harvest was being lost for lack of labourers, a new invention came in the nick of time[2]; and Ridley and Bull's reaping machine proved an excellent substitute for reapers if not for threshers (1842–3). Copper, which was discovered all along Lofty range at Kapunda (1842), Montacute (1843), Rapid Bay

[1] *Post*, p. 112. [2] Comp. *post*, p. 118.

(1844) in the far south, and Burra (1844) in what was then looked on as the far north, made South Australia the first great mineral colony in Australia. Lead, too, was discovered, but as yet it lacked coal, which was imported in the early Fifties from New South Wales and Tasmania. A poor, thin strip of pastoral land linked the mouth of the Murray with the rich plains of Mount Gambier near the Glenelg; and the Glenelg settlers served as an advanced picket to the settlers on the Lower Murray, who flanked the colony on the east, while Port Lincoln formed its western outpost.

The South Australian colony was distinguished from the first by the settlement in their midst of some 1,500 German Lutherans, at Hahndorf near Mount Barker, and elsewhere. Similarly, in 1849, 201 French settlers were welcomed. A second distinctive note of the new colony was its treatment of natives. Grey's studies of Western Australian natives revealed probably for the first time the key to their tribal organization—namely the fourfold division of the tribe. He sent Eyre as Resident Magistrate to Moorundie, near the south bend of the Murray, where the natives were more numerous than elsewhere in Australia. Eyre, like Sturt, saw no less than 600 natives present at great tribal gatherings on the Murray. His mission was to promote peace and he succeeded. Many efforts had been made during this epoch to understand and civilize the natives, but hitherto Sadlier and Threlkeld, the first serious students of the native races, recommended, and the state adopted, isolation, as the grand specific. The aid of missionaries was invoked, and short-lived, state-aided experiments in isolation were tried at Reid's Mistake (Broken Bay) by Threlkeld of the London Missionary Society (1825 et seq.), at Wellington Valley by a branch of the Church Missionary Society (1832), at Buntingdale by the Wesleyan Methodists (1835 et seq.), and at Moreton Bay by some German Protestants whom Dr. Lang introduced in 1838. These efforts proved as fruitless as efforts to circumscribe the air. In 1840 men despaired of

missionary effort and discarded isolation; and Sir G. Grey's plan of civilizing by means of wages, of offering a bonus to employers who employed and retained native employees, and of encouraging natives to appeal from native custom to English law was circulated throughout Australasia, and was tried first in Western Australia (1841) and now in South Australia. It was part of this plan that representatives of the State should enter into direct personal relation with the natives, and this was the function which Eyre was commissioned to fulfil. Unfortunately Eyre fell into a fault the opposite of Sadlier's, and collected the natives into crowds by monthly doles of flour and blankets. From being hunters they became tramps. They retained their nomadic habits just as they retained their colour. Successors of Eyre like Mr. Gillen accepted the inevitable, and protected while they studied native habits.[1]

The self-supporting system of colonization (of which Western Australia and South Australia were embodiments) not only fell back on State support but involved great waste of private capital, at which we need not be surprised. Colonies are not born without birth pangs; and sacrifice is one essential function of capitalistic enterprise. Nor need we be surprised at the success of these colonies. For they were not new colonies, but only new wings added on to older colonies which fed, taught and stocked them, which lent to them and traded with them. Sydney was the only colony in Australasia which started alone in the world but for its mother, far, far away.

(4) *and to add links of Empire, e.g. at Port Essington*, 1838–50.

And fourthly, since 1788 our colonial empire had grown very large and had acquired as it were by accident a series of connecting links between England, Australia and India. The Napoleonic wars had added South Africa, Ceylon, Mauritius, the Seychelles, the Maldives, and the Straits Settlements, including Singapore (1819), to our dominions, and the possession of these links created the desire for more. As yet there were no links between Sydney and India or the

[1] E. Hodder, *Hist. of S. A.*, 1883, *passim*.

East. Flinders taught Sydney seamen how to thread the needle of the barrier reef and pass through Torres Straits; but his work was only published in 1814 and few dared follow him. After P. P. King published in 1826 his discovery of 'the inner passage' from Sydney to the Torres Straits, the Torres Straits were regarded as a highway, but as a dangerous highway, between Sydney and India. In the Thirties its importance as a highway increased and Port Essington was occupied by marines in 1838, as a house of call, a port of succour, a future Singapore, and in order to forestall the French. Captain Stokes described it 'as a magnificent harbour, well worthy of having on its shores the capital of Northern Australia, destined from its proximity to India and our other fast-increasing Eastern possessions to become not only a great commercial resort but a valuable naval post in time of war'.[1] How vain, alas! is prophecy. Traders kept aloof; the very ships refused either to call or be wrecked there; it was 700 miles from Torres Straits; it did not pay; and Gipps, when asked why it was retained, replied that 'if abandoned it might attract foreign powers'; but that Cape York would serve our purposes far better. So a movement was made towards Cape York in 1848,[2] and Port Essington was only retained until 1850.[3]

French rivalry, the most constant of these causes, succeeded at Tahiti, &c., 1838 et seq.,

Each dispersion was due to more than one cause; and the most constant of these causes was the presence, or imagined presence, of the French. The English Government never made one important move until it saw, or thought it saw, the French spectre advance. Yet in every case weighty motives urged us from within, and the only wonder was that we tarried so long. Sometimes, indeed, the rivalry that tilted the balance was like a feather added to weights already there. Our French rivals acted on simpler impulses. Their first irrevocable forward step was taken in 1838–9, when a protectorate was declared over Tahiti and over the Marquesas in

[1] J. L. Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia* (1846), i. 381, 382.
[2] *Post*, p. 99.
[3] G. W. Earl, *Enterprise in Tropical Austr.*, 1846, *passim*.

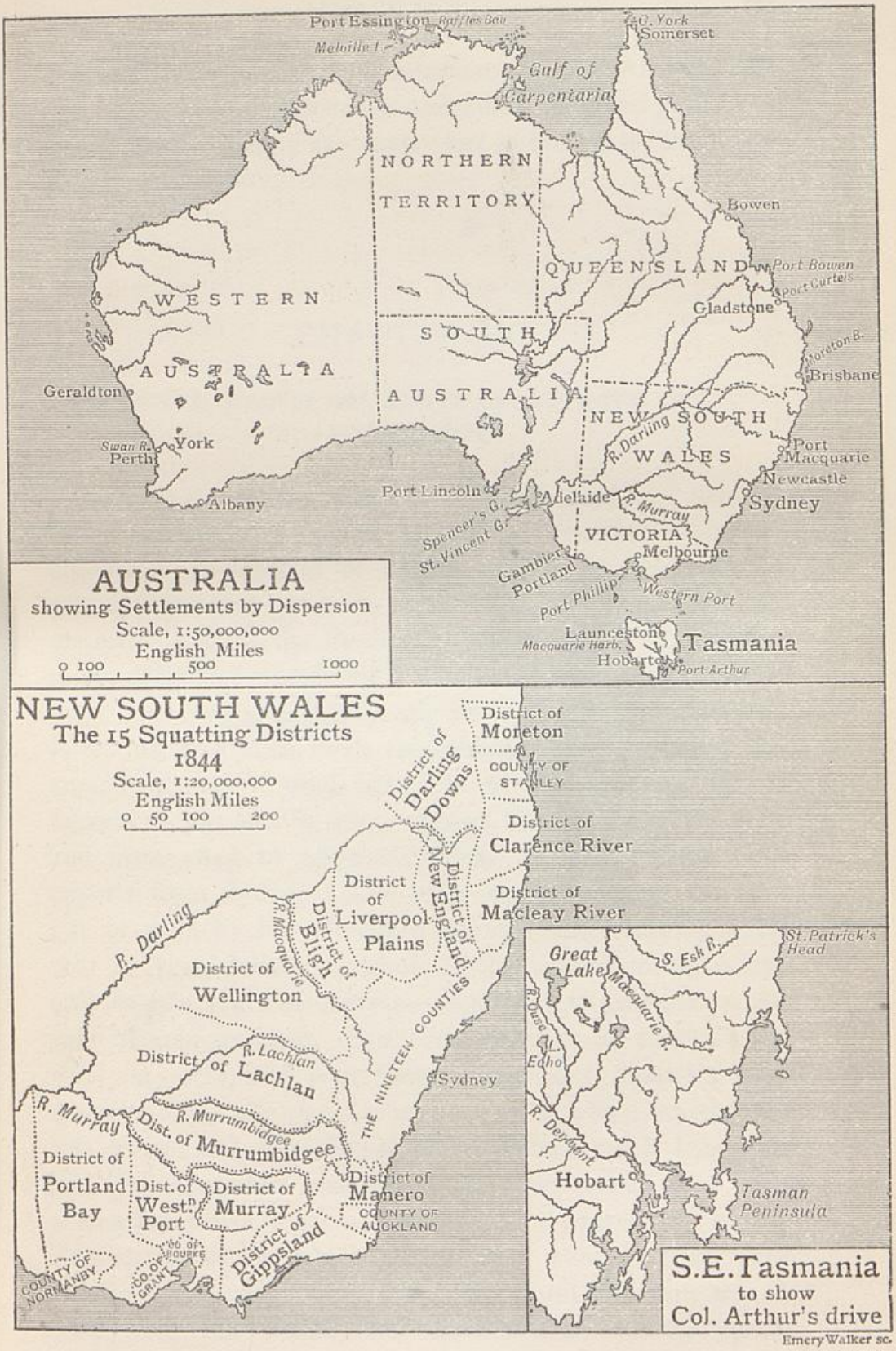
order to protect missionaries. The protectorate was ratified in 1842; and in 1853 was held to include the Austral Islands and Paumotu archipelago. Then in 1853 some warships were dispatched from Tahiti 'with the utmost possible mystery' to outwit and outstrip the English by 'conquering' New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines. The story of how the French admiral, muttering '*gare aux Anglais*', stealthily unfurled the tricolour in New Caledonia on September 24; of the innocent air which he affected when four days later he met an English hydrographer who was supposed to be about to buy the Isle of Pines as a coaling-station for the Australo-American mail; of his midnight plot with a swollen-legged French priest whom he sent at 3 a.m. to rouse the chief chief and buy the island for France; of the grave politeness with which his junior officer called next morning on his English confrère on board the English corvette; of his wild delight when the tricolour was hoisted on shore; of his pride at having repaid 'the insult inflicted on France when an Englishman, twelve years ago, stole New Zealand from a French captain'; and of 'the violent choler into which the English captain entered' should be read in Le P. A. Salinis' *Marins et Missionnaires* by lovers of light literature. This was the first Anglo-French race which France won, and henceforth there were two European Powers in the Pacific.

New Caledonia, 1853 et seq.

'The conquest of New Caledonia' was the crude reply to our only annexation outside Australia during this epoch—the annexation of New Zealand. And the reply provoked a reply. At least one Australian journalist lamented 'the loss' of New Caledonia and urged the gain of Fiji in order to prevent the French from making it a link of their Empire;[1] but he awoke no echo. Seventeen years were

New Caledonia was a reply to New Zealand and suggested Fiji.

[1] The *Sydney Morning Herald*, Nov. 1 to 5, 1853, urged that 'this archipelago, lying between New Caledonia and the other French possessions in Polynesia, would in the hands of the British act as a break in the chain of ports which it is clearly the object of France to establish across this part of the Pacific.'


Port Essington
Raffles Bay
Melville I.
C. York
Somerset
Gulf of Carpentaria
NORTHERN TERRITORY
Bowen
QUEENSLAND
Port Bowen
Port Curtis
Gladstone
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
Moreton B.
Brisbane
Geraldton
NEW SOUTH WALES
R. Darling
Swan R.
Perth
York
Port Macquarie
Newcastle
Port Lincoln
Albany
Adelaide
R. Murray
Sydney
Spencer's G.
St. Vincent G.
VICTORIA
Melbourne
Gambier
Portland
Port Phillip
Western Port
Launceston
Macquarie Harb.
Hobart
Tasmania
Port Arthur
AUSTRALIA
showing Settlements by Dispersion
Scale, 1:50,000,000
English Miles
0 100 500 1000
NEW SOUTH WALES
The 15 Squatting Districts
1844
Scale, 1:20,000,000
English Miles
0 50 100 200
District of Moreton
COUNTY OF STANLEY
District of Darling Downs
District of Clarence River
District of New England
District of Liverpool Plains
District of Macleay River
R. Darling
R. Macquarie
District of Bligh
District of Wellington
District of Lachlan
R. Lachlan
THE NINETEEN COUNTIES
Sydney
R. Murray
R. Murrumbidgee
Dist. of Murrumbidgee
District of Portland Bay
Dist. of West.n Port
District of Murray
District of Mamero
COUNTY OF AUCKLAND
CO. OF BOURKE
CO. OF GRANT
COUNTY OF NORMANBY
District of Gippsland
Great Lake
S. Esk R.
St. Patrick's Head
Macquarie R.
R. Ouse
Echo L.
R. Derwent
Hobart
Tasman Peninsula
S.E.Tasmania
to show
Col. Arthur's drive
Emery Walker sc.

To face p. 88

destined to elapse before Australians became Australasians and began to gaze eastward; and before England gave birth to one Pacific colony she must 'feel in her breast the whole six days' creation'.

CHAPTER VII

SECOND EPOCH OF AUSTRALIAN HISTORY—EXTENSION

Extension was due to the wool trade.

Australian extension was due—not to wars and treaties, like Canadian and Indian extension, nor, like Australian dispersion, to theories of colonization or to international competition—but solely to commerce. Sydney was commercial queen of the Southern Hemisphere; and the commerce of Sydney meant wool. Wool was the only export which grew unceasingly, unremittingly in every Australian colony. It left its Australian rivals far behind. Down to 1834 the annual exports of wool were less valuable than the annual exports of oil; but in 1837 exports of wool were one half, and from 1845 to 1850 two-thirds, in value of the total exports from Sydney. The value or quantity of the output of wool by New South Wales increased little by little, year by year, during the whole of the second epoch, except only in two years of distress—1830 and 1841—and in the year of gold madness, 1852; and its value in 1826—when wool was dear, and New South Wales and Australia were synonymous—was $\frac{1}{24}$ of what it was in 1854, when wool was cheap, and New South Wales owned much less than half the Australian pastures. The wool trade grew with a steadiness which was as amazing as its rapidity. In the English market, to which all this wool went, its rivals were similarly outpaced. After 1825 Spain and Germany waned while Australia waxed, and at the close of the epoch

Australia produced four times the wool that Spain plus Germany produced, and half the wool that the whole world produced to the English market. From 1819 to the middle of 1844, a small preference was given to colonial over continental wool. The effect of its abolition cannot be traced with certainty by statisticians. Thus, wool exports were rated in the Sydney custom-house at 18 lb. per £1 both in 1843, and on an average in the eight years succeeding 1844; and by far their lowest rating both in Sydney and Hobart was in 1830. Both before and after 1844, mother and daughter were knit together by woollen ties; for both it was pre-eminently the age of wool; and Australians were driven to seek for their flocks 'fresh fields and pastures new'. The first two movements were separate, disconnected movements to the south and north.

Hume discovered the Upper Murray and went by land to Port Phillip, V, 1824–5.

Hamilton Hume led the way to the south. The crest of the range had been lately crossed, and the Murrumbidgee (1819), Yass Plains (1821?), and Manero Plains (1823), were known. Plunging westward from Yass Plains into the unknown, Hume discovered the Tumut affluent of the Murrumbidgee; then, steering south-west, he discovered and crossed the Murray (at Albury), the Mitta Mitta, Ovens and Goulburn affluents of the Murray, crossed the mountain range where the railway crosses it to-day, and arrived at Geelong (1824). Thence he returned as he came (1825). Unfortunately, his companion Hovell, who was responsible for longitudes, persuaded the Governor that they had arrived, not at Port Phillip, but at Western Port[1]; the abortive colony at Western Port was formed (1826)[2] and Victoria was left fallow for another decade. The Murrumbidgee, from the Tumut to Manero Plains, was immediately occupied.

Cunningham discovered the

In the north, Cunningham, the botanist, and Oxley's former comrade, discovered Pandora's Pass over the ridge

[1] Labillière, *Early Hist. of Vict.* (1878), i. 188 et seq.
[2] *Ante*, p. 79.

which separates the Conadilly from the Macquarie; and in 1827 ascended the Hunter which was already peopled, crossed the great range by a pass which had been examined by a surveyor named Dangar (1824),[1] to the sources of the Conadilly: then, keeping north, discovered the Upper Gwydir, Dumaresq, and Condamine, named the open land at the headwaters of the Condamine, the Darling Downs, and discovered (1827–8) a practicable route thence by Cunningham's Gap to Moreton Bay. Squatters followed him promptly to the Conadilly and Peel—all of which came to be known as Liverpool Plains district; less promptly to the sources of the Gwydir, MacIntyre, and Dumaresq—which came to be known as New England; and lastly to the Darling Downs district (1840)—an expression which came to mean all the then known country lying north of the MacIntyre and Dumaresq. Meanwhile, inquirers asked: Whither did all these fertilizing rivers flow? Into the Macquarie? If so, whither did the Macquarie flow? Into the Gulf of Carpentaria? Into the Buccaneer Archipelago? or into Oxley's inland sea? Each new discovery made the problem more puzzling, more fascinating than before. Every one was intensely interested. Many and wild were the guesses that were made, but no one guessed the right answer.

Darling Downs and reached Brisbane, Q., 1827–8

Two famous expeditions solved the riddle. In 1828–9 Sturt, accompanied by Hamilton Hume, traced the course of the Macquarie, and where Oxley found a sea found dry cracked earth; 'so long', he writes, 'had the drought continued that the vegetable kingdom was almost annihilated.' At last, parched with thirst, he came to the fullest and fairest river he had seen. It was the Darling, and it was flowing to the west. He stooped to drink. It was salt. Nevertheless he followed it to a point near Dunlop's range—where it ran south-west—and on his return explored its junction with the Bogan, Macquarie, and Castlereagh. The mystery deepened. It was clear that the Bogan, Macquarie, and

Sturt discovered the Darling, 1828–9,

[1] So Oxley, in letter to Austr. Agr. Co., Nov. 4, 1824 (Record Office).

Castlereagh were stems; it was clear to him, though it was not proved until Mitchell proved (1831) that the Conadilly and Peel were pedicels on a common stem, and that the Gwydir and Dumaresq were stems or pedicels on stems; and that all these stems belonged to the Darling. But was the Darling bough or trunk? The root was more undiscoverable than ever. Some people thought that Sturt himself had given up the search when, in 1829–30, turning his back on the Macquarie, he rode from Yass Plains down the Murrumbidgee—noted the Lachlan flowing into it a few miles west of where Oxley lost it—drifted down the combined river to the Lower Murray, which he was the first white man to see, and to the junction of the Lower Murray with a river which flowed into it from the north-east and which he recognized at a glance as the Darling. Oxley's problem was solved. In penetrating the Lachlan mystery, Sturt had penetrated the mystery of the Macquarie and Darling. The Murray was the common trunk, both of the Lachlan and of the Macquarie and of their sister rivers. Or the solution may be stated thus:—The Lachlan and Macquarie were two sides of an equilateral triangle—drawn by a bungler with sputtering pen, which sometimes did not write and sometimes made blots—and that part of the Darling which was still unexplored was its missing base. The many puzzles were now resolved into one puzzle:—Whither did the Murray flow? Sturt drifted a little further and found its mouth, which Flinders, Baudin, and the rest had overlooked, in Encounter Bay. Sturt's discovery of the greatest of Australian rivers inspired South Australia with its first desire to be born;[1] fifteen years later the whole southerly bend of the Murray was lined by South Australian squatters, and three years later still the line of squatters was prolonged to the frontier of New South Wales.[2]

and Lower Murray, S. A., 1829–30.

Mitchell discovered

This discovery had a momentous sequel. In 1836

[1] *Ante*, p. 82.

[2] Dutton, op. cit. (1846), pp. 87, 332; Sturt, *Exp. into Central Austr.*, (1849), vol. i. p. 66; vol. ii. p. 215.

Mitchell—after exploring the Namoi, the Lower Gwydir, and MacIntyre (1831–2), and after going down the Darling some 250 miles from its junction with the Macquarie (1835)—went down the Lachlan, now swarming with cattle, to the Darling; thence up the arid Darling to 'Laidley Ponds', just far enough to be quite sure that it was the Darling; thence back and up the Murray to the river Loddon, which he discovered; thence across new country to the Grampians and to the Glenelg River. He saw the plains of Victoria in all their glory, named them 'Australia Felix', and cried, 'Of this Eden I was the Adam,' which was not true; for not only was his clothing different, but unlike Adam he picked up in his Eden an English pipe. Henty & Co., whalers and merchants of Tasmania, had already (1834) established a squatting station in Portland Bay. Thence he went eastward along the heights till he saw Port Phillip; and, confusing the skipper with the monarch of that name, christened the heights the Alexandrine Heights, and their summit Mount Macedon. Thence he returned along the northern slopes of the great west arm of the Australian Alps to the Murray and to Sydney.

Australia Felix, V., 1836,

The trek from Tasmania to Victoria had begun. In 1818 Launceston and Hobart settlers were fused in mid Tasmania; then, except in the far north and south, the eastern river-valleys were occupied; then the Van Diemen's Land Company settled in the north-west, and in 1829 Tasmania had more cattle than before or since during this epoch. Moreover, after 1815, the mother colony used to buy bread from her daughter when times were bad, and the New South Wales drought (1826–7) and the foundation of Western Australia (1829) more than doubled its tilths between 1827 and 1830. In 1830 there was no more room for cattle nor vent for corn. Tasmania was in the throes of an economic crisis which threatened its very life, and disorder prevailed. In 1824 bushranging broke out once more under a *roi des montagnes* named

and caused a rush to Victoria, which was already being colonized from Tasmania,

Brady; and the bushrangers killed the natives, and the natives killed the lonely settlers. Governor Arthur, having hanged 103 bushrangers and quelled this civil war (1826), ordered the remnants of the maddened natives to vanish 'from the settled districts' and proclaimed martial law (1828). There was not exactly a war against natives, for 'the blacks', wrote Colonel Arthur, 'however large their numbers, have never yet ventured to attack a party of even three armed men.'[1] But there was a levée *en masse* of armed colonists, who swept Tasmania from St. Patrick's Head, Great Lake, and Lake Echo in the north, down to Tasman's Peninsula in the south—even as Darius swept Samos—killed two blacks, caught a man and a boy, and perhaps obtained thirteen surrenders. Meanwhile, two unarmed volunteers, Robinson and Batman, tramped to and fro, and persuaded the rest—some 200 in number—to yield. They were taken to Flinders Island. Kindness finished what cruelty began, and the last Tasmanian died in 1876. After this fitful fever Tasmanians slept once more (1832–3). But sleep brought troubled dreams. Leases by auction came into vogue, and leases meant rack-rents. A million acres had been sold for quit-rents, which the Governor demanded for the first time in 1833.[2] In 1830 a law had been passed impounding stock which strayed on to Crown lands without licence from the Crown. When rack-rents, quit-rents, and fees for licences were enforced, the settlers denounced the impertinence and extortion of the Government which actually minded its own business. There were loud cries of 'Shame!' and an attitude of what was called 'passive resistance' was adopted. Emigration began, and an association of fifteen capitalists, with Batman at their head, sailed over Bass's Strait to Port Phillip (1835), re-found the ever-flowing Yarra-Yarra, found natives with whom they conversed by means of a Sydney native (who knew their language about as well as they knew Russian),

[1] Comp. *ante*, p. 51. [2] *Acc. and Pap.* (1850), xxxvii. 393 et seq.

were duly enfeoffed by livery of seisin of 1,000 square miles which were supposed to belong to the said natives, and entered on their new estates. Even here Government remorselessly pursued and persecuted them; and Governor Bourke disallowed this treaty or purchase, although, as its advocates observed, it was the only occasion on which Englishmen followed Penn's example in their dealings with Australian blacks. Fawkner, another Tasmanian, trod hard on the heels of the association, and every fishing boat brought stock to Port Phillip.[1]

and Victoria was soon fully occupied.

Mitchell's journey originated a similar trek from New South Wales to Victoria. The first overlander arrived in the new province from New South Wales in 1836. In 1837 Bonney drove cattle from a cattle-station at Albury along the modern Albury–Melbourne road, which he discovered.[2] During the next three years Mitchell's glad tidings and a fresh drought added wings to this southward flight. Immigrants from north and south raced in, met, eddied, and scattered like spray over the whole land in a year or two. In 1841 Victoria possessed 11,700 men, 50,000 cattle, and 782,000 sheep; and ten years later men had increased fivefold and sheep sevenfold. Victoria proved an infant phenomenon which grew at a rate unparalleled in all colonial history. The Government of New South Wales, to which Victoria belonged, came lazily limping in long after the squatters arrived. The first official came from Sydney in 1836; in 1837 Bourke came to sell land, to settle land claims, and to found Melbourne; in 1839 Latrobe came, first as 'Superintendent', then as Lieut.-Governor. Lord Glenelg, like his predecessor Lord Ripon, took up his parable against 'dispersion',[3] and protested against settlement in this new

[1] J. D. Lang, *Phillipsland*, 1847; Bonwick, *Discovery and Settlement of Port Phillip*, 1856; *Port Phillip Settlement*, 1883; *Last of the Tasmanians*, 1870; James Fenton, *Hist. of Tasmania*, 1884, *passim*; *History of Van Diemen's Land*, 1824–35 (1835); *Van Diemen's Land*, 1833.

[2] *Royal Geogr. Soc. of Austr.*, Adelaide (1902), pp. 82–102.

[3] Dispatch Jan. 23, 1836; comp. dispatch Feb. 14, 1831.

country as 'expensive and dangerous'. He was as helpless as King Canute or Dame Partington. The invasion of Victoria went on irresistibly, like the working of some natural force.

Overlanders and squatters followed explorers elsewhere.

Victoria and old New South Wales were not the only districts which the overlanders welded together. Thanks to Hawdon, Bonney, and Eyre (1838–9), routes were opened up from New South Wales and Victoria to Adelaide, along which 11,200 cattle and 60,000 sheep were driven in the short space of fifteen months (1839–40);[1] and squatters thronged westward after Sturt and Mitchell down the Peel and Macquarie to the Darling, down the Darling to a few miles east of the Warrego, and down the Lachlan, Murrumbidgee, and Murray to within a few miles of the Darling. The tide also rolled to the north. Port Macquarie had long since been joined on to the Hunter by the estates of the Australian Agricultural Company; and in the early Forties every river between Port Macquarie and Brisbane was haunted by cedar cutters, after whom came squatters, who built roads to New England and Darling Downs (1843 et seq).[2] There was also a bursting of bonds in the far west; and the last barriers between King George's Sound and Swan River were broken down when, in 1840, men and beasts streamed in from Albany to York along a track which had been discovered by Bannister (1831) and Roe (1835).[3]

Then there was a pause (during which Gippsland was discovered), 1840

It was now that a change came over the spirit of the scene. Before 1840 extension achieved its easiest and most unalloyed triumphs. After 1840 there were five years of pause, reverse and anxiety. Men's minds were overshadowed by a dread that the economic limit—Ricardo's margin—had been transgressed. Thus Gipps wrote: 'The limit seems to have been attained beyond which the feeding of sheep will cease to be a profitable employment, the wool not bearing the expense of transport' (1840).[4] Yet while he wrote

[1] Sir G. Grey, *Journals of two Expeditions . . . in Northwest and Western Australia* (1841), ii. 189.

[2] C. Hodgkinson, *Australia from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, 1845, p. 21. [3] *Ante*, p. 81. [4] Sept. 28, 1840.

McMillan, followed by Strzelecki, crossed the snow-clad Alps and revealed the rich coastal plains of Gippsland to the squatters who followed in their train. But McMillan and Strzelecki's successes were counterbalanced by the experiences of Eyre and Sturt.

Eyre failed in S.A.,

Eyre went northward from Adelaide to Mount Arden—whither squatters followed him—and thence along the eastern shore of Lake Torrens, a mud lake iced over with salt, and to Mount Hopeless; on his left Lake Torrens, and Lake Eyre, in front Lake Gregory, and on his right Lake Frome hemmed him in, and he could not see where one ended and the other began. Baffled by what seemed to him an immense inland sea shaped like a horseshoe, he returned and dashed off on his mad career along the waterless uptilted shores of the great Australian bight to Western Australia, which he reached more dead than alive (1840–1).

and Sturt in west N.S.W. and in S.A.

Next, Sturt left Laidley Ponds[1] on the Darling (1844) in quest of some land of promise beside an inland sea; went with horses, cattle, and *boats* (!) north-west to the Barrier and Grey ranges, and established a dépôt near Mount Poole, where his comrade Poole died of scurvy. Thence he tried desperately, vainly, to advance. Drought baulked his efforts. At last rain fell, and he dashed forward over deserts of purple stones, of smooth brown earth, and of white cracked earth to Strzelecki Creek, which tries to flow from the Barcoo into Lake Gregory; to Cooper's Creek, which would flow if it could flow from the Barcoo into Lake Eyre; and to Eyre's Creek, as he called one of the half-dry drains through which the Georgina flows, or thinks that it flows, from the Carpentarian watershed in the north to Lake Eyre. After establishing the truth that these rivers (which can scarcely be called rivers) try to join what is not sea nor lake but salt-lake, from the north-east and north, he turned back before infinite waves of sand—rudely parallel with the northern coast—

[1] Williorara.

crested with blue-green spinifex and sickly pale-pink mesembryanthemum.

Mitchell resolved to explore north-west,

The region south-west of Sydney was exhausted from the explorer's point of view, and searches in the wild west had ended or were ending in disappointment and despair, when Mitchell repeated Gipps's solemn warning almost in Gipps's words (1844) and (1845). There were fifteen squatting districts which stretched in an unbroken line—1,000 miles long by 300 miles broad—from Wide Bay (26°) in the north to Wilson's promontory and the Glenelg in the south, and within which, twenty-seven years ago, no white foot had ever trod. 'But for us', said the squatters in their famous memorial, 'that immense territory would have still been a desert . . . we made Sydney the first port in the Pacific and remain poor.'[1] Expenses already balanced profits. In order to expand still further, either—said Mitchell—railways must be built or more fertile land must be found elsewhere. Capitalists refused the first, so explorers tried the second alternative. And Mitchell, warned by Eyre's and Sturt's agonies, resolved to seek a northern outlet for the wave of squatters.

but Leichhardt went first from Darling Downs to Port Essington, 1844–5,

Leichhardt, a rival, was first in the field. He too went northward, starting from Darling Downs, crossing the westward trend of the great range, hitting off two pairs of rivers, the Dawson[2] and Mackenzie[2] (along the Isaacs[2] tributary), the Suttor[2] and Upper Burdekin[2]—each of which resembles a pair of antlers—tracing one of each pair down to and the other up from the forehead (so to speak), and arriving 500 miles due north. Then he crossed the watershed and went by the Lynd,[2] Mitchell, Gilbert,[3] Leichhardt, Nicholson,[2] and Roper[3] to Port Essington and returned by sea in triumph to Sydney (1844–5).[4]

[1] *Acc. and Pap.* (1846), xxix. 135 et seq.
[2] Named after Leichhardt's supporters.
[3] Named after Leichhardt's companions.
[4] Leichhardt, *Overland Expedition to Port Essington*, 1847.

and Mitchell explored Western Queensland, 1845.

In 1845 Mitchell with Kennedy went north from the junction of the Macquarie and Darling—which was already populous—and ascended the Narran and Balonne branches of the Condamine,[1] which squatters had just discovered, but not occupied. He declared that he 'had never seen such rich pasturage' elsewhere in the colony, and that the Balonne was second only to the Murray.[2] He then traced the Cogoon affluent of the Balonne to its source near what he named Fitzroy Downs, and discovered and traced the Maranoa affluent of the Condamine. Following the watershed he hit off the many-headed Warrego[1] on the west, and on the east the Nogoa affluent of the Mackenzie, and the Belyando (which he followed down to within ten miles of Leichhardt's Suttor), and on the north-west near Alice Downs the Barcoo, whose praises he sang as though it were a second Murray; and as it started north he was quite sure that he had at last crossed the Carpentarian watershed. So he, too, returned triumphant, having, like Leichhardt, found fertile land almost all the way. But the land which Leichhardt and Mitchell found was the last of its kind, and exultation was followed by lamentation.

Kennedy went to C. York and died and Leichhardt vanished, 1848.

Next year Kennedy traced the Alice into the Barcoo, and the Barcoo far enough to see it lose, find, and lose itself again in the direction of Cooper's Creek, and the Warrego far enough in the direction of the Darling to almost die of thirst. In 1848 he and twelve men started from Rockingham Bay—just north-east of Leichhardt's track—for Cape York, 'cutting scrub all day.'[3] Of the thirteen who went, three came back; the rest, including Kennedy, died by the way. The projected settlement at Cape York was abandoned.[4] In the same year Leichhardt and seven others started from Darling Downs for Western Australia, a madder scheme than even Eyre had ever broached. No trace of them has ever been found.

[1] Northern affluents of the Darling.

[2] Sir T. Mitchell, *Journal of an Expedition into Tropical Australia* (1848), pp. 90, 111.

[3] *Calamus Australis*, &c. [4] *Ante*, p. 87.

They not only perished utterly—like La Pérouse and his crew—but vanished.

Then squatters went north to the tropics,

The fertile places discovered by Leichhardt and Mitchell were soon covered by squatters, who began to move forward from Wide Bay (26°) towards Port Curteis in the year of Gladstone's abortive attempt to found a colony at Gladstone (1846–7).[1] In 1847–8 Archer, Hawkins, Lawless, Humphries, and Herbert occupied the middle and upper Burnett whence they descended on Maryborough and Bundaberg. In 1853 Landsborough's station on the Kolan (24½°) had long been passed, and in 1854 a ring of squatters encircled the new-created town of Gladstone, which now received a Government Resident.[2] An official map published in January, 1854, showed for the first time the Fitzroy—whose existence Cook and Leichhardt had divined[3]; and flocks and herds roamed between Fitz's station on Dawson River, and Archer's station at Gracemere, near Rockhampton, on the tropic of Capricorn (1855). These pioneer squatters wandered with their flocks and herds, and, after wandering, settled like Abraham and Lot.

and west to the Maranoa and Darling,

Another wave of nomadic herdsmen reached the Mooni (1846) and Cogoon (1848) and founded the Maranoa squatting district. A flying column reached and retired from Fitzroy Downs in 1848, and stayed there in 1850. The Warrego and Barcoo were as yet shunned. We read, too, of the Western Darling district, and of a squatter or two at Laidley Ponds (1850) linking the distant squatters on the Macquarie and Upper Darling with those on the Lachlan and Murray—so that the human, like the river, triangle was just complete. The space inside the triangle was unoccupied until the third epoch.

[1] *Post*, p. 106.

[2] Hogan, *Gladstone Colony* (1898), chaps. viii and xii; Mennell, *Dict. of Austr. Biogr.*, s. n. T. Archer; *R. Geogr. Soc. of Austr.*, Brisbane, 1900–1, pp. 62, 97, &c.; *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 11, 1853, Suppl.

[3] *Acc. and Pap.* (1854), xliv. 41.

avoiding what they deemed deserts.

Eyre, Leichhardt, Sturt, and Kennedy sounded notes of warning as unmistakable as their notes of encouragement; and their dearly bought negative results seemed to say: 'Thus far shalt thou go and no further. Here the earth is as salt and barren as the sea, and the very seas are dried up; for the world is only half-created.' In the next epoch a use was found for these arid tracts, which often turned out to be only half-deserts. Until then, these seeming deserts barred the way.

See generally, J. E. Tenison Woods, *Hist. of the Discovery and Exploration of Australia* (1865), 2 vols.; E. Favenc, *Hist. of Australian Explorations* (1888).

On early Victorian history see, also, J. J. Shillinglaw, *Hist. Records of Port Phillip* (1879); J. Bonwick, *Port Phillip Settlement* (1883); and *Letters from Victorian Pioneers* (1899), printed for the public library at Melbourne, in addition to the authorities referred to in the preceding footnotes.

Additional authorities on the early history of Queensland are referred to in the notes to chapter xiii and *post*, p. 210.

CHAPTER VIII

CONVICTS AND EMIGRANTS; LAND LAWS AND CONSTITUTION

Years.	*Average annual arrivals (×100) of*			*N.S.W. Population*			*Year.*
	Emigrants to Australasia.	*Emigrants to N.S.W.*	*Convicts to N.S.W.*	*per 100. Bond.*	*per 100. Free.*	*×100. Total.*	
				40	60	273	1819
1821–7	6						
1828–31	15[1]	4					
1832–7	34[2]	21	35	40	60	608	1833
1838	140[2 3]	102		36	64	770	1836
1839–40	158[3]	98					
1841	326	273		18	82	1497	1841
1842–4	47	25					
1845	8	5		11	89	1733	1844
1846–7	36[4]	6					
1848–9	280	170		1·3	98·7	2465	1849
1850–1	188	95		0·8	99·2	2655	1850
1852	878	764		0·8[5]	99·2[5]	2515[5]	1854

Three wants were:

In addition to the desert-bar, there were three checks or obstacles to extension: want of labourers, want of land-laws, and want of credit. These three wants provoked outcries which were mutually connected, and out of 'three sounds' there arose 'not a fourth sound, but a star'.

(1) *want of labourers.*

The first want was want of labourers. The supply of free labourers was deeply affected by a great change which

[1] To N.S.W., Tas., and W.A., 1829 et seq.
[2] Includes Vic., 1835 et seq.; S.A., 1836 et seq.; N.Z., 1839 et seq.
[3] Canadian rebellion, 1838. [4] Mines in S.A. N.Z. recovers.
[5] Excludes Vic.

had come over English opinion. The Poor Law Report of 1817 was followed up by two Reports in 1822 and 1824, and by the Report of the Select Committee on Emigration in 1826, all of which preached that over-population was the cause and colonization was the cure for pauperism. Agents or commissioners were appointed to promote emigration. But American emigration did not require promotion. From 1816 to 1830 emigrants poured across the Atlantic at the rate of 20,000 a year; and the volume rose to 60,000 a year (1830–40) and once, in the year of Californian madness, to 260,000 (1849). The human stream swept on unbidden and unchecked—save by the Canadian rebellion (1838). Every man paid his own fare. No State aid was needed. During these years emigrants who paid their own fares trickled to Australia in the tiniest driblets. Before 1838 unassisted immigrants never attained four figures in one year. During the rush to Victoria (1838–41) they came to Eastern Australia at the rate of 2,500 in the year, but dropped in 1846 to 117. These figures barely account for the capitalists. There was no spontaneous immigration of labourers. Labourers went out either under compulsion or with 'assistance'. The former were convicts; and the latter were chosen and sent by Government or else Government offered bounties to capitalists who chose and sent them. Convicts and ex-convicts held the field in the Twenties; assisted immigrants in the Forties: both competed and throve during the Thirties.

Labourers did not emigrate spontaneously,

The peopling of Australia was deeply affected by another change which came over public opinion in England. Wilberforce, Whately, Molesworth, Arnold, and Hinds denounced the idea of founding colonies by means of convicts as 'insanity or shameless profligacy', and the Report of a Committee in 1838 condemned the system founded on this idea, root and branch. The other side was unargued because it was unarguable. Indeed, the case looked uglier then than it had ever looked before. Many of the convicts

and the exportation of convicts was denounced,

of 1788 were not what we should call criminals; but now that Romilly's views had prevailed, all convicts were doubly dyed criminals. Further, the system once so useless and costly became for a time cheap and useful; but what made it cheap and useful was now condemned with equal fervour. In 1823 Brisbane was instructed not to retain under Government more convicts than were necessary for public use, but to allow settlers to employ them.[1] Under Brisbane's successors, and down to 1840, only one-fourth of the convicts were retained under Government, and three-fourths were 'assigned' to an employer. Assignment proved so popular that two soldiers named Sudds and Thompson committed crimes with the sole object of tasting the sweets of bondage (1826); and their case was not an isolated case. As in King's time, the Governor bargained and the employer contracted for the convict's keep. The convicts also received wages at King's rate of £10 or more. The idle and unruly servant could be punished by a magistrate—a measure to which no wise master resorted—or returned to the Governor. His services could not be let or re-assigned.[2] The contract was for a term of years and was embodied in an Indenture. A similar system prevailed in Australia under the sanction of English and local law with regard to free labourers[3]; but there were three differences—the free labourer made his own bargain; he used the convict's contract as a stepping-stone on which he stood, and exacted higher wages than the convicts got; and the penalties were always a dead letter.[4]

and abolished in the case of N.S.W., 1840

Indentured labour inspired English sentimentalists with abhorrence—not for the last time in English history; the

[1] May 30, 1823.

[2] 9 Geo. IV, c. 83, s. 9.

[3] 4 Geo. IV, c. 96, s. 41; 5 Will. IV, c. 86, s. 4; 9 Geo. IV, c. 83, s. 35; see, too, N.S.W. Master and Servant Acts of 1828, 1841, 1843.

[4] So McArthur wrote 'There is no instance on record where settlers have been able to prevent their indented servants, hired in England, from leaving them after their arrival.' R. S. Hall, *State of N.S.W. in* 1830, p. 16.

cry of 'slavery' was raised and the Report of 1838 condemned 'assignment'—so far only as it regarded convicts—first as slavery, secondly as lottery. The State, it was said, meant to send criminals to Purgatory, but sent them to Hell or Heaven. Accordingly, assignment was abolished (1838) and transportation became too expensive to continue. For a time 'ticket-of-leaves' or 'pass-holders,' who made their own bargains with employers, were substituted for assigned convicts.

(where they did good work),

Assigned convicts did good work. They accompanied all the great explorers before 1840, and some—like Mitchell, Leichhardt, Gregory, and Forrest—after 1840. P. Leslie, the first settler on Darling Downs, took with him twenty-two convicts, of whom he said that 'they are worth any forty men I have since seen'. In the squatting districts two-fifths of the population were bond; the stockman, according to Gipps, was 'usually an emancipist'[1] and big squatters like Campbell, Cox, Hamilton, Murray, and Ryrie—unanimously preferred ex-convict herdsmen. Bushcraft, which was unknown in the first epoch, and without which the extension of the second epoch would have been impossible, was invented by capitalists, ex-convicts, and convicts: indeed some ex-convicts, carrying this fine art to an excess, turned bush-rangers. But, on the whole, convict and ex-convict labourers were peaceful towards white men. Even in Tasmania, Col. Arthur wrote that the colony could be traversed 'by day or night in perfect safety' (1832) and Denison wrote that no one needed shutters (1850).[2]

and of Tasmania, 1852;

The effect of these changes in English opinion was that convicts ceased to be sent to New South Wales after 1840[3]; and unassigned convicts who were there were gradually removed to Norfolk Island and Tasmania. Between 1840

[1] Comp. *Acc. and Pap.* (1844), xxxiv. No. 627, p. 91.

[2] Comp. L. A. Twamley (Mrs. C. Meredith) *My Home in Tasmania*, 1852, pp. 44–8.

[3] The last arrived Aug. 1, 1840.

and 1845 Tasmania was overpeopled with convicts; and 9,724 ticket-of-leaves and pass-holders stood idle in the market-place; free men by a kind of Gresham's law emigrated, and an agitation arose against convictism. Petitions were forwarded to England in 1846, and the Governor announced in 1848 that their prayer had been granted. But the news was premature. New petitions (1848–9), the new 'Australian League against Transportation' organized by John Smith of Tasmania (1850), and the new elective Legislative Council of Tasmania (1851) reiterated the demands, and on Dec. 14, 1852, the English Government announced that Tasmania was no longer a convict colony. Norfolk Island, then a dependency of Tasmania, was relieved of its last convicts in 1855.

but exiles were sent out until 1851.

Meanwhile, the Tasmanian outcry was echoed in the neighbouring colonies—including New Zealand—for reasons which were selfish as well as sympathetic: for the old evil had arisen out of its grave and menaced them once more in a new, attenuated shape. English as well as Tasmanian convicts were a glut in the market, and J. D. Lang (1837) and Bourke (1838) suggested, Lord Stanley resolved (1845), and Gladstone (1846) set to work to create an outlet for this over-supply of convicts by founding a colony of exiles—or convicts pardoned on condition of never returning home—somewhere north of Wide Bay. Accordingly, Gladstone on Port Curteis was prepared for the expected visitors but abandoned before they arrived (1847).[1] From time to time, handfuls of exiles arrived and were welcomed in Sydney, Port Phillip, and Moreton Bay, under a scheme devised by Lord Stanley [2] and adopted by his successors. Then Gladstone (1846) and Lord Grey (1847),[3] offered to send out select ticket-of-leaves as well as exiles accompanied by equal numbers of free immigrants: and first a Committee of the Legislative

[1] *Ante*, p. 100.

[2] See dispatch, July 27, 1844.

[3] Sept. 3, 1847.

Council of N.S.W. (1846) then Council itself (1848) assented. Immediately Lord Grey sent off by way of experiment three cargoes of ticket-of-leaves and exiles without free settlers—for Parliament had just risen and no money had been voted for this purpose.[1] Those who went to Port Phillip were not allowed to land, those who went to Sydney aroused impassioned protests, and those who went to Moreton Bay were welcomed. The Council revoked its consent (1849), the experiment was discontinued, and the Order in Council which swept away these exiles and ticket-of-leaves and which laid to rest these ghosts of a dead past was dated two and a half months before news of the gold discoveries arrived in England.[2]

The convicts were out-numbered by natural causes, and by assisted immigrants.

The figures as to the character of the population which are placed at the head of this chapter, side by side with those of emigration and transportation, tell a clear story. In 1819—and long before 1819[3]—New South Wales had won her freedom, not by her immigrants but by her ex-convicts and her children. After that date accurate figures as to ex-convicts are not available. From 1821 to 1832 her freedom was maintained by the self-same champions, in spite of those deluges of convicts that surged into the colony. For the next six years (1832–7), thanks to State-aid, immigrants almost balanced convicts, and free colonials turned the scale. Then, for the first time—partly owing to the Canadian rebellion, partly to the Victorian boom—immigrants rained in and swamped the convicts (1838–41). Convicts ceased; immigrants became scarce for want of funds; but the victory was overwhelming, crushing, in 1849, two years before the age of gold. Gold only slew the slain.

In Tasmania, where the free took the lead in 1824–5, increased it to 64 per cent. in 1840, and never lost it, ex-convicts and children were the sole decisive factors; but the victory was not absolute.

[1] Sept. 8, 1848. [2] Order in Council, June 25, 1851.
[3] 1805: adult, free = 2,386; adult, bond = 2,077; children = 1,747.

The question, 'whose children?' suggests further questions. Were convicts mothers? Probably not in the second epoch; for in normal years convict men were to convict women as ten to one, while free men were to free women as three to two.[1] And were ex-convicts fathers? Very seldom in this epoch; for nearly all of them lived in the squatting districts where men were to women as nine to one.[2] But these further questions are unanswerable with any certainty. In the first epoch it was otherwise. Thus in 1806 74 per cent. of the children had convict mothers.[3] During the second epoch convicts and ex-convicts were not only out-numbered but were dying out, childless, amid the execrations of those whom they had benefited.

Immigrants were assisted by the proceeds of Land sales.

Assisted emigration transformed and regenerated Australia. But assisted emigration required money; money came from land sales; and land sales cannot be understood unless Australian land systems are understood.

(2) *Land sales became competitive,* 1826,

Down to 1826 Phillip's system was the only system of selling Crown lands. Land was sold for a quit-rent, subject for the first five, seven, or ten years to an obligation to reside on and apply 10*s.* or £1 per acre to the bought land; and if a buyer bought before 1826 his quit-rent was abated in proportion to the convicts whom he kept. Yet times had changed. In the days of Macquarie, owners of 1,000 acres were giants, they were pigmies now. In 1824 the Australian Agricultural Company was formed, and bought nearly a million acres between Newcastle and Port Macquarie, on Peel River and Liverpool Plains. Then the Van Diemen's Land Company was formed (1825), and bought nearly half a million acres in north-west Tasmania. These huge purchases multiplied the standard of size, and helped to introduce unconditional ready-money sales. Thus quit-rents could be got rid of once for all by the payment of 3*s.* (1823) or

after the purchases of the A. A. Co. and V. D. L. Co., 1824–5.

[1] e.g. 1836, N.S.W. [2] e.g. 1840, N.S.W.
[3] *Hist. Rec. of N.S.W.*, vol. vi. p. 162.

3*s.* 4*d.* an acre (1824). Conversely, certain lands were offered for sale (1824) for a fixed price of 5*s.*, 7*s.* 6*d.*, or 10*s.* an acre—and the buyer could commute the lump sum for a quit-rent (1828). The two land companies bought their lands on the old system of temporary conditions and permanent quit-rents, but the quit-rents were redeemable and were invariably regarded as interest on the average value of the land (1824)[1]. It was but a little step from unconditional to competitive sales; and this little step was also taken in the year 1824. In that year instructions were drafted to divide the country into counties, and the counties into hundreds and parishes, and to survey and value lands in each parish in order to establish not a fixed but an upset price.[2] These instructions were afterwards embodied in instructions to Darling (1825),[3] in pursuance of which competitive sales by tender (1826) or auction (1828) were instituted. Land was now an article of commerce; but just as commercialism triumphed the pendulum swung violently backwards and philanthropic ideas asserted themselves.

These Companies were Emigration Companies,

The moving spirit of the Australian Agricultural Company was John McArthur, the father of the wool trade. He pulled the puppet-strings, and talked and sang for the figures on the stage: and the voice behind the stage announced that the three leading objects of the company were: (1) to import Germans, Swiss and Frenchmen in order to cultivate vines, &c., (2) to import Quakers and Moravians in order to inculcate 'industrious and moral habits', and (3) to import females for purposes which were not particularized. In the final draft of the 'objects', 'useful settlers' were substituted for 'Quakers and Moravians', and the prospectus of the company professed 'to assist the emigration of useful male and female

[1] Letters relating to Australian Agricultural and Van Diemen's Land Companies, 1824–5 (R. O.).

[2] N.S.W. Letters, vol. 158 (R. O.); letter dated Oct. 30, 1824.

[3] Instructions to Darling, July 17, 1825, in *Acc. and Pap.*

settlers'.[1] The Tasmanian Company proposed similar objects, from which would result 'the useful consequence of introducing into the colony a number of practical farmers of the middling and inferior classes, and of founding a body of people as tenants'. So at least Lieut.-Governor Sorrell wrote[2], and a clause in their charter coupled their right to buy land with a duty 'to defray all costs incident to the removal' (to Tasmania) 'of persons willing to emigrate to our said island and settle on the company's possessions'.[3] Both companies were emigrating societies—the New South Wales Company by choice—the Tasmanian Company by necessity as well as by choice. Then the Tasmanian Company went further.

and suggested bounty emigration, 1827–8

In their early days the company were allowed the cost of keeping convicts as a set-off against the quit-rents payable for their land. In April, 1827, being unable to obtain more convicts on these terms, the officials of the company wrote that they 'would be disposed as an experiment to send' in one of their ships 'forty to fifty emigrants of both sexes to be employed by the company if the Government consent to allow the expense of their conveyance in abatement of the quit-rent to become due hereafter for their lands. The directors suggest the expediency of sending at least an equal number of women, on principles entirely distinct from the interests of the company', and the usual indentures would be made. 'If the first experiment succeeded, it might lead hereafter to emigration on a more extensive scale on a similar principle.'

Lord Goderich—afterwards Lord Ripon—had just succeeded to the Colonial Ministry, and eagerly assented (May and June)[4]. Accordingly, thirty-five free indentured English

[1] Prospectus, Brit. Mus. $\frac{8223}{e\,10\,(6)}$; Letters, April 23, 1824 et seq., in R. O.; see *ante*, note 1, p. 109.

[2] Official letters of Governor Sorrell, Apr. 2, 1825 (R. O.).

[3] Pat. Rolls, 6 Geo. IV, 18th part (4) (R. O.), legal dep.

[4] Letter of Apr. 18, 1827, by Inglis to Hay, in correspondence relating

servants of both sexes arrived early in 1828 and their fares were credited in payment of quit-rent. Lieut.-Governor Arthur's comment was as follows: 'All the respectable free settlers would most thankfully be included in such an arrangement for procuring servants from England, and unless they were permitted to participate it would not be possible to continue the indulgence to the company without causing much dissatisfaction';[1] that is to say, emigration by bounty might easily be made, and if continued ought to be made universal. The Western Australian scheme of 1828–9 was simply a universal form—as Arthur suggested—of the bounty system suggested perhaps by Wentworth's stillborn proposals of 1824, but inaugurated by the Van Diemen's Land Company and by Lord Ripon in 1827–8. The system of 1831, which superseded every other system, was a blend between the commercial system which New South Wales adopted in 1828, and the half-philanthropic system which Western Australia adopted in 1829.[2]

(compare the W.A. scheme, 1828–9)

But before 1831 a new force intruded into English politics. E. G. Wakefield rushed upon the scene. Backed by C. Buller, M.P., Rintoul, editor of the *Spectator*, and R. Gouger, he wrote his *Letter from Sydney* (1829), formed a 'Colonization Society' (1830), and organized a popular agitation in favour of his views. Colonies, he wrote, were 'an extension of Great Britain'; colonial land should not be given, as in Australia, but sold; it should be sold like a chattel once for all, out and out, and for cash; whether sold by lottery or auction it should be sold dear; dear sales would concentrate buyers, raise the price of land, and beget new sales of land; the proceeds of sale should be used to pay the fares of

(and e.g. Wakefield's scheme of 1829).

to the Van Diemen's Land Company, 1827 (R. O.). Lord Goderich consented May 23; and forwarded the letters to Arthur, June 16, 1827.

[1] Letter of Apr. 10, 1828, by Lieut.-Governor Arthur, in his Official Letters for 1828 (R. O.).

[2] There were other similar proposals, see *Friend of Australia* (1830), pp. 415–20.

immigrant labourers and women; males and females should be imported in equal numbers; rent should be taxed; and uniformity should be secured by an English Act of Parliament. He posed as the inventor of these nine principles; yet the first came from De Brosses, the fifth from Malthus, the seventh from the Van Diemen's Land Company, and the eighth from Adam Smith; the second showed ignorance of Australian history, the third showed ignorance of English law, the ninth was unwise, and the rest were derived from the schemes of 1827–9 which had been matured before he began his crude studies. He was not original except in his formula, which ran thus:—'Dear land-sales bring in future buyers in crowds; hence high rents and land prices; hence dear land-sales which' . . . and here the formula began over again. The project was calculated to work like clockwork, or rather like a clock which wound itself up. In every case the clock ran down and the formula proved a fallacy. His philosophy was shallow, his knowledge limited, his self-confidence profound, and his zeal illimitable. He said that it was he who suggested to Lord Grey (then Lord Howick), who suggested to Lord Ripon (then Lord Goderich), who introduced, the triple revolution of 1831. Even so the fly said that it turned the wheel.

Lord Ripon's O. in C. combined the competitive and emigrant systems, 1831,

The system of 1831 prescribed one and only one mode of sale—namely sale by auction (as in 1828); imposed a minimum price of 5*s.* an acre, which seems to have been the usual minimum price at that date[1], and ear-marked the proceeds of sale as a fund for introducing immigrants. The system applied to New South Wales and to Western Australia. The Sydney Legislative Council, which had been formed in 1824, had acquired financial control in 1828; but its control

[1] Lieut. Stirling, being given 1,000 acres (N.S.W.) rent free for services rendered, resold for 5*s.* an acre; and 50,000 acres in Tasmania were sold for 5*s.* 8¾*d.* an acre (1821–9); see Official Letters of Col. Arthur, Apr. 21, May 20, 1829 (R. O.). Sir T. Brisbane sold 369,050 acres at 5*s.* an acre, according to Dangar, *Index and Directory to River Hunter*, 1828, p. 36.

did not extend to the proceeds of sale of Crown lands. These proceeds were regarded by Lord Ripon, Lord Glenelg, Bourke, and Gipps as exclusively within the purview of the Crown, which agreed to hold them as trustee for the colony. Lord Ripon's proposed objects were the barter of land for labour and the promotion of concentration and uniformity. His method was to pay part fares by returnable grants; but finding that the grants were never returned, and that the part equalled the whole, his successors dropped meaningless adjectives and gave whole fares (1836). But by that time the Government system of emigration had galvanized other systems of emigration into life.

and led to the bounty system.

Hardly had Government announced its plans in 1831 when fares for Sydney fell from £30 to £18. In the same year the privileges accorded to the Van Diemen's Land Company in 1827 were extended to all capitalists who introduced English immigrants.[1] In 1835[2] bounties were systematically paid out of the proceeds of land sales for the introduction of English emigrants; and the so-called bounty system worked side by side with the so-called Government system until 1840, when the two systems coalesced. Each system had its dangers. Bounty agents might be tempted to lure labourers away from real work towards some unreal mirage; and Government might be tempted—as Charles Buller said—'to shovel out paupers'. The latter was the more pressing danger. In 1831, the Tasmanian Government deprecated, and in 1833 the South Australian Association invited the immigration of 'pauper labourers of both sexes'[3].

Did paupers emigrate under these systems?

The Poor Law Acts of 1834 and 1838 enabled parishes to raise emigration funds. Some of the earlier English returns are headed 'Pauper Emigration', but the heading was never

[1] Aug. 26, 1831; see Gov. Darling to Lord Ripon, Sept. 10, 1831, in *Acc. and Pap.* (1833), xxvi; Gov. Bourke to Lord Glenelg, April 30, 1836, in *Acc. and Pap.* (1837), xliii. See *ante*, p. 110.

[2] Oct. 28, 1835, in *Acc. and Pap.* (1837), xliii.

[3] Gov. Arthur to Lord Goderich, July 9, 1831, in *Acc. and Pap.* (1833), xxvi; R. Gouger, *Founding of South Australia*, ed. Hodder (1898), p. 51.

true of Australasian emigration. When fares to Australia cost four times as much as fares to America, parishes were not likely to pay fares to Australia. Besides, the Commissioners made it their rule that 'persons resident in a workhouse or in habitual receipt of relief are not eligible'[1]; and these were the only paupers whose expenses it would be the interest of parishes to defray. On the other hand it is untrue to say that no paupers were sent. A few orphan pauper girls were sent and welcomed, and small sums were voted in many other cases.[2] These exceptions proved the rule. Emigration only cured pauperism in the remote sense that it relieved over-population, and that over-population was one cause of pauperism. Broadly speaking, the emigrants were at least as free from pauper taint as the average English labourer of that day.

The price of land was afterwards raised by an English Act, 1842,

Seven years after Lord Ripon's system was established the Report of 1838 on Transportation urged that the upset price should be raised from 5*s.* to £1 an acre, lest immigrants should turn landowners instead of labourers. Accordingly prices were levelled up to the South Australian rate of 12*s.* an acre in 1839, and the minimum was fixed at £1 an acre in 1840. The latter arrangement was confirmed by an English Act (1842) which applied to all Australasia. Shortly afterwards, Tasmania and New Zealand were exempted from its operation; but the Act remained in force elsewhere until it was repealed by the Act of 1855, which handed over land law and immigration to the newly created representative Australian Governments. For these exercises of the Royal Prerogative stimulated Australian squatting and Australian reform.

and squatting, hitherto undefined,

The student of squatting must bear in mind that squatting passed through many phases. The squatters often went before and the law followed after. And when law had overtaken the squatters it assumed different shapes. Under

[1] *Acc. and Pap.* (1842), xxxi. 605.
[2] *Acc. and Pap.* (1847–8), xlvii. No. 345, p. 14.

King it assumed one shape, under Macquarie another, under Darling a third, and under Gipps a fourth and final shape.

King's system of letting to each 'district' a common of pasturage, though adapted with success in South Australia, was unsuited to the pastoral industry of New South Wales, when it became large and migratory. Macquarie therefore 'licensed' graziers to drive their flocks to and fro from pasture to pasture—a system suggested by Banks upon the analogy of what is still done in the Sierra Morena and Abruzzi under survivals of old Roman law.[1] In 1826 pastoral industry in a large part of New South Wales was large and settled and both systems were unsuitable. Accordingly, a third system grew up of exclusive individual pastoral licences which were neither English nor Roman, but a blend of both. This system was applied to three classes of so-called squatters. In the first place, purchasers let into possession before survey or before the whole price was paid, who in England would have clear rights and duties as 'equitable purchasers',[2] were called 'locatees' and no one knew what their rights and duties were. Secondly, landowners who 'occupied' adjoining waste lands inside the nineteen counties at an annual payment were treated as licensees instead of as yearly tenants,[2] as we should have unhesitatingly treated them. A third class of squatters were neither intending nor actual landowners, but 'occupied' land 'for grazing purposes' outside the counties at an annual payment of £1 per hundred acres (1826), or £10 per squatter (1839), or £10 per 'run' (1845). The 'runs' were fixed, not nomadic; built on and fenced, and definite enough to be delimited by Commissioners of Crown Lands and to be sold by squatters to squatters. Clearly these runs were holdings, these payments rents, and these squatters yearly tenants. Yet under local Acts, 1829–39, these tenancies

[1] See 'Scriptura,' *Dict. Ant.*; 'Scriptuarius Ager' in Festus. Bourgoing's *Modern State of Spain* (1808), i. 87, and Cervantes' *Don Quixote* refer to it as the 'Mesta'.

[2] As between subject and subject.

were called 'pastoral licences', these payments 'licence fees', and these squatters 'occupants for grazing purposes' —as though they were sheep. Then by a strange inconsistency the same Acts added that the licences should be revoked and that the lands should 'revest' in the Crown if the Crown sold the lands; which the squatters construed as meaning that until sale the licences were irrevocable and some interest 'vested' in the squatters.

The squatters were few—in 1845 they and their dependents only just exceeded the inhabitants of Sydney; but their runs were immense—the fifty-six largest occupied 12,110 square miles, and the fifty-six smallest 677 square miles; many squatters belonged to the untitled nobility of England, and squatting was 'the system of the colony'. And what a system! It made every squatter who lived in a house a trespasser! It was un-English, un-foreign, confused, and self-contradictory. Its only merit was its elasticity. So English Acts were passed in 1842 and 1846. The first intensified, the second inspired by Gipps dispersed the fog.

was regulated by an English Act, 1846,

The Act of 1846 and Orders in Council made in pursuance of the Act divided New South Wales into three districts—settled, intermediate, and unsettled. Settled districts included a rude oblong stretching along the coast from 32° to 36° lat. and bounded on the west by a line drawn from Pandora's Pass outside Wellington Valley, Bathurst, and Yass Plains to Pic Patral. The oblong contained nineteen 'counties' formed by Darling in 1828[1] in order to value them for purposes of selling land, and in order to fence in and concentrate the population within manageable limits.[2] 'Settled districts' also included new 'counties' formed near Brisbane and Melbourne, detached parts at Portland Bay, Twofold Bay, &c., the coast-line and the banks of certain rivers. Intermediate districts included thirty-one

[1] Instructions to Darling, July 17, 1825.

[2] *Ante*, p. 109.

new counties which filled up the gaps between settled district and settled district, and were speedily converted into settled districts. The unsettled districts comprised the hinterland, where none but squatters penetrated. Squatters became lessees for one, twelve, or fourteen years in the settled, intermediate, and unsettled districts respectively; paying at least £10 rent for each 'run' (i.e. for each twenty-five square miles or so) with pre-emptive rights over their 'homestead' (i.e. 160 acres) at £1 an acre, and compensation for improvements if the homestead was sold to strangers.[1] This Act, which was repealed in 1855, is the foundation stone on which every Australian Act is now built. Its importance for us is that the division into the three districts is agrarian, rather than political or geographical. Its importance for contemporaries was that round it raged as furious a storm as agrarian policy ever raised.[2] The unpopularity of English agrarian policy in Australia (1842–6) was enhanced by its association with the great money crash (1841–4).

which raised a political storm.

During the first epoch great crashes often happened; and they always meant starvation more or less. During the great crash of 1841–4 and the lesser crash which foreshadowed it in 1830, everything could be bought but nothing could be sold, bellies were full to overflowing, but pockets were empty as drums. The Sydney crash—of which the Melbourne crash was a reflection—occurred at the same time as the South Australian and Tasmanian crashes which have been referred to—and it may be described as the collapse of money and of trade.

(3) *Want of credit made the storm more violent*, 1840–4.

If the reader will turn back he will read on page 95 of an intercolonial race to Victoria (1837–40) and on page 102

[1] Order in Council, March 9, 1847.

[2] R. Lowe compared these concessions to grants in fee to Marlborough and Wellington and declared that they reduced non-squatters 'to vassalage and serfdom'. A. P. Martin, *Life and Letters of Lord Sherbrooke* (1893), vol. i. pp. 302, 329.

of an inrush of English immigrants (1838–41). These two facts were connected as cause and effect. The race resulted in land sales, which realized vast sums which were applied to immigration. Bourke netted large balances from the land sales, part of which he hoarded (1836–8); Gipps netted larger balances (1838–40), placed them in the five Sydney banks of issue, and spent every farthing on immigrants before 1842. Then the land sales, which brought in more than £300,000 in 1840, vanished utterly.

About the same time there was a commercial earthquake. It came in two shocks. In 1840 credit was unbounded, in 1841 it did not exist. In 1841–2 wool-exports and squatters' stock declined a little both in amount and value. In 1843 there were 1,243 unemployed in Sydney, there was a small fall in the real rate of wages, and sheep sold for *2s. 6d.*, cattle for £1, meat for less than *1d.* a lb.[1] Two out of the five banks broke; scrip, loan, auction, and other companies followed suit and there were 1,000 bankruptcies. Each of these events was unique in the history of New South Wales. What did they all portend?

Men agreed in the diagnosis up to a certain point. Squatters, they said, had for once extended too far and fast —had stepped over Ricardo's margin. Relief came in 1842 when squatters stepped back, and in 1843 when wages went back and Ebsworth and O'Brien introduced 'boiling-down' processes for converting useless stock into tallow.[2] Again, the oil trade reached its zenith in 1840; then the whales went, and trade collapsed, until in 1849 the tallow trade more than replaced the oil trade. These misfortunes were palpable but slight, and cured themselves. Again, expenditure on convicts and soldiers had had the same effect as a gift of £300,000 a year. After 1840 this gift was withdrawn. But its withdrawal was very gradual and was a blessing.

[1] Hodgkinson, op. cit., p. 130.
[2] An invention saved S.A. (1842–3), *ante*, p. 84.

'Egypt was glad at their departing'; and the colony was weaned.

Beyond this point men differed. There were two possible views; one that prosperity had been succeeded by paralysis, the other that fever had been succeeded by a return to normal. The colony held the first view; Gipps the second. According to the first view the £1 minimum had killed the land sales and their golden produce. According to the second view the land sales had been effected by loans, and the golden produce would return when the loans were repaid. The colonists' cure was to repeal the Act of 1842; Gipps's cure was to pay debts.

The State was in debt owing to the drought of 1837–9. In 1840 Gipps set to work to collect licence fees, and rents, even the never-paid quit-rents, and turned the deficits (1838–40) into surpluses (1841–2), was baffled in 1843, and in and after 1844, succeeded, except with the quit-rents which were compounded. The colony followed his example. Mortgages on land, which were over £1,200,000 in 1841 and 1843, stood at three-quarters of that amount in 1842, and one quarter of that amount in 1844–6.[1] Down to 1840 there was a normal excess of imports over exports due to payments for soldiers and convicts and other English gifts,[2] but in 1839–41 the excess was three times the normal excess.[3] This meant that the abnormal excess—namely three millions—had been borrowed. In 1844, for the first time in history, exports exceeded imports. Then Gipps knew that the tide had turned; that the colony had followed the example of its government; that the loans were being repaid; and that the patient was recovering. So sure was he that even the land sales, which according to Lang and Lowe were stone dead, would revive, that he sanctioned a loan for the renewal of immigration. Confidence revived, and the healing process was

[1] *Acc. and Pap.* (1849), xi. 506.
[2] £1,500,000 (1835–7).
[3] £4,400,000, *circa*.

accelerated. From 1844 to 1851 exports yielded a nominal excess of a million and a quarter—the real excess was more; and in the first gold year (1852) the last remnants of debt were more than repaid. From 1844 and onward land was bought once more without the aid of foreign loans, and in 1851 the land revenue equalled that of 1840.

Extension caused three agitations,

If we look at Australian extension from a long way off, it seems a purely external phenomenon—a matter of rain and soil, of levels and channels—a question of geography and physics, not of politics. Yet it raised, and inevitably raised, three political storms—a storm over convicts, a land storm, and a trade storm—which Australians alone could allay, and which forced Australians to think for themselves, either as a nation or as nations. Spirits were strained and stretched even more than territory was extended: extension meant introspection; and experience of the Forties impressed Australians with two indelible truths, first that they had burning interests in common, and secondly that they had burning interests over which they had no control. Australia was 'precipitated into manhood'.

which led to a federal movement,

The English Orders and Acts of 1831–47 were made in order to promote Australian uniformity. Their effect was to promote Australian unity. In a debate at Sydney on Immigration, James McArthur prophesied that 'the Confederation of Australian colonies would be one of the brightest constellations in the diadem of Great Britain.'[1] In 1850 John Smith of Tasmania formed an 'Australian League against Transportation' as we have seen (see p. 106); and Dr. Lang (1852) advocated the formation of 'Seven United Provinces of Australia' free of England, but under contract to import English labourers and not to impose duties on English goods. The federal government would be 'virtually a tributary Empire'. New Zealand and New

[1] This Debate is separately published (1840), p. 48.

Guinea (!) might join later on.[1] But Earl Grey was in the field before Smith and Lang; he was the federalist-in-chief, and Victorian politics provided the opportunity.

The land sales in Victoria had been carried to a separate account, and eventual separation from New South Wales was merely a matter of detail. In settling the details Earl Grey advocated (1847)—(1) the creation of representative Governments throughout Australia, (2) the method of indirect instead of direct election, (3) 'A central legislative authority for the whole of the Australian colonies' or 'General Assembly of Australia', which should impose duties, (4) and a 'Governor-General of Australia'[2]. The dispatch fell like a bomb-shell. R. Lowe said, 'They should leave this damning proof of Colonial Office Tyranny to rot in its own loathsomeness', by which he meant to hint gently that New South Wales, which had had some direct representatives since 1843, preferred direct to indirect election. Accordingly the proposal was withdrawn, and in 1852 an Act relating to Australia was passed whereby Victoria was separated from New South Wales and endowed with a Legislative Council, one-third of which was nominated (as in New South Wales since 1843); and each Australian council was authorized —(1) to make a constitution for itself subject to the approval of the Privy Council, (2) and to impose duties on British or colonial or foreign goods if not differential; and (3) that region of New South Wales which lay north of 30° was empowered to secede—as southern New South Wales had already seceded—if its inhabitants petitioned to that effect. In these provisions for fission we have the germs of Queensland and the Referendum. The power to impose duties was wider than what separatists like Lang had asked for, and the restriction upon its exercise was swept away in 1895.

and to the separation of Victoria,

[1] J. D. Lang, *Stat. and Hist. Acc.*, ed. 1852, ii. 561, &c.; not in earlier editions.

[2] July 31, 1847.

and to the creation of representative governments.

After adapting their Councils to the same model, New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania (1854) and South Australia (1856) created their own two-chambered democracies. South Australia adopted manhood suffrage. The Upper Chamber of New South Wales was composed of life-members nominated by the Crown: and the Upper Chambers of the other self-governing colonies of rich men elected by big constituencies, or by what the French call 'scrutin de liste.' Otherwise the constitutions were similar. All elections were direct and popular. Existing agrarian divisions were utilized as political divisions. Each colony controlled its land fund. In 1855 English Acts confirmed such of these Acts as required confirmation, and allowed New South Wales and Victoria by 'laws passed in concurrence' to alter their boundary line upon the Murray; and styled Sir C. Fitzroy 'Governor-General of all H. M. Australian Possessions'. Lord Grey's sketch of a united Australia had dwindled down to this empty title, not because it had enemies but because it had no friends, and because events were happening which made Sydney jealous of Melbourne, and Adelaide and Hobart of both. Australian federation was launched exactly half a century too soon, and vanished for awhile 'like the baseless fabric of a vision'.

See, generally, G. W. Rusden, *Hist. of Australia* (1883), 3 vols.; *Epitome of Off. Hist* (1883); T. H. Braim, *Hist. of N. S. W.* (1846), 2 vols; Rev. J. D. Lang, *Hist. and Stat. Account of N. S. W.* (1834, 2nd ed. 1837, 3rd ed. 1852, 4th ed. 1875); W. C. Wentworth, *Stat. Hist. and Political Description of the Colony of N. S. W.* (1824); and the authorities mentioned in the notes to this chapter.

See, also, J. Henniker Heaton, *Australian Dict. of Dates and Men* (1879); and, on Australian Bibliography, *Catalogue of Free Public Library*, Sydney (1893), 3 vols.

CHAPTER IX

NEW ZEALAND IN THE SECOND EPOCH

The colonization of N.Z. differed from that of Australia.

When we pass from Australia to New Zealand we breathe a different atmosphere. In colonizing New Zealand, scattered colonizers went before, organized colonizers followed after, and then came the flag. Again, the scattered colonizers went to New Zealand for many reasons, some for trade, some for religion, some because it was the Alsatia of the Antipodes, but all because the Maori invited them with passionate enthusiasm. In the colonization of Australia the blacks played a passive part, and as the whites advanced melted away or were trampled into mud like snow in Spring. In the colonization of New Zealand native welcome stimulated and native pressure resisted the Englishman's advance at every point. But for these crucial differences, the same historical tendencies were apparent in both cases; and the history of the birth of Tasmania and of the birth of South Australia repeated itself in New Zealand.

King began intercourse in 1793,

In 1793 King, when governing Norfolk Island, kidnapped two high-born Maori from near the Bay of Islands in the far north of Northern Island, New Zealand, set them to teach his convicts how to prepare New Zealand flax,[1] at which, being woman's work, they were about as expert as Achilles at the distaff—treated them like gentlemen and restored them in 1794. Hence arose friendship, and visits by Maori to Sydney, Tahiti, and London. The friendship was only Platonic; and King's advocacy of a settlement on the

[1] *Phormium tenax.*

Thames (1793–4) was fruitless. Visits by Bay-of-Islands chiefs to King at Sydney (1806) bore fruit, for there Marsden learned to appreciate them and they him.

traders in 1792–3,

Trade began early—thus sealers left part of their crew for ten months (1792–3) to seal in Dusky Bay in the far south of Middle Island, and whalers built ships with Thames timber in the north-east of Northern Island in 1794–5—and latterly it advanced by leaps and bounds and was, in the main, English. Thus, of fifty ships which entered the Bay of Islands in the first half of 1836, thirty-three were British or Colonial, fourteen American, and two French. The southern fisheries in Cook's Strait and Foveaux Strait were similarly frequented. Moreover, captains began to man their ships with Maori, or their men ran away and lived with Maori. This intercourse helped to 'make or mar the foolish fates'. In 1809 and 1834 ex-convict or ex-convicts' sailors ill-treated northern natives, were killed and eaten, and were avenged by punitive expeditions which came from Sydney and returned to Sydney. Traders gave guns to the Maori and at least two English sea-captains pandered more directly to their thirst for blood. One, perhaps unwillingly, took members of the Awa clan[1]—of whom more anon—from Port Nicholson, 480 miles south-eastward to the Chathams where 2,000 Moriori dwelt. The Moriori were Maori driven thither from New Zealand some hundreds of years ago, just as New Zealand telegraph poles have in our own day been driven thither by wind and current. They were tame, having almost given up the use of arms; and fell an easy prey to the wild crew who decimated and enslaved them (1835).[2] They were 212 in 1855. Now they are thirty-one. Again, in 1830, a captain Stewart allowed Rauparaha—of whom more anon—to charter his vessel and sail with him from Cook's Strait to Banks's Peninsula in order to avenge a blood

[1] 'Ngati', the usual prefix to Awa, &c. = the (clan).
[2] A. Shand, *Journ. of Pol. Soc.*, vols. i and ii.

feud. Then the usual scenes of Maori or Volsung warfare ensued; decoy, massacre of women and children, mutilation, torture, and probably enemy eating. Stewart acted as decoy and gaoler. He went to Sydney; was indicted and detained but not by force; and then he sailed away, and died a natural death. Before 1839 many respectable traders were dotted about New Zealand—like Montefiore (who told the Stewart story to the House of Lords' Committee of 1838), Polack, and Tapsell. Many villages kept a white goose—like Bruce (1806)[1], Rutherford (1820), and Maning, author of *Old New Zealand*—in hopes that it would lay golden eggs; about one hundred runaway sailors and convicts sojourned with Maori on Foveaux Straits,[2] 300 or 400 'drunken, lawless vagabonds' disgraced Cook's Strait on its south side[3] and a similar motley crew clustered round the mission station on the Bay of Islands.[4] This mission station played a leading part in the annexation—not as cause but as agent. It did not charge the battery, it only acted as conductor.

and missionaries in 1814.

As Cook, Edwards, and Bligh scattered mammals and vegetables, so Wilson (1796–8) scattered industrial and clerical members of 'the Missionary Society at London' among the islanders of the Pacific in order to improve their digestion and their culture. In 1814, Marsden, the famous farming-trading-chaplain at Sydney established a branch of the Church Missionary Society among the Puhi clan at the Bay of Islands. He was a noble fellow and the Maori, who never failed to recognize nobility, welcomed him. But here we must pause in our narrative and ask, Who were the Maori of the Bay of Islands? Who were the Awa? Who was Rauparaha? Who were the Puhi?

The Maori, who came wind-wafted[5] to the 'Long White

[1] Turnbull, *Voyage round the World*, 1800–4, ed. 1813, pp. 496 et seq.
[2] Com. J. L. Stokes' estimate (circa 1846).
[3] Bunbury's words, June 28, 1840.
[4] C. Darwin, *J. of Researches in H. M. S. Beagle*, ed. 1901, p. 422.
[5] Maori = 'wind-wafted.'

Five Clans of Maori are described,

Cloud',[1] over 500 years before, settled on the northern shores of 'the Fish' which 'Maui'—their Sigfrid or Hercules—had miraculously fished up from the vasty deep. They called the Northern Island 'the Fish of Maui'; their bravest settled on its gills, and a mish-mash of invading and invaded clans settled on its tail. The great clans only visited Middle Island in order to raid waifs and strays and fetch greenstone, wherewith they might better batter in the brains of their foes or of their captive slaves. That is to say, while the thousand odd Europeans had three centres, the Maori clans had one centre of gravity (or disturbance) which was in the northern apex of the Northern Island—as though their hearts still yearned towards their old home. The strong wine was on the top, and the lees sank to the bottom. On 'the Fish' there were over 100,000, on Greenstone Island under 5,000 natives.[2] At present the reader need only remember the names of five great clans: the 'Puhi' or plumed clan, which ranged between Rangounou Bay (N.), Hokianga (W.), and a point on the east coast east of Kaipara; the 'Whatua' of Kaipara and Auckland, who dwelt between the 'Puhi' and the 'Waikato'; the west coast 'Waikato' or 'flowing-water' clan, whose western borders were the mouths of the Waikato (N.), and Kawhia (S.), or later the Mokau (S.); the 'Awa' or 'river' clan, whose home had been on the Waitara river and at Taranaki under the shadow of snow-capped Mount Egmont for at least 500 years; and the 'Toa' or 'heroic' clan or sub-clan, late of the Kawhia and Mokau now of Kapiti Island and Porirua near Port Nicholson.[3] All these clans were split into sub-clans and villages: and as each village had many chiefs, among whom one was chief chief, so in times

Puhi,

Whatua,

Waikato,

Awa,

and Toa.

[1] Aotearoa = New Zealand, and is generally translated 'Long White Cloud'.

[2] Estimates of Halswell, Grimstone, &c.

[3] W. Travers, in *Transactions of N. Z. Institute* (1872), pp. 19-93, *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha.*

of war, and, after the English came, in times of peace, a chief chief invariably united the clan. Clan sometimes united with clan as joint owners of a tract; otherwise, on the landward side clan-limits always marched with other clan-limits—indeed, one great clan dwelt wholly inland around Lake Taupo, which they called 'the sea'[1]—and within these clan-limits their villages and gardens were fixed; but war-villages and banqueting villages changed their site from time to time; and their fields and gardens of flax[2], paper-mulberry[3], sweet potato[4], taro[5], gourd[6], cordyline and the like[7] were often shifted because their *petite culture* was extensive and not intensive. Further, fern root[8], berry[9], fish, rat, dog and bird—both tame and wild—were still their staple food; pigs which had been introduced by Europeans wandered on the hills; they built their beautiful huts and canoes of forest timber: their Pantheon included a god of cultivated food, of wild food, of forest, and of sea; so that the waste lands of these manors or village communities were all in all to them. They had the passionate attachment of islanders to their native soil.

The missionaries bought land from the Puhi,

Marsden dealt with the natives as with equals, recognized their capacity to contract, and bought land for his mission after the manner of Penn—by deed indented and with presents—at a great Homeric meeting of local chiefs and tribesmen. Moreover, he belonged to the forward school, and when the English colours were hoisted—not by him—he wrote, 'I flattered myself they never would be unfurled' (1814).[10] Until his dying day (1838) he cherished visions of

[1] Te moana = the sea, L. Taupo. [2] *Phormium tenax.*
[3] *Broussonetia papyrifera.* [4] *Convolvulus chrysorrhizus* (Kumara).
[5] *Caladium esculentum.* [6] *Cucurbita sp.*
[7] Karaka (= *Corynocarpus laevigata*), kohoho (= *Solanum aviculare*), &c.
[8] *Pteris esculenta.*
[9] Karaka (see n. 7), hinau (= *Elaeocarpus dentatus*), and other wild food mentioned by W. Colenso in *Transactions of N. Z. Institute* (1880), pp. 1–38.
[10] J. B. Marsden, *Memoirs of S. Marsden*, pp. 101, 119, 179, &c.

Sydney as ecclesiastical and political queen of the Pacific.

taught industry,

He laboured hard 'with axe, hoe, and spade', which he looked on as 'an instrument to prepare the way of the Lord' to civilize the Maori; and when he was absent Henry Williams, William Williams, and others, carried on the work.

letters,

Aided by the (later) Wesleyan Mission at Hokianga, and by detached mission stations at Matamata, Lake Rotorua, Waiapu, Kawhia, Tauranga, and elsewhere, these missionaries made the Maori better able to read and write than their European contemporaries, so at least Sir G. Grey said. And they were mighty peacemakers.

and peace.

On one occasion when war broke out in the upper Thames over a disputed land claim, H. Williams bought the disputed land from both combatants; and the plague was stayed. Usually, personal influence prevailed. They bore a charmed life, passed through battle-fields unscathed, and when war raged on their own property not a hair of their head, not a stick of their fences was touched, and after awhile they restored peace. But they were unable to stop Hongi's wars.

Hongi's wars raged in spite of them, 1820 *et seq.,*

Hongi, chief of the Puhi clan, and Marsden's friend and patron, got arms from London and Sydney friends, swooped down on the Waikato clan in 1820; they on the Toa then of Kawhia, and on the Awa then of Taranaki; and they two on the clans that lined the northern shores of Cook's Strait; and fugitives from the fugitives from the fugitives of Hongi poured up and met Hongi as he poured down on East Cape. Thus war eddied round 'the Fish of Maui' like a whirlpool, and white scum floated on the waves of war. Some clans went under and others were displaced. The Whatua of Auckland were crushed between the upper and nether millstones. Large bodies of Toa and Awa made forays south and east—for it was now that the Stewart and Chatham Islands' scandals happened—but most of them settled where they swooped, combined under Rauparaha,

chief of the Toa, and his son-in-law Rangihaeata, chief of the Awa, drove the Hawke's Bay natives[1] out of Port Nicholson, conquered the north coast of Middle Island, and traded with the white men of Cook's Strait for guns, and the white men gave them guns although they knew that gun-lust meant blood-thirst. But Rauparaha was a noble savage; and in 1838 he sent for the missionaries in order to give his nobility a chance.

and drove the Toa and Awa to Cook's Straits.

We must now return north, where missionary land purchasers found non-missionary imitators: and the first imitator was a Frenchman. In 1822 Baron C. de Thierry bought land at Hokianga through an English missionary; asked for English or French 'recognition' but without success (1823), and left for awhile. The French imitator found English imitators in the shape of an English partnership, which in 1825 imported seventy-two labourers into Hokianga and bought a little land. In 1827 all these colonists—except one or two—flitted to New South Wales.[2]

Others bought land,

The next move was made by the Maori. In 1832 Lord Ripon received a petition from thirteen Maori chiefs who inhabited the Bay of Islands praying for 'protection' against 'the tribe of Marion' which was 'about to take away their land' and against English criminals like Stewart. So Resident Busby—'the man of war without guns'—was sent to the Bay of Islands, whence he looked on impotently at crimes and wars. Bourke, the Governor of New South Wales, under whom he was placed, urged that he should be either recalled or given some power; but Bourke's requests were unheeded. Busby continued in the office of spectator. Then Frenchmen re-entered on the scene. In 1835 De Thierry issued a pompous proclamation from Tahiti styling himself 'Sovereign of New Zealand'. The missionaries and their bantling Busby replied by organizing a league of thirty-

and the Maori asked protection from French buyers, 1832,

[1] = Kahungunu.

[2] *Observations on New South Wales*, Anon. (1836), p. 38.

and federated, 1835.

five chiefs whose lands extended from North Cape to the river Thames, and of eighteen others—including a Hawke's Bay and Waikato chief—who issued a counter-proclamation on behalf of 'the United Tribes of New Zealand', in which they again asked for English protection.[1] Busby formally recommended a protectorate like that which prevails over native Indian States, his idea being that England should act as a trustee State (1836–7); Hobson recommended a protectorate coupled with commercial factories like those of the Hanseatic League (1837); and E. G. Wakefield saw in New Zealand a new *tabula rasa* for his pet project, and urged Ministers to sanction the formation of a land jobbing company which should buy land, not by retail like Marsden, De Thierry and the rest, but wholesale, and should retail it at a high price by lottery to English capitalists, half the profits of the retail sales being devoted to the importation of English labourers and women, as under the Australian land systems. His company, though still unincorporated, began operations in 1839.

The arrival of the Frenchmen

Meanwhile the French claims took both a ludicrous and a threatening turn. De Thierry arrived at the head of ninety-three offscourings of Sydney slums to seat himself upon his throne as sovereign lord of his new kingdom. But his new kingdom only meant his land purchase; and his land purchase proved to be 200 acres. Thus the bubble burst (1837). Then a new bubble rose to the surface in the person of Bishop Pompallier, who arrived in 1838 and set up a Roman Catholic Mission at Hokianga. This was the very year in which a French Mission station was made the occasion for establishing the French protectorates over Tahiti and the Marquesas.[2] Whether Pompallier's intentions were similar or not we do not know; we only know that his actions were not political. The French peril in Middle

[1] Oct. 1835. See Facsimile in Brit. Mus., 8155, h. 10.
[2] *Ante*, p. 87.

Island was far more menacing. In 1838 a third Frenchman, named Langlois, bought land in Banks's Peninsula for a French partnership, and it afterwards appeared (1846) that the French Government was his sleeping partner, and was to provide a warship to defend the *colonie de peuplement* which he intended to introduce.[1] Moreover, the great 'scientific expedition' of Dumont D'Urville (1837–40) was already on its way to New Zealand. The English Government were still trying hard to do nothing, when Colonel W. Wakefield, brother of E. G. Wakefield, softly and silently stole away from England, and sailed for Cook's Strait; and while he was on the sea, and before he had bought an inch of land, 1,000 colonists started in his wake in order to buy from him the land which he had not bought. The Wakefieldians held the ready-made theory of doctrinaires that 'savage' lands are 'unoccupied' and that a native law of real property 'is never recognized by any Christian nation'.[2] Their beliefs were clear cut; and their good faith when they promised 'to fulfil their engagements with the (English) public' was unimpeachable. These acts, beliefs, and promises boded mischief which only iron rule could avert. The Government's hand was forced. Gipps was ordered to act. Without a moment's delay he proclaimed jurisdiction over New Zealand (1839), sent Hobson to annex it, annulled land-titles already acquired pending revision by a commissioner, and prevented future land purchases from natives by investing the Crown with pre-emptive rights over native land.

precipitated Colonel Wakefield's colonial enterprise

and Gipps's annexation, 1839.

Hobson—using the missionaries as heralds, interpreters and diplomatists—summoned a great meeting of chiefs at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands, whereat sovereignty was ceded to the English Crown, which, in return, guaranteed to the native 'chiefs, tribes, families and individuals' possession of their 'lands, estates, forests, fisheries and other properties', and

Hobson made the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840,

[1] Rusden, *Hist. of N. Z.*, i. 238–41.

[2] Cf. *ante*, p. 43.

reserved to itself pre-emptive rights over lands which natives wished to sell. This was the Treaty of Waitangi—February 6, 1840—which 512 chiefs were induced by the missionaries to sign then and there, or at their homes during the next few months. In May Hobson sent Bunbury to Middle Island, where the treaty was accepted and possession was taken at Cloudy Bay. It was not until August that Banks's Peninsula was occupied, just four days before the French frigate and five days before Langlois' first batch of fifty-seven colonists arrived. In 1848, when Langlois wound up his partnership through lack of funds, he still maintained that he was legitimate sovereign by treaty of Middle Island and offered his 'kingdom' to France. But France was not in a mood to become heir to unfulfilled desires. Though Hobson only just saved, he finally saved Middle Island from the French. That was his first and easiest task. He now addressed himself to the far harder task of saving both islands from his friends.

and bought Auckland, while Col. Wakefield bought Wellington, Nelson,

The New Zealand Company was in a desperate hurry. Their earth hunger was ravenous; and the Maori thirsted after guns. Colonel Wakefield's energy was phenomenal. With the help of a Cook's Strait Englishman as interpreter[1], he fancied that he bought in a few months one third of New Zealand for a few presents, chiefly of guns. Nor was he alone in the field. Sydney land-jobbers, fresh from the Victorian boom, rushed in They too reckoned in millions. H. Williams urged the natives not to sell, and with perverse inconsistency took large conveyances to himself in trust for natives, in order to keep out the crowd. Hobson, paralysed in body as well as in mind, leaned on the missionaries, and with their aid bought land from the remnants of the Whatua clan at Auckland in order to found a capital (1841). Relations became strained between Hobson and the missionaries on the one hand and Wakefield and his immi-

[1] Barrett.

grants on the other hand. More than 1,000 of these immigrants arrived at the beginning of 1840. The wished-for commissioner from England, who should ratify, rescind or compromise Wakefield's purchases—had not even been appointed. What could the immigrants do? The deep sea was behind them and serried ranks of Maori in front. They could not return. They had nowhere where they could wait. If they entered into possession of what Colonel Wakefield claimed, eleven clans or more would be landless. So they landed where they were least unwelcome, and where the land purchases of Colonel Wakefield were least disputed. Their landing places and waiting rooms were Port Nicholson, where they built Wellington, and Nelson.

and other lands as to which

Colonel Wakefield's purchases at Port Nicholson and Nelson were his best conducted purchases. But even here he made gross mistakes. At Port Nicholson, where the Awa clan wanted guns and white men to protect them against their Hawke's Bay neighbours[1], there were eight villages on the sea-shore; yet E. J. Wakefield only tells us of 'six minor tribes' with whom the contract was made, and the Hawke's Bay neighbours were ignored. Further, it was the essence of E. G. Wakefield's schemes that one-tenth of the purchased lands should be set apart, like a game preserve, for natives to 'occupy'; yet the interpreter invariably told the Maori that 'one portion would be for the English and one for the Maori', as though joint ownership were intended. Again, the Colonel's principal Maori friend understood that nine or ten Englishmen were coming; he expected a few drops, and the sight of the deluge which poured in all but sent him then and there back to his old home at Taranaki.[2] Such mutual mistakes were quite enough to rescind any contract according to English law. Over the Nelson purchase there was no dispute except over boundaries. The Colonel thought that he had bought

[1] = Kahungunu. [2] Te Puni.

a few million acres, including the fateful valley of Wairau; the natives thought that they had sold a few thousand acres around Nelson. So trifling a misunderstanding could easily be adjusted. Up the south-west coast of North Island at Porirua, Manawatu, Whanganui, and Taranaki, everything was disputed; especially at Taranaki, from which all its possessors except sixty were absent at the date of the sale, either as captives in the north or as part conquerors of Cook's Strait. Were these men possessors, though absentees?

Spain arbitrated

Both Englishmen and natives waited anxiously for Mr. Spain, the land commissioner from England, the *deus ex machina* who was to solve these riddles. Soon after his arrival (December, 1841) the attitude of the Company changed. Ld. J. Russell had agreed (November, 1840) to give the Company Crown lands in proportion to the immigrants whom they introduced and the capital they expended. This was the old Swan River system.[1] Immediately, the Company contended that savage lands were waste lands, and waste lands Crown lands, which vested in them not by purchase from 'savages' but under this agreement with the Crown. If this contention was true, Spain had no jurisdiction. But they wavered in their views and used Spain as an arbiter whom they sometimes obeyed, often obstructed, and once or twice anticipated. At Wairau they entered into possession of the disputed property (June, 1843), six weeks before the Land Court was opened there, and built by night what the Maori pulled down and burnt by day, as in old fairy-stories told to amuse children. Comedy turned to tragedy. Some puzzle-headed magistrates declared that this was arson—though the huts were empty and Maori had only burned Maori wood and thatch—issued a warrant to arrest Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, and advanced forty-nine strong and armed with rifles and handcuffs to execute the warrant. Rauparaha and Rangihaeata had (counting women) about twice that number,

(but at Wairau a massacre occurred)

[1] *Ante*, p. 80.

a few of whom had rifles. Probably an Englishman fired the first shot. A fight ensued, at the close of which four or five Maori men and women, and nineteen Englishmen lay dead beneath the fern trees and cabbage palms which border the Wairau. A few of the dead Englishmen were slain after flying and raising the white flag. There the matter rested. Governor Fitzroy, instead of summoning, went and called on Rauparaha, told him that the Englishmen had done wrong, but scolded him for allowing captives to be killed. He also visited Wellington, disbanded the volunteers, and scolded the Wellingtonians. Men said that a second Busby had come to judgement. Blood had been shed. Rauparaha knew well that three out of every four Englishmen wanted his blood. He was free, though neither acquitted nor forgiven.

and made an award, 1845.

When Spain's awards were at last published (1845)[1] Wairau and Porirua were held to be unsold, but were bought by Grey in 1847; at Wellington (112 sq. m), Taranaki (94 sq. m.), Whanganui (62 sq. m.), Horowhenua ($\frac{1}{6}$ of a sq. m.), and Nelson (237 sq. m.)[2] specific performance was decreed, with compensation to many new claimants but without compensation to absentees. The awards were then referred to Fitzroy, who, knowing that Rangitake, a chief of the Awa, meant to return, as he did in 1848, and that freed captives were already returning to Taranaki, cut down the Taranaki award to 5 sq. m. but confirmed the rest. Right was on Fitzroy's side; and some years later Grey, when urged to restore Spain's award, 'evaded the difficulty' by buying out such of the 'revenants' as would sell. All the awards excluded villages, gardens and tilths, and applied only to waste lands as to which it was not certain that the Company would obey. In Spain's and Fitzroy's hands Wakefield's immense purchases shrivelled to 500 sq. m., and compensation was made payable

[1] *Acc. and Pap.* (1846), xxx. i.
[2] Wakatu, Waimea, Moutere, Mouteka, part of Massacre Bay, &c.

in money or money's worth, but not with arms. Spain's justice was rough; but finished justice presupposed a code of native laws such as the missionaries urged before the Lords' Committee in 1838, and for which there was no time. He held the scales evenly and firmly.

Heke's rebellion broke out, 1844,

In 1844 trouble arose in the north. Turbulent spirits among the Puhi clan took the law into their own hands in their quarrels with Englishmen, made insolent references to Wairau, declared that the Englishmen were about to steal their land despite the Treaty of Waitangi, which they described as 'soap and oil outside and treachery inside', cut down the flagstaff at Russell, as the settlement on the Bay of Islands was called, and burnt Russell. This is what is grandly called Heke's rebellion, but Heke mustered at most 700 men, and Waka Nene, a rising chief of the Puhi clan, and Te Whero Whero chief chief of the Waikato clan could muster 7,000 men and were true to us from first to last. A mixed body of English soldiers and native allies was twice repulsed by equal or inferior numbers from Heke's triple-walled forts and fosses. Fitzroy, sinking deeper and deeper still, offered peace if the enemy would cede lands, some of which happened to belong to other people. Then Sir G. Grey came as Governor (November 1845).

and Sir G. Grey became Governor, 1845,

When Grey came our fortunes were at their lowest and darkest. We had suffered two repulses. The missionaries pulled one way and the Company's colonists the other way. Each held opposite principles. Lord Ingestre wrote on behalf of the Company that these principles were irreconcilable; and that 'the avowed object of the missionaries had been to preserve the nationality of the New Zealanders. Our system was to treat the soil as unappropriated. The Treaty of Waitangi went on the missionary principle'. The House of Commons' Committee of 1844 sided with the Company, spurned 'the so-called Treaty of Waitangi' and advocated the confiscation of the waste lands of the Maori.

Their recommendations were applauded by the Company's colonists who wrote, as Heke spoke, of the 'humbugging Treaty of Waitangi'. Both Committee and Company aided Heke in undermining the reliance of the Maori upon our promises. Wairau, said Spain, made the Maori distrust our bravery and justice. Englishmen spoke of Maori with a whine or snarl in their voices. Even the Governor's dispatches had a timorous tone, like that of a suppliant or grumbler, rather than a ruler. Confidence was shaken on the English as well as on the native side. Could it be restored? And if it could be restored, how could Grey span the gulf between colonist and Maori?

suppressed Heke,

In one sense, Grey arrived at a lucky moment. The reinforcements for which Fitzroy had asked arrived almost at the same time. Grey's proclamation that no natives might be neutral gave nerve to our allies. In a month or two, an equal number of English red-coats and Maori stole into the fort of the enemy, who were one-third of their assailants in number and at prayers. The 'rebels' were beaten, submitted and were pardoned, without being mulcted of their own or anybody else's lands.

seized Rauparaha,

Then Grey went south to Cook's Strait,[1] forbad sales of arms[2] and strong drink[3] to natives, and proclaimed what no Governor had yet dared to proclaim that 'he would not allow Maori to hurt one another', as they were 'British subjects'. Meanwhile Rangihaeata, the Awa chief, built a fort from which he menaced the Hutt river to the north and the coast to the west of Wellington. About 200 malcontents joined him and there were disturbances ending in loss of life. Grey suspected Rauparaha of complicity and seized him at dead of night.[4] It is pretty clear that Rauparaha was not guilty, or if guilty was only guilty of benevolent neutrality. Yet it is quite clear that Grey believed in

[1] Jan., 1846. [2] Dec. 13, 1845; Nov. 12, 1846, &c.
[3] Aug., 1847. [4] July 23, 1846.

Rauparaha's guilt. The seizure was lucky as well as honest, for it reconciled the colonists and it enabled Grey with the aid of Rangitake to hunt down and ultimately capture Rangihaeata. Nor was the seizure resented. The odd paradox, which King had noted, that Maori are grateful for being kidnapped by Englishmen, the method being so Maori, and the result so un-Maori, was once more verified. Moreover, men realized for the first time that Wairau was forgiven, not by the impotent, but by men who had power to punish. Rauparaha was soon set free, and in 1849 headed a petition to the Queen to make Grey everlasting Governor of New Zealand.

bought land and made roads,

Grey was no less happy in dealing with litigants and land. His opportune purchase of Porirua (1847) to which we have referred, was followed up by the construction of a military road from Wellington to Porirua (W.) and Lake Wairarapa (N.) (1846–50), by large purchases at the mouth of the Rangitikei (1849), whither the Poriruan road led, and by the purchase of Wairarapa plain (1849–53) (875 sq. m.), whither the Wairarapan road led. Next, he or his agent Donald Maclean purchased land around Napier (1,000 sq. m.)[2] and a coastal strip from Napier to a point opposite Wairarapa plain (1849–52). From this point to Porirua the coast was already English. In Middle Island, Otago (625 sq. m.) had already been purchased under the auspices of Fitzroy (1844) and Wairau by Grey (1847); Grey now purchased the east (43,500 sq. m.) for less than 1*s.* a square mile (1848), and the south (1852) and west, and rest of Middle Island for less than £1 a square mile (1849–53).[3] These purchases, which were subject to the usual reserves, were strokes of genius. In Middle Island the Maori had had eleven square miles, in the Napier districts five square miles for each man, woman or child; which was more than clannish gardeners, who hunted a little, could

[1] Feb. 22, 1849. [2] Te Hapuku, Ahuriri, Mohaka blocks, &c.
[3] West Whanganui, part of Massacre Bay (Collingwood), Wakapauka, Pelorus Sound (Havelock), Queen Charlotte's Sound, Waitohi (Picton), Cloudy Bay, &c.

manage. There was room here for many hundred thousands of Englishmen and many millions of English sheep without jostling or hustling the Maori. These were the very districts of which the Maori had made least and the English could make most. The ugly possibility of a revolt by the Company's colonists against Spain's award was averted.

communed directly with the Maori,

Grey's second stroke of genius was more ethereal in its essence. Hitherto, Governors had conversed with natives through missionaries or ex-missionary 'Protectors of Aborigines'. The Protector, like some travelling tutor, took the Governor about and made his pupil see everything through the tutor's spectacles, which were far from opaque—the missionaries were the best linguists, the best friends, and had the best knowledge of the Maori—but were so to speak pale-green and apt to unnerve. Grey, after eighteen months' tutelage, cut the leading strings, broke the spectacles, and henceforth looked the Maori in the face with his own eyes and spoke to them in their own tongue as man to man. He won their hearts, and more than their hearts. Traders and men like Maning used to complain that missionaries only saw one side of the Maori character. Grey plumbed depths which had hitherto been unsuspected either by missionaries or by traders, and revealed to an astonished world the power, the pathos, and the glory of those old Maori myths wherein lay the secret of their rude chivalry, their Norse heroism, and their Greek eloquence. He tapped the wellspring of their idealism. He appealed to their imagination. For the first time an Englishman knew the Maori and the Maori knew an Englishman. Grey expressed the reason for his new departure in these golden words: 'I soon perceived that I could neither govern nor conciliate a people with whose languages, manners, customs, religion and modes of thought, I was unacquainted'.[1]

In organizing the country he was partly helped and partly

[1] Sir J. Grey, *Pol. Myth.* (1855), Preface.

evaded and adapted Lord Grey's constitutional proposals,

thwarted by Lord Grey's architectonic genius. Lord Grey combined a Whig instinct for constitution-making with theories about land which were current among average country squires, but which the labours of men like Savigny, Laveleye and Mayne have shown to be of exceptional validity even in Europe of that date. Lord Grey's instructions of December 23, 1846, prescribed a cast-iron scheme, into which he tried to fit New Zealand as well as Australia. Municipal Government was to be the ground floor, Provincial Assemblies the first floor, and a General Assembly the top floor of his constitution. There was no access to the upper except through the lower floors. Indirect election prevailed throughout. An English reading and writing franchise was devised so that Maori would be excluded. The scheme was agrarian as well as constitutional. Maori land rights were to be registered and the registrar was to reject Maori claims to wastes, unless such claims had been ratified by executive or judicial acts. Sir G. Grey assumed that the Treaty of Waitangi was an executive act within the meaning of his instructions; and Lord Grey afterwards explained his words away as being purely abstract. But the two Greys were alone in their interpretation; and petitions streamed in from Te Whero Whero, Sir W. Martin, C.J., Bishop Selwyn, and others, protesting that this repudiation of the Treaty of Waitangi would make England seem 'a nation of liars'. While forwarding these petitions, which he characterized as absurd, Sir G. Grey deftly suggested the postponement of the constitutional proposal owing to the misinterpretation of its agrarian provisions by the colonists. Lord Grey suspended (1847) and ultimately withdrew his proposals; but seemed unconscious of the danger which he had so narrowly escaped.

The constitution which was ultimately adopted on Sir G. Grey's advice borrowed one leading feature of Lord Grey's scheme—namely, provincial autonomy.

and organized the three northern colonies,

New Zealand had been severed from New South Wales shortly after its annexation[1], and its Governor had been provided with the usual Councils. From the first, English New Zealand consisted of detached colonies, and when it grew the isolation of its units increased. Its growth illustrates dispersion not extension. The colonies of the north and centre formed two or three rough groups which traded with Europe and Australia but not with one another, and were actuated by different ideas. New groups and new differences were introduced when three sets of religious colonists arrived.

and Nelson,

First came some German Lutherans who wished to settle in the Chathams, which had been included in New Zealand since 1842,[2] but eventually settled near Nelson[3] and were naturalized, as in South Australia.

Christchurch,

Then came the 'Canterbury' Association of High Churchmen, who bought land from the New Zealand Company, and founded Christchurch near Banks's Peninsula, paying for it £2 per acre, which was disposable in the same way as other proceeds of land sales by the Company—plus £1 which was payable to the S. P. G. Buyers as elsewhere raffled for their lots, so that the transaction resembled an S. P. G. Bazaar (1850). About the same time Langlois' partnership failed for want of funds, and his colonists flitted to the Marquesas or merged in the newcomers who bought their land.

and Otago,

A Scotch Free Kirk colony occupied Otago, further south, in 1848. These colonies are interesting as the only examples in Australasia of that colonizing spirit which peopled the wilds of America with men bent on going to Heaven in their own way without interruption. But the analogy is not close. Those men were driven forth hungry and thirsty by persecution; these men travelled like tourists in an age of tolerance. Nor did these men preserve their sectarian tinge for long. Indeed they never were exclusive.

[1] Nov. 16, 1840. [2] Procl. April 4, 1842.
[3] At Waimea.

(the N.Z. Co. having expired)

They were only the pale afterglow of the pilgrim fathers. Meanwhile, the New Zealand Company, which stood to these religious societies as parent to daughter, as vendor to purchaser, began to totter and falter, leaned more and more on State aid, craved loans of £100,000 (1846) and £136,000 (1847), gave notice that it must surrender its charter (1850) and surrendered it with all its debts to Government (1852). Nothing now stood between the colonial and home government and its colonists, or between the colonial and home governments.

into six federated provinces.

Under the English Act of 1852 the colonists, now 31,000 in number and scattered over 900 miles of latitude, were gathered together into six provinces, Auckland, New Plymouth (Taranaki), Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago, each province having an elected council and superintendent. The General Assembly of New Zealand, which was bicameral and modelled on that of New South Wales, levied customs (with the usual restrictions) and managed Crown lands, but the Crown reserved to itself the sole right to buy or hire lands held by natives in commonalty or severalty, a power to uphold native institutions in native districts, and a power to create municipalities. All elections were direct. It was one of Sir G. Grey's latest acts to bring this Statute into force on March 5, 1853. The Assembly was opened in 1854 after he left.

The new constitution brought New Zealand into the main stream of Australian development. In many respects New Zealand was unlike its sister-colonies, but Australasia had one history for all that. Every Australasian colony traded in wool and other raw material with England. The same economic crisis convulsed Sydney and Adelaide (1841–2) Sydney and New Zealand (1843–4) and Tasmania (1844–5), though the native deadlock which was its chief feature in New Zealand did not exist elsewhere. In every Australasian colony the agrarian policy of the English Parliament pro-

voked an agitation in favour of reform, though for different reasons. Similarly, Lord Grey's constitutional scheme, which was thrust upon all these colonies so unexpectedly, offended each and suited each in one way or another; thus its municipalities suited South Australia and its federal machinery suited New Zealand, although these features were unsuitable elsewhere; and its very errors and oddities stimulated political instead of personal criticism, and made the victory of the reformers inevitable and complete.

Sir G. Grey left, 1855.

Sir G. Grey's success was of a very different kind to that of Lord Grey; and when he left Englishmen were proud of their new country, Rangihaeata was making roads for him at his own expense, and all the Maori were enthusiastic. He educed order out of chaos although he never had as much as 1,400 soldiers. Nor had he a free hand. A curious request which he made to Lord Grey, that he might be allowed to promise anything that the natives required, was unanswered.[1] He could only lead the English colonists by following them. Just before he came, and just after he left, measles broke out among the natives and killed them by thousands; otherwise the horizon, which was utterly overcast when he came, showed when he went not one cloud, except at Taranaki whither the Awa had returned; and that cloud was as yet no bigger than a man's hand.

[1] Aug. 20, 1847 (no printed answer).

See, too, G. W. Rusden's *History of New Zealand* (1883), 3 vols., which is the only long history of New Zealand; W. P. Reeves's *Long White Cloud*. which is the best short history of New Zealand and has a short useful bibliography, pp. 414 et seq. See, too, on old history, F. E. Maning's *Old New Zealand* (1863), which is the best account of New Zealand before the annexation; T. W. Gudgeon, *History and Doings of the Maori*, 1820–40 (1885); John L. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand in* 1814 *and* 1815 *with Rev. S. Marsden* (1817), 2 vols. See, generally, *Journal of Polynesian Society* (Wellington) and *Transactions of New Zealand Institute* (Wellington) *passim*; P. Mennell's *Dictionary of Australasian Biography* (1892). See, too, E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in N. Z.* (1845) 2 vols.; and *Founders of Canterbury* (1868); T. M. Hocken, *Early Hist. of Otago* (1898).

CHAPTER X

TRANSITION: THE AGE OF GOLD

The transition from the second to the third epoch

THE epochs into which we have divided Australian history are not contrasted in all their characteristics; there is no single universal break, nor does one decisive moment sever night from day, or 'cut the glory from the grey'; but the dividing line is jagged, parts of one epoch overlap the last or project into the next, and between the second and third epochs there was a period or rather phase of transition, and men passed from the middle to the new world across a bridge which began near the ending of one world and ended near the beginning of another world, which belonged to both worlds or neither, and whose material was of unwrought gold.

was effected by discoveries of gold.

In 1840, Lord J. Russell ordered Sir G. Gipps not to reserve mines when selling land, because 'the small amount of profit derived from mines throughout the British Colonial Empire' was a 'reason why such reservations would be as unnecessary as inconvenient'.[1] Gipps complied with this command by reserving nothing but gold and silver. For while Lord John wrote the eastern sky was beginning to show the first faint symptoms of a golden dawn. McBrien (1823),[2] Strzelecki (1839),[3] Rev. W. B. Clarke (1841), Blakefield (1844), Smith (1848), and others, picked up gold-quartz

[1] May 31, 1840, in *Acc. and Pap.* (1840), xxxiii. p. 395.

[2] E. F. Pittman, *Mineral Resources of New South Wales* (1901), Frontispiece.

[3] Strzelecki, *Supplement to Physical Description of New South Wales, &c.* (1856).

pebbles on the banks of creeks which feed the upper Macquarie. Others touched gold in Victorian creeks running from the great range northward into the Murray (1846, 1848, 1849, 1850), and in the South Australian creeks of Mount Lofty (1844, 1847). No one minded these isolated accidents. Then the theorists began to speculate, and Humboldt wrote that throughout the world 'les chaînes méridionales ont offert de grandes richesses d'or' (1843), instancing the Urals and Altai where griffins still guarded Arimaspian gold.[1] If so, said Murchison (1844), how odd it is that the Australian range bears no gold, especially as it is made of the same rock (according to Strzelecki) as the Urals.[1] W. B. Clarke (1844), who was no mean geologist, and a Russian geologist, Helmersen (1845), boldly prophesied that the whole range teemed with gold; and Murchison, who had in the meantime seen gold-quartz pebbles from the affluents of the Macquarie, and heard of the South Australian finds, joined his voice to theirs, and urged Cornish miners to visit the new El Dorado (1846).[2] But these prophets prophesied to the deaf until 1848, when gold was discovered in Californian mountains which mimicked the Urals in direction, structure, and height. Then Murchison formally urged Lord Grey to send a geologist to unlock the hidden treasures of the Australian range (Nov. 1848). Before compliance was possible, the same request came from Sir C. Fitzroy, governor of New South Wales,[3] because newer and bigger gold-quartz pebbles had been collected, and Californian fever was unhinging men's minds. Owing to a series of mishaps, geologist Stutchbury, who was sent in response to Fitzroy's request, only arrived on the scene on May 14, 1851, when the age of gold had already dawned.

[1] Al. von Humboldt, *Asie Centrale* (1843), i. 221; *Journal of Royal Geographical Society* (1844), vol. xiv. pp. xcix et seq.

[2] W. B. Clarke, *Plain Statements* (1851); *Transactions of Royal Geological Society*, Cornwall, vi. 325.

[3] March 1, 1849.

e.g. on affluents of the Macquarie and Lachlan, 1851,

Hargraves, of Sydney, was the Columbus of this new discovery; though, like Columbus, he had been preceded by philosophers and peasants. He was one of the 300 odd Australians who passed through Auckland on their way to San Francisco in 1849.[1] He learned to ply the pan and rock the cradle, in order to separate alluvial gold; returned to near Bathurst (Jan. 1851), whose Californian scenery he recognized; donned his miner's shirt, shouldered his pick, pan, and cradle; washed, scraped, and shook the first pebbly mud on the first crooked creek which led into the Macquarie, took the resulting gold to Fitzroy (April 3, 1851), and told Fitzroy where to find it, trusting to his honour for a reward (April 30). On May 22 Fitzroy received Stutchbury's report, and issued a proclamation claiming gold as a Royal property which no one might take without a 30*s.* monthly licence. Meanwhile, Hargraves blurted out his secret on May 8 to the Bathurst people, nine of whom left next day;[2] and on June 3, 2,000 belted red-or-blue shirted people were at Ophir,[3] as the lucky spot was called, rocking and tubbing, scrubbing and scraping filthy gold 'babies,' in orthodox Californian fashion. On June 11 the human tide ebbed faster than it flowed. On the 14th it turned again, but now towards an adjoining creek as well as towards Ophir.[4] A fortnight later ebb-tide set in. On July 16 the *Bathurst Free Press* wrote, 'Bathurst is mad again. Men meet together, stare stupidly at each other, talk incoherent nonsense, and wonder what will happen next'; for Dr. Kerr had just stopped before their doors and taken from his tandem-carriage a solid hundredweight of gold from fifty miles north. New masses of men surged towards the new creek.[5] Hitherto, feeders of the Macquarie, soon feeders of

[1] *C. L. and C. E. Rep.* (1851), vol. xxii. p. 389, App. 25.
[2] *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 15.
[3] Where Summerhill and Lewis Ponds Creeks meet.
[4] Turon. [5] Meroo.

the Lachlan,[1] were found running with gold—Tarshish vied with Ophir—and the golden river passed over the watershed and ran down the Araluen towards the Shoalhaven. In December, the Lachlan and Macquarie—those rivers of fate—and the Araluen harboured their thousands, but Ballaarat and Mount Alexander, which began to ooze gold on the south and north of the Victorian range at the end of August and October respectively, harboured their tens of thousands of golden dustmen. Then Bendigo and Creswick creeks, thirty miles or so to the north and south of the Mount, began to shine with yellow lustre. In November, 1852, there were '40,000 to 60,000' treasure-hunters in Bendigo alone. Soon creek after creek between the range and the Murray blossomed with gold.[2] There was an 'eternal coming and going'. At Melbourne there was an exodus of numbers; business stood still for weeks at a time, and on June 6, 1852, fifty-nine ships lay in harbour sailorless. Adelaide and the suburbs of Melbourne were described as cities of women by their Governors, to whom these things boded the extinction of every industry and the imminence of the doom of Midas.

and at Ballaarat and Bendigo.

All these alarms proved futile. Gold-diggings had equal power to retract and repel. Those who poured in fastest in order to win the wherewithal to buy, fled back fastest to their counters, stockyards, and tilths, in order to sell while prices were at their highest. Most men wasted their energies by rushing to and fro, by responding first to the attractive then to the repellent force. Some yielded to both forces at the same time, and stood stock-still like the schoolman's ass, or like Judge Therry's penniless lollipop-seller, who made an easy £6,000 a year by opening a halfway house between Melbourne and the Victorian mines.[3]

Gold-digging did little harm to industry,

The belief that these successive gold rushes suspended industry still persists; yet figures prove that, during the

[1] Abercrombie. [2] Avoca, Goulburn, Ovens, Mitta Mitta, &c.
[3] R. Therry, *Reminiscences* (1863), p. 374.

eight worst years[1], Australian cattle, agriculture, and wool-exports doubled. True! sheep were stationary, but then, during the next decade[2], sheep doubled while cattle were stationary. Progress was zig-zag; Australia as a whole became the unit of production; provinces compensated one another; and while Victorian corn-culture *reculait* (1852–4) *pour mieux sauter* (1855 et seq.) its neighbours supplied it with bread. Industries fluctuated and shifted, but the wholesale collapse which was anticipated was pure delusion. These little eddies and cross-currents did not check the main stream of industrial progress.

and soon yielded to gold-mining,

Besides, gold-digging was a mere passing phase. The diggers were like gleaners, selfish, unskilled, and nomadic, but unlike gleaners they preceded the harvest, which required skill, co-operation, and settled industry. The first sign of change appeared at Ballaarat, where an ancient basalt river-floor was pierced (1853), and proved to be the ceiling of a still more ancient water-course paved and lined with gold. In 1854 large partnerships sank shafts, pooled losses, and erected a steam-pump. There too, as at Bendigo, wash-pots large as Moab superseded cradles, and individual began to wage unequal war with collective industry. In succeeding years depth after depth has been burst open and has disclosed stream after stream of subterranean gold—first 200 feet (1854), then 500 feet (1863), now nearly 3,000 feet below the surface. So men wandered downward instead of abroad in quest of alluvial gold. At Bendigo quarrying and quartz crushing existed in 1854; it too began its downward course; but many years elapsed before mechanism was sufficiently perfected to oust the isolated treasure-hunters. In New South Wales organized gold-mining came still later in the day, and followed the precedent either of Ballaarat or Bendigo. Meanwhile the golden calf was dispersing its devotees far and wide; and new finds drew crowds towards the heads

[1] 1851–8. [2] 1862–71.

of the Murrumbidgee and Peel, towards New England on either side of the range, and towards the neighbourhood of Moreton Bay. At the end of the transition period, that is to say about the end of the Fifties, digging sank into insignificance, mining was one out of many Australian industries, and gold-hunting became a subordinate part of the general life of the community.

and licences to leases.

As gold getting passed from the unsettled to the settled stage, three-monthly licences and the like were introduced into Victoria (1853–4), then a £1 per annum fee and an export duty on gold were substituted for licences; and leases to Companies and the like came into vogue (1855). No one denied that licence fees were just. Every one agreed that their collection had become intolerably vexatious. Monthly visits paid by 100,000 denizens of the gold-fields to a score of Gold Commisioners were irksome, to say the least; and bi-weekly return visits by armed bodies of policemen to search for and expel diggers who could not produce their licences were not popular. Indeed, wherever the police went they were greeted with cries of 'Joe! Joe! Jam his tail'; and commentators who differed as to the meaning of these cryptic words admitted that they were not words of welcome. Passive resistance, which had played so unpleasant a part in the history of quit-rents, threatened the Executive, and the most terrific rebellion which ever convulsed the antipodes broke out in Ballaarat at the end of 1854.

The anti-licence agitation caused

During the whole of 1853 and 1854 the agitation against licence fees was accompanied by demands for manhood suffrage, paid members, and power to buy land occupied by squatters. It was Chartist as well as fiscal in its aim. It was also, like Chartism, prone to riot. One night in October, 1854, a drunken digger named Scobie was murdered in Ballaarat. An ex-convict publican, late of Norfolk Island, who had just turned the murdered man from

his public-house, was suspected and brought before a corrupt Dogberry who dismissed the charge (Oct. 12). One of Dogberry's colleagues sent the papers straight to Attorney General Stawell, on the ground that the prisoner ought to have been put upon his trial. Before Stawell could reply a mob burnt the public-house in broad daylight (Oct. 17). This was the first instance of Lynch Law in Australia; and it was necessary to repress it. Accordingly, three of the ringleaders were arrested, tried by jury, found guilty and condemned to short terms of imprisonment (November 20, 21). Meanwhile, the corrupt Dogberry was cashiered, and the publican re-arrested (Oct. 21), tried, and found guilty of manslaughter (Nov. 18). Further, a Commission was appointed to investigate miners' grievances, and discuss export duties on gold and leases in lieu of licences and licence fees (Nov. 16). It seemed as though the incident were closed and that the reformers ought to be satisfied. Unfortunately, two tub-thumpers named Black and Kennedy were to the miners what Feargus O'Connor was to the Chartists; there were many Irishmen like Lalor, fresh from Ireland, and a few foreigners, including a German bully (Vern), an Italian poetaster (Raffaello Carboni), a captain of the 'Californian Rangers' Revolver Brigade' (McGill), a Dutchman (Vennick), and a Swede. On November 11 the 'Ballaarat Reform League', which had hitherto been guided by moderates like Humffray, listened to these cranks and quiddities; and resolved 'that it is not the wish of the league to effect an immediate separation from the parent country, but &c.', and on the 23rd unfurled a flag. Seekamp or Steenkamp, editor of the *Ballaarat Free Press*, aided by Lang's son, preached 'Australian Independence', but with a bombastic magniloquence which was usually received, like Annand's periodic separatist motion in the Legislative Assembly,[1] 'with roars of laughter'. On the

[1] e.g. *Victorian Hansard*, Oct. 26 and 31, 1854.

27th Kennedy and Black waited on the Governor, 'demanded' the release of the men who burnt the public-house, and were told that demands could not, though petitions might be granted. On the 28th some soldiers who were marching 'in disorder' into Ballaarat were hustled, injured, and pillaged by rioters, and rescued by policemen: an event which we believe is rare in military history. On the 29th 'the League' met on Bakery Hill, fiery words were uttered, licences were thrown into bonfires of vanities, 'thousands of shots' were fired in air and one horse was hit, and this is the only part of this peculiar story which seems to possess a familiar ring.

On the 30th the police, aided by the soldiers, proceeded to arrest, and the mob to rescue, unlicensed diggers; the Riot Act was read, and the riotous scenes developed into a real rebellion which lasted three whole days, be the same more or less.

a little rebellion in 1854.

'Volunteers', who have been described as 200, 500, 1,000, 1,500 or 2,000 in number, reared 'the Australian flag' 'which has now a permanent flagstaff, knelt round (it), swore to defend each other', collected arms, drilled, and formed a fortified camp on Eureka Hill; and 'one thing was very remarkable, the almost if not actual absence of drunken men'.[1] Andrew Black, 'Minister-at-War,' drew up a 'Declaration of Independence' and bolted; Lalor, 'Commander-in-Chief of the Diggers-under-Arms,' drilled awkward squads 'three-deep'—for most things in this story are odd—and Vern, when he wanted anything from anybody, usurped Lalor's august title. An eye-witness says that on Saturday evening, Dec. 2, most of these remarkably sober volunteers left camp in order that they might get drunk.[2] Lalor's ominous password for that night was 'Vinegar Hill'. At daybreak on December 3, 276 horse, foot, and police marched

[1] *Geelong Advertiser*, Dec. 2, p. 4.
[2] W. B. Withers, *History of Ballaarat* (1887), p. 116.

towards them, were fired on, returned the fire, and stormed the barricades. The casualties of the attacking party were seventeen; those of the 'rebels' were at least thirty-four, twenty of whom were returned as Irish (including Lalor), two as German, two as Canadian, and five as unknown; and there were 125 prisoners, only twelve of whom were tried.[1] Martial law prevailed for three whole days, during which the soldiers did nothing because there was nothing to do. Special constables were sworn in at Melbourne and Geelong; and they too had a sinecure. At a public meeting, Blair, one of Lang's protégés, threatened contingent rebellion in leonine accents (Dec. 7), was called to order, and behaved like a lamb ever afterwards. On Dec. 17th the Commission found perfect peace prevailing in Ballaarat. As early as Dec. 5 Faulkner, co-founder of Melbourne, voiced the unanimous wish when he said, 'Let bygones be bygones.' On January 10th the Commission on miners' grievances re-echoed his prayer, which the Governor rejected. Then a public meeting was held at which a resolution of more than doubtful taste was passed, that 'acquittal was better than amnesty'.[2] What happened was as follows:—

Black, who had been unavoidably absent from the fray, Lalor, who had been wounded, McGill, who fled to America, and Vern and Lang, who afterwards found their way to prison for other reasons, were never arrested. Ross had been slain. Steenkamp got six months for sedition. A constable who had killed an innocent man some distance from the fray was acquitted.[3] The twelve prisoners, after being detained in prison for three or four months, were tried for high treason and acquitted on the ground that though they had been riotous, and had meditated resistance to the police, they had never been intentionally disloyal and their treason was 'technical', 'a mere fiction'.[4] This plea was quite true of

[1] Raffaello Carboni, *Eureka Stockade* (1855), pp. 98–9.
[2] Jan. 15. [3] Jan. 18. [4] On or before March 27.

some and nearly true of the other prisoners. Whether right or wrong, the verdict showed good sense. Enough punishment had been meted out upon the battlefield. It was wiser to laugh at than to hang, draw, and quarter poor, good-hearted, vain, little Raffaello. Most of the prisoners were nonentities, and were soon forgotten. Lalor, who was elected a member of the first Victorian Parliament in 1856, proved a loyal and useful servant of the Crown. The policy of ignoring the grain of treason in the bushel of righteous discontent was justified by its results. On the other hand, although it was politic to forget, it was untruthful to deny that the bad seed, though infinitesimal, was there, or to assert that it was put there by 'continental anarchists', or to argue that violence redressed the Scobie scandal and abolished the licence-fees. The survival of such legends as these suggests that the Eureka verdict clouded men's sense of truth.

These discoveries stimulated

A chapter might be written setting forth the effects which gold is supposed to have produced and did not produce upon Australian history. By far the greatest effect which it produced was that it attracted new hosts from Europe with a power which was more than magnetic.

(1) spontaneous immigration, chiefly from England,

A vast, motley population swarmed into Australia. For the first time in history, spontaneous vastly exceeded State-aided emigration. In sixteen months (1852–3) the United Kingdom sent to Victoria a number equal to the whole number of Victorians in 1851. New South Wales was second only to Victoria in its share in the general increase; yet in 1851 Victorians were not half, in 1854 they exceeded the people of New South Wales; and Victorian shipping wrested the sceptre for a while from New South Wales. The sudden growth of its first fifteen years was unparalleled; but this new growth substituted months for years and seemed a miracle.

also from China,

The new-comers who came to stay came almost entirely from the mother country. There were also birds of passage,

chiefly from sister colonies, but partly from China. Banks, Matra, and Young had thought of introducing Chinamen before New South Wales was born. The earliest capitalists who arrived obtained leave to import, but did not import, Chinese labourers for the cultivation of hemp (1809). Three Chinese criminals figured in Western Australian statistics for 1835. About the same time Lang urged the importation of '1,000 families of Chinese' tea-planters into what is now Queensland.[1] In 1837 O'Brien of Yass, and others, wished for State-aided Chinese immigrants; but the Committee of Council only sanctioned State-aided Indian immigrants, and the Home Government vetoed both proposals.[2] In 1846–50, 515 Chinese labourers were imported into Sydney or Port Phillip by private enterprise, and in 1850 there were about 400 in the neighbourhood of Brisbane. The lure of yellow metal multiplied the yellow race by ten or more; and one of them assured the Victorian Gold Commission of 1854–5 that they 'all were coming'. The Victorians, panic-stricken at the prospect, all but broke out into anti-Chinese riots at Bendigo (1853), and passed an Act imposing a £10 entrance fee on Chinamen (1855). Every Australian colony followed this precedent. Exclusion from alluvial gold-fields would have been more just, but such an idea seems not to have been mooted until it was embodied in a Queensland Act of 1878 and Sir H. Parkes's Act (N.S.W.) of 1888. With rare exceptions, Chinamen gathered but never mined gold; and had no more 'natural right' to gather gold on British wastes than to catch fish in British lakes.

and Tasmania;

In intercolonial migrations at the end of the Forties Tasmanians had been busiest; and they now ran in and out of Victoria at the rate of 12,000 a year, a figure which New South Wales could not beat, although its population

[1] Comp. Hodgkinson, *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay* (1845), pp. 111, 112.

[2] *Acc. and Pap.* (1838), xl. No. 389, pp. 31 et seq. Cf. *post*, p. 250.

was more than twice that of Tasmania. Policemen went on tour, and criminals were once more out of hand. Accordingly, the Victorians passed laws (1852–9), which the Home Government annulled by return of post, for the exclusion of Tasmanians unless they could prove that they were free.

(2) *bush-ranging;*

There was some reason for alarm: Victorians read one morning in their daily papers how two Tasmanian criminals stood on a Tasmanian headland, signalled to the captain of a fishing-boat, seized him when he came, bound him, and forced him to sail to Victoria; where in a day or two they committed one murder and twenty-eight robberies under arms.[1] The wolf was at his old tricks, but with fatter sheep and in richer folds. The old crime assumed a new shape when one winter day a Victorian gold-escort, composed of six armed police, were fired on, on the highway within three miles of camp, and four men and horses were felled by the first volley.[2] Here, too, the escort-robbers, Murphy and Co., were mostly convicts or ex-convicts from Tasmania. Their nationality is not mentioned. The next escort robbery was by Gardiner, who founded a new school of bushrangers composed of men who were young, brave, and expert with horse and rifle in the bush. The old school was of convict origin, but the new school had no convict taint. Gardiner, Gilbert, Hall, Clarke, and others, desolated the gold-clad slopes of the great range (1862–70). A sub-school of Victorian ex-criminals troubled New Zealand for a few months; but the New Zealanders did not do to Victorians what the Victorians did to the Tasmanians; and a sub-school of Victorian Irishmen, of whom Ned Kelly was chief, scourged the marches between Victoria and New South Wales (1878–80). The capture of Ned Kelly, last of his kind, half Robin Hood, half wild beast, brought to its

[1] *Geelong Advertiser*, Oct. 1, 1853.
[2] Near the McIvor, *Geelong Advertiser*, July 26, 1853; Boxall, *Story of the Australian Bushrangers* (1899), p. 164.

close the new phase of bushranging which Murphy and Gardiner, or rather the new discovery, had introduced everywhere, from New England to the Araluen and thence to the Avoca, where men were far apart and gold was near at hand. Monster meetings throughout Victoria petitioned for the reprieve of Kelly. These petitions, which do not indicate a nice sense of justice, were disregarded.

(3) *railways, telegraphs, and steamers.*

It seems bathos to pass from bushrangers to railways but both were influenced by the new discovery. Railways, projected in 1845, were opened 1854–5 in New South Wales and Victoria. Steamers appeared as coasters in 1831; and on the Murray in 1853. A monthly English mail by sailing ship was instituted in 1846; but English mail steamers, though often discussed (e.g. 1846 and 1848), were only realized in 1852. Telegraph messages were sent before the close of 1851. Gold did not initiate new departures, but only stimulated and quickened what already existed. Hitherto, too, it did not take men out of the beaten tracts.

See, generally, W. Westgarth, *Victoria and the Australian Gold Mines* (1857); and *The Colony of Victoria* (1864); and the authorities mentioned in the notes to this chapter.

CHAPTER XI

TRANSITION: THE GOLDEN AGE

A Pacific Utopia was founded

PITCAIRN Island belongs as much to the first as it does to the second and third epochs; indeed, some writers think that it belongs more properly to that unreal, immutable golden age of which poets have sung.

Although innumerable Utopias have flourished and perished in sequestered nooks of America and Africa outside the shadow of the Roman empire, Utopists have shunned Australia; Lane's 'New Australians' fled to Paraguay (1893); and only one spiritual architect has dared to build a new Heaven and a new Earth on one of the many vacant earthly paradises of the Pacific, and in doing so he quite unconsciously attained beauty and quite unconsciously fulfilled some of the oddest paradoxes which ever puzzled English brains.

by criminals and half-breeds in Pitcairn Island,

The project of colonizing Australia with criminals was wild; Sir W. Eden's project of converting the heathen by means of criminals sounded rank hypocrisy[1], and the instructions prepared in 1787 by Lord Sydney, Sir G. Young and Captain Phillip to import Polynesian women so that Australia might be peopled with half-breeds seemed worthy of Bedlam. The theory maintained by Banks, 'pater patriae,' that islands 3,000 miles away were included in the 'adjacent islands on the east' over which the Governor's commission extended, must have sounded like idle bombast to the Governors of the second epoch, who would not stir as far as New Zealand without special authority. The arguments

[1] *History of New Holland* (1787), Pref. xx.

of Buller, Wakefield, and the rest, that they alone colonized 'unoccupied' lands with free people and without cost to the State read like nauseous cant to those who considered the cost and the old occupants. Yet some people did in literal truth what Buller and Wakefield said they were doing; and they did it not 3,000 but 5,000 miles east of Australia; moreover, though free Englishmen they were criminals, their wives were Polynesian and all their descendants were Christian half-breeds; and since the year 1800 the colony has been almost without government and without serious crime. The men who performed this wonderful feat were the nine worst mutineers of the *Bounty* which Bligh commanded.

whither the mutineers of the Bounty sailed, 1789,

In April, 1789, Bligh's sailors, against whose stomachs Bligh waged unceasing war, mutinied under a man named Christian, turned Bligh and eighteen others adrift in a tiny, crazy boat (which duly reached Timor, 3,300 miles away) and sailed back to the sirens of Tahiti. Oddly enough at that very date some convicts at Norfolk Island planned and almost accomplished the same exploit.[1] How strange if the two parties had met! The less guilty mutineers remained at Tahiti and sailed back in irons on the *Pandora*, which was wrecked on the Barrier Reef (1791); and Captain Edwards and those who were saved went in open boats to the Dutch East Indies, where they were joined by some of Edwards's crew who had sailed thither in a boat a little larger than Bligh's direct from Tahiti, a distance of 5,000 miles (1791), and by some recaptured convicts who had sailed from Sydney in a boat as small as Bligh's over a distance as great as Bligh's.[2]

The other nine mutineers married nine Tahitian women, thus Christian married 'Mainmast Christian' and called his son 'Thursday October Christian', and each man and wife sailed off in the *Bounty* (1789), along with six Tahitian men

[1] *Hist. Rec. of New South Wales*, I. ii. 294. [2] *Ante*, pp. 57, 67.

and two or three Tahitian women, and a few goats, pigs and poultry, and so disappeared from the world for twenty years. It appears that they landed on the then uninhabited Pitcairn Island (1790), that Christian (like Cortes) burnt his ship, a spar of which drifted 2,200 miles to the west and misled Edwards, divided the island into nine parts for the nine whites and their families, and—the curtain dropped.

and where J. Adams and his community were discovered, 1808.

We dimly see confused visions of a widowed mutineer stealing the wife of a Tahitian; of Christian persuading two Tahitian men to decoy and slay a third—was he Uriah?—of Tahitians slaying four mutineers; of a woman playing the part of Jael to a Tahitian Sisera; of an Englishman dead drunk, in every sense, with the fermented root of the Pacific tea-tree; of a white triumvirate, two of whom 'in self-defence' felled the third 'like an ox'. When the curtain lifted and the new century began, there was one white man, John Adams, as A. Smith renamed himself—there were five women, twenty-three children of the various mutineers, and no Tahitian men nor children. The rest of the men were all dead and no one ever knew where they were buried. John Adams was all-father, sole chief, and teacher of one of the most simple, peaceful, and religious communities that ever existed. Every one could read and write. At first bilingual, they soon dropped Polynesian and looked to our king as their king. Their instinct told them that they constituted the purest type of an English colony and that the formal annexation which took place in 1838 was unnecessary and unmeaning. Their ovens, cookery, and cloth-work—from the paper-mulberry—were Polynesian; until, as time went on, barter and presents brought ready-made boilers, slop-clothes and the like. For a long time their only books were the English Bible and Prayer Book.[1]

[1] J. Barrow, *Mutiny of the Bounty* (1831, new ed. 1883); W. Brodie, *Pitcairn Island* (1859); T. B. Murray, *Pitcairn Island* (1853, new ed. 1885); *Mutiny of H.M.S. Bounty* (1885); R. A. Young, *Mutiny of the Bounty* (1894).

They removed to Tahiti and returned, 1831;

When John Adams died, 'aged 65' (1829)[1], he feared that his 'children', then seventy-nine in number, would outgrow their island home which is only five miles round and suffers from drought. So the model colony was transplanted to Tahiti, whence physical and moral contagion drove all its members back within five months (1831).

they removed to Norfolk Island, 1856,

Meanwhile, two men in a boat had arrived from South America, 3,500 miles away (1828). One died and the other, Nobbs by name, became P. S. M. (Pastor and Spiritual Master) and was assisted by two other new-comers, Buffet and Evans. This moral triumvirate was flogged (!) and exiled by a still newer moral autocrat named Hill, who flitted across the scene for a year or two and was then banished by the advice of an English naval captain (1837). After formal annexation (1838) a magistrate was annually elected by adult men and women, under the aegis of the chaplain, and he worked in harmony with the triumvirs until their deaths in 1884 and 1891 respectively. Nobbs was *de facto*, and after 1853 *de jure*, chaplain. In 1849 the islanders politely declined to be annexed by France. In 1853 there was drought, influenza, and a fear of over-population; and Admiral Moresby obtained leave to transport the entire colony—193 in all—to Norfolk Island. This was done in 1856, when the last of the ex-convicts, who by the irony of fate had become a convict through mutiny, handed over to them things they had never yet seen, stone houses, cattle, and bees, and they learned for the first time the meaning of a land flowing with milk and honey.

On their arrival the Governor of New South Wales, who became ex-officio Governor of Norfolk Island, codified the laws which they had brought with them from Pitcairn Island and which remained intact until 1896, when the Governor appointed a nominee magistrate, abolished women's suffrage,

[1] He was said to be 60 in 1814.

instituted a council of twelve elected elders and, strangest of all, a lock-up and two policemen. Soon after their arrival the young men revived whaling and traded in oil.

and some returned to Pitcairn Island, 1858–63.

In 1858 and 1863 forty-three immigrants re-emigrated at their own cost to Pitcairn Island, so that the daughter became mother of its mother colony. The first batch arrived just in time to forestall the French for the second time; and the second batch defied the less mundane terrors of Bishop Patteson, who was then making Norfolk Island the capital of the Melanesian Mission, and who told them that it was sinful to go so far out of reach of clergymen! Pitcairn Island now became a house of call for mariners shipwrecked on the Oeno Atoll, and for inquisitive strangers who strayed from their way between Sydney and San Francisco, or San Francisco and Valparaiso. In 1886 the whole community was converted to Seventh-day Adventism; but in those longitudes, unless men are careful, Sunday is Saturday or Saturday Sunday according to whether they come from the east or west.

In 1892 Captain Rooke introduced a new constitution into Pitcairn Island, consisting of seven 'M.P.'s' elected as before but annually electing one of their members chief magistrate or president. In Utopias there is no progress, but 'all things always seem the same', and an English commissioner who did not belong to the romantic school discovered in 1898 that the insipidity of this idyllic life was driving the Pitcairners straight into 'hopeless imbecility'; and that they must be removed at once.

It was afterwards shown that, owing to the absence of the chief magistrate, the population, which was then 141, had been idle, and that a murder had been committed. A later commissioner reported (1901) that all were working for the State besides for themselves, and that the 'State-day work' would astonish 'many a British labourer', so that Pitcairn Island is still a temple of peaceful industry. The last

commissioner reports (1905) that the population is not immaculate and is 169 in number, and he has once more changed the constitution.

Recent news from Norfolk Island informs us that four volunteers fought in South Africa, one of whom obtained a D. S. O. and a commission; and that all the elders resigned in 1903, as a protest against incorporation in the Australian Commonwealth.

The inhabitants of Norfolk Island, including members and pupils of the Melanesian mission, are 827; and the transference of the island from New South Wales to the Australian Commonwealth has not been carried out.

CHAPTER XII

AUSTRALIA IN THE THIRD EPOCH

The third epoch combined

In the third epoch the character of Australian history not only developed but changed; and new ideas and tendencies came into play. Sometimes the novelty was more apparent than real; sometimes indeed the only novelty was a sense of novelty, and ghosts were hailed as new-born babes. The epoch was new and unconformable with the old, not only because new institutions were adopted but because old institutions were revived, and a new spirit was breathed into the bones of the dead past. The third epoch combined in it features of the first and second epoch in a manner peculiarly its own.

the socialism of the first epoch

The first epoch illustrated the quintessence of Socialism. In the beginning was the State, which fed, clothed and employed every man—which was universal provider, and besides State servants there were no free people. Then soldiers and people with a past took tentatively to private industry, they and their children settled down, a few capitalists arrived, bushcraft was invented, New South Wales swelled from forty to 140 miles wide, the wool trade struck root, prospects of future wealth dazzled men's eyes, and the thin-spun life of the colony and of the three or four frail sub-settlements which shared its precarious fate seemed safe.

with the self-help of the second,

In the second epoch safety and permanence were no longer in question; wealth was no longer an empty vision; commerce flourished and progressed. Children and State-aided immigrants gradually submerged convicts, soldiers, and

people with a past. Self-help was the animating and ruling spirit. The State, which meant England, was a total abstainer from production and industry, except that it gave gifts, either of human beings brought in in exchange for land, or of pay for soldiers and convicts, or in the case of the self-reliant colonies of money down. Nor did the State lend or borrow, if Gipps's one small immigration loan may be excepted. The State was neither socialistic nor capitalistic. It still prepared a few outlying settlements, pale shadows of what Sydney once was, but Albany was soon merged, Port Essington was abandoned, except by wild cattle; and the eastern and southern settlements were put into the crucible of Australian civilization and fused.

and in carrying on the extension of the second epoch,

Early in the second epoch the new-comers and their convict or ex-convict labourers perfected bushcraft. Men wandered afar and the boldest flights of yesterday seemed puny in the light of the new knowledge. New South Wales and Tasmania ran together, and a chain of pastoral stations united Rockhampton with Port Augusta. 'Continuous Australia' stretched along the east and south coasts within a line drawn from Rockhampton to Dawson River, thence to those tributaries of the Darling which lie east of the Warrego; thence by the Darling and Murray to Mount Lofty; thence to a point on Flinders Range north of Mount Arden; and so to Port Augusta. The greatest width of this strip was 1,000 miles, and its greatest length 1,400 miles. Western Australia was severed from this strip by deserts a little wider and more inhospitable than the sea which severed Australia from New Zealand.

One main problem of the third epoch was to fill up the gaps within this strip and to stretch the strip, so that it might cover all Australia. The ribbons across central Australia from north to south, and between the centre and Queensland are still thin and frayed out; men have as yet only crept round the northern coasts; deserts, though

shrunken, still divide the centre from the west; and the task is only half accomplished. Dispersion and the political motives associated with dispersion did not stimulate Australian development during the third epoch. There was only one agency at work inside Australia, namely extension; and as in the second so in the third epoch, extension was due to purely economic causes. But the economic atmosphere was different from what it once was. There were—(*a*) new workers, (*b*) public loans, (*c*) richer resources, and (*d*) competing States.

showed characteristics of its own; (a) voluntary immigration,

In the first place there were no English convicts during the third epoch, except for a time in Western Australia where they finally flickered out in 1868. The State was no longer the giver of gifts, and England ceased to play the part of Lady Bountiful. The State, which now meant the daughter not the parent State, still sold land and brought in immigrants but not with the old rigid uniformity, nor with the old results. After 1857 Victoria sent an agent-general to England in order to control immigration, and the other colonies followed suit. The old emigration commissioners made their exeunt. The only two States which largely aided immigration were Queensland and New Zealand, but more especially Queensland. While Australasians increased fourfold in forty years, Queenslanders increased from 30,000 to 510,000 (1861–1901). Natural increase, which accounted in Australasia for two-thirds, accounted in Queensland for less than one-half of its increase; consequently immigration must have played a very great part indeed in the history of Queensland. But the question whether the immigration which played this great part was voluntary or assisted is unanswerable. In forty-one years (1861–1901), 169,000 assisted new-comers poured into, in seven years (1892–8), the same number of human beings poured out of Queensland, so that we have no guarantee that one single man, woman, or child of all the assisted new-comers who came during the forty

years came to stay. Every Australasian colony during the third epoch was like a sieve; there was perpetual motion to and fro; and although immigration was as great a force as it ever was, for aught we know State-aided immigration may have been without any influence upon the third epoch of Australasian history. The history of the second epoch is unintelligible without those columns of figures of State-aided immigrants which dis-adorn our eighth chapter. Those were the very men who regenerated and transformed Australia. Similar figures for this epoch would either have no significance or be positively misleading.

The vast waves of gold-diggers which flooded Australia from time to time are still more elusive.[1] Whenever and wherever gold was found we meet a similar wave. But it is usually the same, a mere wave of transference, and need only be counted once. The first rush was very real; but the next rushes were often mere reflections. A certain steady inflow of voluntary, permanent immigrants from Europe forms an essential feature of this epoch; but statisticians do not, because they cannot, tell us who or how many they were, or why or when they came, or whither they went.

(b) state loans, e.g. Secondly, the State aided extension by loans. As soon as the State ceased to give gifts, it took to lending and borrowing for big purposes which required capital. In this sense, and until 1890 in this sense only, did it become socialistic and recall the first rather than the second epoch.

for water-works, Waterworks and railroads have been the great instruments of extension during this epoch; and they have been usually built with capital raised in London through the agents-general of the colonies. Messrs. Officer's manager on a sheep-run west of the Darling and east of the Paroo (N.S.W.) was the pioneer of artesian bores (1880); and private bores still exist side by side with State bores in New South Wales. But the triassic strata which the best

[1] *Ante*, p. 153.

bores penetrate are sometimes 4,000 feet deep; and these bores are almost always State bores. The experiments of the State geologist, R. L. Jack, ushered in artesian bores in Western Queensland (1885); but there the best, deepest and most numerous bores are private.[1] In Western Australia, Padbury of Yatheroo, a private settler, was the father of damming forty years ago[2]; but the huge twentieth-century aqueduct which conducts water uphill from near Perth to Kalgoorlie, 350 miles away to the east, is a State work. The State is almost the only railway owner in Australasia. It not only made and works at a dead loss patriotic railways like that from Palmerston to Pine Creek (1889), S. A. (N.T.), but it succeeded in constructing the earliest and most remunerative lines which private companies undertook but failed to construct. A prospectus of 'the great N.S.W. railway', dated 1853, announced that the Hunter River railway projected in 1845, but interrupted by 'a temporary check in commercial matters', was now to be pushed on vigorously with the aid of articled Chinamen, and of the land-grant system devised by Gipps in 1846.[3] It was all in vain. Despite 'the inexhaustible coal and gold' to which the directorate appealed, the scheme failed, was taken over by the State (1854–5), and its first instalment was at work in 1857. The Sydney-Paramatta railway—after four years' fruitless efforts to come into being—met the same fate and had to be completed by the State (1855). Small local lines round Melbourne fared better, but they were from the first guaraneted and then absorbed by the State. In 1857 railway mileage got into three figures and in 1870 into four figures; and its chief progress was during the Eighties, when Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane were connected by rail (1888). All these larger lines were constructed,

for railways, in eastern Australia,

[1] R. L. Jack, *Geology of Queensland, &c.* (1892), p. 414.
[2] W. H. Knight, *Western Australia*, 1870, p. 120.
[3] Prospectus, British Museum, 1890, e. 2 (37–8).

a id W A.

opened, and run by the State. Western Australia was the only exception and it was an exception which proved the rule. Western Australia was born out of due season. gifts ceased in 1868; representative institutions were foreshadowed in 1870, and granted in 1890; and the Home authorities opposed projects which entailed expense until the date of Sir J. Forrest's visit to England at the end of the Seventies. The first State railways were the small Geraldton line (1879), and the larger Fremantle and Beverley line (1889). In 1890, State railroads were 200 miles long, while private lines, 520 miles long, and formed on Gipps's system of land-grants, linked Beverley with Albany (1889), and were in course of linking Perth with Geraldton. Then when men became free, they became impatient. The incomplete Perth-Geraldton line accepted a State guarantee (1891), the Beverley-Albany line was assigned to the State; and State lines are already 1831 miles long, while the semi-private line from Perth to Geraldton is the only survival of the days when private enterprise led the way. Aaron's rod swallowed up the rods of the private magicians because it was quicker and surer in what it did, and more ambitious in what it tried to do. As soon as the men on the spot got their way, they cast aside the private capitalist like a broken staff and relied on State loans.

Lists of Western Australian loans tell the same tale, as the following table shows:—

	History of Western Australia.	*Loans to W.A.* ×£000.
1868 . .	Convicts ceased	Nil.
1870–8. .	Partial freedom (loans vetoed)	23 per annum.
1879–90 .	Ib. (loans not vetoed at home)	101 per annum.
1891–1902	Self-government	1110 per annum.

(The reaction

If we reckon by decades and judge by reproductive loans, Western Australia attained its topmost speed in the last

decade of the century; New Zealand in the Seventies[1]; and the rest of Australia in the Eighties, as the following table shows[2]:— *when loans diminished, 1889,*

£000,000 debt added.

By	*Before 1850*	1851–60	1861–70	1871–80	1881–90	1891–1902	*Total.*
N.S.W.	0	4	6½	6½	36	18½	71½
V.	0	6	6	10½	21	10	53½
S.A.	0	1	1	9	9	7	27
Q.	0	0	4	9	16	10	39
T.	0	0	1	1	5	2	9
Total	0	11	18½	36	87	47½	200

The thrift of New Zealand and Western Australia did not countervail the extravagance of the rest of Australia during the Eighties; accordingly credit collapsed. Early symptoms of collapse appeared in Victoria (1889). Then New Zealand, Tasmania, and New South Wales (1891–2) succumbed. In 1893 the new disease raged like an epidemic and seven banks suspended payment in Victoria, three in Queensland and two in New South Wales. Things were as in 1841 only less so. There was also a labour crisis. State labourers reached the zenith of their prosperity at the close of the Eighties, and the nadir of their discontent at the beginning of the decade of retrenchment which inevitably ensued; the Labour Party became a power in the State 1889–90; in 1890 the maritime, in 1891 and 1894 the shearers' strikes occurred; and since 1890 labour laws have multiplied and have re-introduced State Socialism in a way which vividly recalls the State Socialism of the first epoch. *caused a credit crisis,* *and labour crisis,*

[1] *Post*, p. 236.

[2] This table is adapted from T. A. Coghlan's admirable and exhaustive *Stat. Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia*, 1902, p. 1018. The growing indebtedness of the writer to Mr. T. A. Coghlan's book for industrial history (1861–1901) is like the growing indebtedness of Australian States during that period.

and new labour laws.)

Some labour laws were legislative arrears based on familiar European models. Thus criminal remedies for breach of contract of service were abolished in South Australia in 1889, were re-enacted in Victoria in 1890 and abolished in 1891; and sometimes still survive where performance of the contract is ordered (W.A. 1892, No. 28, ss. 7–11) or wages have been advanced (N. S. W. 1902, No. 59, s. 5). Trades Unions were legalized for the first time in Tasmania in 1889, and in Western Australia in 1902. Labour colonies, which were authorized by laws passed in 1893 (N.S.W., V., and Q.), and old age pensions, which were instituted in 1898 (N.Z.) and 1900 (N.S.W. and V.), represent the first unmistakable shadows cast on Australasia by that pauper legislation which has darkened English counsels for 300 years. The date, 1893, is significant; for it was in that year that distress was worst.

The chief and most novel feature of the Australasian labour laws was the invention of a board composed of employers and employees presided over by a neutral chairman, for the purpose of fixing future wages and hours of labour in any industry, either at the instance of one of the parties or by external compulsion. The constitution of the boards was derived partly from the remote middle ages,[1] partly from nineteenth-century State-made French boards, which dealt compulsorily with present breaches of past contracts, and partly from voluntary English boards which were organized by private people like Mr. Mundella, Sir R. Kettle, and more recently by Sir Samuel Boulton, in order to mediate between employers and workmen who were haggling about future contracts. There was an appeal from the boards, which were local and limited to a single industry more or less, to a single State-court presided over by a judge. This legislation—which was devised or introduced in four colonies simultaneously (N.S.W., V., N.Z., S.A. 1891),

[1] e.g. at Strassburg, 1363 A.D.

and early non-compulsory editions of which became law in Victoria (1890) and New South Wales (1892 and 1899)—assumed two distinct shapes.

In New Zealand (1894), Western Australia (1900), and New South Wales (1901), it was essentially judicial, like its State-made prototypes; and like its inofficial prototypes was based on the contract of both disputants to give and take whatever terms board or court might award. The employees underwent quasi-incorporation in order that their contract might bind their successors and their common property. Compulsion arose when the contract came to be implied so that one side could drag the other side before the tribunal. A further stage was reached when the Minister (V.), President (S.A.), Registrar (N.S.W.) or Factory Inspector (N.S.W. and N.Z.) could drag both sides before the tribunal. Strikes pending reference came to be regarded as contempts of court and punishable as such either by the court or by leave of the court. The decision of the board or court had the attributes not only of an ordinary contract debt, but of a judgement debt which other courts could not review. On the other hand, the decisions bound not only parties to the suit but all others in like employ, so that they resembled orders issued by a government department rather than orders of court. And the use of factory inspectors as prosecutors was borrowed from Victoria, which started from the opposite point of view.

In Victoria (1896) future wages and hours of labour were determined, not for the primary purpose of deciding some contest, but as part and parcel of the general policy of regulating trade by means of Factory and Shops Acts. A wage-rate fixed by the board was enforced in the same way as a sanitary regulation—that is to say, by pains and penalties for which the factory inspector prosecuted or sued the guilty party. On the other hand, in 1903, Victoria grafted on this machinery a 'Court of Industrial Appeals',

modelled on that of New Zealand and judicial in its semblance if not in its nature; so that here too the new monster seemed amphibious and endowed with shapes derived from judicial as well as administrative origins. South Australia adopted both precedents, the New Zealand precedent in 1894 and the Victorian precedent in 1900; allowing its judges to encroach upon what in England are regarded as the functions of the Home Office, and its chief inspector to don the wig and ermine of the Bench. Universal minimum wages were also prescribed by direct legislation in Victoria (1896), South Australia (1900), and New Zealand (1901); and direct legislation imposed the maximum hours in a day or in a week during which adults might work in shops or certain factories and mines (N. S. W. 1899, &c.; V. 1900, &c.; Q. 1900, &c.; N. Z. 1901, &c.; W. A. 1902, &c.). Between 1900 and 1905 more than twenty-six different laws directly fixed, or directed boards and judges to fix, minimum wages or maximum hours in Australasian colonies. The tendency of these laws, which fixed wages and hours, indicated a change in the conception of law, which began once more to resemble the concrete ever-changing *statuta* of mediaeval guilds, the Θέμιστες of the *Iliad*, or the ordinances of Phillip, Hunter, and King. The chief impulse towards the new direction came from the programme which the Labour Party adopted in New South Wales and elsewhere during the elections of 1891. The same party urged 'the extension of the principle of the government as employer'; and in obedience to this demand land-grant railways are everywhere opposed and the State of New Zealand amongst other things insures property, lends and banks money, and, under laws passed in 1891, 1901 and 1902, mines coal, in the same way though more skilfully and successfully than Governors Hunter and King mined coal on the Hunter River.

This new phase of politics, though more or less common to all Australasia, does not concern the historical geographer

except as cause and result; as cause of new land laws which belong to a future chapter, and as result or by-result of the policy which built 16,131 miles of railway, sunk bores 4,086 feet deep, and conducted water 350 miles from its base.

(c) *new resources, e.g. pastoral products and minerals and markets;*

Thirdly, Australasian trade possessed a larger variety of resources. Australasian States are still great exporting States, and wool is their staple export. The first effect of the discovery of gold was that exports of pastoral products, though on the up grade, became once more almost exactly one-half of the total exports. So far as this ratio is concerned, the *status quo ante* the decline of oil and rise of tallow was restored.[1] Fifty years later, when sheep had increased fivefold, wool exports ninefold, and home-made exports tenfold, pastoral exports were still almost exactly one-half of the total home-made exports.[2]

The increase is startling; but the immutability and stability of pastoral trade during the increase is still more startling. Commerce multiplied itself without changing its character, except in two respects. In the first place it broadened its basis: thus pastoral products other than wool—which since 1882 include frozen meat—are now half as valuable as wool; gold, which always figures among the exports as the second staple after wool, has brought with it coal, silver, copper and other metals; and internal trade has grown so large that it requires Mr. Coghlan's skill to disentangle it from external trade.

In the second place, commerce widened its market; and during the last twenty years, Germany (its former rival), France, and Belgium have begun to take its wool, and the United States its gold, so that England and English possessions, which were almost the only markets in 1851, now take three-fourths only of its produce.

(d) *and seven competing states,*

Fourthly, there are seven competing State merchants. Amongst the seven dramatis personae, two are pre-eminent—

[1] *Ante*, p. 118.

[2] Coghlan, *op. cit.*, p. 1071.

N.S.W., and V.,

New South Wales and Victoria. The neck-and-neck race between these two colonies is a leading feature in this epoch. At its birth (1850) Victoria was less than half its rival in population and wealth; a few years later it led in population, commerce, shipping (1853), agriculture (1858), and manufactures (*circa* 1868); then New South Wales regained its lead in shipping (1871), commerce (1881), population (1892), and, since the credit crisis, manufacture; it was always supreme in sheep. Victoria retains its agricultural supremacy.

Gold yields to New South Wales all but a million a year; but its coal has long since exceeded its gold (1876), and its silver its coal (1889), in annual value. Gold still reigns in Victoria but with diminished glory. Once Victorian gold yielded £12,000,000 (1852–60), now it yields £3,000,000 a year; it was six-sevenths (1852–6), then two-thirds (1857–60), then half (1861–70), and is now one-sixth of Victorian exports in value; and wool exports surpassed it in 1903. Victorian gold was first until 1898 and is since then second only to that of Western Australia. Each of the rivals—New South Wales and Victoria—equals in numbers and wealth all Australasia of forty years since.

N.Z., Q., S.A., W.A., and T.

Next in rank comes New Zealand; then Queensland and its rival South Australia; then Western Australia and its former rival Tasmania. Queensland overtook South Australia in population during the Eighties, in commerce during 1901; and if its sugar can be classed under agriculture and manufacture, it beats its rival in agriculture and is just beaten by its rival in manufacture. Since 1881 it has been the first State in cattle; and since 1884 it has been very close to Victoria in gold-yield. South Australian agriculture, pasture, and commerce have been nearly thrice—and its population since 1881 more than twice—that of its sometime competitor Tasmania; but its mines, mainly copper, have been less rich than those of Tasmania, and its growth has been gradual. Western Australia only out distanced Tasmania in numbers,

minerals, cattle, sheep, and commerce during the last fourteen years; and in 1903 it was on a par with Queensland in wealth; its gold-yield was thrice that of Victoria; and like Victoria it was practically monometallic.

After the fitful fever of the Fifties, the runners started and finished as below. The index figure of wealth is obtained by adding agricultural, pastoral, dairy, mineral, manufacturing, and commercial values, as given in the *Australasian Handbook*, 1906; and probably overstates the wealth of gold States where prices are appreciated.

These figures show their comparative wealth,

	N.S.W.	*V.*	*N.Z.*	*S.A.*	*Q.*	*W.A.*	*T.*	*Total.*
White pop., ×1000, est. 1862	351	540	99	127	30	16	88	1251
Dec. 1904 .	1462	1210	857	373	522	(240)*	(179)*	4843
Commerce, ×£1,000,000 1861	12	27	3·9	4	1·7	·3	1·9	51
Dec. 1904 .	(53·5)*	44·5	28	16	17	(17)*	(5·4)*	181
Index figure of wealth realized in 1903	28·5	21·3	19	7·4	9·9	10·5	3·4	100

In the following lists of staple forms of wealth somewhat different dates are taken, in order, amongst other things, to show the best and worst years:—

		N.S.W.	*V.*	*N.Z.*	*S.A.*	*Q.*	*W.A*	*T.*	*Total*
Mineral output, × £1,000,000	1871	1·7	5·4	3·1	·7	·8	·005	·03	11·7
	1891	6·4	2·4	1·8	·4	2·3	·1	·5	13·9
	1904	6·2	(3·4)*	(3·2)*	·5	3·5	(8·9)*	(1·4)*	27·2

* Brackets enclose figures for Dec. 31, 1903, later figures not having been received.

		N.S.W.	*V.*	*N.Z.*	*S.A.*	*Q.*	*W.A.*	*T.*	*Total.*
Cattle, × 1,000	1861	2272	628	193	265	560	34	87	4040
	1894	2465	1834	964	424	7013	187	177	13064
	†1902 or 3	1741	1602?	1461	213	2481	438	178	8114
	†1904	2146	1694	1736	272	2722			
Sheep, × 1,000,000	1861	5·6	6·2	2·8	3	4	·3	1·7	23·7
	1891	62	13	18·6	7·7	20	1·9	1·7	124·9
	1894	57	13	20	7·3	19·6	2·1	1·7	120·7
	†1902 or 3	26·7	10?	20·3	4·9	7·2	2·7	1·7	74
	†1904	34·5	10·2	18·3	5·8	10·8			

† December.

and the effects of the drought, 1895-1903.

These lists of cattle and sheep disclose the greatest trial to which Australia has ever been exposed. The pastoral troubles of eastern Australia have been severe and prolonged. First came credit and labour troubles which affected sheep but not cattle (1891–5). Next drought (1895–1903) more than half ruined the pastoral industries of the two great pastoral States. Lastly tick (1896 et seq.) scourged those Queensland cattle which survived the drought. In New South Wales drought began upon the mountain tableland (1895) which was afterwards immune; then the west lost eight out of every thirteen of its 40,000,000 sheep and the furthest west fared worse. The coast escaped.[1] Queensland sheep starved steadily on their inland pastures from 1897 to 1903; plague and famine desolated the cattle on its coasts from 1895 until the bitter end. At the end of 1903, Queensland cattle and New South Wales sheep were what they were in the middle of the Seventies and the doings of a quarter of a century were undone. Yet during those terrible years the trade and manufacturing wealth of New South Wales grew steadily and unceasingly; for in this

[1] T. A. Coghlan, *Statistical Register of New South Wales.*

epoch there were many industries as well as many States, which had a compensating effect upon one another. South Australia and Victoria also suffered heavily from the great drought, but less heavily than New South Wales and Queensland. All four colonies were recovering during 1904 and 1905.

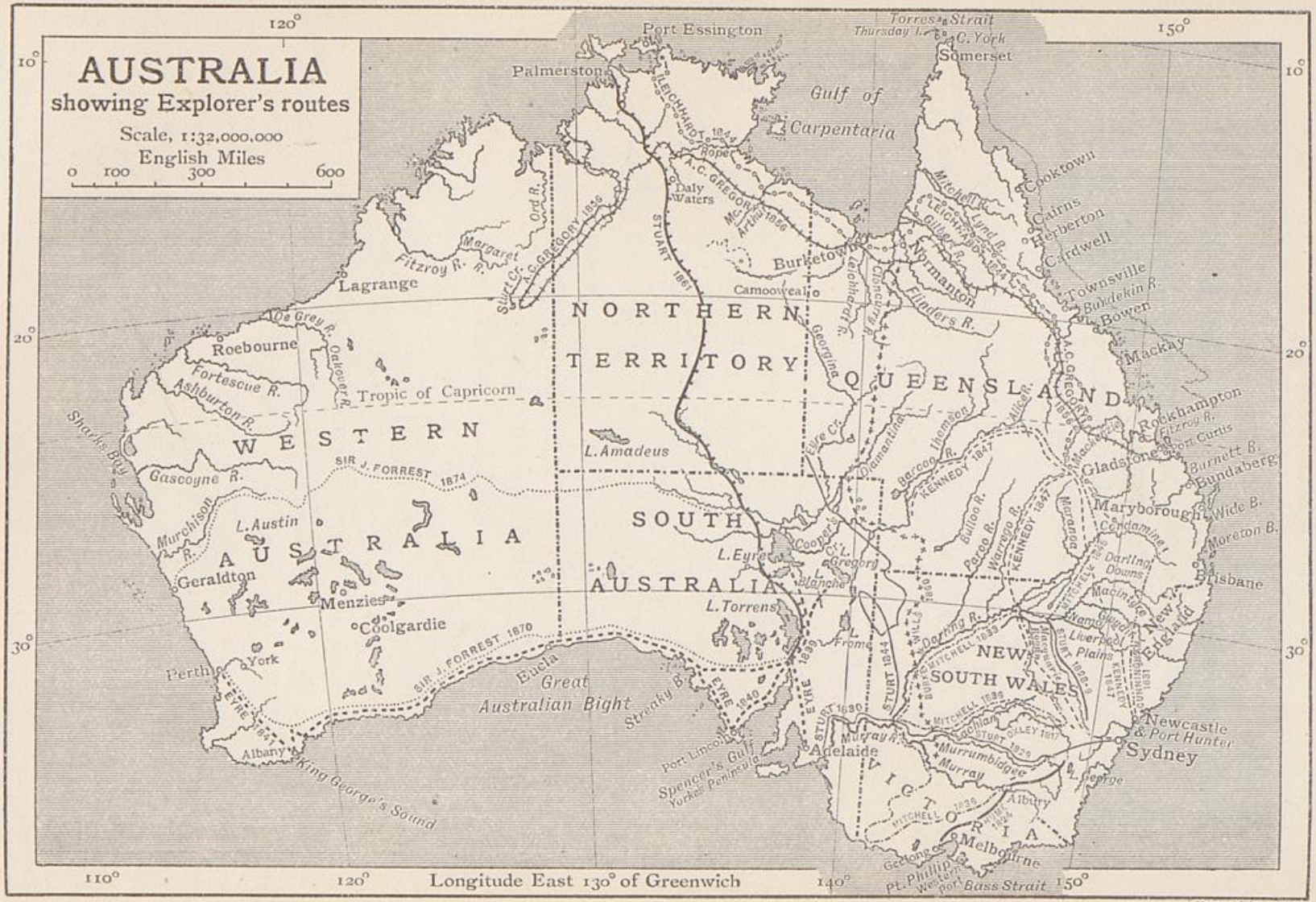
These four new characteristics affected extension.

The changed environment influenced extension. Extension was still pastoral and the explorer was the herdsman's harbinger; but after the herdsman came the miner, the telegraph and the railway, and the explorers won their most immortal wreaths of laurels or of cypress, partly as of old in searching for new pastures and partly in trying to outrun explorers from a rival State.

When the end of extension was in sight and Australia became one country from the point of view of explorers and settlers, laws (1860 et seq.), borrowed from the first epoch, were passed in order to promote concentration; and Australia (1870), remembering that it was only an island in the Pacific, claimed ascendancy over its diminutive sister islands. The dreams of Banks and King recurred, and inspired the desire for a Pacific empire similar to that which was already filling the minds of New Zealanders. Hence arose dispersion, not in Australia nor in New Zealand, but in the rest of the Pacific. The principal incentive to dispersion was the rivalry of the disunited States of Europe, as was the case in the first and second epochs, and long before the history of Australasia began. A grand constitutional climax closed the third even as it closed the second epoch. For internal unity and the possession of a foreign policy inevitably led to the creation of the Australian Commonwealth in 1900. Leave was reserved to New Zealand, which attained internal unity in 1876, to enter the new Commonwealth, but she has hitherto abstained.

The political aspects and effects of geographical extension

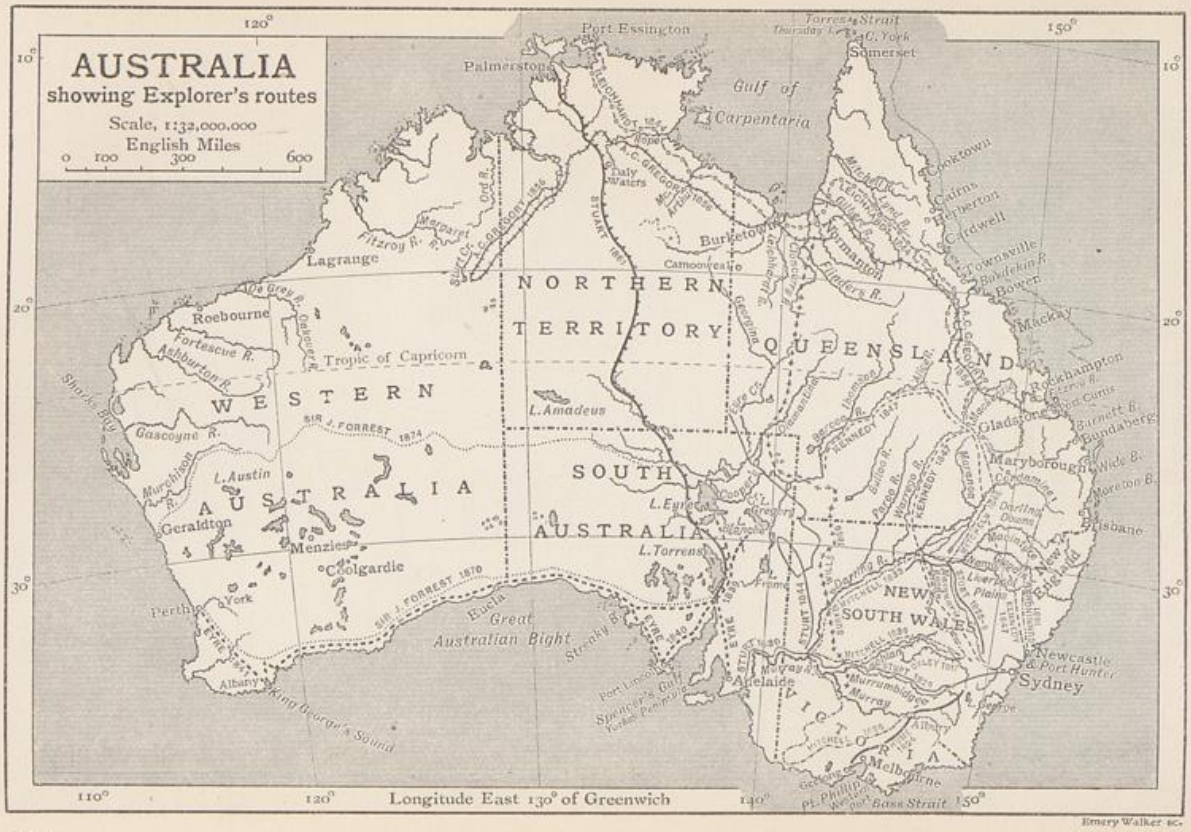
—concentration and union within, and unity and dispersion without—recall the earlier phases of Australian history; although extension itself was simply the fulfilment of the great work which was the bright particular star of the second epoch; and the dominant motives and methods of extension were the same in the second and third epochs.



Emery Walker sc.

VI (1)

To face p. 179



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CHAPTER XIII

AUSTRALIAN EXTENSION AND ITS EFFECTS

THREE great exploits must be credited to the explorers and squatters of the third epoch—(i) The creation and development of Queensland, (ii) the creation of Northern Territory and construction of the South Australian wire, and (iii) the peopling of the Western Australian mining districts. With each of these exploits every Australian State had something to do. Queensland, the first of these creations, was conceived and begotten by Leichhardt, Mitchell and other pioneers of the second epoch; although politicians helped to endow it with a separate existence. Chief among these men-midwives was that venerable, ardent colonizer Dr. Lang.

Extension caused three things;

Dr. Lang used to divide Eastern Australia into four equal, analogous, and dissimilar States, namely: (i) Phillipsland, south of the Murrumbidgee—which he described as the southernmost river which flows through an avenue of swamp oaks[1]; (ii) New South Wales south of lat. 30° or the southern limit of the Moreton Bay pine[2]; (iii) Cooksland, south of the tropics and the future home of free-grown cotton; (iv) a tropical colony of convicts. He endowed each free colony with 500 miles of coast-line, with a capital in the middle of its coast, with a distinctive flora and a distinctive pursuit, and he used to express in emphatic tones his indignation at the tardiness with which statesmen gave effect to what he and Providence had predetermined (1837–47).[3] In 1847–9 he proceeded to carry out his own decrees, and

(i) *The creation of Q., suggested by Dr. Lang,*

[1] *Casuarina glauca.* [2] *Araucaria Cunninghami.*

[3] *Acc. and Pap.* (1837), xix. No. 518, p. 262; J. D. Lang, *Cooksland*, 1847, pp. viii, 28–31.

VI (1)

imported some of these cotton-growers of the future into Brisbane, but without success, because worldlings would not allow him to put his hand in their pockets. In 1851 he ascended the platform, and agitated for the separation of Cooksland as he had agitated for the separation of Phillipsland; but the growing pungency of his personalities militated against success. Nor were his human allies of much use. In January, 1850, the squatters of Darling Downs prayed for separation; but they prayed too for the restoration of convictism; and their voices grew feebler as time went on, and their last and feeblest petition and the last and strongest refusal thereof were dated 1857.[1] As its advocates lost, the cause gained strength, and Dr. Lang's prophecies were fulfilled—more or less. Sydney State loans, the proceeds of which were spent on Sydney-suburban and Hunter River-coal railways, estranged the merchants and coal-owners of Ipswich and Brisbane; and Vogelism, which made New Zealand one, made New South Wales two.

and effected in 1857;

History proved less logical than Dr. Lang, and upset the artistic symmetry of his plan. It was decided in July, 1856, to carve a new colony out of the old, to make Brisbane, which was already a Government residency (1853), its capital and 30° lat. its limit, as Dr. Lang had insisted. In July, 1857, owing to petitions and protests from the settlers who were concerned, the boundary line was drawn from Point Danger (28° lat.)—so as to exclude New England and Clarence districts and include Darling Downs district—westward along the Dumaresq to 29° lat., and thence to the South Australian border (141° long.). The western boundary north of 26° lat.—where South Australia ended[2]—was either 141° long. or undefined. On the north, Gladstone was already occupied by a Resident (1854); and Rockhampton was already a pastoral township (1857)[3], and became the

[1] March 3 and May 29, 1857.

[2] *Ante*, p. 82.

[3] Before July 14, 1857.

theatre of the gold rush to Canoona a year later.[1] The squatters, who were chiefly shepherd kings, after halting for awhile on the threshold of the tropics for fear that the tropical sun would spoil the fleeces of their flocks, were advancing along the shores of Broad Sound in 1859,[2] and the pastoral tide was still flowing to the north; so that there was no question of a northern limit when the new colony was proclaimed on December 1st, 1859.

Queensland, as the new colony was called, was given the same constitution as its parent colony for reasons which were purely technical. It came of age at its birth. And it grew incessantly northward and westward, so that Brisbane became more and more inappropriate as its capital. Its growth, which was purely pastoral, was heralded by explorers and nomadic squatters.

and its growth, 1857–62, which was stimulated by Gregory of W.A.

Exploration was intercolonial, and the first explorer to whom the growth of the new state of Queensland was due was a Western Australian—A. C. Gregory. Starting from the borders of Northern Territory (S.A.) and Western Australia (1855) he ascended Victoria River, descended Sturt's Creek to the salt lake in which it ends, expecting to find 'bowery hollows crowned with summer sea', and finding instead bare sand ridges 'which rose behind each other like the waves of the sea'; so he turned back to the Victoria and made his gigantic overland journey to Brisbane, 1856, and thence next year to Adelaide, thus crossing the continent from north to south. On his way to Brisbane he saw and praised Peak Downs and the country watered by the Burdekin and its affluents.[3] Peak Downs were occupied immediately afterwards; and the Burdekin and its affluents—Belyando, Suttor and Cape River—after being approved by Dalrymple (1859) and Cunningham the second (1860) were overrun by hosts of herdsmen and endowed with a capital

[1] July, 1858. [2] Lat. 22°.
[3] 22° to 18½° lat.

at Bowen, Port Denison (1861).[1] At the same time J. G. Macdonald crossed the great range and occupied Carpentaria Downs at the headwaters of the Gilbert.[2] Inspired by Gregory, Landsborough, then of Glenprairie, pushed west to a point 100 miles beyond Alice Downs,[3] and discovered what he called Bowen Downs on the upper Thomson (1860). Shortly afterwards, Alice and Bowen Downs were furrowed by squatters' tracks (1862); a thin line of squatters on the Warrego kept touch with those on the Maranoa, the Darling, the lower Paroo, and the Bulloo (1861)[4]; dead men's bones littered the mid-Paroo (1862)[5]; and there was a pastoral township on the mid-Bulloo (1866).[6] But in 1862 Queensland's growth received a new impetus from neighbours who lived nearer than Western Australia.

(*then, in W.A., Roebourne was explored and settled,* 1861,

After the gigantic efforts of 1856–8 Western Australians shrunk back into their shell. Austin and other explorers found salt lakes from time to time a hundred miles or so east of the pasture lands, and men lost their old faith in an eastern inland sea (1858–61). In 1861 F. Gregory—brother of A. C. Gregory—explored Roebourne (1861), whither settlers soon followed, and traced up the Murchison, Gascoyne, Ashburton, or their affluents, into converging down-lands, parts of which were overrun by graziers in 1863, and the down-lands into infinite parallels of sand which were apparent continuations of those which daunted his greater brother and Sturt. So he too turned back.

and Q. and W.A. were quiescent, 1862.)

As in Queensland, so in Western Australia, extension came to the end, so to speak, of its first paragraph in 1862 or thereabouts; and the momentum communicated by Western Australian explorers spent itself.

Meanwhile in South Australia explorers resolved Eyre's

[1] J. Davis, *Tracks of McKinlay*, 1863, p. 397, &c.
[2] On the Einasleigh affluent.
[3] *Ante*, p. 99.
[4] *Acc. and Pap.* (1862), xxxvii. No. 139, Sir H. Barkly's dispatch, Nov. 20, 1861.
[5] M^c^Culloch and Curlewis.
[6] Thargomindah.

inland horseshoe sea into five detached dry salt lakes— Torrens, Eyre, Gregory, Blanche, and Frome—and squatters spread over Yorke's Peninsula (S.) round Streaky Bay (W.), and by Flinders Range to Eyre's Mount Hopeless, near Lake Blanche,[1] and to Hergott Springs and Mount Margaret, near Lake Eyre (1862).[2]

(ii) *The trans-continental telegraph, S.A.;*

Shepherds discovered copper and other mines all along the route from Yorke's Peninsula to Lake Eyre, and lonely places became populous. Then J. MacDouall Stuart—Sturt's former comrade—announced that north of Lake Eyre, beyond the brine, stone and sand, there was a better land, where grass grew and river-beds had water (July, 1859). Fate pointed north; so in a mad moment South Australia offered £2,000 to the first man who should cross the continent from south to north.[3]

S.A. offered a prize,

Ever since August, 1858, Victoria, spurred on by F. von Müller, A. C. Gregory's former comrade, had been importing camels and lazily raising money in order to win glory by means of some crowning feat of exploration. She now snatched up the glove, hastily voted or subscribed supplies, and packed off Burke, Wills, and other doomed men, on camels to Cooper's Creek. Thence they were to seek the sea at Carpentaria Gulf or Shark's Bay (!!), or somewhere between the two and return. The leaders started in 1860; found and left the lower Diamantina and the Hamilton and Burke affluents of the Georgina, were the first to pass the watershed between Carpentaria and Lake Eyre, followed parts of the Cloncurry and of the Flinders to the sea, near Normanton, and returned, but only to Cooper's Creek, where all but one died of starvation, within a few hours' reach of plenty had they only known it. They were the first adventurers for adventure's sake in Australian history, and the

for which Burke and Wills competed, 1860;

[1] A. C. Gregory, *Austr. Explor.*, p. 207.
[2] Jarvis's sta. *circa* 28° 30′ lat.
[3] Debate (S.A.), July 19, 1859; discussed by *South Australian Register*, July 19 and 20 et seq.

pathos of their fate has surrounded them with a halo which they do not deserve; for there was more daring than skill in what they did, and their course, though not difficult for camels, was too straight for general use. Seven lives were lost and £57,000 wasted by Victoria alone. When the expected travellers did not return, party after party went and searched for them. McKinlay's South Australian search party also followed the new-found Diamantina, and passed the new-found watershed. Landsborough, who headed a relief party from Queensland, explored and lauded the new-found Georgina, and discovered the upper Flinders, which he followed to its source, near the source of the Thomson. Immediately, the Flinders-Thomson watershed became the highway to the Gulf; before 1865 Burketown was founded, and stock roamed along the coast from Nicholson to Flinders rivers, lined the whole lengths of the Flinders and Cloncurry, and occupied the headwaters of the Diamantina and Thomson.[1] In 1871 there were squatters on the affluents of Cooper's Creek[2]; and four years later Buchanan was restocking stations on the Georgina which had been abandoned in 1874. There we will leave him for the present wistfully gazing westward.

searchers after whom explored Western Q., which was settled, 1862–74

Carpentaria was the principal take-off from which Queensland essayed her last flight north. Before 1865, Cardwell, Mackay, and Townsville had sprung into life—Mackay becoming sugar capital and Townsville cotton capital—and all three eclipsing Bowen. It was partly from these ports, but mainly from the western uplands, that the northern district, now known by Dr. Lang's name, Cook's district, was colonized. Jardine's expedition (1864) started for Cape York from Carpentaria Downs station, and proved a replica of Kennedy's, in motive and results, though it ended happily.

and Q. was explored up to C. York,

[1] Landsborough, *Carpentaria*, ed. (1866) by Laurie, pp. 107 et seq.; Jardine, *Narr. of Overland Exp.*, 1867, p. 10.

[2] Nockaburrawary, on the Wilson.

Somerset—its objective—was meant and used at one time as a port of call; but the port of call was shifted to Thursday Island in the later Seventies. In 1872, squatter Dalrymple explored the future site of Cairns and squatter Hann explored the Lynd, the Mitchell, the Palmer—an affluent of the Mitchell, rich in gold—and the future site of Cook Town. The Palmer gold rush ensued (1873) and Cook Town became its vent; Cairns' sugar vied with that of Mackay; and Herberton and Mulgrave gold enhanced its prosperity. Indeed it seems as though Hermes—Διὸς ἐριούνιος υἱός—went all down the coast and touched with magic wand every coastal range; from which gold and her sister metals poured into every port—into Townsville from Cape River (1868), Ravenswood (1871), and Charters Towers (1872), into Rockhampton from Mount Morgan (1880), into Maryborough from Gympie (1867), into Bundaberg from Mount Perry (1872), into Brisbane from Darling Downs (1872); and the Arcadias of the upper Gilbert, Cloncurry, and eastern affluents of the Flinders (1869) were transformed into Eldorados.

and minerals were found.

Thus Queensland reaped what Victoria sowed so lavishly and so uselessly. 'Sic vos non vobis' might serve as the epitaph of these vanquished victors, who died for a mere prize.

But the prize was not offered out of sheer sport, and there was method in the South Australian madness. In July, 1859, the South Australians were face to face with a definite proposal to connect England with North Australia by telegraph, and with a definite conviction on the part of Victorians and Queenslanders that it was their mission in life to sit at the wire head and be the first to hear from, and the last to talk to, their English parents and customers. This was the only motive to which the promoters of sea-to-sea exploration appealed in the Victorian Parliament[1]; and

Why was the prize offered?

[1] *Victorian Hansard*, Oct. 27, 1858.

although Queensland could not express a similar opinion so soon or so clearly because she was not yet born, she appointed a committee immediately after her birth to select the exact spot where Australian wires should end and English wires begin (1860). On Stuart's return (1859), Sir Charles Todd saw at a glance that South Australia could, and was resolute that she should, cross the continent and wrest this privilege and glory from her peers.[1]

Competition between Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland instigated the race from south to north: the fag end of a wire was its outward and visible reward: and Stuart was the doughty champion of South Australia.

Stuart crossed the continent, 1862,

After three years' patient trial and untold hardships, Stuart pursued the best and only possible track from Port Augusta across the heart of the Continent to river Adelaide and the sea and back (1862). The track was not only well chosen, but momentous in its consequences.

N. T. was given to S.A.,

Its first fruits were a redistribution of territory. During the French scare of 1839, the western boundary of New South Wales was shifted from 132° long. to 129° long., in order that New South Wales might march with Western Australia.[2] South Australia at that date only reached to 132° on the west and 26° on the north. In 1858, Gregory, the great, urged that a new convict colony should be created between Queensland and Western Australia, that Western Australia should be docked of what afterwards became its Roebourne and Kimberley annexes, and that the part of Queensland lying north of 26° lat. should be enlarged from 141° long. to 138° long.[3] His third recommendation was adopted. After Stuart's journey, Gregory's other recommendations were finally rejected, and South Australia,

[1] Report (S.A.) presented Sept. 4, 1859; and see p. 183, note 3.

[2] *Acc. and Pap.*, dispatches, June 15, 1839, Jan. 14, 1840. See *ante*, p. 180.

[3] 138° and 139° were mentioned: *Acc. and Pap.*, Sir G. Bowen's dispatch, Sept. 30, 1860.

which had already been made conterminous with Western Australia (129° long.) on the west (1861) was made conterminous with the Indian Ocean on the north and with Queensland on the east (1863).

and the telegraph was constructed, 1872,

That part of South Australia which was added on in consequence of Stuart's journey is called Northern Territory; but as the addition has always been regarded as merely provisional, the expression 'South Australia' sometimes includes and sometimes excludes Northern Territory. Northern Territory was taken over without delay but Palmerston, its capital, was not surveyed and occupied before 1869–70. The stupendous task of constructing a telegraph line, 1,973 miles in length—from Adelaide to Palmerston, where it joins the English cable—was begun in 1870 and finished in 1872. Then a railway, 146 miles long, was made by its side from Palmerston to Pine Creek, close by the tableland whence rivers flow to the Indian Ocean and start towards Lake Eyre, and another railway, 688 miles long, was made from Adelaide to Oodnadatta just north of Lake Eyre and south of a prolongation of Sturt's stony desert (1888–9); and men still hope for a time when a transcontinental railway will do for South Australia what it has done for Canada. The graziers who have settled along the wire line are sparse and scattered, but of sufficient numbers to open up new routes and industries.

whence links were made with Q.,

In the north of Northern Territory, Buchanan, Scarr, and Favenc—the well-known author—found pastoral down-lands between Tennant's Creek and Powell's Creek on the wire line and Georgina River[1] (1878–9), and between Daly Waters on the wire line[2] and the McArthur (1883); and stock soon ranged from the new port which was established on the McArthur[3] to the Nicholson (Q.), and from Tennant's and Powell's Creeks to what is now Camooweal (Q.). In the north of South Australia in its narrower sense, feelers were

[1] 18° and 19° 30′. [2] 16° 20′. [3] Borraloola.

pushed out as far as Strzelecki Creek, Blanche Water and Lake Hope before 1871; and squatters occupied the frontier near the Diamantina, at Haddon (sta.), and on Cooper's Creek (Innamincka) before 1878—in time to welcome Queensland borderers who settled a little later on Eyre's Creek (Annandale), on the Diamantina (Birdsville), at Haddon and on Cooper's Creek (Nappamerry). Thus two States met on the bourne from which Sturt returned, and those other travellers, Burke and Wills, did not return. These links with Queensland, though few and far between, have proved permanent.

and along which gold was found.

In the furthest north, gold-bearing quartz fringes the wire for the first 200 miles of its course, then dips, then reappears for more than 300 miles from Tennant's Creek to the sand dunes south of Alice Springs.[1] Two gold-fields have been found in Stuart's country off the line—one in Arltunga, 60 miles east of Alice Springs, the other in Tarcoola and Wilgena, 200 miles west of Lake Eyre—where, as usual, shepherds, while watching their flocks, found the gold, and then came the miners. As yet, gold-mining by or near the wire line has not been prolific.

Further south N.S.W. joined on to S.A. without aid from the wire;

Still further south, New South Wales and South Australia forged close-set metallic links of union. In New South Wales mines had hitherto been discovered on squatters' stations situated upon the upper coastal slopes or inland tableland of the great range. In the Sixties, squatters on the Lachlan and Darling bulged out on to the waterless levels which those rivers enclosed, chiefly from the south—up Willondra creek[2]—and later from the north-west by Dunlop range. While well-sinking, in order to complete their conquest of the plains, they discovered copper (1869) and Cobar thenceforth became the copper capital and more recently a gold centre. At the end of the Sixties, herdsmen wandered over the edge of the western plain to the Grey and Barrier

[1] 19° 30′ to 24°.

[2] Reuss and Browne's Map, 1862; *Squatters' Directory*, 1871.

ranges which already sheltered South Australian herdsmen from the sun at daydawn, and after the lapse of many years, gold was found on the Grey range on McBride's and MacCracken's sheep-runs (1880–1)—where Sturt sat like Prometheus bound and Poole died[1]—and the greatest Australasian silver-mine was opened on Mount Gipps sheep-run in the Barrier range (1883). Silverton, as the new mine was called, sent its inexhaustible supplies of silver to Port Pirie (S.A.), first by road and rail (1885) and then by rail only (1888), and New South Wales and South Australia were welded together. This was the only link between South Australia and her neighbours which had nothing to do with the great wire, to which we must now return. For it was now that the great wire stimulated or enabled South Australia and Western Australia to join hands. Three colonies took part in this work and contributed to its success; and the first which took part was Western Australia.

(iii) *On the west of the wire a race began to W.A.*

At the end of the Sixties, Lefroy, Robinson, Hunt, John and Alexander Forrest—'par nobile fratrum'—penetrated what are now the mining districts, 400 miles east of Perth and 500 miles east of Champion Bay[2]—but the outposts of civilization still loitered at Esperance Bay on the south (122°), the lower Oakover (121°) on the north, and on the west at a distance varying from 50 to 150 miles from the coast. On the other side, South Australian herdsmen had conquered Eyre's peninsula and stood sentinel at Fowler's Bay and the head of the Australian Bight (131°). Then Western Australia—making the first move—sent Sir J. Forrest, over Eyre's route but in a reverse direction, from Perth to Adelaide; and Eyre's mad freak was repeated by sane men in pursuit of practical objects. The objects were pasture lands and telegraphs.[3] As for pasture lands, Hampton Plains were

Forrest retraced Eyre's route,

[1] Mt. Poole, and Mt. Browne; *Sydney Morning Herald*, Apr. 1, 1881.

[2] J. Forrest named Leonora Mt. Margaret and Mt. Malcolm (1869); A. Forrest was at Coolgardie, Dundas, &c. (1871).

[3] See e. g. *Perth Inquirer*, Oct. 5, 1870.

described by Forrest as a grazing country far surpassing anything he had ever seen; by Giles as a grassed bicycle track 400 miles long; by both as destitute of one single vestige of a watercourse. As for telegraphs—Eucla, near the head of the Bight, was promptly occupied; in 1877, Albany and Adelaide were joined by overland wire; and 'the long isolation of the colony' was at an end.[1] Western Australia could now commune on equal terms with her rich relations and through them with the great world.

(along which a telegraph was laid),

In the second move, the South Australian wire was base or goal; and fame, not profit, was the spur. The spirit of the scene resembled the spirit of a mediaeval tournament. Sir J. Forrest uttered the challenge, July 12, 1872. The time was ripe, he said, for the 'finishing stroke of Australian discovery'; one fight remained, the worst and the last; and he would go in and win if only he could raise £600. He had hardly spoken when another knight-errant started from Melbourne on this very quest (August 4). This was Giles, who reached a desert—where he lost Gibson (*ca.* 125° 40′)—and returned utterly beaten, but just alive. Then South Australia, emulous of her neighbours, entered the lists (August, 1872), and Warburton mounted his party on Sir T. Elder's famous camels[2] and struggled blindly across interminable deserts within the tropics to the Oakover sheep-runs, where he was 'rescued from death by force, though pale and faint' (1873–4). This barren victory over the desert fiend involved the loss of everything except life. Lastly, Sir J. Forrest, having raised his £600, mounted his horse, started without illusions—unless his queer notion, derived from Austin (1855), that 'the head of the Murchison lies in another land of Ophir' was an illusion—found, as he had expected, 'most miserable country'—Dampier's adjective—for his first 600 miles, kept to the 26th parallel,

and went direct to S.A., thus ending explorers' history.

[1] See *Perth Inq.*, l.c.

[2] Imported 1866, Royal Geogr. Soc. Austr., S.A., 1895–6, p. 83.

skirted 'Gibson's desert', just escaped starvation and reached the great wire, hale and hearty and without serious loss. This was the crown and culmination of the history of discovery. When we read of Giles crossing and recrossing between wire and western sea on Elder's camels (1875–6)[1], we are turning over the pages of a new chapter. The heroic age is closed. The last secret of the mysterious continent has been unravelled, and discoverers are no longer martyrs in the cause of progress but men of science or glorified tourists. Oxley, Cunningham, Leichhardt, Mitchell, Sturt, Stuart, Gregory, and Forrest, did on land what Magellan, Mendaña, Torres, and Cook did on sea; and the landsmen's exploits were as useful, noble, and perilous as the seafarers' exploits. Their work, which was to prepare the way for those who were to come after them, belonged to that class of work which, if well done, is never done again. It was finished in 1874; and from that date the book of heroes closes, and exploration ceases to be a motive force in history.

The exploration of Kimberley led to gold discoveries in 1885.

But there was an appendix to the book. Kimberley, by some strange accident, had been left out; and when at last the omission was repaired it was here that Western Australia won her first golden trophy. A. Forrest, the first explorer of Kimberley (1879), proclaimed the discovery of fine pasture land, and predicted the discovery of gold 'as settlement advanced'; 47,000 square miles were allotted in 1881; sheep arrived at the Fitzroy from Melbourne (of all places) early in 1883, cattle arrived at the Ord a little later, and gold seekers on the watershed between the Fitzroy and Ord shouted out their Eurekas in 1885. Then followed the first gold-rush which Western Australia had experienced, the usual disenchantment, unusual distress, an overland telegraph by Perth, Geraldton, and Roebourne to the Fitzroy and Ord, and permanent settlement on those rivers, on Lagrange Bay to the west, and on Sturt's Creek to the south.

[1] Chiefly 30° and 24° lat. respectively.

Gold was also found along the routes of Forrest and others.

It was a far cry from Kimberley to Yilgarn, whence the shout was echoed back. Since 1874, squatters had penetrated the riverless salt-lake districts of the east; and it was here, 200 miles east of Northam, on a ridge on Lukin's sheep farm, that the first gold was found (October, 1887); and the gold-bearing ridge was traced seventy miles to the south-east by Golden Valley and Southern Cross to Hunt's well, where Dempster was already folding his flocks (1887–8).[1] This became known as the Yilgarn gold-field. At Dundas, a pasture-hunter, Moir by name, hit on a gold-reef which, when followed north, revealed 100 miles east of Southern Cross the hidden treasures of Coolgardie (1892), and Kalgoorlie (1893), and lastly of northern Coolgardie (1894), whither stockmen drove cattle from the Gascoyne in 1896.[2] Nor were Yilgarn and Coolgardie the only spots where the fairy godmother appeared. On river banks near the sea-coast Roebourne boys noted an unwonted glitter on the stones which they shied at crows (1888); and De Grey and Oakover rivers—where Warburton sought sanctuary—were found to have heads as well as feet of gold (1889). Next, Ashburton sheep-runs—midway between Giles' take-off and the sea—became places of pilgrimage for the worshippers of gold (January, 1890): and on the headwaters of the Murchison—by Forrest's take-off—and on the banks of salt Lake Austin—where Cruickshank and Townsend had already established pastoral stations—Nannine and Cue became gold centres which threw out gold rays to the south, the north-west and the east (November, 1890): 'I know,' says Wittenoom, 'young stockmen who have driven their cattle over this ground, little dreaming of what a fortune was close to their hand'.[3] What was untrodden desert twenty years ago blossomed like a rose. Gold centres multiplied, gold rays

[1] *Perth Inquirer*, Nov. 23, 1887; May 30, 1888.
[2] Scottish Geographical Society *Magazine*(1898), p. 114.
[3] Ib. (1900), p. 164; *Perth Inquirer*, Aug. 21 and 26, 1891.

coalesced, and modern maps, compiled by imaginative geologists, display a yellow, star-strewn oblong stretching uninterruptedly from Hampton Plains to the Roebourne seaboard. Up to the Murchison they leave a gap of a hundred miles or so between the gold region and the sources of westward-flowing rivers; they then colour half the Murchison, Gascoyne, and Ashburton, and all the De Grey. The breadth of this oblong is unknown. Probably it consists of several narrow longitudinal belts[1]; if so, the easternmost belt may for aught we know be at Menzies (W.A.), Tarcoola (S.A.), Mount Browne (N.S.W.), or Cobar (N.S.W.). There, as elsewhere in Australia, explorers went in front and squatters came after them. When these forerunners had made rough places smooth, miners followed in their footsteps.

Explorers' successes were due to skill,

The only war which Australians have ever waged has been the war waged by explorers and squatters with what they deemed the desert. The Australians won; and their victory was due, not only to their skill and bravery, but also to a change of mind about the vanquished monster.

and to changed views about the soil and herbage,

Landsborough's praises of myall as 'a never-failing index of good sheep country', and of 'various saline herbs so pleasing to the squatter's eye'; Favenc's enthusiasm for cottonbush—a kind of saltbush[2]—would have horrified the explorers of sixty years ago, who, when they saw the great Australian plain, saw nothing but 'grey plain all round, Nothing but plain to the horizon's bound', and said of its plants, 'I think I never saw Such starved, ignoble nature, nothing throve. . . . You'd think a burr had been a treasure trove.' Our colonists did not appreciate the drought-resisting native plants until the third epoch. Again, dry cracked clay, loamy sand, 'rotten as sawdust,' and miles of floods, no longer appalled but attracted; and gregarious

[1] A. G. Maitland, in *Mineral Wealth of W. A.* (1900), p. 10.
[2] Landsborough, *Carpentaria*, pp. 23, 83, &c.; *Sydney Morning Herald*, Feb. 7, 14, &c., 1881.

Asiatic ungulates have already trodden some of this 'dangerous' country into firm earth, lake-beds and water-channels.[1] Oxley and Sturt blamed the Australian herbage and the Australian earth instead of blaming the Australian sky, and Gregory and Stuart saw their error. Eyre's Mount Hopeless (1858) and Cooper's Creek seemed to the new school like 'home'[2], and to the old school like a tower of famine or Golgotha. Modern writers have dropped the word desert, or confine it to a few thin strips which the blacks do not frequent, and where nothing grows but spinifex, or where there is bare stone. Australia is unlike other countries, and its up-country districts were never understood by explorers until the third epoch.

and about places for stock

Sheep-farmers, too, changed their views and habits. Throughout the Sixties, Landsborough urged Queenslanders to leave to cattle the wet soil and kangaroo-grass of the coast, and to drive their flocks to the inland uplands beyond the range. It was at this very time that the sheep-farmers of New South Wales were feeling their way into the great western plain,[3] armed at first with pick, spade, and excavators, then—in the Eighties—with artesian bores. There was a wholesale migration of East Australian flocks to the west. In 1896, three-fourths of the sheep of New South Wales browsed on the western slopes and plains; and that which the builders of Australia rejected in the second epoch, became the headstone of the corner. The labour difficulty was partly overcome by substituting fences for watchmen; a substitution, which began about 1865, was common seven, and almost universal, fifteen years later.[4] Australian plants and soils aided, or were aided, by the

[1] G. E. Boxall, 'Plains of Australia,' *Contemporary Review*, lxix. 699 (1896); J. D. Jaquet, *Broken Hill Lode* (1894), p. 33.

[2] John Forrest, *Explorations* (1875), p. 296.

[3] *Ante*, pp. 100, 188.

[4] *Acc. and Pap.* (1871), xlvii. C. 335, Dispatch of Governor Blackall, May 13, 1870 (Q); Conigrave, *Handbook of S. A.* (1886), p. 103, &c.

intruders; but the sky, which was of brass, was their bane. It was on the western uplands of Queensland and on the western lowlands of New South Wales that the recent droughts were deadliest.

and for agriculture.

The agriculture of the east also shifted its head quarters towards the west. A few fanatics grew wheat on the tableland of New England before 1839; and their wheat, said Lang (1852), 'has never failed.' With that one exception, squatters on the tableland believed, until long after 1860, that corn abhorred highlands; and old settlers on the Darling Downs laughed loud when Pugh wrote that Warwick would become famous as an agricultural centre (1861).[1] At present cereals thrive at the sources of the Barwon (Warwick), Condamine (Chinchilla), Balonne (Roma), Maranoa (Mitchell), and Barcoo (Barcaldine) in Queensland; and in New South Wales's agriculture the coast, which was paramount during the second epoch, has long since been excelled, first by the tableland, then by the slopes between tableland and plain. Demeter has forsaken her old haunts by the sea-shore, and has been passing westward, though she still lingers on the heights as the following table shows[2]:—

	Coast.	*Tableland.*	*Slope and Riverina.*	*Western Plain.*
(1903) N.S.W.'s area under crops = 100 %	14 %	26 %	59 %	1 %
Rate of increase of area under crops in N.S.W. 1896–1903 = 100 %	4 %	23 %	72 %	1 %

Indeed, this table shows that her fondness for the Bogan and Upper Murrumbidgee and Murray is growing day by

[1] T. P. Pugh, *Brief Outline of . . . Queensland*, 1861, p. 23; W. Coote, *Hist. of Queensland*, 1882, vol. i. p. 181.

[2] Adapted from *Statistical Register of New South Wales.*

day. One reason why agriculture in New South Wales has doubled during the recent drought is that, after fumbling for a century, men are at last finding where corn should be grown.

Similarly, Western Australia has acted like Looking-glass House to New South Wales; and between 1870 and 1887 shifted its agricultural head quarters from Guildford on the west to York on the east of its so-called coastal range.[1]

New land laws were passed which resembled early land laws,

A new system of land-tenure was devised in order to meet the new economic conditions. Sir J. Robertson, who led the new departure (1857), said he was introducing 'a new principle into the land-policy of the country', 'a mode of sale not heretofore made in this country' (N.S.W.)[2]; and about the same time (1858) Everard, Service and O'Shanassy announced 'a radical change in the land-policy of the country' (V.).[3] This startling novelty proved to be conditional purchase on credit, without competition, of limited tracts of land. Brisbane and Darling's plans were dragged out of the dust-heap, where they had lain for thirty years, and were grafted on the ready-money absolute competitive purchases which Lord Ripon, Lord Grey, and Wakefield finally established in 1831. Names were altered: thus until survey or final payment the equitable purchaser was called 'Allottee' instead of 'Locatee'; and the word 'quit-rent' was expunged. But 'quit-rent' only means non-competitive rent, and the same old conditions reappeared; thus five or ten years' residence, the application of 10*s.* or £1 of capital to each acre of bought land, and the payment of rent (or interest) at the rate of five per cent. on the value of the land, have been literally copied into modern Australasian Statutes from the regulations of the Twenties.[4] Those who cling to the legend

[1] Comp. W. H. Knight's (1870) with Favenc's (1885) *Western Australia.*

[2] Speeches in Parliament, Mar. 11 and Nov. 19, 1857.

[3] *Victorian Hansard*, Feb. 2 and 8, 1858; Jan. 10, 1860.

[4] *Ante*, p. 108.

that the Land Acts of New South Wales and Victoria (1860–1) were original works of art and not photographs, lay stress upon the clauses which enabled 'selectors' to buy unsurveyed land and to oust previous lessees. But 'selecting parties' (as they were called in Darling's time) bought unsurveyed land, and 'occupied' land was 'resumed' for purposes of purchase during the Twenties.[1]

and were meant to promote closer settlement,

Having refurbished this musty armour and palmed it off as new, colonial legislators tried to plant peasant proprietors on the soil by using similar methods to those used in the earliest years of Australian history.

During the second epoch land was usually sold by the square mile and no efforts were made to replace those small settlers of an earlier date who were dying out because of their own incompetence.[2] In 1860 Sir H. Parkes mooted the question of settling 'industrious families' on the soil of New South Wales.[3] Next New Zealand proposed to let or sell (1879), or rebuy (1885), in order to relet land as 'village settlements' and 'special settlements'. In 1885 South Australia began to let, and in 1890 to rebuy in order to relet small 'blocks' to working-men. In New Zealand the system aimed, amongst other things, at establishing communities with self-made regulations with regard to work, profits, and the tenure of land, and letting and reletting meant perpetual leases. The South Australian system was wholly individualistic, and letting and reletting was coupled with an option to buy. New ideas were infused into the ideas which flowed from these two sources. In 1887 a Committee of the Trades and Labour Council then sitting at Brisbane recommended perpetual leases to incorporated groups of labourers, and

[1] *Acc. and Pap.*, 1831–2, xxxii. No. 394, Gov. Orders, &c., Sept. 5, 1826; Aug. 21, Dec. 13, 1828; Aug. 19, 1829; Aug. 1, 1831, &c.; N.S.W. Act 10 Geo. IV, No. 6.

[2] 'A more improvident worthless set of people cannot well be imagined.' J. Atkinson, *State of Agriculture in N.S.W.*, 1826, p. 29.

[3] May 2, 1860; comp. Wentworth's scheme, *ante*, p. 75.

'compulsory co-operation' between the members of a group. In 1889 William Lane—an antipodean Cabet, Gronlund, or Hertzka—preached a kind of Socialism which was to make a new Heaven and a new Australia, and then started with 200 followers in order to found what he called a Working-man's Paradise in Paraguay (1893)! A Homestead Settlement League sprang up in Victoria, and a Village Settlement Institute in New South Wales. Owenism and Collectivism were in the air, and the young men dreamed dreams about a past that never was and a future that never will be. In 1891 and 1892 legislation was proposed by Queenslanders, and the 'special settlements' of New Zealand were studied by a Commissioner from New South Wales in order that these dreams might be changed into realities; but it was not until 1893—when distress prompted the creation of labour colonies—that legislative opportunities were afforded to the Socialistic visionaries. In one and the same year (1893) Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and even Western Australia sanctioned sales or leases of land to 'village communities', 'co-operative communities', 'homestead associations', and 'labour settlements', in order, as Mr. Copeland said, 'to allow people of, say, one religious persuasion or one nationality, or any other particular fad, to go together, frame their own social laws, and have their own community.'[1] At the same time in the same Acts, but in different clauses of the same Acts, the individualistic aspirations of South Australia, and schemes for curing pauperism by means of labour colonies, were enshrined. As under the old ordinances, so here, there were loans to the settlers for stock and tools, and the commons of pasture which figured in King's scheme, and the ten years' residence and 100 acre limit which figured in Brisbane's scheme (1821) recurred; and the only new features in the new laws were the grants to groups or to trustees for a group—features which were

[1] *N.S.W. Hansard* (1893), p. 8025.

probably suggested by legislation with regard to the lands of the Maori. The system, so far as it was individualistic, proved a fair success; and the community clauses were afterwards moulded by South Australian statesmen to suit certain irrigation settlements at Lyrup Pyap and Holder on the Murray; otherwise, the results of the new movement were disappointing. The spiritual springs suffered from drought. Meanwhile, 'Closer Settlement'—of which the blockholders, the autonomous collectivists, and the labour colonists were signs and symptoms—became the watchword of the old-new school of land-law reform; and for this purpose laws were passed authorizing the repurchase of lands by the State voluntarily (Q. 1894, W.A. 1896, V. 1898, T. 1901, N.S.W. 1902, &c.), or compulsorily (N.Z. 1894, N.S.W. 1904, V. 1904). After repurchase New Zealand, New South Wales, and Tasmania let the lands on perpetual or almost perpetual leases; elsewhere the hire-purchase system, and in South Australia both systems, came into vogue.

and to reassert state-ownership.

These new methods of dealing with land had been advocated by men of many schools of thought. Thus in 1859 Dr. Grieves said in the Victorian Parliament, 'There is now a society in Melbourne who hold the view that the whole lands of the country should be bought up by the State and then rented to all who desired to cultivate them, but that the land should remain the property of the nation.'[1] In 1891 Sir G. Grey claimed the parentage of the compulsory repurchase of land for the purpose of perpetual leasing as his own peculiar pet idea.[2] Mr. McIntyre, who introduced the Victorian Bill of 1893, asserted as his central principle that 'the land belongs to the people . . . the people have the lands from the great Creator',[3] a principle which permeated the pamphlets of H. George (1880 et seq.), the

[1] *Vic. Hansard* (1859), p. 359.
[2] *N. Z. Hansard*, Sept. 8, 1891, p. 446.
[3] *Vic. Hansard*, July 18, 1893, p. 353.

programme of the Labour Party in New South Wales (1891), and the theories of many a European philosopher to whom the application in old countries of these high-sounding theories has appeared impossible. In the laws promoting closer settlement, decentralization and the desire to substitute agriculture for pasture have always reinforced the theoretical motive. But sometimes the assertion of the theory is apparently unaccompanied by other motives; thus in New Guinea the Australian Commonwealth only offers leaseholds to intending settlers. Perpetual leases recall the most characteristic feature of the land-tenure of the first epoch—the fixed irredeemable rent. What was once called quit-rent is now called perpetual rent; but in its essence the new tenure by rent service is simply Phillip's tenure by rent service under another name.

There are as many varieties of land-tenure in Australasia as there are States, but the essence of all these systems is the same; the third epoch superimposed upon the simple commercial systems of the second epoch the cumbrous philanthropic systems of the first epoch. Why then, it will be asked, was the system of the first epoch ever abandoned? Why, when it returned, was it not recognized as an old friend?

These laws differed in method from the early laws,

It was abandoned because the cultivators were too stupid and the State was too feeble to work it. The Governor was a temporary dictator from afar, and the colonials whom he selected to supervise its working were invariably interested in thwarting it. Moreover, the lands to which the system applied were never classified; and, what was worse, quit-rents were not paid. It was conceived in ignorance, and it brought forth dishonesty. The whole system went for the same reasons as those for which bad servants are sent away. It returned in a democratic disguise, and as part-master. Nowadays the State is strong enough, not only to collect, but from time to time to revise its perpetual rents, and it has adapted the rigid primaeval system to all sorts and conditions of

men and lands; e. g., scrub lands, irrigation colonies (S.A. and V.), poison-plant lands (W. A.), swamps, forests, mining lands, and the like; while the purely pastoral and town lands remain under a system similar to that which was the distinguishing feature of the second epoch. Under its new shape the old idea gained fullness and reality, though doubtless many of its provisions are still in a crude and tentative stage.

and were a cause of extension,

The new land laws have facilitated and perhaps stimulated the vast growth of agriculture, and the retreat by squatters into hitherto inaccessible wilds. The results are tabulated below[1]:—

	Occupied.	*Unoccupied.*
South and Western Australia (= 64 °/₀ of Australia)	26 °/₀	74 °/₀
Eastern Australia . . . . (= 36 °/₀ of Australia)	75 °/₀	25 °/₀
Tasmania	38 °/₀	62 °/₀

as well as concentration;

More than half, or 56 per cent., of Australia is still empty. Permanent stands to temporary occupation in very different proportions in small and large States; thus the first column of this table should be redivided thus:—

	Land bought or being bought °/₀.	*Land temporarily occupied* °/₀.
Vic., N.Z., Tas.	60	40
N.S.W. . . .	27	73
Q., S.A., W.A.	6	94

[1] Adapted from T. A. Coghlan, *Seven Colonies of Australasia* (1902), pp. 477–8.

and extension plus concentration caused federation.

The first table illustrates extension, the second table illustrates concentration during the third epoch. Australia is explored, is nearly half full; and its people are beginning to root themselves throughout the length and breadth of the land. When these results were within reach Australia began to think and act as one nation, and proceeded to federate. These acts of extension led up to a purely political *dénouement*—as in the second epoch. The constitutional conclusion to the second epoch was evolved slowly and with difficulty; but the process of federation which concluded the third epoch was even slower and more elaborate.

The history of federation

Strictly speaking, Australian States never resembled distinct States. Trade, geography, England, and 'the crimson thread of kinship' made them one from the first. They competed for immigrants in much the same way in which colleges in a university compete for scholars. Accordingly, even purely political ideas—such as the ballot, manhood suffrage, land-transfer—were hardly broached by one State before they were greedily devoured by the sister-States. Imitation and emulation played an even greater part in economic questions, such as gold taxes, anti-Chinese laws, land laws, and labour laws. There were no frontiers other than 'imaginary lines'[1], and the map has been made and unmade without heartburnings. These symptoms prepared men's minds for federation; and the means by which federation was ultimately adopted were provided by Lord Grey.

began in 1847 and continued 1847–57.

After withdrawing his federal proposal of 1847,[2] Lord Grey (1849) enclosed a federal plan under which each Australian legislature was to elect two or, in case of more populous States, a few more delegates to a House of Delegates who should decide ten topics of common interest, such as tariffs, railways, post, a court of appeal, and whatever might be entrusted to them by the legislatures.[3] This plan

[1] So Deakin, *Acc. and Pap.* (1890), xlix. C. 6025, p. 48.
[2] *Ante*, p. 121. [3] *Acc. and Pap.* (1849), xxxv. No. 1074, p. 45.

was rejected by the Australian legislatures which framed the Australian constitutions, but was adopted without acknowledgement in a striking article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (1856),[1] and by a memorial issued by the 'General Association of the Australian Colonies' which was formed in London by Wentworth (1857). The copyists—if they may be so called—added two to the ten original 'topics'—Defence and Convictism—and suggested that the delegates should be instructed by their constituents to act as a 'convention for creating a federal assembly'.

1863–1900.

In 1863 Lord Grey's stepping-stones were used for the first time. In 1900 the Australian Commonwealth Act was passed, and the new Federal State came into existence on January 1, 1901. But between 1863 and 1901 federalism had many vicissitudes, shapes, and names.

1863–91.

In the earlier meetings two or three representatives of each colony used to meet and discuss—first the cause for which they had been summoned, next all or some of the twelve topics. Queensland and South Australia leaned to the view that the representatives represented their respective Parliaments, and in every case the representatives presented their reports to Parliament, like ordinary Parliamentary Commissioners. Briefly they were regarded—in Lord Grey's phrase—as a House of Delegates whose powers were only consultative. New South Wales and Victoria maintained that the representatives were mere Government agents appointed for the purpose of entering into contracts to adopt and promote a certain policy; and, as a rule, the premiers of the interested colonies were appointed representatives. The meetings took place at irregular intervals, and were called 'conferences' until 1885, when an English Act, adopting a draft bill which had been proposed to the conference of 1880 by Sir H. Parkes, and had been accepted

[1] *Sydney Morning Herald*, Oct. 23, 1856, reprinted in *Melbourne Argus*, Nov. 4, 1856, &c.

by the conference of 1883, metamorphosed the conference into a 'Federal Council' and made it biennial. By an odd contradiction New South Wales in general, and Sir H. Parkes in particular, would have nothing to do with the Council; and the meeting of 1890 might be called a Council enlarged so as to include delegates from anti-Council states, or a conference which agreed to look on council members as delegates. It was the meeting of 1890 which decided that each legislature should elect delegates to frame a federal constitution. In 1891 the 'Convention', as Wentworth called it, or House of Delegates, as Lord Grey would have called it, met at Sydney, drafted a federal constitution and agreed to submit it, not for consideration, but only for approval or disapproval to their respective states. Lord Grey's stepping-stones had been followed to the end, the waters of separation were crossed, and the goal was reached. The work was complete. A year later people were still admiring its finished perfection when some one discovered that something had been forgotten. Homunculus lacked life, and statesmen then set to work to put the vital spark into the stillborn babe.

The motives for federation were:

Elsewhere federal instincts have been stirred into life by a lively sense of some one peculiar danger, and self-defence has had something to do with Australian federation.

Defence,

The volunteer movement in Australia, which began in the Crimean War, has been mainly local. Each colony has defended its own harbours and raised its own men.[1] But questions of naval defence were never merely local. In 1870–1 the imperial troops were withdrawn from Australia as well as from New Zealand,[2] and a 'conference' was called which urged increased naval protection. In 1878 there was a new Russian scare, followed by a Royal Com-

[1] In 1902, Volunteers and Militia = 30,378 in Australia; 19,681 in New Zealand.

[2] *Post*, p. 223.

mission on Defence (1879), by a new 'conference' (1880–1), by Lord Derby's scheme of Naval Defence (1885), by Admiral Tryon's negotiations with the East Australian premiers (1886), and in 1887 by the historic London conference between the imperial and colonial ministers. The upshot of these long deliberations was a decennial agreement to form an auxiliary Australasian squadron consisting of five cruisers and two gunboats, maintained in Australasian waters under imperial control, at the joint cost of the Home and Colonial Governments. This arrangement was embodied in an English Act (1888), which schedules what is nothing more nor less than a deed of partnership between representative English and Australasian ministers.[1] Further proposals to fortify Thursday Island (S.) and King George's Sound (W.A.), as stations of greater importance to Australia as a whole than to any one colony, were abandoned. Two years later a memorandum by General Edwards on the federalization of Australian—not Australasian—troops was the cause of the conference (1890) which resolved to federate Australasia.[2] But the only pre-federal occasions on which colonial troops have fought—the Soudan War (1885) (N.S.W.) and Boxer trouble (1900) (N.S.W. and S.A.)—were occasions on which the absence of federal unity was not felt; and when 16,175 Australians and 6,171 New Zealanders fought in the great Boer War (1899–1902), the creation of the Australian Commonwealth during the war had no effect on offers or organization of help. These events foreshadowed imperial rather than intercolonial federation.

Dominion,

It is a short step from defence to dominion, and during this epoch Australians formed views which were distinct from current English views about the Pacific Islands. James

[1] Renewed 1902; see *Acts of the Australian Commonwealth*, 1903, no. 8.

[2] Sir H. Parkes, *Fifty Years* (1892), vol. ii. ch. xiii.

McArthur said in 1853: 'It is reserved to Australia to rear a power on this shore of the Pacific which shall extend throughout the islands a benign influence.'[1] In the same year Fiji was on men's lips;[2] and paramountcy in the Pacific inspired the conferences which recommended that all Melanesia should be annexed (1870–83). Queensland's seizure of New Guinea (1883) was stated to have been made 'for the benefit of all the colonies', and in order to afford 'ground for federal action which would lead to federation'.[3] Australia, as Lord of the Isles, required one Australian Deliberative and Executive. Singularly enough, this argument for Australian federation was used by New Zealanders as an argument against Australasian federation. For they too were Imperialists. Grey and Selwyn wished to make New Zealand the school of Pacific prophets and kings (1853); Vogel planned (1873) 'a great island dominion . . . with New Zealand as the centre of government, and England as protector': and Mr. Seddon used to advocate not a greater Australia, or Australasia, but a greater New Zealand.[4] If both the Australian and the New Zealand dreams were fulfilled, there would be two centres of influence in the Pacific, each looking to England as a common centre. A common foreign and colonial policy has contributed to Imperial federation, and has led the Australian states towards, but New Zealand away from, intercolonial federation.

and the maxim 'Australia for the

Defence, defiance, and dominion were not sufficiently powerful motives to induce Australians to unite. A battle-cry was wanted to rouse them. Sir H. Parkes chose the

[1] Silvester has published the *Debate on the Constitution* in Sydney (1853), p. 153.

[2] *Ante*, p. 88.

[3] *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 17 and 18, 1883.

[4] Rees, *Life and Times of Sir G. Grey*, ch. xiv; Jul. Vogl, *New Zealand and the South Sea Islands* (1878); R. Seddon's Speech in N.Z., June 26, 1905, &c.

battle-cry, which was 'Australia for the Australians'.[1] This battle-cry recalled the first federal league against convicts;[2] it included self-defence, and the Munroism of the colonists, and it summed up the better side of those laws which kept out Chinamen and all those who resembled slaves. It asserted that Australians had one supreme duty, and that was to choose and care for the type of people and of civilization which they wished to prevail in Australia. This choice and care could only be effectual if Australia were one state. Tennyson's ideal, 'be careful of the type,' had run through many characteristic Australasian Acts, and might occasion future strife in case the northern provinces of Western or South Australia, or of Queensland should be severed from their parent states. This ideal put manhood before money, was profitless and might entail sacrifice by the richer on behalf of the poorer states; moreover, it meant the immediate overthrow of intercolonial protection. As stated it seemed to exclude New Zealand and Fiji, which Sir E. Barton's 'Australasian Federal League'[3] seemed to include; and when New Zealand gradually drifted away from the plan many of Sir H. Parkes's followers rejoiced. The appeal to the people—which began in 1893—was idealistic without being visionary, and in inculcating respect for a larger self, made men think more kindly of their past ties, and more reverently of the great future which lay before them.

'Australians' which was urged 1893–1900,

The success of this appeal for political federation was partly due to its coincidence with the labour movements which attained strength and a peaceful issue by means of federation. Labour unions were intercolonial before 1890; and in 1890 'pastoralists' unions', composed chiefly of employers, were formed in East Australian states, but without

and the federalization of other groups 1890 et seq.

[1] Sir H. Parkes's Speech in *Debate on the Western Australian Constitution*, Sept. 7, 1889, published by C. Potter, Sydney.

[2] *Ante*, p. 106. This 'maxim' was common in New South Wales in 1848: see A. P. Martin, *Life of Lord Sherbrooke*, vol. i. p. 398.

[3] July 3, 1893.

adhering to state boundaries, and with a power to federate 'with any Australasian Federal Union' (1890). The shearers' strikes (1891–4) were precipitated by the efforts of the 'Pastoralists' Federal Council of Australia, 1891' to come to terms with the 'General Council of the Australian Labour Federation'. The Pastoralists put peace in the forefront of their programme; but whether the contending parties aimed at peace or war, it was clear that success could not be attained by one state only. In 1891 labour members were returned to most Australian Parliaments, men's minds turned to legislative remedies, and the vanity of a State remedy for an Australian dispute became apparent. Labour wars drove employers and employees irresistibly towards political federation. Disinterested idealism and the turbid stream of human economics met as Rhone and Arve, or King and Ovens meet, and flowed together in a single channel.

Referenda were held,

There was still a question of ways and means. In 1891 Sir S. Griffith (Q.) suggested a constituent assembly directly elected by the people of each state, and Sir G. Grey (N.Z.) recommended the referendum. Both these methods were adopted. In 1897 a constituent assembly, modelled on the convention of 1891, but elected by the people instead of the legislatures, met at Adelaide and revised the work done in 1891. During the next few years the referendum recorded assent in each Australian state. Federalism was at last alive.

and Federation was defined, and adopted, 1900,

In its final shape the Federal Parliament has two Houses. The franchise in each state for either House is that for the lower House of the state. The Federal Senate is elected by the state voting as one constituency, is small, sexennial, and has six members from each state. The Federal House of Representatives is triennial, is twice the size of the Senate, and contains representatives from each state proportionately to its populousness. The original ten or twelve topics of

common interest are expanded into twenty-nine, and include relations with Pacific Islands, laws as to special races (if not aborigines of federating states), and laws to prevent strikes. Inter-state duties and preferences are abrogated. Provision is made for accepting and governing surrendered and acquired territory, and for carving new states out of old states with the consent of the latter. The states still regulate their franchise and land laws. Appeal to the judicial committee of the Privy Council is maintained but modified.

and has worked since 1901.

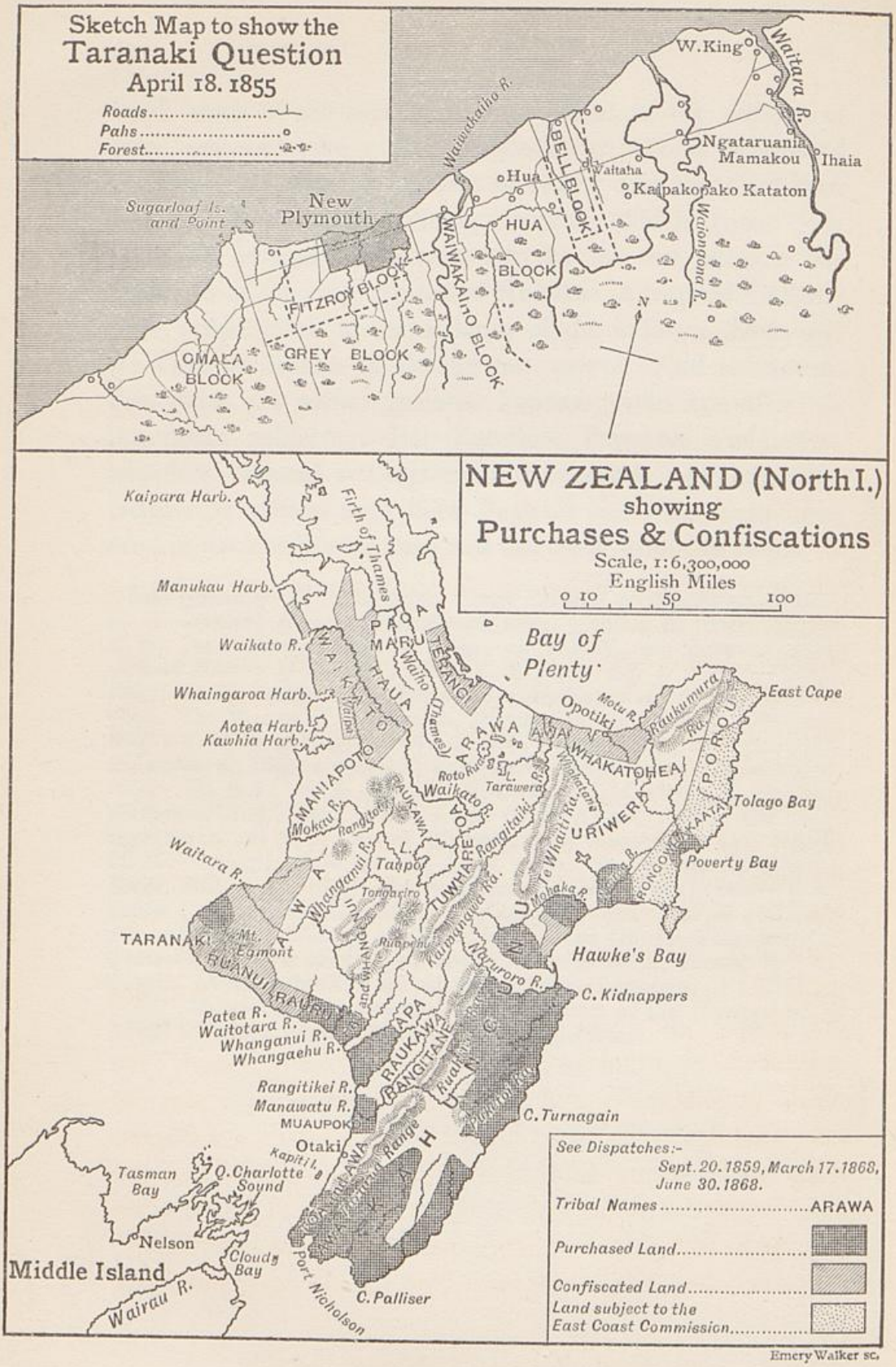
The laws of the Commonwealth are already imbued with traces of the agitation which accompanied its birth. The postal law enacts that 'no agreement for the carriage of mails shall be entered into on behalf of the Commonwealth unless it contains a condition that only white labour shall be employed'. Another law borrowed from laws already passed in Natal (1897), Western Australia (1897), New South Wales (1898), and New Zealand (1899), excludes or expels any person 'who fails to write out at dictation fifty words in a European language'. Indentured white labour was a familiar *bête noire* of the labour party in 1890; and their view produced legislative effects in Victoria (1891), Western Australia (1892), New South Wales (1902), and the Commonwealth, which excludes any persons who are under contract to perform manual labour unless the contract is approved by the Minister or unless they are sailors serving at current wages. Contract labourers are also prohibited if introduced in order to affect the issue of a strike. Pacific Islanders were objected to on the ground both of their colour and their indenture; accordingly the Commonwealth enacts that Pacific Islands' labourers (unless Maori) may not enter Australia after March, 1904, and their agreements are annulled after December, 1906. Bounties are offered for sugar raised by white men only, or by white men with the aid of Australian blacks.

In these experimental laws we hear two voices; the still

small voice of the idealist who is jealous of the dignity of man, and the voice of the labour-leader who is jealous of competitors. The experiment is risky; and the Chairman of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company said in 1904: 'As far back as 1901 I pointed out that in our opinion the cessation of the employment of Kanakas in tropical Queensland would result in the collapse of the industry there, and we have no reason to change our views.' And it imposes disabilities on some 350,000 Papuans, who are after all Australian subjects. But Kanakas, Papuans, and other islanders demand a chapter to themselves, nor can that chapter be written until New Zealand has once more been used in the nominative case and discussed from the inside.

See, generally, T. A. Coghlan, *Seven Colonies of Australasia*, 1902; G. W. Rusden, *History of Australia*, 1883, 3 vols.; E. Jenks, *History of the Australasian Colonies*, 1895; on N.S.W., see *Epitome of the Official History of N.S.W.*, 1883; C. E. Lyne, *Life of Sir H. Parkes*, 1897; Sir. H. Parkes, *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History*, 1892. On V., see W. Westgarth, *Recollections of Victoria*, 1888, and *Half a Century of Progress*, 1889; Sir C. Gavan Duffy, *My Life in two Hemispheres*, 1898, 2 vols.; E. E. Morris, *Memoir of G. Higinbotham*, 1895. On S.A., see R. Garnett, *E. G. Wakefield*, 1898; E. Hodder, *History of S.A.*, 1893, 2 vols.; and *G. F. Angas*, 1891. On W.A. exploration, see A. F. Calvert, *Exploration of Australia*, 1895, vol. ii; D. W. Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, 1898. On Q., see A. Meston, *Geogr. Hist. of Q.*, 1895; Henry S. Russell, *Genesis of Q.*, 1888; C. C. Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of early Q.*, 1904; and W. H. Traill has published a *History of Queensland* in the Official Year Book of Queensland. The official year books for each colony should be consulted. Other authorities are referred to in the footnotes.

The Australian Commonwealth in the Story of the Nations series (1893) is a short popular history by G. Tregarthen.



Emery Walker sc.

To face p. 211

CHAPTER XIV

EXTENSION IN NEW ZEALAND AND ITS EFFECTS

War brought peace.

In New Zealand the way to unity lay first through war, and then through peace. The predisposing cause of war was neglect.

The 'king movement' was due to neglect.

Until 1862 Maori affairs were 'mainly in the hands of the Governor responsible for (them) to the Crown'.[1] He and he only was responsible; but the only funds by means of which he could fulfil his responsibility were £7,000 a year—of which £5,900 went to missionaries, &c., and the rest to magistrates, &c.; and his only advisers were the officials of the native department, who derived their pay from the Assembly, and whose chief duty it was to buy land from the natives. Governor Browne (1855–61) could not speak Maori, had no interpreter of his own, and therefore groped and fumbled like a blind man who has been told not to follow but to lead the lad who leads him. Consequently, although 'successive governors promised that the colonists and the Maori should form but one people under one equal law', no effort was made to redeem these promises. In 1864, said Sir J. Gorst, 'the whole population is and has been for years in a state of utter anarchy.'[2] Even in New Plymouth—where a dispute arose about selling land to the English—natives flaunted their 'vendette' in the eyes of the English until 1859, when Browne forbade future 'violence inside the British boundaries', whatever that might mean. Not 'misgovernment' but

[1] *Acc. and Pap.*, Dispatch, Dec. 10, 1856.
[2] Sir J. Gorst, *Maori King* (1864), ch. ii and iii.

'non-government' compelled the Maori to work out their own salvation.[1] They could not turn for this purpose either to the Assembly or to English law. In 1856 a Board reported that Maori lands were communal and were owned by the clan or sub-clan, so that even chief chiefs could not sell them without the assent of the clansmen. Individuals had only 'possessory rights', like those of Indian ryots. It followed from this, said Lord Westbury (1859), that Maori landholders had no vote, and could neither prosecute trespassers nor evict strangers. Until their lands were sold to the English, the Maori were outside the pale of English politics and law. After sale their position was not always better. Whenever land was bought a re-grant of one-tenth of the sold land to trustees for the natives was promised; but in 1862, 178 of these promises—many of them over ten years old—were outstanding. 'Lunga promessa con l'attender corto' summed up our conduct. Our law courts and assemblies were closed, our gunshops after 1857 were opened to the Maori.

A king was set up in 1857,

Unable to save themselves by means of English institutions, they turned for help to the Old Testament, and tried to federate under a native 'king'. This advice had been given first by Marsden forty years ago,[2] then by an Otaki sub-chief (1853), then by Te Heu Heu, chief of the Tuwharetoa clan (1856), then by Waharoa,[3] chief of the Haua clan (1857). Waharoa became king-maker, and made the Waikato chief Te Whero Whero 'king' in 1858. Thenceforth the new king reigned at Ngaruawahia ('meeting of the waters') until his death in June, 1860; and after his death his son Tawhiao reigned in his stead. The father

[1] Sir W. Martin, *Taranaki Question* (1861), pp. 96 et seq.; W. Swainson, *New Zealand and the War* (1862), pp. 36–7; Sir. W. Fox, *The War in N. Z.* (1860), ch. ii; B. Wells, *History of Taranaki* (1878), ch. xix; T. Buddle, *Maori King Movement* (1860).

[2] J. B. Marsden, *Life of S. Marsden*, p. 255.

[3] *Alias* William Thompson.

had been Grey's principal ally, and he prayed for the Queen and was in our pay until he died. His motto was 'Faith, Love, and Law'. The son was little more than the mouthpiece of others. What Anglo-Indians call 'a protected state' came into being. It had a separate flag, a distinct policy, and definite limits of its own. Until May, 1861, no official objected to it. It was often discussed and always ignored.

and a flag adopted,

The king's flag—which, on the first occasion of its being hoisted, was tied half-mast high while the Union Jack waved at the top of the flagstaff—meant that the Maori claimed autonomy in the same way that the colonists were autonomous. The king held council-meetings—composed of relatives and chief chiefs of the king's state—and frequent assemblies, where chiefs from afar ate pigs, potatoes, and eels and discussed means of averting drunkenness, murder, and war. But King Te Whero Whero's assemblies never attracted more numerous or more distant chiefs than Chief Te Whero Whero's assemblies had attracted—for instance in 1844—and there was no royal executive. The authority of clan chief or sub-clan chief, impaired though it was by contact with European ideas, was the only authority which men looked up to in Maoriland.

and the kingites and some others would not sell land.

The flag symbolized, the king advised, and the chiefs applauded the non-sale of land. Schemes for 'pledging' clan-lands to the king or ceding them to his 'guardianship'[1] were mooted but never realized; unless the colonial law of 1881, which vested native reserves in a 'public trustee', may be regarded as an embodiment of the Maori idea. The Maori only thought vaguely about a big land trust; they did not nor could they take a single step to give effect to it. Englishmen suspected the existence of an anti-land-selling-league, but there was neither league nor contract; vetoes[2] upon sales of clan-lands were invariably pronounced

[1] *Acc. and Pap.*, Dispatch, Dec. 17, 1856.

[2] Tapu.

by the clan-chiefs[1] who owned the clan-lands, and the clan-chiefs often had nothing to do with the king, and were sometimes his sworn foes.

The king's ascendancy was confined to Central Maoriland.

The king's rule was limited to the King-state or part thereof; and the King-state was small, was in the wrong place for a state which aimed at ascendancy in Maoriland, and it, its flag and its policy, were rejected and ridiculed in friendly Maoriland.

Friendly Maoriland included the whole of the outstretched swan's-neck of the Northern Island. North of Auckland Englishmen and Maori intermingled, and the old storm-centre diffused sunshine and calm weather. Again, take points twelve miles or so up the Whanganui (S.W.) and Wairoa (E.), and join these points. Everywhere below this junction-line there was peace. Between the Whanganui and Wellington the motley crew of Toa Raukawa and Awa clansmen, once led by Rauparaha and Rangihaeata—now no more—had blended with the allied or subject Hau Apa Rangitane and Muaupoko clans, and bowed before the English sceptre. From Wellington to the north of Hawke's Bay the innumerable parti-coloured sub-clans of the Kahungunu were true to the English. Disaffected Maoriland meant central Maoriland. And the mutilated trunk—twice as broad as long—of central Maoriland must be still further reduced. From the north-east coast near Maketu the clan-lands of the Arawa spread south so as to include the Rotoruan wonderland of geysers, hot lakes, and shining staircases of pink and white sinter. The whole of that district—except a village here and a village there[2]—renounced the king and all his works, and all but cut the disaffected districts in two. East and west were only linked together by the Tuwharetoa of Lake Taupo. They held the key of the situation. If dis-

[1] By Raukawa (1848–52), by Taranaki (1854), &c.

[2] R. H. Meade, *Ride through the disturbed districts of N.Z.* (1870), p. 30.

affected Maoriland were to unite, it must unite through them. Any other centre of gravity would make disaffected Maoriland lopsided.

i.e. the Tuwharetoa in the middle,

In policy, Te Heu Heu, chief of the Tuwharetoa, was fitted to lead the new movement. His tribesmen had been the first to denounce land sales[1] and the last to accept Christianity. Except on the north corner of Lake Taupo he carried his whole tribe with him.[2] But he was no leader of men; and he chiefly figures in history as the orator whose speeches began with Creation and became inarticulate with rage and were closured by his friends as he approached modern times. He adhered to the king-movement, and allowed its shattered victims to drift into port along the shores of his lake. He became the ally first of the King-state, then after its downfall of almost any one.

the 'King-state' (or Waikato Haua and Maniapoto), N.W.,

The King-state lay to the north-west of the Tuwharetoa clan-lands, was bounded on the north by the westward-flowing Mangatawhiri and Waikato rivers, on the south by the Mokau; and on the east included the Upper Thames valley. It consisted of three clans—Waikato, Haua (of the middle Waikato and Upper Thames) and Maniapoto (of the Waipa and of Kawhia), of which the king, the king-maker, and Rewi were respective clan-chiefs. Of these three chiefs Rewi represented warlike spirit, the king-maker wisdom, and the king indecision. These three clans were more than allied and less than merged. The addition of a king did not create but only enhanced their unity, which had subsisted ever since 1830. Such was the King-state, a trinity, of which one of the three was titular head, and each of the three were distinct in character and authority. It was by far the most coherent and important tribe group in disaffected Maoriland. Although the king's fame spread into the uttermost east of the northern isle, it is pure illusion to

[1] e.g. 1845.

[2] R. H. Meade, op. cit., pp. 2, 3, 85.

suppose that any clan outside the King-state owned anything like allegiance to the king.

three small clans, N.E.,

Around Hauraki Gulf, on the Lower Thames and eastward to the confines of the Arawa, the Paoa and Maru had been the hereditary foes, and the Terangi of Tauranga and its neighbourhood had been sometimes foes, sometimes friends of the King-state. Pacific penetration in recent times assuaged the hostility, but never won the subjection or even the alliance of any one of these three clans.

four wilder clans, E.,

Further east, the Whakatohea of Opotiki, the Porou of East Cape, the Rongowhakaata of Poverty Bay, and the inland Uriwera—who occupied the outstretched eastern wing of the northern island—had no cohesion with one another, or with themselves, much less with any alien clan. As in Rutherford's days (1820), so now, this region furnished freebooters who went as far as Maori might go in quest of military adventure.

and, afterwards, the Awa triad, S.W.;

The outstretched western wing of Northern Island was occupied by a triad composed of the close-knit Awa (N.), the loosely compacted Taranaki (W.), and many-headed Ruanui (S. & E.) clans. Rangitake[1] was chief chief of the Awa, whose lands extended from the Mokau to New Plymouth—including the Waitara river—and he was also foremost man in this triad. The whole triad opposed land sales, and Rangi take told Brownethat he would veto the sale of land within his special clan-limits. Further, the whole triad were the deadly enemies of the King-state and spurned its flag until April, 1860. The south-easterly boundary of this triad was the Patea river; but when the Rauru joined them their influence almost reached the Whanganui.

and they had little or no unity.

Between these different tribe-groups and clans there was no unity of design. Indeed, many of the clans were without internal organization. The only group that had the political capacity to mould the disaffected into something like national

[1] *Alias* William King.

unity was in the wrong geographical situation and was (until 1860) opposed to a rival group on its southern border. The clan that had the best opportunity had the least capacity for the task. Therefore, when war arose it was desultory, lingering and local—sometimes almost extinct, sometimes blazing fiercely 'like fire in fern'—and had many causes and many aspects.

The war was a drama in five acts;

The history of the ten years' war is a tragedy in five acts. The war was only national in the sense that none but Englishmen fought against none but Maori, and it was only national in this limited sense during the first three acts.

Act 1, scene Taranaki; enter Sir T. Browne, Rangitake, Teira, &c., 1860-1.

The scene of the first act was Taranaki, and the war began thus:—In 1859 an Awa clansman named Teira[1] offered and Rangitake refused to sell one square mile on the south bank of the Waitara near its mouth. Browne said he would accept the offer if Teira's title should prove good. Parris—the local sub-commissioner for buying lands—investigated the title on behalf of the purchaser, and pronounced Teira's title good and Rangitake's title bad. Maclean, head of the Native Land Purchasing Department, and C. W. Richmond, Native Minister, backed up Parris; and in March, 1860, Browne enforced the judgement of Parris with horse, foot, and artillery, and laid waste Rangitake's land. Immediately there was war between the western triad and the English, and the former appealed to the King-state for aid. The king and king-maker preached peace. Only Rewi and some minor Haua and Waikato chiefs responded to the call. After a year, war ceased (April, 1861). Rewi spirited off Rangitake to the Waipa; Rangitake's general made a truce between the Awa clan and the English; the Haua and Waikato sub-clans were called off; the Ruanui and Taranaki clans occupied an outlying block of English land called Tataraimaka—a few miles west of New Plymouth—and the English occupied the disputed Waitara block.

[1] *Anglice* Taylor.

Englishmen as well as New Zealanders now admit that the judgement of Parris was wholly, radically wrong: first, because six sub-clans of the Awa occupied the land, and as clan-chief Rangitake had a right to sanction or forbid the sale; secondly, because Teira represented (?) two only of these sub-clans, and of one of the two Rangitake was senior member; thirdly, because Rangitake had 'possessory rights' which entitled him to refuse to sell; fourthly, because Teira stipulated, and it had been the universal practice, that dwellings, gardens and tilths should be exempted from sale; and Rangitake occupied two villages on the Waitara block along with 235 clansmen. Indeed, our own maps showed Rangitake's villages.[1] Only one good result accrued from this bad blunder. Sir W. Martin, Bishops Selwyn and Hadfield, and the wiser natives urged that all land titles should be judicially investigated before they were enforced. The judges prepared for Browne a scheme for a Native Land Court (1861), and the scheme was embodied in the law of 1865 which is still in force.

Intermezzo in the Waikato district; enter Sir G. Grey, 1861.

A long intermezzo followed in which Browne prepared the way for the second act of the tragedy by denouncing the king and demanding from the King-state submission, compensation, and abstinence from 'unlawful combinations'. Before 'the man of wrath'—as Browne was nicknamed by the Maori—could execute or explain his ultimatum, Sir G. Grey arrived (September, 1861), took over the government and announced that he would not fight about the word 'king', although the word might bring forth bad fruit, but would wait until the bad fruit appeared. In order to promote the growth of good fruit he proposed an expenditure of £50,000 a year on natives, and amongst other things planted Sir J. Gorst in the upper Waipa—a sort of *episcopus in partibus infidelium*; made him magistrate, and put him in charge of an excellent

[1] Dispatch, Apr. 18, 1855, in *Acc. and Pap.* (1860), xlvi. No. 2719, pp. 99, 104.

technical school and a witty native newspaper. Grey now announced his intention to act solely on the advice of his ministers, and aided by Fox urged Rangitake to submit the Waitara claim to Anglo-Maori arbitration (January, 1862). But Rangitake refused unless the English troops were withdrawn. The deadlock continued. Grey utilized the interval by building a road from Auckland to the elbow of the lower Waikato, where it is joined by the Mangatawhiri.

When the peace which was no peace had lasted a year and three quarters, a lonely man was seen standing one day beside Te Whero Whero's tomb at Ngaruawahia. The amazed bystanders recognized Sir G. Grey. Women wept for joy. Men sped to the east and south to fetch back the chiefs. Rewi held aloof. The king galloped himself sore, then came by boat, too late. Others came. The king-maker called him governor, friend, and father of the people. Then Grey spoke to the assembled chiefs. He would not fight against the king with the sword but would 'dig round him with good deeds': but the time had come for retaking Tataraimaka. The chiefs said they would try and keep the peace and entreated Grey to visit them; but he was ill and had to return to Auckland. The irrevocable opportunity passed.

The scene changes to Taranaki.

In March, 1863, Grey and his ministers arrived at Taranaki. Tataraimaka was re-occupied on April 4th without opposition. On the 10th, Grey learned for the first time that Rangitake had possessed or occupied portions of the Waitara block and urged its restoration. His ministers agreed and argued. On the 19th, he wrote out a draft proclamation. His ministers approved but hesitated to sign. A week later, the sands in the glass ran out. On the 26th the enemy set an ambuscade, but they, too, drew back. There was another week's reprieve. Grey and his ministers were still wrangling when the long-deferred blow fell. On

May 4th, eight officers and men were waylaid and slain close by New Plymouth. Thus the curtain of the second act lifted, and when the Waitara block was restored it was exactly one week too late.

Act II, scene Taranaki and the Waikato district, 1863-4.

The second act lasted until April, 1864, and consisted of two scenes, one at Taranaki—where the embers were still smouldering when the act closed—and one in the Waikato district. The Waikato war formally began with the crossing of the Mangatawhiri (July 12, 1863) and ended in April, 1864. It is sometimes said that Grey crossed the Mangatawhiri under circumstances similar to those under which Lord Ellenborough and Lord Hardinge refused to cross the Sutlej. His action, according to these critics, was aggressive. But Rewi and at least one chief from the Lower Waikato sent round war-songs ending with the refrain 'Surprise! Strike! Fire!' and dispatched 200 armed men to Taranaki during April. In crossing the Mangatawhiri, Grey only replied to these earlier acts of war of which parts of the King-state were guilty by an act of war directed against the King-state as a whole. This was the period during which the war most nearly resembled a war of races. The English had 20,000 men in arms, half of them regulars, and the Maori 2,000. It ended with the battle of Orakau and the occupation of the King-state as far as Maungatautari on the south.

Act III, scene Tauranga, 1864.

The third act of the drama lasted from March to August, 1864, and raged round Tauranga, whence parties of volunteers had aided the King-state. The whole Terangi clan, aided by odd Paoa, Maru, Whakatohea and Uriwera units, took the field against us. They were not aided by the King-state nor by any western clansmen. During the siege of the Gate Pa the Terangi used to risk their lives in order to slake the thirst of wounded prisoners in obedience to their order of the day which ran thus: 'If thine enemy thirst give him drink.' The war which had hitherto been conducted humanely reached its apex of humanity in this brief idyllic interlude.

With the fourth act a darker spirit came upon the scene. Missionaries had been expelled from the disturbed districts and the Maori invented a sect of their own which was nicknamed the 'Hau Hau' sect, because its first votaries believed themselves invulnerable and went into battle barking like dogs. Te Ua, its prophet, hailed from Taranaki, and his disciples chopped off their enemies' heads, stuck them on poles, danced round them and sent them from furthest west unto furthest east, where Kereopa of Taranaki headed some desperate Uriwera and Whakatohea converts or rather reverts, descended on Opotiki, killed the missionary Volkner and ate his eyes (March, 1865). Immediately native allies sprang to our side. In the far east a Porou chief named Ropata, in the south-west a lower Whanganui chief named Rangihiwinui[1] became towers of strength to us. At opposite ends of the island Anglo-Maori allies took the field against the Maori riff-raff. The king-maker, disgusted with Kereopa, took oaths of allegiance (May, 1865) and Rewi hid his face. The Tuwharetoa remained neutral, and the far west and far east waged independent warfare.[2] On the other hand, some mild form of Hauhauism pervaded central Maoriland—like an epidemic—leading to seclusion but not to savagery or war.

Act IV, scene furthest east and furthest west; Enter Hauhaus, Ropata, and Rangihiwinui, 1865-6.

It was at this time that the Home Authorities pressed for the recall of the soldiers, and that General Cameron took up his parable against the policy of confiscation which had been adopted. In December, 1864, all lands enclosed by a line drawn from the mouth of the Waikato to Whaingaroa in the south, thence to the Puniu river and to Maungatautari on the

Exeunt British soldiers and Sir G. Grey.

[1] *Alias* Major Kemp.

[2] T. W. Gudgeon, *Reminiscences of the War in N. Z.* (1879); *Defenders of N. Z.* (1887); G. S. Whitmore, *Last Maori War in N. Z. under the self-reliant policy* (1902); Sir W. Fox, *War in N. Z.* (1866); Col. T. Macdonnell, *Maori History of the Pakaha-Maori Wars in N.Z.*, and *Incidents of the War* (1887).

east (including Alexandra and Cambridge), thence to Pukorokoro on the north and thence to the starting-point, were confiscated (1902 sq. m.), but loyalists' lands were excepted and lands were reserved for enemies who submitted. Tauranga was treated in the same way but more leniently; and Sir G. Grey now announced that he would pursue a similar policy between Whanganui and New Plymouth and would link these two settlements by a road. The proposed road just maddened General Cameron, who refused military aid to the road-makers unless he was allowed 2,000 additional soldiers. More particularly, he declared Weraroa to be impregnable under present circumstances. By way of answer Grey put himself at the head of a few colonial volunteers and friendly Maori and in Cameron's absence took Weraroa by storm (July, 1865); and by the advice of the newly-created 'self-reliant ministry' of Weld and Co. issued orders for five regiments of regulars to return home. At the same time land was confiscated from the Waitotara to a point midway between the Waitara and the Mokau (1943 sq. m.) subject to the exceptions and reservations made in the Waikato district. A little later General Chute and Rangihiwinui dashed along Rauparaha's trackless forest track from Waingongoro river to New Plymouth and back (1865–6) and the semblance of peace was assured in the west. Early in 1866 the eastern Hauhaus succumbed to the Englishmen and their allies the Porou and Kahungunu: and the Whakatohea of Opotiki were punished by the usual confiscations (687 sq. m.). These confiscations amounted to 4,865 square miles gross or, deducting the 1,297 square miles or more rededicated to native use, 3,568 square miles net.[1]

Self-help, or rather mutual help, between Englishmen and Maori became the new principle of conduct. When Grey—

[1] *Acc. and Pap.* (1864), xli. No. 3277, p. 60; No. 3386, p. 48, &c.; ib. (1868–9), xliv. 127.

last of the Governors who governed—was superseded in 1867 only one regiment was left and it followed its fellows in 1870.

Act V, scene as before;

The fifth act was a feeble replica of the fourth act. Not only was there no semblance of Maori unity in array against us, but there was something more than the semblance of Maori unity on our side. In 1867 the law was passed under which the Maori still elect by manhood suffrage four representatives to the Lower House. The shrunken King-state was quiet, though closed to white men. Te Ua was reconverted. The Tuwharetoa were our friends. But there were symptoms of unrest at sundry times and in divers places; and suddenly, in those very head centres where the Hauhau riff-raff waged war, new wars which had nothing to do with the previous wars broke out.

in the east enter Te Kooti and Ropata, 1868–71,

Te Kooti, a Rongowhakaata clansman of Poverty Bay, had fought for us (1865), had been suspected of treachery and had been deported without trial to the Chatham Islands. He was told that he would be released after two years' detention. More than two years having elapsed, he and his fellow prisoners rose against their guards, bound them very gently, seized a vessel and sailed towards Poverty Bay. As the wind was adverse he threw a clansman into the sea to appease the sea-god. He too reverted to ancient usages. On his arrival he perched like some bird of prey in the far east on the watershed between the Wairoa and Whakatane rivers, whence he swooped down to the east on Poverty Bay (1868), to the north on Whakatane, to the south on Mohaka (1869), and again to the east on Tolago (1870), slaying all whom he found. Uriwera, Whakatohea, Rongowhakaata, and other waifs and strays joined and left him from time to time. Colonial militia and volunteers, aided by Ropata and his Porou clansmen and by Arawa, Kahungunu, and Terangi allies, tracked and attacked him. Te Kooti represented no cause, and no clan. Indeed tribal union was already on

the wane, and he and his crew were adventurers pure and simple ;—

> Through many a dark and dreary vale they passed . . .
> O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp,
> Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens and shades of death ;

until in March, 1870, he fought his last fight at Maraetahi and in 1872 sought asylum with Rewi. Kereopa, who joined Te Kooti awhile, was caught and executed in 1871. Te Kooti brought fragments of leaderless clans together ; and in fighting him Ropata attained chieftainship of a new kind over the leaderless Porou and ascendancy of a new kind over the vanquished. The eastern clans who dwelt between the Arawa and Kahungunu looked thenceforth to him or rather through him to England. When Ropata was paid off he summoned an assembly—in other words he gave a feast—in order to spread his fame far and wide, and the 3,000 chiefs who attended it cheered the Union Jack (1872). Te Whero Whero's biggest assembly feast (1844) only mustered 4,000 guests.

in the west enter Titokowaru and Rangihiwinui, 1868–9,

As Te Kooti provoked union under the English flag in the east, so Titokowaru, a Ruanui chief, provoked a similar union in the west. A Whanganui magistrate arrested, or tried to arrest, some chiefs at Titokowaru's head quarters in connexion with horse-stealing. His proceedings, which were to say the least tactless, induced Titokowaru to place his clan-lands out of bounds to Europeans, and murders, which were the usual prelude to Maori war, began (1868). The King-state disowned him : so did Rangitake ; so did Te Whiti, a young and rising Taranaki sub-chief. Colonials and friendlies took the field, and Rangihiwinui proved the Ropata of the west. He too believed in England, and thanks chiefly to him Titokowaru was within a year a fugitive on the Upper Waitara. Rangihiwinui then essayed a bolder flight.

who crosses over to the east by land to aid

At the end of 1869 Te Kooti won over many Tuwharetoa to his causeless cause and tried to visit the king, who would not even see him. Colonel Macdonnell, with a mixed body

of colonials, Kahungunu, Arawa, and a few Tuwharetoa, faced Te Kooti's Tuwharetoa and other levies near the shores of Lake Taupo. Him Rangihiwinui joined: nor was Rangihiwinui alone. *Ropata*, 1870;

Topia, an Upper Whanganui chief, had been tainted with a malignant form of Hauhauism in 1864; and since then had drifted into the orbit of the King-state and abstained from strife and from Europeans. Spurred by Te Kooti's murder of one of his kinsmen, and by Tawhiao's advice, Topia now joined Rangihiwinui and they two, with Hau, Rauru, Ruanui and other clansmen, started northward, helped Macdonnell to reduce the hostile Tuwharetoa to submission and fought side by side with Ropata's levies at Maraetahi. Of the thirty-seven 'first-rate battles' in the war, Maraetahi was the only battle of first-rate political significance. No great clans, but two great chiefs took part in it, on the same side, and with levies drawn from some half dozen ill-organized clans of the far west and far east. The only bond that united the two clan-chiefs and the motley clans was loyalty to England. A new era had dawned. Central Maoriland became one in a way of which no Maori had ever dreamed.

Moreover, it was Rangihiwinui who first made the Uriwera sub-clans melt away from Te Kooti's side, and when Ropata finished what Rangihiwinui began, Paoa, Maru, Terangi, Arawa, Whakatohea, Uriwera, Porou, Rongowhakaata, Hau, Ruanui, and Rauru clansmen became as Anglophil and peaceful as the clans to the north and south of disaffected Maoriland. Tribal antagonism ceased and English policy triumphed. The country of the Tuwharetoa became like a passage through which all went but in which none stayed. There were only two exceptions. The Uriwera remained shy as Spartans until Seddon's visit in 1894 and Lord Ranfurly's visit in 1904: and the King-state remained bolted and barricaded for awhile.

Then the war ends, 1871,

Those who prophesied 'a war of extermination' were wildly wrong. In ten years deaths directly caused by war were less than 3,000; in one year (1854) Maori deaths directly due to measles exceeded 4,000.[1] In 1874 the Maori were 45,500 and in the Forties possibly 105,000; but war had not made much difference. Thus the Puhi clan of the far north had not been at war and had more than halved; and those who quoted 105,000 as the figure for the early Forties quoted 56,000 as the figure for the late Fifties. War proved less deadly than the poisoned cup of peace. Tragedy had slain its thousands, comedy its tens of thousands.

peace begins,

After the tragedy was over wounds were healed; and there was forgiveness and forgetfulness; but the process was not uninterrupted.

and the drama threatens to recommence at Parihaka, 1880–1.

For eight years, 1869–77, Parliament was otherwise employed and Sir Donald McLean, now Native Minister, had a free hand with the Maori. His acquaintance with Maori men and things was encyclopaedic and his tact infinite. His method was to allow the clansmen to return to such of their clan-lands as they selected and to persuade them to hand over the residue for value. Cession was substituted for confiscation. Maori pride was salved; and the English winked. Unfortunately this canny Scot died in 1877 with his work unfinished. When he died the whole of Taranaki province was still paved with good intentions and the shadows of the past strife flitted across the arena. Te Whiti, to whom we have referred,[2] set up as a prophet in his own country at Parihaka between Mount Egmont and Cape Egmont, and appointed an assistant prophet, Tohu. His gospel was the gospel of work, peace, and martyrdom; his watchword was 'resist not evil';[3] and he was bribe-proof, anti-king, anti-English—in his mild way—and as free from tribal bonds as a Maori could be. This Maori Tolstoi was denounced by

[1] Dr. A. S. Thomson, *Story of N. Z.* (1859), i. 213.
[2] *Ante*, p. 224.
[3] Matt. v. 39.

his white neighbours as madman or rebel; and it is true that on one occasion he hinted at resistance.[1] Moreover, his presence was inconvenient. His sub-clan mustered 120; but a crowd of 2,000 Taranaki, Awa, and Ruanui clansmen gathered together to listen to a preacher who actually believed in the Sermon on the Mount. Moreover, the prophets were land communists, and what Te Whiti and Tohu did, said, and suffered at Parihaka was an exact unconscious reproduction of the doings, sayings, and sufferings of prophets Everard and Winstanley at Weybridge in 1649, of whom Whitelocke writes that: 'They digged the ground and sowed it . . . were about 30 men and said that they would shortly be 4,000 . . . that all the liberties of the people were lost by the coming in of William' (Wakefield) 'the Conqueror but now the time of deliverance was at hand . . . that there is not any need of (money) . . . that they intend not to meddle with any man's property nor to break down any pales but only to meddle with what was common and untilled and to make it fruitful . . . and that they will not defend themselves by arms.'[2] Even so these Maori listeners ploughed, sowed, reaped, and listened again and again to these mystic strains in 'common and untilled' clan-lands not their own. The only white men who were there just then were the builders of the Whanganui–New Plymouth road; and they pushed their road through corn lands (1880–1) and broke down fences which the Maori rebuilt, and were imprisoned for rebuilding. Neither the prophets nor the road-makers were diplomats; therefore negotiations failed, although Sir A. Gordon, the Governor, thought that a few gates would have solved the difficulty. Instead of gates being built, Coercion Acts were hurried through the Assembly, 1,700 armed men appeared upon the scene,

[1] Sept. 17, 1881.

[2] Whitelocke's *Memorials*, pp. 396–7; comp. A. Young, *Travels* (1794), vol. i. p. 280.

arrested the natives—all of whom behaved at Te Whiti's bidding with imperturbable calm—destroyed their houses, packed off worshippers from afar to their homes, and took the residue—including Te Whiti and Tohu—into custody for awhile.[1] The policy was thorough, though men differed as to its necessity. Te Whiti and Tohu were then transformed into personally conducted free trippers, who did Middle Island until 1883 when they were restored and rejoined their sub-clansmen who had been restored to reserves which had at last—after eighteen years' delay—been assigned to them at Parihaka.[2] Thus the last echo of the great war died away. In 1886 there was an echo to this echo at Mokoia, Manaia and Mangere, where Te Whiti and Tohu did, said, and suffered once more what had been done, said, and suffered in 1649 and 1881. But these were mere matters of police.

Epilogue of peace,

The epilogue to the tragedy reads like the last stale chapter of a thrice-told tale. The great warriors visited the great capitals, were received enthusiastically, and died natural deaths. Waharoa visited Wellington, went home, and died of consumption (1866), Rangitake and 400 followers were feasted by Maclean in Taranaki (1869), and he, too, returned to the land of his fathers, and was gathered to his fathers (1882).[3] Titokowaru returned to the Waingongoro (1872) where he came under the strange spell and sometimes shared the misfortunes of his weird neighbour Te Whiti. Te Kooti met Mr. Bryce—Native Minister—in 1883, was included in the Amnesty Act of that year, but was dissuaded, and in one instance (1889) prevented from returning to Poverty Bay, where men remembered too vividly the blood which he had shed. Teira, Rewi, Titokowaru,[4] Te Kooti,[5]

[1] Oct. to Nov., 1881.
[2] J. P. Ward, *Wanderings with the Maori Prophets* (1883).
[3] *N. Z. Times*, Jan. 19, 1882.
[4] July 17, 1889 : *Fiji Times*, Sept. 29, 1889.
[5] *Times*, Apr. 19, 1893.

Tawhiao,[1] all of them died long ago. Tawhiao and Rewi, before they died, met and baffled Maclean more than once, met Sir G. Grey when he was Premier (1879), and defied him peacefully and firmly; then in 1881, unbidden, armed, accompanied by seventy-six other armed chiefs of the King-state, walked out of their cage, visited Major Mair on the other side of the inviolable border, gave up their arms and said: 'Do you know what this means? This means peace.' Then they visited the lands that they had lost, saw coal quarried hard by their former capital, and were fêted in Auckland Leonine Rewi was the lion of the day; and multitudes cried out to Tawhiao 'Hail! king of the Maori!' The Vatican opened its doors. The ban was off. Kawhia, the last Maori port, received our ships and settlers, and Bryce prospected for a railroad through the King-state to Mokau (1883). The prospectors met with only one hitch. A surveyor was attacked in the King-state by some obscure Maori, and rescued by Te Kooti (!), and the assailants were tried in Auckland (!). In 1884 the king and others visited England; and petitions were presented for (1) Maori Home Rule, (2) Maori judges in the native land court, (3) a Maori native minister, (4) increased Maori representation, and (5) Maori control over Maori lands. The first request was refused on the ground that in most parts the two races were interfused, and elsewhere county councils should suffice. Afterwards,[2] Maoriland where Maori are in a majority was divided into six districts whose elective 'Councils' ascertain, enforce, and reform tribal custom, mind drains, and eradicate 'gorse, sweetbriar, blackberry, and other noxious weeds'. Otherwise, the principle of one race—one Parliament—which had sounded so false in the Fifties,[3] was uncompromisingly asserted by the colonial ministers, by the Home Government, and last but not least by the Maori king.

intercourse,

[1] *Times*, Sept. 28, 1894. [2] *N. Z. Acts* (1900), no. 48.
[3] *Ante*, p. 211.

union,

In 1888 the King-state resolved 'that the Maori and whites shall be as one people, and obey the laws of the Queen, and respect them in every way as loyal subjects . . . and that no objection be offered to the land courts selling or otherwise so long as it is done legally'.[1]

mutual help,

As for the native land court, Maori assessors have voted in it as co-judges since 1880, elective Maori committees have advised it since 1883, and since 1900 five or six Maori 'Councils' or 'Land Boards' may wield its powers over and be trustees of the 8,000 square miles of clan-lands which remain.[2] In politics Maori members of the Upper (1872) and Lower (1867) House have always possessed an influence quite out of proportion to their numbers, and due partly to their sagacity, partly to the nice balance of parties. The present 'Maori king' took his seat in the Upper House in August, 1903; and a half-caste became Native Minister in 1899.

and forgetfulness.

The very memory of this Iliad was soon obliterated. Twelve years after the war men wrote of the Rotoruan battle-fields as if they were, and had always been, a cosmopolitan Spa 'reached by train daily from Auckland to Hamilton, 84 miles'—right through the Holy Land wrenched from the king—'thence by road, 66 miles'—right through the Upper Thames valley whither the king-maker retreated as into a Holy of Holies; 'visitors from the south often land at Napier and take the coach twice a week to Lake Taupo, 94 miles'.[3] It was but yesterday that all fugitives fled, now all roads led to Taupo; and tourists already poured along the new roads from Whakatane to Wairoa River, from Poverty Bay to Opotiki, in order to gaze, not at Te Kooti's perch, unless they were men who cared 'for old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago', but at fell, forest, and 'starlike' Lake Waikare. North, west, and east

[1] *Ante*, p. 211. [2] *N. Z. Acts*, (1900), No. 55; (1905), No 44.
[3] *The Thermal Springs District, N. Z.* (1882).

were transformed as by a magic wand. In west and south-west Rauparaha's forest track, which General Chute daringly revived, was already a railroad! Maori chiefs became picturesque anachronisms, and Homer yielded to Baedeker and Bradshaw as the genius of the place. The slate was wiped clean.

Peace as well as war put an English girdle round Northern Island;

One cause of this rapid forgetfulness was that war and confiscation only aided still more powerful, peaceful factors which made for unity before, during, and after the war. In 1859 a belt of coast-land from Hawke's Bay by Wellington to Porirua and thence—but for three gaps which were closed in 1863—to the Whanganui, was English by purchase; and the Maori who dwelt there, dwelt there by leave of the English, under English titles, and under the protection of English law. If a few miles of coast-land at Taranaki and one or two detached posts at Poverty Bay and elsewhere are excepted, the coast-lines from Hawke's Bay and Whanganui to the immediate neighbourhood of Auckland were wholly Maori. After 1867 the entire coast-land from Wellington to Auckland was English in the sense mentioned—except Kawhia, the Arawa sea-board at Maketu, and a strip between East Cape and Poverty Bay—and diplomacy (1883) made Kawhia, friendship made Maketu, and the East Coast Commission (1866–7) made the far-eastern strip as English as the English wished it to be. Peace painted two-thirds, war one-third of the coast-line red; after which war and peace helped in joining coast-line with coast-line by road and rail. When the sea links were all but complete, land links were added, and the four provinces which stood hand-in-hand in a ring round Central Maoriland—Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, and Hawke's Bay—from time to time shook hands across the middle of the ring. The tetrarchy of 1859 became one or all but one, by peaceful as well as by warlike means.

Economic causes

The advance towards unity in Middle Island was wholly peaceful, wholly economic in its cause, and all but com-

made Middle Island wholly English;

pletely successful in its result. In 1859 there were three detached provinces in Middle Island—Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago—so that at that date the Heptarchy reigned in New Zealand. Then Nelson gave birth to Westland; Marlborough was wedged in between Nelson and Canterbury (1859); and Southland (1869–70) was parted from Otago. The six provinces were far more nearly connected with one another than their parents had been. In the north-west corner of Nelson province[1] gold was touched in 1842, and worked in 1856; after which the watershed was crossed, and rivers Buller and Grey—which flow from mountains visible, or almost visible from Nelson, down south to the mid-west coast—were found flowing with gold. In 1864 men went further south and found the steep river-beds and the very beach between Greymouth and the river Haast, encrusted with gold. So Greymouth became the northern boundary of the new province of Westland, and its capital, Hokitika, was immediately connected by coach-road with the wide upland-pastures and lowland-cornfields of Canterbury (1866); for the New Zealand Alps tower over the Western sea and preclude or cramp pasture and agriculture in Westland. Again, just south of Otago the river Clutha reaches the sea after a course of 220 miles from a source thirty miles north of Lake Wanaka, and a mile or two distant from the sources of the Haast, and from a by-source north of Lake Wakatipu. The streams which feed the Lower and Upper Clutha—notably Tuapeka (1861), and Dunstan (1862)—and those north of Lake Wakatipu were lined with gold, and Dunedin became the San Francisco of the south. As the west coast was too broken for railroads, iron links were forged along the eastern and south-eastern coasts from the northern boundary of Canterbury, through Christchurch, Dunedin, and Invercargill to Kingston on

[1] Collingwood.

Lake Wakatipu, in order that Canterbury might feed the miners of the south as it already fed the miners of the west. Canterbury became the food and rail centre of Middle Island. Westland became its gold and road centre. The gold was chiefly alluvial—but not always, for Reefton, on the upper Grey, and Advance Peak (1878) near Lake Wakatipu were quarries, as their names imply—and being alluvial it followed rivers Buller, Grey, and Clutha, so that north Westland became joined to Nelson, and south Westland to Otago by links of gold. Roads followed the rivers, and until the rivers of the east were spanned by railway bridges, it was easier to go from Nelson, Marlborough or Otago to Westland, than direct to Christchurch. After gold came coal on the Buller, Grey, Haast, and Clutha, by the lakes, and lastly but leastly in the Malvern hills near Christchurch; so that during the Sixties and Seventies gold, coal, and roads drew Middle Island towards a common centre in Westland; food, coal and railways drew Middle Island towards a common centre in Canterbury, just as war, road, and rail were drawing Northern Island together. In Northern as in Middle Island there were two centres of attraction.

and political causes made the two islands one with a capital at Wellington, 1865,

Wellington had always been jealous of Auckland. Auckland city had now served its purpose as capital, by cutting off the old from the recent storm-centre of Maoriland; but the gold quarries of Colville range in Coromandel (1852, 1862, &c.) and Lower Thames (1867) and Waikato coal (1863) compensated loss of political, by gain in economic importance. Auckland province was still semi-detached; for neither gold nor coal have served as links in Northern Island, and to this very day there is a gap between the Mokau and the Waitara or Whanganui which the railway has not spanned. Northern Island fell into two unequal halves—the variegated, populous, self-centred province of Auckland, and the triple group which gravitated to a common centre at their base in Wellington. In 1863–4 the rivalry of Wellington and

Auckland gave rise to problems which would have been insoluble but for Middle Island. Up to 1860 Middle Islanders were very few: from 1861 to 1896 they easily exceeded and since then have almost equalled the northern whites. The centre of gravity of New Zealand shifted in 1860 to Cook's Straits. Again, strange as it may seem to us nowadays, the Northern Islanders were, or thought they were, out-numbered by the Maori until 1865,[1] and leaned on their southern neighbours for support. It was therefore a matter of life and death to the northerners that the union should be maintained, and that the capital should be equally accessible to both islands. These figures explain the necessity:—

Census Years.	*Numbers of Whites.*			*Number of Maori.*
	In Northern Island.	*In Middle Island, &c.*	*In New Zealand.*	
Dec. 1858	34,094	25,183	59,277	56,049 (?)
,, 1861	41,641	57,274	98,915	?
,, 1864	65,263	109,895	172,158	—
,, 1874	126,464	215,396	341,860	45,470
,, 1901	398,822	388,835	787,657	43,143

New Zealand referred the matter to Australia. Three Australians were deputed by their respective governments to choose the site of the new capital, and their choice fell on Wellington, which became the official capital in 1865.

after which economic

Wellington was indissolubly associated in origin and

[1] The Census results of 1864 were not known until 1865.

character with Nelson and Blenheim, which is near the Wairau; and thenceforth motions to separate island from island were easily defeated. Thenceforth, too, Maori questions receded into the background, and social and economic questions came into the foreground, or as the Maori member said: men talked of 'money! money! money!' instead of 'men's lives; and it is a good thing that the meetings of Parliament are held in Wellington because it is *windy*.' But the new economic policy was far from windy. It was very real.

questions came to the fore,

New Zealand shared Australian trade in wool and gold, and it now became Australian in its lavish loans for railroads, public works, and immigration. Sir Julius Vogel inaugurated the new policy and conducted it from 1869 to 1876, and from 1879 to 1891 Sir W. Fox, Sir J. Hall, Sir H. Atkinson, and Sir F. Whitaker carried on the same task with only two breaks, which were not breaks, by Sir G. Grey and Sir R. Stout. In 1877–9 Sir G. Grey's ministry infused new ideas, such as the imposition of a land-tax—one of E. G. Wakefield's pet ideas[1]—and some other agrarian and democratic policies which betrayed an Australian origin: but they too trod in Vogel's footsteps. Sir R. Stout—who was still Grey's henchman—when Premier (1884–7) actually included Sir J. Vogel as well as J. Ballance and J. McKenzie in his ministry. After 1890 the Labour-party came to the fore throughout Australasia; and its exponents, J. Ballance, J. McKenzie, W. P. Reeves (the brilliant author of the *Long White Cloud*), and R. Seddon (the Premier until 1906) only blended the new maxims with the old ideas which they had derived from Grey and Vogel. Vogel and Grey's ideas have been the dominant motives of New Zealand politics since 1869. The era of big financial schemes has not been an era of uninterrupted prosperity. Forced growth due to

and Sir J. Vogel began modern history with his policy of loans,

[1] *Ante*, p. 112.

the inrush of capital—brought by immigrants or borrowed by the State—have been followed by collapse; and the spending of capital acted like strong wine, as the following table will show:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Date.	*Debt stated in millions sterling.*	*Miles of Railway.*	*White Population.*	*Net Immigration; Annual Average.*	*Ditto, assisted by Central Government (included in 5).*	*Dates.*
1870	7 [a]	7	248,000 [c]	11,370	Nil	1861–70
1880	26 [b]	1,288	484,864	13,673	9,701	1871–80
1904	55 [b]	2,328	850,000 [c]	2,760	657	1881–1902

[a] Includes war loan and provincial loans. £7,000,000 'authorized'.
[b] Net debt. [c] Estimate.

The prizes were worth winning, but in order to win them, men ran so fast in the Seventies that they have been dawdling ever since; and one may well ask if all those new-comers were really wanted in the Seventies? and, if they were, why they could not come of their own accord as the new-comers came in the Sixties? Vogel's big boom was too sudden and too loud—but it rang in a new era of peace. It also sounded the death knell of the provinces. Public works had hitherto been cared for by the provinces; and it was palpably absurd for the central authority to devise and do what each provincial power could revise or undo. In 1876 the provincial legislatures were buried, Sir G. Grey and Sir R. Stout acting as chief and only mourners, and shortly

afterwards the provincial land systems were systematized: and the provinces only survive as land districts.

so that N.Z. became like the Australian states in some respects.

New Zealand is the antithesis of Australia geologically, geographically, in fauna, in flora, and in its policy of Anglo-Maori fusion. Our colonists have learned to treat the natives as equals; although they learned their lesson slowly and with bitter tears. From 1858 and onward Sir E. Stafford and Mr. C. W. Richmond wished Parliament to partition and individualize clan-lands by compulsory legislation, and so destroy the tribe at a time when the Maori were not represented. Grey, who while Governor from 1861 to 1868 was more premier than governor, and while Premier (1877–9) was more governor than premier, once looked forward to a time when tribal customs would go out like candles at midday; and to Grey, Weld, and Fitzgerald the Maori Representation and Native Land Courts Acts (1865–7) were due.[1] These unique examples of political wisdom—instead of proving the euthanasia—have been moulded and adapted to the preservation of tribe life by the Maori Committees, Councils, and Land Councils of 1883 and 1900. Every other political characteristic of New Zealand is Australasian. At its birth it was part of New South Wales; three regiments raised in Australia fought in the Waikato War; Australians chose its capital city; its squatting systems, land theories, and constitutional leanings are indistinguishable in hue from those of the Australian States. Its labour parties arose and its bank crises occurred at the same time as those in Australia. Economic forces draw it into the Australian midstream. Exports are the very breath of its life; and it exports the same things to the same places as its six Australian sisters. In cereals, coal, sheep, and exports of home-grown wool it is second; in cattle, population and in total commerce it is third; in gold it is fourth in rank

[1] *Ante*, pp. 218, 223.

of the seven colonies of Australasia; but, though a place is marked out for it in the Act of 1900, it has not joined the Australian Commonwealth; and it is still the missing member of the constellation of the south, 'like the lost Pleiad.'[1]

[1] See books referred to *ante*, p. 143 and in notes to ch. ix. and to this chapter. For statistical information see E. J. von Dadelszen, *New Zealand Official Year Book*.

CHAPTER XV

THE MODERN HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC

The modern history of the Pacific falls into three periods.

We have seen how from time to time distant Pacific islands cast sunshine or shadow and wove passing patterns upon the carpet of Australian politics. We must now look through the other end of the telescope and watch Australian and European events from the point of view of the Pacific islands, and observe how island after island group was swept by white men and by destiny into the maelström of European politics. The end has just been reached. In the advance towards that end three periods may be distinguished: (1) After the Maori, Tahitians and New Caledonians, who were absorbed in the second epoch, the turn of the Fijians came, and their history, like that of each Pacific group, was inextricably interlaced with the history of every other Pacific group. Similarly the action of England with regard to Fiji (1874) was partly a reaction against the interested desires of France, Germany, and the United States, partly a response to the interested desires of Australia and New Zealand, and was partly inspired by a disinterested desire to prevent the abuses of the labour trade which was being carried on by Americans, Spanish-Americans, Frenchmen, and Germans, as well as by our fellow-countrymen. The Pacific was once more the theatre of universal history, and our fifteenth chapter is like our first. (2) After the annexation of Fiji (1874) a series of complicated episodes occurred both in the Pacific and in Europe, and the second period culminated in the annexation of New Guinea (1884), in the Anglo-German agreement (1886), in the Anglo-French agreement and Protectorate over the New Hebrides (1887),

and in the conference of Imperial and colonial representatives in London (1887). (3) The last period carried out the agreements with France and Germany to their logical or illogical conclusions, executed the project of a Pan-Anglican Pacific mail and cable which was mooted at the London conference (1887), and ended with the construction of a bridge of English islands between Canada and Australia and with the absorption of the odds and ends of the Pacific (1888–1900).

(1) *The Fiji period ends*, 1874.

The interest of the first of these three periods centred round Fiji and was due at first to incidents and accidents of Australian trade; afterwards to events of a very different kind, connected with Tonga on the east and the labour trade on the west; and later still to certain signs and symptoms that the great Powers of the civilized world were about to enter on the scene.

Fiji was visited by sandal-wooders, 1804,

In 1804 some Sydney merchants discovered on Vanua Levu—second largest of the Fiji islands—sandalwood which they cut and carried along with 'bêche de mer' to China, whence they returned with tea. This trade, which still exists, caused Australo-American partnerships to be formed in order to evade the monopoly of the East India Company, and entailed the settlement in Viti Levu—largest of the Fiji islands—of a score of stowaways, castaways, and runaways in the early nineteenth century.

and inhabited by runaways, 1808,

At that date Mbau—an islet rather more than a mile round, which stands to Viti Levu as St. Michael's Mount stands to Cornwall—ruled ten miles or so of adjoining coast. Its mainland province was wedged in between Verata on the north and Rewa on the south, and Mbau Verata and Rewa were entering on a fifty years' war. Moreover, there was the rival islet of Viwa off Verata a few miles north of Mbau; and mountain tribes, or rather villages, from time to time devastated the river-district State of Rewa, and the coast-district State of Verata, Mbau and Viwa being beyond their

reach. A wrecked sandalwooder (1808) and some twenty deserters from an Australo-American trade ship (1810–11)[1] flung their firearms into the scales of war, lived like savages and died like beasts, and left Mbau triumphant, Viwa and Rewa quiescent, and Verata humbled in the dust. The fame of Mbau's chief chief—the 'Root of War' (vuni-valu)—went nto the uttermost corners of Fiji, and chiefs from afar brought presents. Yet as in those days Sydney folk thought Fiji nearer than Bathurst, so to the Mbauans the 170 miles of sea which separated the eastern island of Lakemba from Mbau were as nothing compared to the twenty miles or so which intervened between their sea-girt fastnesses and the impassable mountains and impenetrable thickets of Viti Levu. Mbau only terrorized sea-coasts.

traders 1822,

Next came traders, resident agents, and storekeepers, who formed the self-styled colony of Levuka on the beach of Ovalau, an island twenty miles north-east of Mbau. They began to arrive in 1822 or thereabouts, and in 1849 numbered fifty or so, and they too made history. The coastal chief of Ovalau was a partisan of Mbau and was just strong enough to protect the fat white sheep of the shore from the lean black wolves of the mountains, so that thenceforth Mbau and Viwa exported tons and tons of coco-nut oil to Levuka, opened up by arms the sandalwood forests of western Vanua Levu to the white trader, and received guns, gunpowder, lead for bullets, and brass American bullet-moulds in exchange. It was only in 1852 that Thakombau became 'Root of War', but long before that date he had acted the part and through him Viwa was reduced to subjection, Somosomo, which was the dominant town of Taviuni, which was the dominant island of the Vanua Levu sub-group, was put into the second rank, Rewa was twice burnt, and Mbauans ate Rewans slice by slice in the presence of the

[1] *Sic* Jos. Waterhouse, *King and People of Fiji* (1866); *secus* T. Williams, *Fiji* (1858).

eaten. When the second wave of traders came, the first wave of runaways, castaways, and stowaways did not cease to come, and before long a third wave followed. The third wave was a wave of missionaries who came from Tonga, whither we must now go.

and missionaries from Tonga, 1835.

The London Missionary Society, to which the first missionaries of the Pacific belonged, was formed in 1795. It was Protestant, non-sectarian, and wished natives to choose their own ecclesiastical rites and forms. In 1796 it dispatched thirty missionaries, mostly lay artisans, to the Pacific. Tahiti was their head centre, and thence nine went westward—travelling with the sun—to Tongatabu (1797). As in Tahiti so in Tongatabu they were introduced by three white waifs or strays, one of whom knew a great deal about Sydney but had forgotten how he got there. The Tonga group of islands is divided vertically, so to speak, into three sub-groups of which Vavau, Haapai, and Tongatabu are respectively the principal islands. Tongatabu, which is the southern and paramount island of the Tonga group, is divided horizontally, so to speak, into four districts or compact groups of villages; and in the history of Tonga the horizontal divisions of the paramount island were of more account than the vertical divisions of the group. Each district of Tongatabu was on the north coast, which is the only coast with harbours, and passing from west to east the districts were named in succession Hihifo (=west), Bea, Mua, and Hahake (=east). At the east end of Hihifo was Nukualofa, the seat of 'Tui Kanokubolu', who at that moment was 'the principal chief of the island' and 'awed the neighbouring isles', including the sub-groups.[1] At Bea was Veaji, who was 'above' Tui Kanokubolu[2] and 'paid no tribute to him'.[3] Mua was the capital of Tui Tonga, and as 'Tui'

Missionaries went to Tonga, 1797.

[1] G. V(ason), *Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Residence in Tongatabu* (1810).

[2] W. Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tongan Islands* (1817).

[3] Capt. James Wilson's *Missionary Voyage in the Ship Duff* (1799). N.B. Vason, Mariner, Wilson, Cook (second and third voyages), and

means 'lord', and as all Tonga-men paid tribute to him and grovelled before him once a year, it might be thought that he was king of Tonga. But he only symbolized the lost unity of the tribe, and could not even kill a man outside Mua. Lastly, there was Mulikehaamea, 'next to Tui Kanokubolu the first chief in the island,'[1] who resided among the petty villages of Hahake. The artisan missionaries took shelter with the respective chiefs of these four districts, and three years later some were killed and the rest fled pell-mell in consequence of a new outbreak of the old feud between west and east which was fomented by Finau II, chief chief of the central or Haapai sub-group of islets, and which drew in the two middle districts of Tongatabu—Bea and Mua—on the side of the easterns and of Finau. In 1806 Finau seized a crippled English privateer, with its armament and part of its crew, including Mariner. Mariner aided Finau in his annual raids on western Tongatabu and in his wars against Vavau, which is the northernmost sub-group, and we soon read of a dynasty of Finaus in Vavau, of Vavau cutting itself off from Haapai and from Tongatabu—even from Tui Tonga—and of Tui Kanokubolu being sometimes non-existent, and sometimes just existing inside but impotent outside Nukualofa.

(*but war drove them away*)

Then a new set of missionaries came. Perhaps they had read Dr. Martin, who, while editing Mariner's wild story, 1822,

D'Entrecasteaux, *Relation du Voyage à la recherche de la Pérouse* (1800), are the chief authorities for early Tongan history. See also Rev. W. Lawry, *Friendly and Fiji Islands*, a missionary visit (1850); second ditto (1851); Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga or Friendly Islands* (1855); Th. West, *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia* (1865); G. S. Rowe, *Life of John Thomas* (1885); A. Monfat, *Les Tonga . . . et le R. P. J. Chevron* (1893); Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage de la Corvette Astrolabe* (1830); *Hist. du Voyage*, iv. ch. 22 et seq.; Comm. C. Wilkes' *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expeditions* (1844); Capt. John E. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the W. Pacific* (1853), ch. iv; pamphlets by Rev. David Carghill and Chevalier Dillon (1840–2); R. Lovett, *Hist. of the London Missionary Society* (1899); J. B. Piolet, *Les missions catholiques françaises au xixième siècle*, vol. iv (1900), &c.

[1] G. Vason, op. cit.

assumed that Tonga was a United Kingdom, and that Tui Tonga and Tui Kanokubolu were respectively priest and king thereof; anyhow they thenceforth worked from a single centre. A Wesleyan named Lawry settled in Mua (1822)
1826, and left next year. Then John Thomas and some other Wesleyans settled in Hihifo (1826). Meanwhile the L. M. S. had trained 'native teachers' whom they sent to strange lands to prepare a way for white missionaries, and under their guidance Tahitians, Raiateans, Huahineans, and Rarotongans had embraced with rapturous fervour the tenets of
and converted the chief of Haapai, 1827–31, the new religion. Three 'native teachers' from Tahiti, who were resident in Nukualofa before John Thomas came to Hihifo, so stirred Tui Kanokubolu, and George chief chief of Haapai, and Finau IV chief chief of Vavau, that the three chiefs clamoured for a white missionary (1827–8). John Thomas responded very slowly. However, between 1829 and 1831 Christianity spread like an epidemic, and the people of Haapai, Vavau, and Nukualofa—whither the Wesleyan missionaries removed from Hihifo—became enthusiastic converts. Only Bea, Mua, Hahake, and one or two villages elsewhere kept outside the missionary pale.
who became chief of Vavau, 1833, In 1833 Finau IV died, and George became his successor, and was acknowledged as chief chief of Vavau, but, unlike Finau II under similar circumstances, remained chief chief of Haapai. Moreover, the dissidents who opposed his succession were fewer than those who opposed Finau II, for George had the bluest of blue blood, and when they fought, as Polynesian minorities always fought, they were easily
conqueror, peace-maker, overcome. In 1837 and 1840, while Tui Kanokubolu—now the principal representative of Christianity in Tongatabu—was trying, as he had often tried, to assert his authority in Hihifo outside Nukualofa with his usual want of success, George the invincible rushed like another Charlemagne to the rescue of his brother Christian, and the chiefs of Bea, Mua, and Hahake ranged themselves on the other

side. East once more fought against west, as in 1798 and 1806, only this time Haapai and Vavau sided with the west, and the wars ended—as they had never ended before—with forgiveness and peace. The spell was working, war was changing its character; and not only war but law. For Wesleyan missionaries, imitating what the L. M. S. missionaries did in Tahiti, Raiatea, Huahine, and Rarotonga, and what the American Protestant missionaries did in Hawaii, turned lawgivers, and drew up a code for George, who made it law in Haapai and Vavau. In 1845 the old Tui Kanokubolu died, and George, who had a talent for succeeding, was once more successor, and he now adopted under missionary advice the title of King.

lawgiver, and King of Tonga, 1845.

A few years previously French Roman Catholics appeared in the Western Pacific (1837), invaded Tahiti, where their rejection was the pretext for annexation (1843),[1] and Tongatabu, where they planted themselves in Mua and Bea (1842). Three results followed. The last act of the old (1844) and one of the first acts of the new Tui Kanokubolu (1847) was to sue for British protection against France. Secondly, France addressed George as King George when treating for their introduction. Thirdly, when the eastern districts of Tongatabu resented King George's beneficent interference, there were wordy white champions on both sides; and the pro-Georgian Wesleyans denounced the Easterns as heathen persecutors and as rebel conspirators against their lawful king, while the Roman Catholics praised their protégés as legitimists fighting against 'hypocrites, heretics, and usurpers'. Both commentators imported European ideas of kingship into an arena in which the idea of kingship was unknown. Yet the war which ensued was something more than a mere recrudescence of secular inter-district warfare, for Christianity supplied to the victorious armies a cement more potent than that which any Tongan army had hitherto enjoyed, and

His reign brought peace, and petitions for British protection.

[1] *Ante*, p. 87.

the crowning victory and lasting peace which ensued (1852) were quite unlike victories and peaces under the old dispensation. European clothes proved misfits: the 'Constitution' of 1862 was unwise: the codes became traps for the unwary. Ex-missionary Baker, when premier of Tonga, was deservedly expelled from Tonga (1890–2) by the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific for acts of more concern to the comic than the historic muse; still, from 1852 to 1900, the date of the English protectorate, Tonga enjoyed perfect unity and unbroken peace—a result partly due to the new religion, partly to the missionary lawgivers, partly to the European ideas of kingship which the white men grafted on the institutions of the brown men.

From Tonga missionaries came to Thakombau,

It was from Tonga that white Wesleyan missionaries 'set sail once more towards the setting sun', invaded the eastern Fiji islands, and settled at Lakemba (1835), whither two Tahitian teachers of the L. M. S. had preceded them; but the chief chief of Lakemba urged the great white chiefs to go with their God to the great black chiefs of Somosomo or Mbau instead of troubling little people like himself. Somosomo was tried without success (1839–47); and Mbau, red with blood and aglow with roast foe, was abandoned for Rewa (1838) and Viwa (1839). From Viwa the missionaries and the missionaries' wives bored Thakombau with unceasing visits and unending sermons against savagery; and when captains of the fleet called[1] they drove home the same moral, using the missionaries as introducers and interpreters. In 1853, as the fifty years' war with Rewa drew to a close, Ovalau revolted, and Thakombau, afraid perhaps that the whites on whom he leaned as on a crutch would desert him, received a missionary.

who being menaced by Ovalau,

by the U.S. consul,

About the same time the American consul, owing to loss of property near Rewa and in Levuka, said that a man-of-war would come and destroy Mbau 'while he' the consul 'smoked a cigar'. Thakombau read the threat in an

[1] e.g. Captains Erskine, Fanshawe, Magruder, &c.

Australian newspaper and trembled. And there was another political motive for conversion—for with personal motives we have nothing to do. Ever since 1779 a band of Tongan free lances dwelt in Lakemba and helped Fijians in their mutual wars in Vanua Levu and elsewhere. In 1854 Maafu, their cruel crafty chief, menaced mischief in Viti Levu. At this moment 'King George' urged Thakombau by letter to turn Christian. With King George on his side, Maafu dared not be against him. So in 1854 Thakombau turned Christian and abjured polygamy, widow-strangling, and those habits of torturing, eating, and drinking his enemies which had become to him a second nature. In 1855 King George arrived with 2,000 men, became involved in the Rewan war, ended it with ease, and a 'pax christiana' ensued.

and by Tongans in Fiji,

became Christian, 1854,

was helped by King George,

Meanwhile Thakombau was nicknamed by white men King of Fiji. The nickname became a title—which Captain Fanshawe (1849), Captain Boutwell (1851), and Consul Miller (1852) bestowed—and the title a prophecy which fulfilled itself; for the white delusion lifted the mighty chief into something very like kingship over Fiji. When the American man-of-war approached with its dreaded guns, and the American consul with his dreaded cigar, and demanded £9,000 by way of reparation, Thakombau offered his kingdom to England (1858), and twenty other representative chiefs were induced by Pritchard, the new-made consul of Fiji and Tonga, to back the offer. Moreover Pritchard declared that Fiji was the cotton-country of the future, and the best possible halfway house for the projected mail from Sydney to Panama. So Smythe was sent to report on this offer of a kingdom by its king, and reported that there was no king of Fiji, that Fiji was not on the way to Panama, or if it was what was Panama to us? Moreover the Maori storm was brewing. So the offer was declined (1862), and the whites formed themselves into a 'foreign residents' self-protecting society' (1862), which tried to work

was called King,

asked for English protection, 1858,

and set up a government of white traders,

which caused confusion.

Fiji, as other whites already worked Hawaii, by means of paper charters or constitutions; and in Fiji as in Hawaii the attempt only proved its inherent impossibility. In 1874 the whites were 1,500, nearly all British; the premier was British; the majority of the British, led by the British consul, were declared to be in rebellion against the laws promulgated by 'Thakombau Rex' or his premier under the constitution of 1871; and as a crowning absurdity England 'informally' assumed that Thakombau was 'rex'. Trade had enormously increased through the cotton boom (1863–9), due to the American civil war; collapse had come; the State was bankrupt; neither the State nor the cotton planters, who were turning their cotton into sugar plantations, could raise the necessary loans; and land claims were many and menacing.

The U.S.

and Germany began to move,

And there were further complications: in 1869 the Fijian whites requested an American protectorate. The request was not granted, but America acquired in 1872 a naval station at Pagopago (Samoa). Moreover Germany was casting its first shadow on the screen. Messrs. Godeffroy of Hamburg established themselves in Samoa during the Fifties. Their branch establishments pervaded the Pacific, and were often officered by colonial Britons; thus Wawn and Nash, as resident agents of Godeffroy, pioneered the Bismarck archipelago in 1873. In or about 1868 Messrs. Godeffroy substituted 'copra' or dried coco-nuts for coco-nut oil, and maintained the supremacy in the coco-nut trade—which they secured by these means—until their failure many years later (1879). There was also a great German house in Fiji which traded with Sydney. In 1872 a German corvette appeared for the first time in Fijian waters: and it was known[1] that Germany desired a naval station, which she afterwards acquired at Neiafu in Vavau (1876). It was suspected too that Maafu was plotting a *coup d'état* with the aid of Germany. True, America and Germany were at

[1] *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 16, 1872.

that date equally opposed to a forward policy: still some day they too might adopt as their motto 'Our flag shall follow our trade', a motto which nineteenth-century England abjured and Australasia was beginning to advocate with impassioned ardour. Fiji did all its trade with Sydney, and Sydney wanted to preserve its trade. The railroad from New York to San Francisco, which had just been finished, furnished another motive. New Zealand and some of the Australian colonies were subsidizing a new mail route via Fiji to San Francisco, in order, as Sir H. Parkes said, 'to unite in one short chain of unbroken intercourse all the great English-speaking communities.'[1] The union of which he spoke was social and commercial, but would promote a deeper spiritual union which hostility or anarchy in Fiji would thwart. So Australasia demanded an English halfway house for its new mail to San Francisco; and in 1870 an Australian conference urged a British protectorate over Fiji. Some States threw in Polynesia (N.Z.), others Melanesia (N.S.W., V.), especially New Guinea (Q.), others Mikronesia (N.S.W.)—unless already protected or annexed by others; and Dr. Lang moved that New South Wales should then and there (1870) annex Fiji. England was half convinced.

and Australia and N.Z. urged annexation.

There was yet another thread in the tangled web of Pacific politics—namely, the labour trade. The labour trade of Australasia has had a long history, and has aroused passions which do not always assist the historian.

The labour trade began

Native sailors—who were nearly always Polynesian—have often presented difficulties which were also opportunities; thus in 1805 Captain King forbade whalers to hire Maori, Tahitian, or Hawaiian sailors without his permission, as though he were their guardian; ill-treated Maori sailors introduced Marsden to New Zealand; and in after years Rotumah was annexed to British Fiji with the aid of well-treated Rotuman sailors (1880). But the abuses of sea-

with temporary service at sea or on land,

[1] *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 6, 1871.

service were isolated, nor did sea-service lead to trade in labourers. Again, in 1842 an Australian trader named Henry took sixty Tongans to Eromanga (N. H.) to cut sandal-wood; but the whole job was done in a few months, so that this sort of land-service was as temporary in its effects as sea-service. Again, two Sydney capitalists proposed to introduce twenty Indian or Chinese coolies to cultivate hemp (1809); but true labour traders dealt on a larger scale than this, and thought more of other people's cultivations than their own.

then with indentured Indians,

The first instances of labour trade—in the strict sense of the word—were Indian. About 1833 Caleer and fifty coolies sailed from Calcutta for Albany and were never heard of again. In 1837 the New South Wales legislature recommended State-aided Indian immigration, but the Home Government vetoed the proposal on the ground that dark labour drives out white labour. In the same year an ex-Anglo-Indian indigo planter named Mackay, acting on his own initiative, introduced forty-three Indian herdsmen on a five-year assignable contract; but in 1839 India shut its doors to private exporters of labour and the Indian chapter closed.

and Chinamen;

A new chapter opened with a Chinese experiment, and in 1846–50 some 900 Chinese herdsmen were similarly imported as we have seen (*ante*, p. 154). Then Chinamen came in for purposes which were not pastoral, and Australia slammed the door in their face and turned its back on Asia.

then Boyd tried indentured New Hebrideans and failed, 1847.

In April, 1847[1], B. Boyd, a mammoth squatter of Twofold Bay, made a brand-new departure, and imported sixty-five Tannese and other New Hebrideans. The importation was a mistake; for never having passed through a pastoral stage the newcomers proved unsuitable, and were returned to their homes next year, but it was not immoral any more than the Indian or Chinese importations had been immoral. Nevertheless, missionaries denounced, and philanthropists echoed their

[1] *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 22, 1847.

denunciation of this 'flesh-trade' (May, 1847); and Governor Grey, tourist Byrne, and the 'Twelve Years' Resident' expressed alarm (1848–9). Boyd's experiment was suggested by Australian sandalwooders, who already visited the Southern New Hebrides before the L. M. S. began its labours there in 1839; and although the Rev. G. Turner's sojourn (1842) preceded Richards's sandalwood factory at Tanna, Paddon and Towns's sandalwood factories at Anaiteum and the Isle of Pines, respectively, paved the way for the first resident white missionaries. The Sydney money-makers and the men of God trod hard on one another's heels and were not always friendly to one another. Both made friends with the natives and taught them English, but a different kind of English and for different purposes; hence Boyd's success such as it was, and hence too the missionary outcry which it evoked.

Next, missionaries took New Hebrideans away, for a year, to educate them, 1849,

Boyd's precedent was followed in the last chapter of the history of the labour trade; but before that chapter began many things happened. In 1848 permanent missionaries of the Presbyterian persuasion occupied Anaiteum and gradually spread over the rest of the group [1]. In 1849 Bishop Selwyn founded the Melanesian mission, and in one year (1857) his successor, Bishop Patteson, visited the Loyalties, New Hebrides, Banks's, Santa Cruz and Southern Solomon Islands —hardly missing an island. These bishops, who were the finest specimens of devoted self-sacrificing cultured Englishmen that ever breathed, landed alone on unknown islands— as L. M. S. native teachers used to do [2]—took boys for a trip, learned their language, gave presents, persuaded the boys' friends to let them go, and carried the boys to school at Auckland, or later at Norfolk Island, whence they were returned within a year. 'I sent about fifty men with . . .

[1] The United Presbyterian Church financed the L. M. S. pioneers in these parts on condition that it should carry on the work.

[2] e. g. Papeiha, a L. M. S. teacher in 1823, &c.

from the New Hebrides chiefly, a month ago, to add to the number, and I suppose we shall take thirty or more Solomon Islanders' is a quotation, not from a labour trader but from Bishop Patteson.[1] Had not the Melanesian mission been conducted by first-rate men it might have involved kidnapping and boy-buying. Had the labour trade been conducted by first-rate men it would simply have meant the realization of Sir G. Grey's ideal of educating and civilizing savages by work and wages. In the events which happened, the methods of the labour traders seemed to mimic and parody those of the missionaries.

and planters took them away for a year to make them work.

About 1857, Henry, the sandalwooder of Eromanga, removed to New Caledonia, taking fifty Eromangans with him, and began to import New Hebrideans for his fellow employers. His contract, like the mission contract, was annual[2]. In 1859, two other traders employed sixty Fate (N. H.) and many Loyalty islanders at their sandalwood establishments at Eromanga on a similar contract.[3] These were the men who discovered how well Melanesians worked on plantations far away from their tribe-lands. Accordingly, when Queensland took to cotton and sugar in real earnest, the ubiquitous Towns employed Ross Lewin of Tanna to export men from Fate and the Loyalties to his cotton plantation near Brisbane on an annual contract (1863); and immediately afterwards a Brisbane sugarplanter named Whish followed his example. During the cotton boom (1863–9) an incessant demand came from Fiji as well as from Queensland, and the Germans of Samoa, the French of Tahiti and New Caledonia, the Americans of Hawaii, and even the Peruvians joined in the demand. Some Mikronesians from the Gilberts were tried in Fiji and found wanting, and broadly speaking both Fiji and Queensland had one

Hence arose the labour trade with Q. and Fiji, &c. 1863,

[1] *Acc. and Pap.* (1872), xliii. C. 496, p. 45.
[2] *Acc. and Pap.* (1871), xlviii. C. 399, pp. 36–7.
[3] G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* (1861), pp. 492–3.

market only. That market was in the first few years the Loyalties and New Hebrides; thence—dogging the good bishops' footsteps—it crept northwards, reaching the Banks's (1868) and Santa Cruz (1870–1) groups, and in August, 1871, the missionaries wrote that it had left the New Hebrides for the Solomons: but it was always Melanesian and in the first twelve years Melanesians poured into Queensland at the rate of 1,000 per annum, and into Fiji at more than half that rate. All except the first batch were hired for three years' service and all were returnable at their hirers' expense. A Loyalty Island missionary wrote, 'Nearly every lad is bent on going to Brisbane' (1869); and Bishop Patteson wrote (1870), 'The great majority have gone away by their own act.' As the recruiting passed away to the north the language difficulty made fair dealing impossible. 'I do not believe', wrote Patteson, 'it is possible for any of these traders to make a bona fide contract with any natives of the Northern New Hebrides, Banks's and Solomon Islands; the reason which he gave for his belief was that there were no interpreters, and on a question of language Patteson's judgement is final. All the earliest labour trade in the north was founded on misunderstanding. Sometimes a pied piper lured, and in more cases than one whites forcibly raided and stole islanders. These brutes—a few of whom were English—ruined everything. The Queensland Act of 1868, under which labour ships were licensed, and State agents questioned Pacific immigrants as to their consent and sailed on the licensed ships, struggled vainly against the curse of Babel. The natives massacred innocents; sometimes, indeed, in sheer wanton caprice—as when the men of Santa Cruz shot two of Patteson's comrades (1864) for being ghosts and therefore harbingers of woe;[1] but sometimes by way of wild justice for accidents or wrongs connected with the labour trade; and when Patteson was slain at Nukapu in the Santa Cruz group (1871) his death was universally

which was Melanesian, went north

led to outrages,

and to Patteson's murder, 1871.

[1] Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 12.

attributed to the latter cause. A thrill of emotion passed through every English-speaking race, and men looked to England for redress.

The High Commissioner of the Western Pacific was appointed, 1875,

Two Acts were passed: one extended the definition of kidnapping, and the jurisdiction of colonial criminal courts, authorized unsworn evidence, and insisted on licences for the labour trade (1872); and the other appointed a High Commissioner for the Western Pacific with jurisdiction over British subjects in independent islands and places in the Pacific (1875), and with power to hold local courts, to issue regulations, and to enforce the Act of 1872. His sphere was the Pacific, and his mission was philanthropic; for in his sphere neither foreigners nor natives were subject to his control. But where was he to reside? The vessel whose evil deeds were said to have provoked Patteson's murder traded with Fiji, and its part owner, who was an English subject, declared it was Fijian. Other labour vessels officered by Englishmen began to sport the Fijian flag and to defy the British consul, who vainly tried to enforce Queensland regulations in Fiji. That was the last straw. Accordingly, when in 1874 Fiji again implored English annexation as the only way out of her domestic labyrinth, mission-work, trade, informal annexation by English adventurers, a far-off inkling of foreign rivalry, imperative Australasian insistence, and philanthropic enthusiasm pointed the same way. Fiji was annexed (1874); and Sir A. Gordon became the first Governor of Fiji and resident High Commissioner of the Western Pacific. We will first of all glance at the new colony of Fiji and at its Governors.

and Fiji was annexed, 1874.

An account follows of present Fijian finance,

On the question of cost the old fable of the Sibyl was repeated. If we had annexed in 1858 we should have paid the American fine of £9,000 and that would have been all. In 1874 the cost to England was £115,000—of which £42,000 has been repaid without interest; and the cost to Fiji consisted of loans to defray inherited State debts, of

which £91,000 are still outstanding. From 1888 to 1903 the Fijian revenue, one-ninth of which comes from the native produce tax, has yielded surpluses, and in 1904 amounted to £139,000.[1] In 1904 some of these past surpluses were utilized to pay off State loans, so that expenditure nominally exceeded revenue. Fijian shipping is almost exclusively British. Nine-tenths of its trade is with New South Wales or New Zealand. As a rule, its imports are a little less than, and its exports just exceed, £500,000. Cotton all but disappeared early in the day, but sugar more than replaced it, copra coming a long second. The sugar head quarters were on the Rewa delta in 1880, and the capital was removed to Suva in the succeeding year. Other sugar plantations sprang up on the river flats of Navua Mba Ra (Viti Levu) and at Labasa (Vanua Levu) and elsewhere; and one refinery has works in Fiji, Sydney, and Vancouver—Fijian sugar being the link between British North America and Australia.

Indians,

Plantations involve labour, and from the first indentured Indian labour—which is checked at both ends—was largely substituted for Melanesian labour. There are now 22,785 Indians in Fiji, some of whom are settlers. The capitalists, nearly all of whom are Britons, numbered 2,623 in 1905. As for natives, Fijians at home only work spasmodically. Their numbers are slightly decreasing. In 1874 the missionaries estimated (Christian) coastlanders at 123,000 and 'mountaineers' or inlanders at 20,000. In 1875 measles are said to have killed 40,000. That would reduce their numbers to 103,000. In 1886 their numbers were put at 110,000 and in 1901 at 94,000; the decline being partly due to definite epidemics of whooping cough and influenza, partly to that widespread excess of Pacific males over Pacific females which points to female infanticide or something like it.

Government,

One of Sir A. Gordon's earliest utterances was: 'This is

[1] Of the native produce tax more than two-sevenths is now paid in coin.

emphatically not a white man's country.' It was his aim to preserve instead of undermining tribe life and the power of chiefs. He formed twelve provinces, each of which was presided over by a chief chief,[1] who was appointed governor, but in reality was or represented one of the twelve superior chiefs whom Smythe detected in 1860–1, and whom the constitutionalists of 1871 transformed into provincial governors. These superior chiefs still meet annually, elect the native members of the Legislative Council, manage native taxation and police, make roads, have under them district chiefs[2]; and all chiefs still enjoy to a certain extent their old privileges of exacting forced labour. They make frequent reports to the Governor who not infrequently removes them for misconduct. English judges, and English assisted by Fijian magistrates, administer justice. There are now seventeen, or including Rotumah eighteen, provinces of which four are temporarily, three (or including Rotumah four) are permanently subject to English 'Commissioners'.

In 1904 a Legislative Council was created which consists of the Governor, ten official members, two native members, and six members elected by European residents, and by such other residents as possess a considerable amount of property.

and peace. There have been four native disturbances. In 1876 Sir A. Gordon organized a native force to repress raids by the mountaineers of the Upper Singatoka on their neighbours and on the coastlanders. About 1,600 natives and not one white soldier assisted; and the tribes on the Upper Mba and Singatoka were subjugated at a cost of about £1,600. After the war a small body of native police was posted at Carnarvon on the Singatoka under a white Commissioner in order to control the new mountain provinces,[3] and most

[1] 'Roko'; they are now fourteen. The chief is 'Rokotui'; they are now ten. Commissioners replace the 'Rokotui' in four 'Roko'.

[2] 'Buli' = district chief. 'Lala' = corvée.

[3] 'Tholo' = mountain district. They are now three.

of the mountaineers became Christian. Indeed, those on the Upper Rewa became too Christian and invented a new sect which taught that its votaries were angels while they acted more like devils (1886); but what might have grown into Hauhauism yielded to measures of police. A similar phenomenon appeared and was similarly suppressed in the eastern group of islands shortly before 1880. In 1894 the mountaineers of the Upper Dreketi in Vanua Levu developed a similar spiritual disease in a more acute form, and this district was brought—perhaps for the first time—into subjection by Sir J. Thurston and his forty native police. Through these 'little wars', four in number, Fiji attained unity for the first time in the history of the world. It was never quite clear what power (if any) Thakombau wielded over coastlanders outside the south-east corner of Viti Levu; but it is quite clear that neither he nor any other coastlander ever ruled over the mountaineers. Through England Fiji entered on a new life. And through Fij England expressed a principle which was new in the Pacific, the principle, namely, that it was its first duty to protect and promote, neither religion, nor trade, nor colonization, but native institutions and native welfare.[1]

II. In the second period.

During the second period of Pacific history three European rivals opposed one another as forcibly as in the old days but without the old bitterness; for the opposition was open and

[1] Besides the books cited supra, see *Life in Feejee*, by a Lady (1851); T. C. Dunn's *Letters*, cited in *Acc. and Pap.* (1862), vol. xxxvi. No. 2995, pp. 33 et seq.; W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences* (1866); F. J. Moss, *A Planter's Experience in Fiji* (1870); H. S. Cooper, *Our New Colony, Fiji* (1882); Anderson's, Scholes's, Gordon-Cumming's books referred to in notes to ch. iii; Sir A. Gordon, *Letters, &c., during disturbances in the Highlands of Viti Levu* (1879); Sir W. Des Vœux, *My Colonial Service in Fiji, &c.* (1903); and for earlier history, Lawry, West, Dumont D'Urville, Erskine, and other authors mentioned p. 243, note 3. See esp. App. A to Erskine's book, giving a narrative of one Jackson, who was to Fiji what Mariner was to Tonga, Bruce might have been to New Zealand, or Buckley to Victoria. Information as to the present state of Fiji is given in the annual Reports by the Governor to the C.O.

contract was substituted for violence. The French, German, and English ideals differed; the English ideal was conceived or expressed differently in London and Australasia, and conferences were required in order to reconcile different ideals as well as opposed interests. The High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, who was also Governor of Fiji, was protagonist; and the first scene was laid in the westernmost Pacific, where the labour trade was still stirring Melanesia to its depths.

Labour traders visited the Solomon islands, N. G. islets, and N.H.;

From 1872 to 1883 the favourite haunts of labour ships were the Solomons, where, besides missionaries belonging to the Melanesian mission, two whites resided in 1871,[1] five or six in 1881,[2] and a little over twenty in 1890. In 1883 some merchants shifted their hunting-grounds to New Ireland and the Laughlans, where resident traders preceded missionaries, and to the Louisiade, where a different class of missionary, namely, the New Guinea (L. M. S.) missionary (1877) preceded a different class of trader, namely, the Torres Straits' pearler (1882 *circa*). Great events which had their root in Europe turned them back, and from 1886 to the close of the third period two-thirds of the Queensland recruits came from the Solomons, and one-third from the New Hebrides. A trail of blood followed in their wake and marked the change of scene; thus in 1881 six outrages in the Solomons and one in the Louisiade, in 1886 six outrages in the Louisiade or in New Guinea waters were avenged; and in eighteen months (1889–90) Woodford counted eight whites murdered in the Solomons. Not that the labour traders were always to blame. We know one labour vessel—it was French—which left behind it a heritage of woe; but many outrages were unprovoked, and of those that were provoked the blunders or crimes of labour traders were only one out of many causes; indeed, Captain Wawn cites one clear in-

outrages followed,

[1] At Gavo and Manoba (S.I.).

[2] Macdonald (Sta Ana), Stephens (Ugi), Jones (Rubiana), Nielsen (Gavotu), Nixon (Savo).

stance in which punishment by a man-of-war was the provoking cause.[1] Revenge as well as wrong brought forth its kind; and the victims included white traders in the Solomons who were the very salt of the earth. Trade had invaded a very perilous region, and in all but a few cases the policy of slaughter and scuttle was worse than useless. Preventive measures were also adopted, and in 1884 the High Commissioner forbade arms to be given as the hire of men. With what result? Australo-American partnerships revived, and in 1890 mobs of black men were being drafted off from the Solomons by German and French vessels in exchange for rifles and cartridges.[2] The trade of 'arms and the man' was transferred for awhile to other flags. Regulations directed against one out of many nations and trades were vain.[3]

the sale of arms was forbidden,

Sir A. Gordon declared (1878) that 'more or less annexation' was the only cure for the abuses of the Melanesian labour trade. Similarly in 1890 a conference of European nations at Brussels declared that 'progressive occupation' was the only cure for the African slave trade. 'Progressive occupation' or 'more or less annexation' became the new note of English colonial policy, and the High Commissioner was its chief exponent. Other nations which put other motives into the forefront entered the lists; French activity revived, and the new duty and the old spirit of competition often drove us towards one and the same goal.

and progressive annexation was advocated.

The Presbyterian missionaries of the New Hebrides, who were the strongest opponents of the labour trade, were the strongest advocates of its only cure, and between 1862 and 1882 forwarded petition after petition for English annexation. In 1875 New Hebrideans—including a few English settlers—

Frenchmen were progressively occupying the N.H.,

[1] W. T. Wawn, *South Sea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade* (1893), p. 166. [2] Ib., p. 388.

[3] The chief authorities on the Solomon Islands are H. B. Guppy, *Solomon Islands* (1887); C. M. Woodford, *Naturalists among the Head-hunters* (1890). For the New Hebrides, see E. Davillé, *La Colonisation française aux nouvelles Hébrides* (1895).

petitioned for French annexation. The French cause was peculiarly odious to Australia because France—inspired by the ideals expressed more than a century ago by De Brosses—set up in New Caledonia (1864) a penal establishment for habitual criminals[1] who habitually escaped to Queensland. But France was as usual in the van as well as in rear; in 1874 Leroy Beaulieu preached 'la haute mission civilisatrice de la colonisation'; a new school of thought arose; and in 1882 a French New Caledonian Company[2]—partly officered by Britons—began to buy up land in the New Hebrides. Both the old and the new school were busy. Meanwhile in 1878 and 1883 England and France agreed upon joint inaction in the New Hebrides. Then De Brosses' evil genius reasserted itself; and in 1883–5, France determined to colonize the French Pacific with habitual criminals who had served their sentence in Europe and were thenceforth 'exiles.'[3] Next the good genius came forward and France offered to keep the Western Pacific clear of criminals if she might annex the New Hebrides—an offer which Australia spurned. Finally, in 1887, the colourless negative arrangement of 1878 was renewed; but a proviso was tacked on to it which authorized joint action by a naval Anglo-French commission in order 'to protect the lives and property' of Englishmen and Frenchmen. Since 1902 an English and French 'Resident' have resided in Fate and have carried the joint protectorate one step further: the French have adopted our policy as regards arms and drink: and in 1904 claims to land—large tracts of which are owned by an Australian firm of shipowners in whose possessions the Australian Commonwealth is interested—were made referable to a Joint Commission which, when it is appointed, will also exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction over natives.[4]

(hence the Anglo-French Protectorate, 1887),

Fate, the capital island, possesses excellent harbours at

[1] Récidivistes.
[2] Afterwards known as 'Société française des Nouvelles Hébrides'.
[3] Relégués.
[4] See Appendix, p. 283.

Fila, Havannah, and Undine Bay: and in Fate more than half the French, and nearly one-third of the English residents of the New Hebrides dwell. South of Fate Englishmen monopolize Anaiteum, Eromanga, and Tanna, whose harbour was wrecked by a volcanic eruption in 1878. North of Fate is the little island of Epi, where both Frenchmen and Englishmen are numerous despite its lack of harbours; and north of Epi the islands are in two rows, and there are fair harbours on the east coasts of the big islands which form the western row—on the almost unexplored island of Malicolo, at Ports Sandwich and Stanley, and on Quiros' Espiritu Santo, at Segond Channel, Hog harbour, and Quiros' Bay of St. Philip and St. James. In these big islands, and in the little islands which form the eastern row, Frenchmen slightly outnumber Englishmen. On Anaiteum and Tanna, kauri timber has supplanted sandalwood as an article of trade; there are sheep on Eromanga, cattle on Fate and Epi; and coco-nuts, maize, and coffee, cultivated with the help of native labour, are the staple industries of the group. Frenchmen are assisted by the New Caledonian government, and Englishmen are exposed to Australian protective duties. There are 401 Frenchmen and 228 Englishmen. These numbers include missionaries, of whom there are thirty-three French Roman Catholics, seventy-four British Presbyterians, and two members of the Melanesian mission, the latter having abandoned the entire group—except Omba Aurora and Pentecost—to the Presbyterians. The Presbyterians have been successful in the southern islands of Anaiteum, Tanna, and Eromanga: and these islands are least French. In the islands north of Epi Roman Catholics and Presbyterians have worked hard with little result. There were murders of whites in Malicolo, Santo, and Aurora in 1904, which were avenged by punitive expeditions in 1905. These are the results of the Anglo-French agreement of 1887, so far as it affected Melanesia.

(*An account follows of the present N.H.*)

and Raiatea (hence imperialism arose in N.Z., 1883).

While England and France were developing their principles of mutual abstinence in the New Hebrides, the Raiatea group, about which there was an Anglo-French agreement for joint inaction (1847), passed with English consent under a temporary French protectorate (1880) and became wholly French (1887); France also annexed the island of Uea—one of her missionary head centres—in 1886. French activity in Polynesia irritated New Zealand as much as French activity in Melanesia irritated Australia, and an Act or Bill (N.Z.) authorizing New Zealand to inquire into and recommend confederation or annexation in the Pacific—was the first step which New Zealand took towards founding an Empire of her own (1883). Her second step (1883) was to negotiate with Samoa and Tonga; but there she reckoned without regard to Germany, which was at this very moment entering upon a colonial career in Tonga Samoa and above all New Guinea.

The Germans proposed to annex east N.G., 1882

After 1871, a new European power, weak at sea, strong on land, and clear in counsel, stepped upon the scene. German factories[1] were growing more numerous and more German throughout the Carolines, Marshalls, New Ireland and New Britain: and in New Britain, S.M.S. *Ariadne* raised the German flag (1878), but Bismarck was not yet a 'colonial man'[2] and the annexation was repudiated.[3] In 1880 a German company proposed to succeed Godeffroy—then in liquidation—and asked for State aid. Parliament refused financial aid, Bismarck was 'disheartened'[4], and a purely commercial company took up the task. Bismarck's approval of the demands of the colonial party, though lukewarm, was worth more than many millions. In 1882, the Kolonialverein put new heart into the colonial party, and a newspaper

[1] *Ante*, p. 248.

[2] 'Ich bin kein Kolonialmensch von Hause aus gewesen', Bismarck's speech, Jan. 26, 1889.

[3] Blum, *Neu-Guinea* (1900), p. 11 note.

[4] Ib., p. 14; 'Entmuthigt,' Bismarck's speech, June 14, 1884.

article which may have been inspired, and which was copied into the Australian newspapers, advocated the annexation of east New Guinea 'as the foundation stone of a colonial kingdom'.[1] Another newspaper foreshadowed the future 'Neu-Guinea-Kompagnie'.[2] Queensland then rushed into the breach to defend the imperial aspirations of Australia and her own fishing interests.

where Queensland had fishing and other interests,

The bêche-de-mer fishery on Queensland's barrier reef dates from 1805. After the occupation of Somerset (1865)[3] it allied itself with the pearl fishery and overran the coral sea, reaching the Louisiade on the east and Saibai 'within a stone's throw of New Guinea' on the north. Then Queensland stationed Chester, P.M., on Thursday Island (1879) and her boundaries were extended to Saibai. While this new movement was in progress Captain Moresby discovered Port Moresby and provisionally annexed east New Guinea (1873): but the provisional annexation was annulled in spite of angry Australasian protests and in spite of able letters from Labillière, who made the novel suggestion that New Guinea should be regarded as the colony of an Australian colony.[4] This great refusal was reasonable, for at that date the only white men in all New Guinea were three white missionaries (L.M.S.) on the south coast, and a strolling naturalist named Goldie. In 1878, Goldie found gold on the Laloki behind Port Moresby, and a miniature gold rush flowed thither and instantly ebbed again. During the flow a Queensland 'agent' went to Port Moresby where he kept order, although he had no legal authority. After the gold tide ebbed, one resident—Goldie—remained behind; and in 1883 two cedar-cutters settled by the Tait.

so Q. annexed N.G. and

It was in order to defend these interests and to vindicate Australian Munroism that Queensland telegraphed a request

[1] *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Tübingen), Nov. 27, 1882.
[2] *Précurseur* (Anvers), March, 1883.
[3] *Ante*, p. 185.
[4] Labillière's letter, March 26, 1874, in *Acc. and Pap.* (1876), vol. liv.

was repudiated, 1883,

for annexation,[1] and sent Chester, P.M., to annex non-Dutch New Guinea pending an answer (1883).[2] Australasia enthusiastically clamoured for annexation, Australia throwing in Melanesia and New Zealand Polynesia as before. Lord Derby refused to ratify the provisional annexation on the mistaken ground that Australasian apprehensions as to a 'foreign power' were 'unfounded', but hinted that the High Commissionership might mature into a coastal protectorate if the colonies would contribute funds for a new resident Deputy Commissioner.[3] A joint protest by the Agents General, who now assumed diplomatic in addition to their financial functions, pleaded that the protectorate might 'at least exist over the fringe of the southern coast-line for the present', but pleaded in vain[4]. A year elapsed, and then an agreement was made that Queensland should contribute £15,000 per annum, two-thirds of which should be reimbursed by New South Wales and Victoria, and that England should supply, and that these colonies should help to maintain, a steamer.[5] England still hesitated.

and the Anglo-German annexation took place, 1884,

Then Bismarck informed Lord Granville that he meant the German flag to follow German trade; admitted that Australia was legitimately interested in South New Guinea, but considered 'parts of North New Guinea available for German enterprise'. Lord Granville nodded approval and added as a profound secret that he too was about to act, but only in 'that part of New Guinea which especially interests Australia'[6],

[1] Feb. 26, 1883.
[2] April 4, 1883; *ante*, p. 206.
[3] July 11, 1883.
[4] July 21, 1883; see *Acc. and Pap.* (1883), vol. xlvii. C. 3814, p. 14.
[5] Proposed May 9, 1884; accepted July 1, 1884.
[6] Aug. 9, 1884. Bismarck's colonialism was always (*a*) commercial: 'Ich kann nach wie vor nur sagen, dass ich stets nur für dasselbe Prinzip eintrete, das ich zuerst in der Budget-Commission vor ungefähr 1½ Jahren ausgesprochen habe: nämlich dass wir keine staatliche Organisation, keine Kolonien in französischem Sinne, keine Garnisonen und dergleichen erstreben, sondern dass wir nur beabsichtigen, dem deutschen Handel mit unserm Schutze zu folgen da wo er sich einrichtet'. . . 'mein Ziel ist die Regierung kaufmännischer Gesellschaften, über denen nur die Aufsicht

and Gladstone gave notice of his intention to create a protectorate 'upon the southern coast of that island'.[1] Three weeks later England resolved on a protectorate over all the south coast and over two-thirds of the non-Dutch north coast. Germany protested, and England limited herself to the south coast.[2] Shortly afterwards Germany hoisted her flag in the Bismarck Archipelago, and on the north coast of New Guinea between the Dutch boundary and Huon Bay.[3] The Victorian Premier wired to Lord Derby: 'At last the end has come. The exasperation here is boundless.' All Australia was aghast, though at that date the north coast was virgin soil. Spurred on by Australia, and in spite of assurances to Germany that England 'did not contemplate any fresh arrangements in the Pacific',[4] Lord Granville promptly extended our Protectorate over the unappropriated residue of New Guinea[5]—which Bismarck had not annexed though he desired to annex[6]—and the adjoining isles. Nor was this all. Bismarck had also suggested a Commission to delimit English and German 'spheres of interest' in the Pacific[7], and on hearing that New Zealand was busy in Samoa and

and the Anglo-German spheres of

und der Schutz des Reiches und des Kaisers zu schweben hat' (Speech Nov. 8, 1885, L. Hahn und C. Wippermann's *Bismarck*, v. 150); (*b*) and based on agreements with England: 'dass wir in dieser Frage wie in allen übrigen, und nicht ohne Erfolg, stets bemüht gewesen sind, uns in Fühlung mit der grössten Kolonialmacht der Erde, mit England, zu halten, dass wir auch hier nur nach Verständigung mit England vorgegangen sind und nicht weiter vorgehen werden, als wir uns mit England zu verständigen im Stande sein werden' (Speech Jan. 26, 1889, Ib., v. 586).

[1] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, Aug. 11, 1884.

[2] Oct. 9, 1884; see *Acc. and Pap.* (1884–5), vol. liv. C. 4217, p. 36.

[3] New Britain, New Ireland, &c.: notified Dec. 19, 1884.

[4] Dec. 4; see *Acc. and Pap.* (1885), vol. liv. C. 4273, p. 39.

[5] Instructions, Dec. 21; see *Acc. and Pap.* l. c., p. 54.

[6] Bismarck's *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. B. Walden (1890), vol. i. pp. 344–5: 'Wenn es der grossbritannischen Regierung nicht bekannt gewesen sein sollte, dass Deutschland auch östlich von der Huon-Bai weitere Annexionen machen wollte, so könnte dies nur darauf zurückgeführt werden, dass unsere Mittheilungen in diesen Angelegenheiten seitens der grossbritannischen Regierung nicht den Grad der Beachtung gefunden haben, welchen wir . . . erwarteten.'

[7] Aug. 9 and Sept. 11, 1884.

interest were defined, 1886;

Tonga, asked that the islands should be neutral until the Commission had reported. An agreement was made to this effect [1] and the Commission prohibited English interference with German action in the northern Solomons, the Carolines, and the Marshalls, defined the protectorates already acquired, left Samoa, Tonga, and Niue neutral, and prohibited German interference with English action in the rest of the Southern Pacific (1886). A second treaty secured equal trade rights, mixed commissions for land claims, and a veto on penal settlements (1886). In 1899 Germany transferred to England the northern Solomons—except Buka and Bougainville—and her rights (if any) in Tonga and Niue; and England transferred to Germany her rights (if any) in Samoa—which thenceforth, to the chagrin of New Zealand, became German. Germany had already disclaimed interest in the New Hebrides and Raiatea in an agreement with France (1885).

It is quite true that in 1883–4 English diplomacy showed itself ill-informed, vacillating, and not quite fair in its methods either to our colonists or to Germany. On the other hand, nothing short of a simultaneous policy of 'non-possumus' as against France and Germany would have satisfied our colonies; and such a policy would have bred serious future if not present mischief. Events suggested a compromise; and the compromise which was adopted led to an *entente générale*, first with Germany (1890), then with France (1904); necessitated joint action by the Imperial and Colonial authorities; suggested and put practical issues before the Imperial and Colonial conference (1887), and left us quite as much work to do as we are able to do at present.

and the 'spheres' became possessions, in the third period.

'A sphere of interest' means a sphere in which some one else disclaims interest. It does not mean partition, because it confers no title on me, but only bars your title. But Germany instantly proceeded to convert her sphere into a 'Schutzgebiet' which should not be translated 'protectorate'

[1] Dec. 1 and 4, 1884.

but 'colonial possession'.[1] She failed with the Carolines and Pelews until 1899, when she bought out Spain; financial control over the Marshalls was delegated to the Jaluit Company (1888–1905), and complete control over the remainder was delegated to the Neu-Guinea-Kompagnie (1885–9, 1892–9). These Companies were modelled on English Chartered Companies and possess monopolies which, according to some critics, infringe the spirit, but which certainly do not infringe the letter of the second treaty of 1886.

England, too, has converted her sphere into protectorates and colonies; and she has been influenced partly by German example and partly by fear of other countries which are not bound to respect her sphere—for instance, by fear of France whose exploits belonged already to the past, of Chile which annexed Easter Island in 1887, of Hawaii which claimed 'the primacy of the Pacific' in 1883, and of the United States which had been regarded ever since 1875 as the shadow behind the Hawaiian throne; but there have invariably been other motives at work, and methods have varied in every case. Before these events, which belong to the third period, are described, we will return to New Guinea.

An account follows of N.G. administration,

The New Guinea Protectorate ripened into annexation (1888); and the Governor, though appointed by England, reported direct to Queensland, and was responsible to Queensland. England became grandmother instead of mother-country of her new colony. Since 1902 the Commonwealth of Australia has succeeded Queensland in her motherhood: and now appoints the Lieut.-Governor and pays for and controls the entire administration of Papua, as British New Guinea and its islands are called.

policy,

In Papua, annexation has meant protection to natives; indeed until 1897 it meant little else. The two Governors

[1] Von Stengel, *Rechts-Verhältnisse der deutschen Schutzgebiete* (1901), p. 29, &c.

who moulded Papuan destinies—Sir W. Macgregor and Sir G. Le Hunte (1888–1903) were trained in Fiji; and it has been their ideal 'to elevate an almost entirely uncivilized native race without any exploitation of their land or . . . labour'.[1] In 1897, for the first time, agricultural settlement, and the employment of labourers outside their neighbourhood was encouraged. Land purchases by or from natives and labourers' contracts are still affairs of State and there is the usual prohibition of selling arms and drink to natives.

natives, The natives, who are said to number 350,000, live in villages, but there is no clear tie between village and village. Inland, tribe village and language are often co-extensive, and, along the many-harboured south coast, what organization there is is sometimes too loose and sometimes too tangled to be of use. Thus the Motu tribe are great traders; they range along the south coast from the Purari river to Hood Bay (280 miles) and their language is spoken by 5,000 and understood by 20,000 people. Yet they only number 2,000; are scattered in ten villages or so, each of which they share with some other tribe. They cannot call one village their very own, and the 'urbs geminata' which figures in Roman and Maori history is their characteristic institution. In such a country as this, villages are the only possible units of the State; and even the village is many-headed, and one out of several equal chiefs must be selected for the august post of village constable. Nearly 300 villages possess a village constable; and there is also a non-local armed constabulary which numbers 150. These are they who, in suppressing crime, are rapidly suppressing war; for crimes are usually incidents of wars—wars of mountaineers against coastlanders, as in all Melanesia; or of western head-hunting coastlanders, who, with the first breath of the monsoon, annually attack their eastern neighbours, as in the Solomons. No native tax has been levied.

mission-aries, There never were 'white beach-stalkers' in any Melanesian

[1] *Acc. and Pap.* (1892), lv. 574.

country except Fiji. In New Guinea, even more than in the Solomons, missionaries (L.M.S.) were the only pioneers. They and they only smoothed the way for annexation along the south coast and in the islets. They interpreted, and a Commissioner in the eastern district wrote: 'the chief districts from which the trade of the district is worked are S. Cape, Samarai, Teste, Killerton, and Nuakata Island—stations now or formerly occupied by missionary teachers, where safe contact with the natives can be more depended on than elsewhere' (1886). In 1886 some Roman Catholics took over St. Joseph River, and in 1891 the Wesleyans tended the eastern isles, and the Anglicans the north coast, care being taken not to overlap. Next came the traders. Three copra- *traders*, merchants, who settled on Samarai (1886) and formed 'the nucleus of a future colony', followed, just as the two cedar-cutters of Daru Island (1883) were followed by the erection of a Government station. Then Governors pioneered the interior, and their tours ushered in the discovery of gold all down the central range which forms the backbone of the country and crops up in isolated fragments in the Woodlark (Murua), D'Entrecasteaux (Goodenough), and Louisiade (Sudest and Misima) groups of islands.

Owing to Musgrave's visit Sudest Island (1888), and *gold-mines*, owing to Macgregor's mountain tours in 1889 and 1894, Mambare (1896), which is on the north coast of the mainland, revealed its gold: miners went thither, and spread at once to Milne Bay, Gira and Kumusi rivers, on the mainland, and to Misima and Woodlark islands (1896); and at Woodlark crushing still goes on. Rubber began to figure as an export *industries*, in 1895 and is now cultivated at Rigo and on Musa River near the south and north coast respectively; the capital—Port Moresby—is on the south coast, nearer the east than the west of the British mainland; on the high ground behind the capital there are coffee plantations; and on the St. Joseph river, which flows into Hall's Sound a little to the west of the

capital, there is tobacco. White men are 642, of whom gold-miners are probably one-half, and government officials are less than 50. Land can only be let, not sold, to settlers. Settlement has followed the flag, and eastern Papua is known and is fairly peaceful from Hall's Sound and the Gira eastward—not excluding Rossel Island, where 326 wrecked Chinamen were killed and eaten in 1858. The western interior is still uncivilized, and the coast from Hall's Sound to the Dutch boundary at Bensbach River, that is to say, the larger half of the south coast of the British mainland is not always safe. Off the delta of Aird River on an islet named Goaribari, Chalmers—the Livingstone of New Guinea—was murdered with his companions in 1901. The western are wilder than the eastern coastlanders, partly because government agents cannot endure the mangrove swamps upon the south-western coasts; partly because gold has forced the eastern at the expense of the western development. The government of Papua costs £36,000 per annum, more than half of which is raised locally, and the rest is granted by the Australian Commonwealth. There is an Executive and Legislative Council composed of officials and nominees. Duties may be levied on imports from Australia, but may not be differential. Its exports are £76,000, three-fourths of which are gold.

and civilization.

III. In the third period Canada was linked to Australasia, 1887–1902;

The runners were already in the last lap; unclaimed lands were scanty and the claimants many, and France and Chile, infected by German energy, were already astir when the Canadian Pacific railway, which was opened in 1886, and the Vancouver-British mails and the British-Vancouver-Queensland cable, which were proposed at the imperial Conference of 1887, and were accomplished facts in 1893 and 1902 respectively, launched England once more into the arena.

A vision of Australia and New Zealand stretching forth their hands towards Canada, of Canada stretching forth its

hands towards Australia and New Zealand, and of the mother-country almost but not quite making their hands meet—entered into the political imagination for the first time. As in the second epoch, links between colony and colony had been added almost unconsciously or for other reasons; and men suddenly noted how little was needed to complete a work which they had not intended, and to present to the nations 'one mighty confederacy girdling the earth in its whole circumference, and confident against the world in arts and arms'. So they set themselves to do that little with an energy quickened even more by the instinctive yearnings of kindred towards kindred than by the inherited traditions of international competition.

pearl and guano islands were annexed for the sake of the all-British cable;

In order then to guard the links of empire which had already been constructed and to construct and guard final links of Empire, England appropriated (1888–9) some pearl and guano islands which were without permanent inhabitants, and were occupied, if at all, by some Englishman or American who annually took thither sailor folk from Rotumah, Niue, Aitutaki, or Tongarewa. Often the English employer got 'a lease' of the island from the High Commissioner, or before 1875 from some wandering Commodore —as Captain English did in the Fifties—but the lessor did not guarantee his title against foreigners; often, too, as at Fanning (1859), Malden (1866), Starbuck (1866), and Caroline (1868), the flag was hoisted when these rights of ownership were exercised[1]; and at Palmerston a sailor named Marsters settled on the vacant soil, and planted and reared coco-nuts and a family of sixty-five, so that Palmerston became, like Pitcairn Island, the Kermadec Islands (1837),[2] and Lord Howe Island (1834),[3] the purest type of an English colony.

[1] *Times*, April 23, 1888, p. 15.
[2] S. Percy Smith, *The Kermadec Islands* (1887).
[3] R. Etheridge, jun., *Lord Howe Island* (1889), in the Australian Museum *Memoirs*, pub. at Sydney.

The following is a list of these etceteras of the Pacific :—

On the north-east: Palmyra, Washington, Fanning, Christmas, Jarvis, Malden, Starbuck, Caroline, Vostock, Flint;

On the west: Howland, Baker, Gardner, Enderbury, and six other islands of the so-called Phoenix group; and

On the south-west, within the zone now assigned to New Zealand, Nassau, Suwarrow, and Palmerston.

In three or four cases the ceremony was deferred until 1892, or was deemed superfluous owing to the English title being as clear as noonday without it,[1] or amounted only to the declaration of a protectorate, although it is difficult to see how an empty island can be protected.[2] These islands, though English, are ungoverned, except in the case of Fanning, which is the head quarters of the all-British cable, of a resident Deputy Commissioner, and of a volunteer force at least twenty strong, and except in case of the islands assigned to New Zealand. Perhaps we ought to add to these twenty-three unpeopled islands, the thinly-peopled pearl-island of Tongarewa, which was annexed at the same time and for the same reasons, but its fate was indistinguishable from that of the rest of the Manahiki group to which it belongs, and the Manahikians have shared the fate of their kith and kin of Cook's Islands.

the Cook's Islands were annexed to N.Z., 1889, 1902;

The Cook's Islanders became English through historical causes. Their fears, their wishes, and old associations drove them into the British Empire by what may be called a process of national selection. The Cook's Islanders, seeing England busy in the Pacific and alarmed by French annexations in the Raiatea group (1887) and by the intrigues of a French agent, prayed for protection (1888). They had been under the control of L. M. S. missionaries since 1823, but that form of control has always proved weak, amateurish, and unfit to survive, and tribal divisions had never been ex-

[1] Nassau and Gardner, Palmerston, &c.
[2] Jarvis, Palmyra, &c.

tinguished. There were four chief islands, Rarotonga, Mangaia, Atiu, and Aitutaki. On Rarotonga there were three tribes, and on Mangaia three, all pulling different ways; the three tribes of Atiu boasted for the moment one paramount tribe-chief; and he was paramount over three neighbouring islets, two of which had been swept with the besom of destruction. Aitutaki was similarly trivided and triarchic. The protectorate which was declared over Cook's Islands and the Manahiki group (1888–9) was unlike any other Pacific protectorate. In strict law, Aitutaki, like Tongarewa, was annexed, but no difference was observed between the annexed and the unannexed sections of the protectorate. Moreover, the opportunity was seized of responding to the desires of New Zealanders for 'a greater New Zealand'; and being the immediate ancestors of the Maori these islanders were appropriately put under a Resident appointed, paid, and directed by New Zealand, so that, as in New Guinea, England played the part of grandmother country.[1] Indeed, she abjured her motherhood even more than she did in the case of New Guinea, and the Agent was not even a Deputy Commissioner of the Pacific for the first eight years or so, but only 'British Agent'. As in New Guinea, 'protectorate' only proved to be a chrysalis stage, and in 1898–9 a court was established which, it was explained, would wield no power over foreign whites or over natives unless they consented. This position seemed to the New Zealanders farcical; accordingly annexation was substituted for protectorate; and the Cook's Islands became part and parcel of New Zealand in 1902. Greater New Zealand was also extended to include other islands which had fled to us for refuge from French ambition. Thus the Manahiki group, which had hitherto been left to its missionaries, Pukapuka, whose inhabitants 'for some time past petitioned

[1] See annual (or nearly annual) Reports presented to the New Zealand Parliament and printed at Wellington.

for protection'[1] and received protection in 1892, and Niue,[2] which sued for protection in 1887, 1898, and 1899, and won its suit when the Anglo-German treaty of 1899 untied our hands, were added; and a line drawn from the outermost Cook's Islands to the outermost Manahiki Islands, and thence to Pukapuka, Niue, and back again to the Cook's Islands constitutes the New Zealand zone. New Zealand was also given the guano islands inside this zone; and each inhabited island obtained a Resident responsible to the Rarotongan Resident, who is an officer of the New Zealand Government. The Niue Resident has since 1904 been independent of the Rarotongan Resident. The population of this territory is something over 12,000, of which Cook's Islands account for half and Niue for more than a third. Its exports are £34,800 and its imports are the same. Its products are admitted into New Zealand duty-free, and vice versa. Its revenue (1903–4) is £7,169 and its expenditure £4,558.

The Tokelau Islands were taken over, 1889;

A protectorate was declared over the four tiny atolls which constitute the Tokelau group by Captain Oldham while prospecting for the Pacific cable (1889), so that they were anglicized for the same reason as Tongarewa was anglicized. The natives, some 500 in number, and partly Romanists and partly L.M.S. converts, were surprised as well as pleased: 'On our first visit they did not seem to grasp the situation, but on the second were highly gratified.'[3] They lie between Samoa on the south, the New Zealand zone on the south-east, the western guano islands on the north, and on the west the Ellice group, which remains to be described. Unlike the Tongarewans they have been left alone. Our protectorate has been platonic.

the Solomon

England declared a protectorate over the southern

[1] *Fiji Times*, June 29 and July 2, 1892.

[2] Basil Thomson, *Diversions of a Prime Minister* (1894), *Sojourn in Niue and Tonga* (1902).

[3] *Journal of Anthropological Institute* (1892), p. 14.

Solomons (1893), Santa Cruz, Duff, and Swallow groups (1897–8), Ongtong Java and other Solomons except Buka and Bougainville (1900), for two clear reasons—she wanted to save the blacks from the whites and the whites from the blacks. Lives were being lost because there was no State. Philanthropy, not profit, was her aim. In order to control the wildest savages of the Pacific—150,000 in number—and see fair play between them and the rough and ready labour traders throughout an archipelago 1,000 miles in length, she set up two Deputy Commissioners—one at Tulagi, the other at Gizo; four other white officials and 30 armed native police, recruited partly from criminals; and she gave them a small sailing vessel and £2,307 per annum, £1,993 of which is raised by local trade licences, poll-taxes on non-natives, fees, and fines. Land is not sold to settlers, but certificates of occupation are issued. This incredible quixotism has made a new earth. The ghastly toll of hewn heads which Ysabel has paid to Rubiana for more than 300 years has ceased, and head-hunting exists no longer except at Choiseul. Whites are fairly safe. Two men engaged in the labour-trade were shot as late as 1901, but white residents, who are now 110 in number, have not been molested for ten years, and as in Fiji devotion to duty has paid. Exports have risen in one year from £17,000 to £47,000, and the staple export, which is copra, equals in annual value the gold exported from New Guinea in 1903, £40,000. Ivory-nuts—which are the fruit of the sago-palm—pearl shell and turtle shell are also exported. Industry and trade are being quickened by the return of the islanders from Queensland, where many have learned to work. Herr Baessler writes: 'Three years' labour in Queensland or Fiji does them as much good as three years' military service does to our countrymen';[1] and the representative of the Melanesian mission is half converted. 'It is hard to say', he writes, 'which way the balance lies,

Islands, 1893, 1900

[1] A. Baessler, *Neue Südsee Bilder* (1900), pp. 337, 355.

whether for good or for evil. One looks at the schools that they have started and are faithfully maintaining, and thanks God for them'; but there is a reverse side, and the new human coin has not been sufficiently assayed.

the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, 1892,

The story why we intruded into Mikronesia for the first time in our history and declared a protectorate over the Gilberts (1892) is far from clear.

Probably there were four inducements. First, the Gilbertians were being scourged once more by the unregulated labour traders of Central and South America. Between 1861 and 1864 South American vessels spirited away Gilbertians, Niueans, Ellice Islanders (from Nukulailai and Funafuti), Tokelauans (from Fakaafu), Manihikians (from Tongarewa) and Easter Islanders, by thousands on voyages to the Peruvian mines from which scarcely one straggler returned. Then the plague was stayed. In 1890 it broke out once more, and one shipload of luckless Gilbertians was taken to the sugar plantations of Guatemala, a second to the bottom of the Pacific, and a third was being filled by foul means when Captain Davis arrived and announced that the Gilbertians were 'British subjects', and the Gilberts 'British soil'[1]: language which would have been true if the Gilberts were not merely protected but annexed. But the language served its purpose, and since 1892 the supply of Gilbertians to South and Central America has ceased. At the same time we took the Ellice Islanders just as we had already taken other of their fellow victims under our protection. Secondly, Tebureimoa, chief of the two northern islands, Butaritari and Makin, was in debt, feared Spain, which had recently asserted itself for the first time in the Carolines, not without bloodshed, and Germany, which had recently annexed the Marshalls

[1] Rev. J. Alexander, *Islands of the Pacific* (1895), pp. 335 et seq.; *Overland Monthly* of San Francisco (June, 1894), p. 565. For earlier accounts of Gilberts, Union, Manahiki, &c., see F. J. Moss, *Through Atolls and Islands* (1889); Rev. S. J. Whitmee, *Polynesia* (1881); H. S. Cooper, *Islands of the Pacific* (1888); and above all R. L. Stevenson, *In the South Seas* (1889).

and tried to annex all Mikronesians who dwelt within its sphere, and, conscious of his weakness, went on a vain voyage to America to solicit American protection. His fears were groundless, and his suit was unsuccessful: but a day or two after his return England accepted this invitation to another. Thirdly, there were disorders in the islands, both past and present, which interested England. English runaways can be traced in the islands in 1838, and English resident traders in or before 1861. Further, the southern islands were anarchical and the central group, consisting of Apemama, Aranuka, and Kuria, was tyrannical; and the tyrant of the central group would have invaded the southerners years ago and added to their anarchy but for H.M.S. *Dart*. One of Captain Davis's first acts was to disarm the islanders, and in the north his first duty was to insist on a Gilbertian being executed for murdering a British subject. Fourthly, French missionaries appeared here and in the Ellice group in 1888, and it was feared that they might prove harbingers of annexation, as at Tahiti. But many reasons are weak reasons, the deed was done, and the last of the unprotected and unannexed South Sea Islanders were formed into the Gilbert-Ellice Protectorate, to which Paanopa Island was especially added in 1900.

The Resident of this protectorate is a Deputy Commissioner of the Pacific and dwells at Tarawa. Island councils have been established, with a white Resident, in four cases, to watch them. Police have been formed, partly out of Fijians, and a head gaol has been built in Tarawa, of which the Gilbertians are as proud as proud can be. Discharged prisoners are welcomed home like heroes. Trade licences and poll-taxes on non-natives yield £2,665 per annum against an expenditure of £2,228. Exports are £21,582, chiefly copra; but Paanopa belongs to the category of guano islands. Except at Paanopa, land has not been sold but is only let to settlers by or with the consent of the Deputy Commissioner. Foreigners are 300 and natives probably 35,000. Of the

latter, Gilbertians account for 33,000, for some of the Gilberts are the most populous places on the earth, although they boast only of a few inches of soil overlying flat barren rock. Their diet consists of coco-nuts, pandanus fruit, and fish. Although American Protestant missionaries have been in the northern Gilberts since 1857, and L. M. S. missionaries have been in the southern Gilberts since 1870, Christianity seems to have less charm for Mikronesians than for Polynesians. Both in the Gilberts and in the Ellice Islands French Roman Catholic missionaries established themselves three and five years respectively after the English protectorate was declared. The Ellice Islanders had been Protestant from end to end for thirty years; and overlapping rival churches are apt quite innocently to fan into flame these embers of past strife, which every church tries to quench. Not that that matters much in the Ellice Islands; for the Ellice islanders are too good even to need law.

and Tonga, 1900.

Lastly, Tonga, which had been carried by England and Germany to a suspense account in 1887, was definitely credited to England; and the Tongan Protectorate, which might have been the first (1847), proved the last of the protectorates which England assumed (1900) in answer to innumerable requests. Moreover, Tonga was the last quasi-independent Pacific group, Hawaii having been annexed by the United States in 1898. The earlier history of Tonga has been detailed.[1] In 1893 King George died, and was succeeded by George II, his great-grandson. In 1900 a protectorate was declared, and in December, 1904, and the early months of 1905 financial confusion prevailed, in consequence of which the premier and treasurer were deported to Fiji, the custom house was reformed, a small loan was made by Fiji, and the king was forbidden to

[1] As to modern Tonga and Niue, see Basil Thomson, *Diversions of a Prime Minister* (1894), *Sojourn in Niue and Tonga* (1902); and as to Niue, S. Percy Smith in *Journal of Polynesian Soc.* (1902), pp. 80 et seq.

take any financial, judicial, or other important step without the consent of the British Agent on the spot. The Tongan Protectorate is the Pacific system which most resembles an Indian Native State. Kingship has been retained, but a masterful Agent exercises ultimate sovereignty.

The English Pacific islands fall into an eastern, middle and western group,

If, instead of chronicling period by period and in order of time, the events which have changed the Pacific into a white man's lake, we try to look on these events as a whole and classify them, we meet many difficulties. Are we to put protectorates into one class and annexations into another? This is impossible, for protectorates mean many things—to the Tokelauans mild patronage; to the Tongans veiled dictation; to the Solomon Islander the protection of men's lives. Annexation too has many meanings, and means to the Rarotongan what protectorate means to the Tongan; to the Papuan what protectorate means to the Solomon Islander; and the Aitutakians and Tongarewans of ten years ago regarded it as synonymous with protectorate, just as protectorate is synonymous with annexation to the chance occupants of Jarvis and Palmyra to-day. Indeed, the retention of this unreal distinction may breed future difficulties with other Europeans, and would breed present difficulties with natives if the natives knew that they were only protected and not annexed. Degrees of control are infinite, both in annexed and protected colonial possessions: nor is annexation the superlative of protectorate now that the preservation of native institutions has become a universal maxim of statecraft. Do the natives resist or assist control? Do they need control now that they mix and trade with whites? Are our means of control adequate or inadequate? The answer to these three questions determines the 'more or less' of our 'annexation'—in Sir A. Gordon's phrase. If this test is taken, the English Pacific falls into three parts: the centre, which consists of Fiji and Tonga, is strongly held; the rest of Polynesia and Mikronesia can be trusted to go their own way; Papuans and

politically,

Melanesians—other than Fijians—are almost ungoverned, not from choice but necessity: their numbers and varieties and, in the case of the New Hebrides, diplomatic complications make the white man's 'progressive occupation' slow.

commercially,

If we divide the English Pacific into trade spheres, we find almost the same three unequal thirds: the eastern third with which New Zealand trades, the western third—but this includes the Gilbert and Ellice groups—with which Australia trades, and the centre where both States overlap. Political almost coincide with trading spheres. Australia administers Papua, and helps the New Hebrides, Solomons, Gilbert and Ellice protectorates by a subsidized mail: New Zealand subsidizes the mail which visits her recent acquisitions, and the Pacific cable and mail which pass through Fiji are subsidized by the Empire; for Fiji is now looked on—as the Cape of Good Hope was looked on the troubled times of 1899–1902—as a meeting-place of Empire. The Imperial government retains in its own hands and under its direct control the posts of greatest danger, and the critical regions which interest Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, or England and France equally: but has elsewhere assisted its big colonies to increase in size and to grow towards one another.

The fact that the different trading and political spheres so nearly coincide with the different methods of administration might suggest that England had, after all, recently pursued the policy which France and Germany have openly pursued since 1870, and that the furtherance of trade was the motive as well as the result of her policy. Such an inference would be wide of the mark. It would be equally irrational to suppose that nationality had to do with the distinction, because on the east there are Polynesians, on the west Melanesians, and in the centre Melanesians who have associated with Polynesians ever since history began. On the other hand, our policy since 1870 has not been purely English but imperial: Australia and New Zealand have helped to shape it; and

as well as ethnically; which suggests questions.

they have unanimously looked on the flag as the greatest of commercial assets, and have unanimously denounced English reluctance to protect trade on land as well as by sea as a grave dereliction of public duty. Further, the spirit of competition—the zest of racing—still animates England, and one of the competitors declared that it was its sole object to follow up its traders with its flag. We must also bear in mind that a very thin partition separates this policy from 'nigger philanthropy' which England to its eternal honour has always professed, and no sophists could distinguish between the protection of blacks from whites, and the protection of whites from blacks in countries like the Solomons. Still we must recollect that not one of our annexations was made for the sake of one cause only, that the sense of duty towards those who were annexed was always one of the most prominent causes, and that we took over Fiji and the Solomons when they were in the depths of poverty, and there seemed no prospect of gain.

The following is our balance sheet of imperial assets and liabilities:—

	× £1,000.			× 1000 *Population.*		*sq. m.* × 1000.	*Date of Rep.*
	Rev.	*Expen.*	*Exports.*	*White.*	*Coloured.*		
Fiji . .	138	125	555	2·5	94 [c]	8	1904
Tonga .	20	20	88	·240	21	1	
New Guinea .	19	36	76	·642	350 (?)	90·540	1905
Solomon I.	1·99	2·30	47	·110	150 (?)	15	1905
Cook's I. .	7·2	4·6	34·8	·200 (?)	12	·234	1904
Gilbert & Ellice .	2·6	2·2	21·6	·300	35 (?)	·200	1901
New Hebrides			exceeds 46 [b]	·664	50 (?)	8	1905

[a] Includes 'foreigners'.
[b] £17,000 to Sydney, £26,000 to Noumée, £3,000 per Sydney, &c.
[c] Excludes 21,501 Indians.

The Official Reports from which the above table is compiled are, in the case of Fiji and Tonga, Reports by the High Commissioner of the

Western Pacific: in the case of the New Hebrides, Solomon, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Reports by the High Commissioner or by the resident Deputy Commissioner to the High Commissioner. All of these Reports are printed in the annual Reports of the Colonial Office at a price which is almost nominal. The Reports of the Cook's Islands are made direct to the Government of New Zealand, and those of New Guinea are made direct to the Australian Commonwealth and are printed in Wellington (N.Z.) and Melbourne respectively.

APPENDIX I

THE NEW HEBRIDES

UNDER the Anglo-French Convention of October 20, 1906, forts, penal settlements, and sales to natives of arms and strong drinks are forbidden; labour and the labour trade are regulated, and jurisdiction will be exercised over natives and non-natives. The dual control which is instituted is several (1 *a*, 2) and joint (1 *b*, 3, and 4), and its powers will be wielded by (1) an English and French High Commissioner or their respective resident deputies who (*a*) when acting singly will be referred to as the Commissioner, (*b*) and when acting jointly will be referred to as the joint Commissioners; (2) an English and a French civil court, each of which will be referred to as the separate court; (3) a mixed tribunal, composed of two judges, appointed respectively by England and France, of a neutral president, appointed by Spain, of a neutral public prosecutor appointed by the president, and, in criminal cases, of four lay assessors who vote on the question guilty or not guilty; and (4) the joint naval commission appointed under the convention of 1887 and the declaration of 1888.

Several control will be exercised by the Commissioner over his subjects and quasi-subjects; thus he will license their labour-trading ships, provide a separate court where they will be sued and, presumably, a criminal court where they will be prosecuted, enforce against them decisions of the separate court and, except in cases relating to land, of the mixed tribunal, and control one half of the police force which is to be raised. 'Subjects' mean Englishmen (Frenchmen) in the case of the English (French) Commissioner or separate court: and 'Quasi-subjects' mean foreigners who elect to submit to English (French) law, or having resided for six months without so electing are put by the joint Commissioners under English (French) law.

The joint Commissioners will control the naval commission, the two halves of the police force (or any part thereof) and the natives, will establish and regulate ports, posts, public works,

and municipalities, and will make by-laws and levy taxes for joint purposes—which include the building at Fila (Fate), which is henceforth the capital, of a court house for, and the endowment of, the mixed tribunal. The mixed tribunal has exclusive jurisdiction over (1) civil disputes between natives and non-natives; (2) crimes by natives against non-natives—applying in either case the law to which the non-native is subject or quasi-subject; (3) cases referred to it by consent—applying defendant's law, or, in the case disputes between natives natural right and native custom; (4) offences against the restrictions on labour-trade, labour, and the sale of arms and drink, which are as follows; Except in case of local contracts of employment for less than three months, or where the servant has served Europeans for five years and speaks a European language, recruiters and employers must register their contracts—which must not exceed three years and must be countersigned by a public authority,—must make returns of deaths, &c., must repatriate and may not unless specially authorized transfer or re-engage their labourers, must pay them cash wages in presence of a local authority, and may not work them by night or during their dinner hour, or underfeed them or neglect them when sick. The labour-trade can only be carried on in duly licensed English or French ships. Sporting weapons, weapons for the police, and strong drinks for the sick are permitted, otherwise neither arms nor strong drinks may be supplied to natives. (5) It is the only court where land claims are made and land titles are registered. In cases relating to (*a*) former land titles, where natives and non-natives are concerned, or native rights are in question, due regard will be had to prescription, user, improvements, good faith, adequate consideration, genuine consent, vendor's title, title deeds, registration, and the necessity for native reserves; where non-natives are exclusively concerned, the law to which defendant is subject or quasi-subject will (subject as aforesaid) prevail. Registration follows decision, and non-contentious applications to be registered will be entertained. (*b*) All future sales of land will be public acts in the law and will be registered. In this convention, native subjects of either power count not as natives but as subjects of the power in question; but neither power may acquire New Hebridean subjects.

Coercion is applied by a naval commission composed of two

English and two French naval officers *plus* a president who in alternate months is the English or French naval officer commanding in these waters. Neither naval force may act separately nor, except when authorized by the joint Commissioners, jointly. An exception, however, is made to both these rules in emergencies.

It will be seen from the above, that joint protectorate is equivalent to joint annexation and students of history will be reminded in some of its details of the two consuls of ancient Rome, of the Schöffengerichte of Germany, and of the complications of recent Egyptian history.

APPENDIX II

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH

THE legislative powers of the Australian Commonwealth are vested in Parliament which consists of the King, Senate, and House of Representatives.

The Senate represents each State;[1, 2, 3, 4] and each of the six original States has six Senators. The federating States appoint the Senators[2, 3, 4] by the unusual method of direct election. Each State constitutes one electorate until Parliament otherwise determines, and the Senators are chosen for six years,[3] one half of them retiring every three years, so that here, as elsewhere,[1, 2, 3, 4] the times at which the Senate and the other House are chosen do not coincide. Parliament may alter the number of Senators but not the proportion to which each original State is entitled. The franchise of the electors and the qualifications of the elected are the same as those for the House of Representatives.

Unlike the German 'Bundesrath', Swiss 'Council of States', and U.S. Senate, the Australian Senate is purely deliberative,[1] and a replica, in its functions, of the other House, except that it cannot initiate,[1, 3] and may only advise on money bills, which, however, must relate to money and nothing else.

[1] As in Canada.
[2] As in Germany.
[3] As in the United States.
[4] As in Switzerland.

The House of Representatives is elected directly[1, 2, 3, 4] in each State, in proportion to the population of the State, and the original States are represented as follows:—New South Wales, 26; Victoria, 23; Queensland, 9; South Australia, 7; Western Australia, 5; Tasmania, 5—five being the minimum representation to which each State is entitled. In future it is to contain twice as many members as the Senate—a proportion rather less than that which prevails in other federal States. The State carves itself into electorates until the federal Parliament provides a scheme,[3] but no electorate may overlap the boundaries of a State.[4] The Members are chosen for three years,[2, 4] but the House may be dissolved at an earlier date by the Executive.[1] The electors in a State are those who have a vote for the more numerous House of that State;[3] but the federal Parliament may extend although it may not abridge that franchise.

Members of either House are to be paid;[3, 4] each House proves itself, and decides disputed elections and qualifications;[2, 3] and no foreign subjects, criminals, interested contractors (shareholders excepted), Crown pensioners (except officers on half-pay), or paid officials (other than Ministers) may be members. Members may resign and if they neglect their duties, must vacate their seats. The Parliamentary session must be annual.[1, 2, 3, 4] Plural voting is forbidden.

In case the smaller House rejects a measure twice passed by the larger House, and in that case only, the Executive may dissolve both Houses simultaneously, after which if the larger House re-passes and the smaller House re-rejects the Bill, the Executive may convene a joint sitting at which the voices of the majority are to prevail. This is the only provision in the Constitution for a simultaneous dissolution or for a joint sitting of both Houses. A somewhat similar provision with regard to disputes between the two Houses occurs in Argentina and Brazil but not in other federal constitutions; thus the United States and most South American confederations provide for conflicts between President and Congress but not for conflicts between House and House.

Canada and Switzerland are the only federal States which

[1] As in Canada.
[2] As in Germany.
[3] As in the United States.
[4] As in Switzerland.

permit their federal constitutions to be altered by normal legislative methods: but the Canadian, like the Australian, constitution was contained in, and therefore can only be altered by, an English Act of Parliament, and in Switzerland all non-urgent federal laws are submitted to a Referendum. Alterations in the Australian constitutions require like other laws a majority in both Houses, and unlike other laws a Referendum to the federal electors a majority of whom and of the States in which they vote must ratify the change by this means. In case one House affirms the change twice, the Executive may dispense with the consent of the other House—a provision derived from Switzerland—and there is a proviso, suggested by a similar proviso in the constitution of the United States, that a State may not be deprived of its proportionate representation in either House, or of its minimum representation in the larger House, nor may its physical limits be altered without the expression of its consent by a Referendum. Of course there is nothing about a Referendum in the American original.

The Canadian constitution assigns to the federal legislature 'all matters not coming within the classes of subjects assigned exclusively to the legislature of the provinces'. All other federal States adopt an opposite principle and treat the central as the delegated and the local as the original power. Not that the centripetal or centrifugal point of view has much effect upon the range of subjects with which the central authority deals—thus in Germany, where the members of the Bundesrath are almost as much fettered by instructions as ambassadors at a European Congress, the federal authority consolidates and codifies factory and merchant shipping Acts, commercial, civil, and criminal jurisprudence and judicial procedure. No other federal States except those of South America have so wide a range or use it with wiser moderation. Australia cannot unify its legal system, or exercise the wide legislative opportunities which Canada, Germany, Argentina, and Brazil enjoy.

On the other hand Australia does not imitate the narrowness of the United States, which excludes marriage, divorce, and income taxes from the federal legislature and annuls *ex post facto* legislation and State legislation 'impairing the obligation of contracts'. All these things are within the purview of the Australian Commonwealth; indeed the oddest items in its concurrent jurisdiction, namely 'invalid and old age pensions' and

'conciliation and arbitration' in industrial disputes, involve infringements of free contract. These items have an air of oddity and irrelevance because the larger categories to which they naturally belong and which are included for instance in the German constitution are conspicuous by their absence. Other odd and therefore characteristic items in the catalogue are 'bounties', 'influx of criminals,' and non-aboriginal races requiring special laws. Other federal constitutions strike similarly odd tale-telling notes which are wanting in the Australian constitution: thus Canada includes 'interest', Switzerland and Germany 'monopolies', Germany laws concerning the press and the right of association, Argentina the maintenance of Roman Catholicism, Brazil the declaration of martial law, and the United States impeachment. These isolated references are interesting historical relics of the transitory local motives which induced federation but dislocate the constitutions in which they appear.

Passing from peculiar to universal features of the legislative powers of Australia we note—aliens, bankruptcy, bills of exchange, census (which is not compulsory as in American federal States), copyright, currency, emigration, external affairs and fisheries, immigration, interstate execution and records, loans, military and naval defence, naturalization, navigation by sea, patents, post, quarantine, religious freedom, taxes (including customs and excise), telegraphs, trade (external and interstate), weights and measures. Land-laws, education, aborigines, police and prisons are exclusively regulated by the States. Further, subject to certain State rights, banks, insurance, and rivers are controlled; and a State may surrender part of its functions, as under Earl Grey's scheme of 1849, or all or part of its territories, or may assign its railways to the Commonwealth. A surrender of functions might possibly convert a federal into a single State, as was the case in New Zealand and Colombia. If territory is surrendered to it by a State or put under its control by the mother-country, its power to make laws with regard to it is unlimited. But except in the case of territory so acquired, or of such territory in New South Wales—of more than 100 sq. m., more than 100 miles from Sydney—as it may acquire for the purpose of founding a capital, it is only the head of certain sovereign States, towards any one of which it is unconstitutional on its part to show any preference. Discrimination on its part

in favour or to the prejudice of any State is illegal. Further it is its duty to constitute an Executive body called the Interstate Commission — which is founded on the Interstate Commerce Commission, U.S. (1887), which was suggested by the English Railway Commission (1873)—whose duty it is to prevent discrimination between States or their respective members by State action or individual action. The Commission will presumably supervise corporations, rivers, railways, and roads; and its finding that a rate or price involves discrimination is judicially binding; but an appeal may be made from it on a point of law to the federal judicature. The Commissioners hold office for seven years but are removable by the Governor-General in the same way as judges are removable, namely on an address from both Houses of Parliament. The Interstate Commission is the missing link between the Legislative, Judicial and Executive departments of State. The Judicial and Executive departments will now be considered.

The Judicature consists of a federal supreme Court called the High Court of Australia, and of such other Courts as Parliament shall create or invest with federal jurisdiction. The High Court has original jurisdiction in matters in which the Commonwealth is party, and different States or residents in different States are parties, or in which a mandamus or injunction is sought against an officer of the Commonwealth. It is also the Court of Appeal from the inferior federal Courts (if any), and from the Supreme Court of any State. On constitutional questions it is the final Court of Appeal unless it grants leave to appeal to the Privy Council: on all other matters an appeal to the Privy Council lies unless prohibited by statute. It was only with reference to the Judicature that any difficulties were raised in England. There is an obscure clause in the Act (sect. 51. xxxviii) enabling the Commonwealth to exercise with the consent of the States powers only exercisable by the English Parliament. Suppose, it was said, this clause was held by the Colonial Judicature to enable the Colonial Legislature to repeal Imperial Acts? Messrs. Quick and Garran think that this construction is wrong, but Colonial judges might hold differently. But this argument seems more conclusive as an argument against the clause in question than as an argument against the limitation of appeals to the Privy Council.

The King is regarded in English but we believe in no other

law as part of Parliament. On the other hand the King is universally regarded as the head of the Executive. In Australia he is represented by the Governor-General and for the purposes of the Act by the Governor-General in Council. He commands the army and navy, names ministers, judges, and civil servants belonging to the transferred services. The transferred services include customs and excise, posts and telegraphs, lighthouses and buoys, quarantine, and the defensive forces. Customs and excise were transferable immediately; the rest after proclamation. Upon the transfer of taxation it became the duty of the Commonwealth to raise by taxation four times as much as it required; and net taxes collected within a State and received by the Commonwealth became credited to that State; but against the credit was set a debit which was to the total expenditure as the number of people in the State was to the number of people in the Commonwealth. After two years uniform duties were imposed; trade between States became absolutely free; and the same system of distributing the surplus proceeds of taxation was to prevail for the five ensuing years or longer unless Parliament otherwise provided.

There was a power but not an obligation to take over State debts. The financial arrangements which were by far the most difficult portion of the task of transference have hitherto worked satisfactorily. Exceptions in the matters of financial and constitutional details with regard to Western Australia and Queensland respectively have been disregarded in the above sketch.

INDEX

Adams, John, patriarch, 159, 160.
Adelaide (A.), 83, 84, 147; railways at, 167; telegraphs at, 190.
Adelaide R. (S.A., N.T.), 186.
Advance Peak (N.Z.), 233.
Aird R. (N.G.), 270.
Aitutaki, customs of, 39.
Aitutaki I. (Cook I.), 271, 273, 279.
Albany (W.A.), 79, 81, 96, 164; railways at, 168; telegraphs at, 190.
Albertus Magnus, 1, 2, 5.
Albury (N.S.W.), 90, 95.
Alexander VI, Pope, 2, 3, 6.
„ Mt. (V.), 93, 147.
Alexandra (N.Z.), 222.
Alice Downs (Q.), 99, 182.
„ R. (Q.), 99.
„ Springs (N.T.), 188.
Anaiteum I. (N.H.), 251, 261.
Angas, G. F., a founder of S.A., 82.
Annand, Hon. G., 150.
Anson, Capt. Lord George, circumnavigator, 9, 20.
Apa clan, 214.
Apemama I. (Gilbert I.), 277.
Araluen R. (N.S.W.), 147, 156.
Aranuka I. (Gilbert I.), 277.
Arawa clan, 214, 216, 223, 224, 225, 231.
Archer, Messrs. Charles, Colin, David, and Thomas, squatters, 100.
Arden, Mt. (S.A.), 97, 164.
Ariadne, the, 262.
Aristotle, 1, 2.
Arltunga (S.A., N.T.), 188.
Arnhem, the, 12.
Arnhem's Land (S.A., N.T.), 12.
Arnold, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 103.
Arthur, Sir G., Governor, 94–5, 105, 111.
Ashburton R. (W.A.), 182, 192, 193.
Astley, Thomas, author, 17.
Astrolabe, the, 24.
Atiu I. (in Cook I.), 273.
Atkins, Richard, Judge Advocate, 67–8.
Atkinson, Sir H., Premier, 235.
Atkinson, J., author, 74, 197 *n.*
Auckland (N.Z.), 126, 128, 132, 233.
Auckland, province of, 142, 231.
Aurora I. (N.H.), 261.
Austin, Robert, explorer, 190.
„ Lake, 192.
Australia and the Dutch, 12–15; and the Portuguese, 4; the name, adopted, 6, 25, 74.
Australia del Espiritu Santo, 6; *see* Espiritu Santo.
Australia felix, 93.
Australian, the, newspaper, 77.
„ aborigines, 27–32, 50–51, 85–6.
Australian Agricultural Company, 96, 109 et seq.
Australind (W.A.), 81.
Austral Islands, 22, 88.
Austronesian languages, 34–5.
Avoca R. (V.), 156.
Awa clan, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 135, 143, 214, 216, 217, 218, 227.

Bacon, Roger, 1, 2, 5.
Baessler, A., author, 275.
Baker, Rev. Shirley, missionary, 246.
Baker I. (Phoenix group), 272.
Bakery Hill (V.), 151.
Ballaarat (V.), 147, 148, 149–53.
Ballance, Hon. J., Premier, 235.
Balonne V. (Q.), 99.
Bampton, Captain William, 13.

Banks, Sir J., with Cook, 20, 21, 31, 32, 74; plans Botany Bay, 47, 49; advises policy in Australia, 62, 65, 157, 177.
Banks's Islands, 251, 253.
,, Islanders, 34, 37, 253.
,, Peninsula (N.Z.), 21, 124, 125, 131, 132, 141.
Bannister, Major, explorer, 96.
Barcaldine (Q.), 195.
Barcoo R. (Q.), 97, 99, 100, 195.
Barker, Captain Collet, explorer, 82 *n.*
Barrett, Richard, 132.
Barrier Range (N.S.W.), 97, 188, 189.
Barrier Reef (Q.), 13, 158.
Barrington, George, pickpocket, 70.
Barton, Sir E., 207.
Barwon R. (Q.), 195.
Bass, Dr. George, explorer, 22.
Bass's Strait, 22.
Batavia, 52, 57.
Bathurst (N.S.W.), 72, 73, 116, 146.
Bathurst, Lake, 72.
Batman, John, a founder of V., 94.
Baudin, N., 61, 92.
Bea (in Tongatabu I.), 242, 243, 244, 245.
Beauchamp, William, First Earl, 46, 47.
Bell, son of Lt. A. Bell, 72.
Bellasis, George B., ex-convict, 70.
Bellinghausen or Bellinsgauzen, Admiral, Russian explorer, 74.
Belyando R. (Q.), 99, 181.
Bendigo (V.), 147, 148, 154.
Bensbach R. (N.G.), 270.
Bentham, Jeremy, 45.
Beverley (W.A.), 168.
Bigge, J. T., Commissioner, 56, 69, 73, 74, 78.
Bight, the Great Australian, 12, 97, 189, 190.
Birdsville (Q.), 188.
Bismarck, Prince, 262, 264–6.
,, archipelago, 248, 265; *see* New Britain, New Ireland.
Black, George, agitator, 150, 151.
Blackstone, Sir W., 45, 70.
Blair, David, agitator, 152.
Blakefield, 144.
Blanche, Lake, or Blanche Water (S.A.), 183, 188.
Blaxland, Gregory, and John, squatters, 65, 66, 72.
Blenheim (N.Z.), 235.
Bligh, Admiral William, 13, 22, 125, 158; as Governor, 53, 66–9.
Blue Mountains (N.S.W.), 72.
Bogan R. (N.S.W.), 91, 195.
Bonney, Charles, overlander, 95, 96.
Botany Bay (N.S.W.), 21, 24, 44–9, 50.
Bougainville I. (Solomon I.), 266, 275.
Boulton, Sir S., 170.
Bounty, the, 66, 67, 158.
Bourke, Sir R., Governor, 95, 106, 113, 118, 129.
Boutwell, Capt. E. B. (U.S.), 247.
Bowen (Q.), 182, 184.
,, Downs (Q.), 182.
Boyd, Benjamin, squatter, 250, 251.
Brady, Mathew, bushranger, 94.
Brett, Cape (N.Z.), 20.
Brisbane (Q.), 79, 96; railways at, 167.
Brisbane, Sir T., Governor, 70, 104, 196, 198.
Brisbane R. (Q.), 79.
Broad Sound (Q.), 21, 181.
Broken Bay (N.S.W.), 50, 85.
Browne, John H., Sturt's companion, 193.
Browne, Sir T. G., Governor, 211–18.
Browne Mt. (N.S.W.), 193.
Bruce, George, 125.
Brussels Conference, 259.
Bryce, Hon. John, 228, 229.
Buccaneer Archipelago (W.A.), 91.
Buchanan, N., explorer, 184, 187.
Buffett, John, 160.
Buka I. (Solomon I.), 266, 275.
Bull, J. W., inventor, 84.
Buller, Charles, 111, 113, 158.
,, R. (N.Z.), 232–3.
Bulloo R. (Q.), 182.

Bunbury, Major Thomas, 132.
,, Sir Charles, 45.
Bundaberg (Q.), 100, 185.
Buntingdale, (V.), 85.
Burdekin R. (Q.), 98, 181.
Burke, Robert O'Hara, explorer, 183–4, 188.
Burke R. (Q.), 183.
Burketown (Q.), 184.
Burnett R. (Q.), 100.
Burra (S.A.), 85.
Busby, James, Resident (N.Z.), 129, 130, 135.
Bushrangers, 57, 62, 93–4, 155–6.
Bustard Bay (Q.), 21.
Butaritari I. (Gilbert I.), 276.
Byrne, J. C., author, 251.
Byron, Cape (N.S.W.), 21.
,, John, Admiral, 19, 20.

Cairns (Q.), 185.
Caleer, Anglo-Indian, 250.
Californian gold discoveries, 145–6.
Callander, J., author, 17, 18, 24, 47, 49.
Cambridge (N.Z.), 222.
Camden County (N.S.W.), 54, 72.
Cameron, General Sir D. A., 221, 222.
Camooweal (Q.), 187.
Campbell, C., squatter, 105.
,, J., author, 17.
,, Robert, merchant, of Calcutta and Sydney, 58, 61.
Canada and the French, 20, 23.
Canada, Australia is drawn towards, 240, 270, 271, 280.
Canada, rebellion in, 103.
Canoona (Q.), 181.
Canterbury pilgrims, 141.
,, province of, 142, 232, 233.
Cape of Good Hope, relations of Australia with, 48, 49, 52, 53, 86, 205, 280.
Cape R. (Q.), 181, 185.
Capricorn, Cape (Q.), 21.
Carboni, Raffaello, poetaster, 150, 153.
Cardwell (Q.), 184.
Carnarvon (in Viti Levu I.), 256.
Caroline I., 271, 272.
Caroline Islands, 262, 266, 267, 276.
Carpentaria Downs, 182, 184.
,, Gulf of, 12, 13, 22, 91, 183.
Carpentaria, watershed of, 97, 99, 183.
Carteret, Admiral Philip A., circumnavigator, 19, 20, 23, 42.
Castlereagh, Robert, Viscount, 68.
Castlereagh R. (N.S.W.), 91, 92.
Cavendish, T., circumnavigator, 9.
Ceylon, 2, 28, 86.
Chalmers, Rev. James, missionary, 270.
Champion Bay (W.A.), 189.
Charles II's 'Council for Trade and Plantations', 16.
Charters Towers (Q.), 185.
Chatham Islanders, 37. *See* Moriori.
Chatham Islands, 34, 124, 125, 128, 141, 223.
Chester, Henry M., P.M., 263, 264.
Chile, 267, 270.
Chinchilla (Q.), 195.
Chinese immigrants, 154, 202, 207, 209.
Chinese labour, 47, 154, 167, 207, 209, 250.
Choiseul I. (Solomon I.), 275.
Christchurch (N.Z.), 141, 232–3.
Christian, Fletcher, mutineer, 158, 159.
Christmas I., 272.
Churchill, Messrs. A. and J., authors, 17.
Church Missionary Society, 85, 125, 127–8.
Chute, General Sir T., 222, 231.
Clarence River (N.S.W.), 180.
Clarke, James, John, and Thomas, bushrangers, 155.
Clarke, Rev. W. B., geologist, 144, 145.
Cleveland Bay (Q.), 21.
Clipperton, Capt. J., circumnavigator, 9.
Cloncurry R. (Q.), 183, 184, 185.
Cloudy Bay (N.Z.), 132.
Clutha R. (N.Z.), 232–3.
Clyde R. (N.S.W.), 72.

Cobar (N.S.W.), 188, 193.
Codrington, Rev. R. H., missionary, 34.
Coghlan, T. A., statistician, 173.
Cogoon R. (Q.), 99, 100.
Coleridge, S. T., 80.
Collins, Col. David, Lieut.-Governor of T., author, &c., 61–2.
Colquhoun, Patrick, P.M., 74.
Columbus, Chr., 2.
Colville Range (N.Z.), 233.
Conadilly R. (N.S.W.), 73, 91, 92.
Condamine R. (Q.), 91–2, 99, 195.
Cook, Capt. J., circumnavigator, 13, 19–22, 23–5, 37, 42, 125, 191.
Cook Islands or Cook's Islands, 22, 272–4; *see* Aitutaki, Atiu, Mangaia, Rarotonga, &c.
Cook's District (Q.), 184.
Cooksland (Q.), 179, 180.
Cook's Straits (N.Z.), 20, 21, 124, 125, 129, 234.
Cooktown (Q.), 21, 185.
Coolgardie (W.A.), 189, 192.
Cooper's Creek (Q.), 97, 183, 184, 188, 194.
Copeland, Hon. H., 198.
Coromandel (N.Z.), 233.
Cowley, Captain, circumnavigator, 9.
Cox, George, squatter, 105.
Creswick (V.), 147.
Cromwell, O., Council of Trade, 16.
Cruickshank & Co., squatters and storedealers, 192.
Cue (W.A.), 192.
Cumberland County (N.S.W.), 72.
Cunningham, Allen, botanist and explorer, 78, 90–1, 191.
Cunningham, E., squatter, 181.
Cunningham's Gap, 91.
Curlewis, Mr., squatter, 182.

Dalrymple, A., author, 17, 25, 48, 74.
Dalrymple, G. A. F. E., squatter, 181, 185.
Daly Waters (N.T.), 187.
Dampier, Captain William, explorer, 9, 13, 16, 190.
Dampier's I., 16.
,, Land, 9.
,, Straits, 16.
Dangar, H., surveyor, 91.
Danger, Point (Q.), 21, 180.
Darling, Sir R., Governor, 109, 196, 197.
Darling Downs (Q.), 91, 96, 98, 99, 105, 180, 185, 195.
Darling R. (N.S.W.), 91–3, 96, 99, 182, 188.
Dart, the, 277.
Daru I. (N.G.), 269.
Daveney, Thomas, agriculturist, 48, 53.
Davidson, Walter S., squatter, 65, 66.
Davis, Captain, R.N., 276–7.
Dawson R. (Q.), 98, 100, 164.
Deakin, Hon. A., Premier of Australia, 202 *n.*
De Bougainville, Louis A., 20, 22–5.
De Brosses, Charles, author, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 47, 49, 112, 260.
De Bry, J. T., author, 17.
De Grey R. (W.A.), 192, 193.
Dempster, James, of Esperance Bay, &c., 192.
Dentrecasteaux, Admiral B., explorer, 22, 23, 24.
D'Entrecasteaux Islands, *see* Goodenough I., &c.
Derby, Edward George, Earl of, *see* Stanley, Lord.
Derby, Edward Henry, Earl of, 205, 264, 265, 266.
Desceliers, Pierre, cartographer, 4.
De Witt, William, explorer, 12.
De Witt's Land (W.A.), 12.
Diamantina R. (Q.), 183, 184, 188.
Diaz, Bartholomew, 1, 2.
Direction I. (Q.), 21.
Dodd, Henry Edward, agriculturist, 48, 53.
Drake, Sir F., circumnavigator, 9, 10.
Dravidians, 27.
Dreketi R. (Vanua Levu), 257.
Dromedary, Mount (N.S.W.), 21.
Duff Islands, 6, 275.
Dumaresq R. (N.S.W.), 91–2, 180.

Dumont D'Urville, explorer, 79, 131.
Dundas, Henry, Lord Melville, 53.
„ (W.A.), 189, 192.
Dunedin (N.Z.), 232.
Dunlop's Range (N.S.W.), 91, 188.
Dunstan (N.Z.), 232.
Dupleix, Joseph, 17, 18, 26.
Dusky Bay (N.Z.), 21, 124.
Dutch voyages, 9–15, 16.
Dutton, F. S., author, &c., 74.
Duyfen, the, 12.

East Cape (N.Z.), 128, 216, 232.
Easter I., 15, 267, 276.
East Indian Company, Dutch, 11–15.
East Indian Company, English, 11, 15, 48.
East Indian Company, English, monopoly of, 48, 49, 60, 61, 240.
East Indian Company, English, trades with Sydney, 49, 50, 60.
East Indian Company, French, 23.
Ebsworth, Frederick, inventor, 118.
Echo, Lake (T.), 94.
Edel, Captain, Dutch explorer, 12.
Edelland (W.A.), 12.
Eden, Sir W., 45, 74, 157.
Edwards, Captain E., 13, 57, 125, 158.
Edwards, General Sir J. B., 205.
Eendragt, the, 12.
Eendragtland, 12.
Egmont, Cape (N.Z.), 226.
„ Mt. (N.Z.), 126, 276.
Elder, Sir T., 190.
Ellenborough, Edward, Earl of, 220.
Ellice Islands, 5, 274, 276–8, 280.
Encounter Bay (S.A.), 92.
Endeavour R. (Q.), 21.
„ Straits (Q.), 21, 22.
Enderbury I. (Phoenix group), 272.
English, Captain, Pacific trader, &c., 271.
Epi I. (N.H.), 261.
Eromanga I. (N.H.), 250, 252, 261.
Espiritu Santo I. (N.H.), 6, 8, 261.
Eucla (W.A.), 190.
Eureka hill stockade (V.), 151–3.
Evans, G. W., surveyor, 72.
Evans, John, 160.
Everard, Hon. W., 196.
„ prophet, 227.
Eyre, E. J., Governor, 78, 85–6, 96, 97, 101, 189.
Eyre, Lake (S.A.), 97, 183, 187.
Eyre's Creek (Q.), 97, 188.
„ Peninsula (S.A.), 189.

Fakaafu I. (Tokelau group), 276.
Falkland Islands, 20, 23.
Fanning I., 271, 272.
Fanshawe, Capt., R.N., 247.
Farewell, Cape (N.Z.), 21.
Fate I. (N.H.), 252, 261.
Favenc, Ernest, explorer, author, &c., 187, 193.
Fawkner, Hon. John Pascoe, a founder of V., 95, 152.
Field of Mars, 56.
Fiji Islands, 14, 61, 88, 206, 207, 268, 269, 278, 279, 280, 281.
Fiji Islands, annexation of, 240–54.
Fiji Islands, present state of, 254–7.
Fijian customs, 33, 34, 36, 41.
Fila (in Fate I.), 261.
Finau, dynasty of (T.), 243, 244.
Fitz and Connor, Messrs., squatters, 100.
Fitzgerald, Hon. J. E., 237.
Fitzroy Downs (Q.), 99, 100.
„ R. (Q.), 100.
„ „ (W.A.), 191.
„ Sir C., Governor of N.S.W., 77, 122, 145, 146.
Fitzroy, Admiral Robert, Governor of N.Z., 135–6, 137, 138.
Flattery, Cape (Q.), 21.
Flinders, Captain Matthew, explorer, 22, 24, 25, 74, 82, 87, 92.
Flinders I. (T.), 94.
„ Range (S.A.), 83, 146, 183.
Flinders R. (Q.), 183, 184, 185.
Flint I., 272.
Forrest, Alexander, explorer, 189, 191.

Forrest, Sir J., explorer, Premier of W.A., &c., 105, 168, 189, 190, 191, 192.
Foulwind, Cape (N.Z.), 21.
Foveaux, Colonel Joseph, Acting Governor of N.S.W., 54, 59, 69.
Foveaux Strait (N.Z.), 124, 125.
Fowler's Bay (S.A.), 189.
Fox, Sir W., Premier of N.Z., 219.
Francis, the, 55.
Frederick Henry Bay (T.), 14.
Fremantle (W.A.), 81, 168.
French voyages, 17–26.
Friendly Islands, 22; *see* Tonga.
Frome, Lake (S.A.), 97, 183.
Fulton, Rev. H., ex-convict, 70.
Funafuti I. (Ellice I.), 276.
Furneaux, Captain T., R.N., 22, 24.

Gama, Vasco Da, 2.
Gambier, Mount (S.A.), 85.
Gardiner, Frank, bushranger, 155, 156.
Gascoyne R. (W.A.), 182, 192, 193.
Gate Pa, 220.
Gawler (S.A.), 83.
,, Col. George, Governor, 83–4.
Geelong (V.), 90.
George I, King of Tonga, 244–7, 278.
George II, King of Tonga, 278–9.
,, Henry, 200.
,, Lake (N.S.W.), 72.
,, R. (N.S.W.), 50.
Georgina R. (Q.), 97, 183, 184, 187.
Geraldine (W.A.), 81.
Geraldton (W.A.), 81, 191; railway at, 168.
Germany, wool exports from, 65, 89, 90.
Germany, wool exports to, 173.
,, in the Pacific, 248–9, 259, 262–7, 276–7.
Gibson, Alfred, Giles's companion, 190, 191.
Gilbert Islands, 20, 252, 276–8, 280.
Gilbert, Johnny, bushranger, 155.
,, R. (Q.), 98 182, 185.
Giles, Ernest, explorer, 190, 191, 192.
Gillen, F. J., 86.
Gipps, Sir George, 77, 87, 96, 98, 113, 116, 118–20, 131, 144, 167.
Gipps, Mt. (N.S.W.), 189.
Gippsland (V.), 97.
Gira R. (N.G.), 269, 270.
Gizo I. (Solomon I.), 275.
Gladstone (Q.), 100, 106, 180.
,, W.E., 74, 100, 106, 265.
Glenelg, Charles Baron, 95, 113.
,, R., 82, 85, 93, 98.
Glenprairie (Q.), 182.
Gloucester, Cape (Q.), 21.
Goaribari I. (N.Q.), 270.
Godeffroy, Messrs. J. C. & Co., 248, 262.
Goderich, Lord, *see* Ripon, Lord.
Golden Valley (W.A.), 192.
Goldie, Andrew, 263.
Goodenough I. (N.G.), 269.
Goodman, Mr., squatter, 80.
Gordon, Sir A., Governor of Fiji, N.Z., &c., 227, 254, 255, 256, 259, 279.
Gorst, Sir J., 211, 218, 235.
Gouger, R., 111.
Goulburn R. (V.), 90.
Gracemere (Q.), 100.
Grafton, Cape (Q.), 21.
Grampians, the (V.), 93.
Grant, Lt. James, 22.
Granville, G. G., Earl, 264–6.
Great Lake (T.), 94.
Greek colonies, 80.
Greeves, Dr., 199.
Gregory, Frank, explorer, 182.
,, Lake (S.A.), 97, 183.
,, Sir A. C., surveyor, explorer, &c., 105, 181, 186, 191, 194.
Grenville, Cape, 21.
,, George, 22.
Grey, Henry G., Earl, 74, 106, 107, 112, 121, 122, 140, 143, 145, 196, 202, 203, 204.
Grey Range (Q.), 97, 188, 189.
Grey R. (N.Z.), 232–3.
Grey, Sir George, in Australasia, 199, 206, 208, 235, 236, 237, 251; in S.A., 77, 83–6; in

W.A., 85–6; in N.Z. (*a*) 135–43; (*b*) 213, 218–23, 229.
Greymouth (N.Z.), 232.
Griffith, Sir S., Premier of Q., 208.
Grimes, Charles, surveyor, 61.
Grose, Colonel Francis, Lt.-Governor, 57, 58.
Guatemala, 276.
Guildford (W.A.), 196.
Gwydir R. (N.S.W.), 91–2.
Gympie (Q.), 185.

Haapai Islands (Tonga Islands), 242, 243, 244, 245.
Haast R. (N.Z.), 232–3.
Haddon (Q.), 188.
,, Sta. (S.A.), 188.
Hadfield, Oct., Bishop, 218.
Hadley, John, inventor, 19.
Hahake in Tongatabu I., 242, 243.
Hahndorf (S.A.), 85.
Hakluyt, Rev. Richard, author, 17.
Halifax Bay (Q.), 21.
,, G. M., Earl of, 22.
Hall, Ben, bushranger, 155.
,, Sound (N.G.), 269, 270.
Hamilton, Edward, squatter, 105.
,, (N.Z.), 230.
,, R. (Q.), 183.
Hampton Plains (W.A.), 189, 190, 193.
Hann, William, squatter, 185.
Hardinge, Henry, Viscount, 220.
Hargreaves, E. H., 146.
Harris, John, author, 17, 18, 19, 26, 47, 49.
Hartog, Dirk, 12.
,, Island of Dirk (W.A.), 12.
Hastings R. (N.S.W.), 73.
Hau clan, 214, 225.
Hau Hau sect, 221, 222, 223, 225, 257.
Haua clan, 212, 215, 216, 217.
Hauraki Gulf (N.Z.), 216.
Havannah Harbour (in Fate I., 261.
Hawaii Islands, 5, 22.
,, (mythical), 40.
,, American influence in, 252, 267.
Haw ii, American annexation, 278.
,, missions in, 244–5, 248.
Hawaiian customs, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42.
Hawaiian sailors in, N.S.W., 249.
Hawdon, John, overlander, 96.
Hawke, Edward, Baron, Admiral, 19, 22.
Hawke Cape (N.S.W.), 21.
Hawke's Bay (N.Z.), 20, 129, 130, 133, 214, 231.
Hawkesbury R. (N.S.W.), 50, 56, 63, 66, 69, 71.
Hawkins, Captain Sir Richard, 7.
,, E., squatter, 100.
Heke (Te), 136, 137.
Helmersen, Gregor Von, geologist, 145.
Henry, David, printer, 17.
,, of Eromanga, sandalwooder, 250, 252.
Henty, Messrs. Edward and Francis, pioneers of V., 93.
Herbert, Messrs. H. and T., squatters, 100.
Herberton (Q.), 185.
Hergott Springs (S.A.), 183.
Hervey, Admiral A. J., Earl of Bristol, 22.
Hervey's Bay (Q.), 21.
Heu Heu (Te), 212, 215.
Hicks Point (V.), 21, 22.
Hihifo in Tongatabu, 242, 243, 244.
Hill, Joshua, 160.
Hindmarsh, Admiral Sir J., Governor, 83.
Hinds, Rev. Samuel (Bishop of Norwich), 103.
Hobart (T.), 61–2.
Hobson, Capt. William, Governor, 130–32.
Hodgkinson, C., author, 74.
Hog Harbour (in Espiritu Santo), 261.
Hokianga (N.Z.), 126, 128, 129, 130.
Hokitika (N.Z.), 232.
Holder (S.A.), 199.
Honduras, convicts in, 46.
Hongi (Te), 128–9.
Hood Bay (N.G.), 268.
Hope, L. (S.A.), 188.
Hopeless Mt. (S.A.), 97, 183, 194.

Horowhenua (N.Z.), 135.
Houtman's Abrolhos (W.A.), 12, 13.
Hovell, Captain W. H., 90.
Howard, John, philanthropist, 45, 46.
Howe, Admiral R., Lord, 19, 22.
,, Cape, 21.
Howick, Lord, *see* Earl Grey.
Howland I. (Phoenix group), 272.
Huahine, missions in, 244–5; *see* Society Islands.
Humboldt, Al. von, 145.
Hume, A. Hamilton, explorer, 72, 78, 90, 91.
Humffray, Hon. John B., 150.
Humphries, W., squatter, 100.
Hunt, C. C. (explorer), 189.
Hunt's Well (W.A.), 192.
Hunter, Captain John, Governor, 58–60, 67, 70, 172.
Hunter R. (N.S.W.), 60, 61, 91, 96, 172.
Hunter R. Railway, 167.
Huon Gulf or Bay (N.G.), 265.
Hutt R. (N.Z.), 137.

India helps N.S.W., 71.
,, links between, and N.S.W., 86–7; *see* East India Company.
Indian labourers and immigrants, 154, 250.
Indian labourers and immigrants in Fiji, 255–6.
Ingestre, H. J., Viscount, 136.
Innamincka (S.A.), 188.
Invercargill (N.Z.), 232.
Ipswich (Q.), 180.
Isaacs R. (Q.), 98.
Isabel, *see* Ysabel.
Islands, Bay of (N.Z.), 20, 123–4, 125, 129, 131, 136.

Jack, R. L., geologist, 167.
Jacques le Hermite, circumnavigator, 9.
Jaluit Company, 267.
Jardine, Messrs. A. W. and F. L., explorers, 184–5.
Jarrah, 81.
Jarvis I., 272, 279.
Java, 9, 13.
Java the great, 2, 4.
,, the little, 40 *n.*
Jervis, Cape (S.A.), 83.
Johnston, Colonel George, Acting-Governor of N.S.W., 68–9.
Jones, John, 82 *n.*
Juan Fernandez I., 17.
Jukes, J. B., author, 74.

Kahungunu clan, 133 *n.*, 214, 222, 223, 224, 225.
Kaipara (N.Z.), 126.
Kalgoorlie gold, 192.
,, waterworks, 167, 173.
Kapiti Island, (N.Z.), 126.
Kapunda (S.A.), 84.
Kawhia (N.Z.), 126, 128, 215, 229, 232.
Kelly, Ned, bushranger, 155, 156.
Kennedy, Edmund B., explorer, 78, 99, 101, 184.
Kennedy, Thomas, agitator, 150, 151.
Keppel, Admiral Augustus, Viscount, 22.
Keppel Bay (Q.), 21.
Kereopa (Te), 221, 224.
Kerguelen, Y. J. de, explorer, 25.
Kermadec Islands, 271.
Kerr, Dr., 146.
Kettle, Sir R., 170.
Kidnappers, Cape (N.Z.), 20.
Killerton I. (N.G.), 269.
Kimberley (W.A.), 186, 191, 192.
King, Capt. P. G., Governor of N.S.W., 51, 53, 58–66, 67, 70, 77, 104, 172, 177, 198, 249.
King George's Sound (W.A.), 96, 205; *see* Albany.
King, P. P., Capt., 74, 78, 79, 87.
Kingston (N.Z.), 232.
Knapton, J., publisher, 17.
Kolan R. (Q.), 100.
Kooti (Te), 223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230.
Kumusi R. (N.G.), 269.
Kuria I. (Gilbert I.), 277.

Labillière, F. P. de, author, 263.
Lachlan R. (N.S.W.), 72–3, 92–3, 96, 147, 188.
Ladrones Islands, 3, 5.
Lagrange Bay (W.A.), 191.

Laidley Ponds (N.S.W.), 93, 97, 100.
Lakemba (F.), 241, 246, 247.
Laloki R. (N.G.), 263.
Lalor, Hon. Peter, 150, 151, 152, 153.
Lambasa R. (Vanua Levu), 255.
Landsborough, William, explorer, 100, 182, 184, 193, 194.
Lane, W., journalist, 157, 198.
Lang, G. D., son of J. D. Lang, 150, 152.
Lang, Rev. Dr. J. D., author, 77, 85, 106, 119, 120, 121, 154, 179, 180, 195, 249.
Langlois, captain of a whaler and colonist, 131, 132, 141.
La Pérouse, J. F. G. de, explorer, 22, 23, 24, 25, 49, 50, 100.
La Salle, 17, 18, 26.
Latrobe, C. J., Lt.-Governor, 95.
Laughlan Islands, 258.
„ Islanders, 37.
Launceston (T.), 61–2.
Lawless, Messrs. C. and P., squatters, 100.
Lawry, Rev. W., missionary, 244.
Lawson, Lieut. William, 72.
Leeuwin, Cape (W.A.), 12, 24.
„ the, 12.
Leeuwinland (W.A.), 12, 15.
Lefroy, H. M., explorer, 189.
Le Hunte, Sir G., Governor of N.G., S.A., &c., 268.
Leichhardt, F. W. L., explorer, 78, 98–100, 105, 179, 196.
Leichhardt, R. (Q.), 98.
Le Maire, circumnavigator, 15.
Leper's I, *see* Omba.
Leroy-Beaulieu, P. P., 260.
Leslie, Patrick, squatter, 105.
Levuka, in Ovalau I. (F.), 241, 246.
Liberty Plains, 56.
Light, Colonel William, 82.
Liverpool Plains, 73, 91, 108.
„ R. B. (Jenkinson), Earl of, 58.
Liverpool R. (S.A., N.T.), 12.
Livingstone, John, carpenter, 48, 55.
Locke, John, 63.
Loddon R. (V.), 93.
Lofty, Mount (S.A.), 83, 145, 164.
Londonderry, Cape (W.A.), 12.
London Imperial—colonial conferences, 205, 240, 266, 270.
London Missionary Society, 125, 242–6, 251.
(in Australia), 85.
in Cook Islands, 244–5, 272–3.
in Fiji Islands, 242, 246.
in New Guinea, 258, 269, 270.
in Tahiti, &c., 242, 244, 245.
in Tokelau Islands, 274.
in Tonga Islands, 242, 243, 244.
Lord Howe I., 22, 271.
Louisiade Archipelago, 23, 37, 258, 263, 269 ; *see* Sudest, Misima, Rossel, &c.
Low Archipelago, 3, 6, 20, 23, 88. *See* Paumotu.
Lowe, Robert, 77, 117, 119, 121.
Loyalty Islands, 251, 253.
„ Islanders, 34, 37, 252–3.
Lucian, 2.
Lukin and Adams, Messrs., squatters, 192.
Luttrell, Colonel, H. L. (Earl of Carhampton), 48.
Lynd R. (Q.), 98, 185.
Lyrup (S.A.), 199.

Maafu, 247, 248.
McArthur, Captain John, 54, 56, 59, 61, 64, 69, 70, 109.
McArthur, James, 120, 205–6.
„ R. (N.T.), 187.
McBride, Messrs., of Dépôt Glen, squatters, 189.
McBrien, James, surveyor, 144.
MacCracken, Mr., of Mt. Poole Station, squatter, 189.
McCulloch, squatter, 182.
Macdonald, J. G., squatter, 182.
Macdonnell, Colonel Thomas, 224, 225.
Macedon, Mt. (V.), 93.
McGill, James H., agitator, 150, 152.
MacGillivray, J., 32.
Macgregor, Sir W., Governor of Fiji, N.G., &c., 268, 269.
McIntyre, Hon. John, 199.
MacIntyre R. (N.S.W.), 91.
Mackay, John, squatter, 250.

Mackay (Q.), 184, 185.
McKenzie, Hon. John, 235.
Mackenzie R. (Q.), 98, 99.
McKinlay, John, explorer, 184.
Maclean, Sir Donald, 138, 217, 226, 228, 229.
McMillan, Angus, explorer, 78, 97.
Macquarie, General Lachlan, Governor, 54, 63, 69–73, 74, 77.
Macquarie Harbour (T.), 78, 79.
,, R. (N.S.W.), 72–3, 91–3, 96, 99, 145, 146.
Madagascar, 28.
Magellan, circumnavigator, 3, 4, 7, 8, 191.
Mair, Major W. G., 229.
Maketu (N.Z.), 214, 231.
Makin I. (Gilbert I.), 276.
Malacca, 3.
Malagasy language, 34.
Malay race, 27, 32, 33.
Malcolm Mt. (W.A.), 189 *n.*
Malden I., 271, 272.
Malicolo I. (N.H.), 261.
Malthus, Rev. T. R., 53, 74, 112.
Malvern Hills (N.Z.), 233.
Mambare R. (N.G.), 269.
Manahiki or Manihiki group, 272, 273–4, 276; *see* Tongarewa.
Manaia (N.Z.), 228.
Manawatu R., 134.
Manero Plains (N.S.W.), 90.
Mangaia I. (in Cook I.), 273.
Mangatawhiri R. (N.Z.), 215, 219, 220.
Mangere (N.Z.), 228.
Maniapoto clan, 215, 216.
Manila, 6, 8, 9.
Maning, F. E., Judge, 125, 139.
Maori, clans in N.Z., 125–7, 213–16.
Maori customs, 36, 37, 39, 40.
,, in Cook Islands, 273.
Maraetahi (N.Z.), 224, 225.
Maranoa District (Q.), 100.
,, R. (Q.), 99, 182, 195.
Margaret Mt. (S.A.), 183.
,, (W.A.), 189.
Maria Van Diemen, Cape, N.Z., 14.
Mariner, W., author, 37, 243.
Marion Bay (T.), 24.
Marion du Fresne, explorer, 22, 23, 24, 42, 129.
Marlborough Province (N.Z.), 232, 233.
Marquesas Islands, 5, 87, 130, 141.
Marsden, Rev. Samuel, chaplain, squatter, missionary, &c., 54, 61, 70, 124–5, 127–8, 130, 212, 249.
Marshall Islands, 5, 262, 266, 267, 276.
Marsters, trader in Pacific, 271.
Martin, Dr. J., author, 243.
,, Sir W., Judge, 140, 218.
Maru clan (Ngatimaru), 216, 220, 225.
Maryborough (Q.), 100, 185.
Maskelyne, Nevil, astronomer, 19.
Matamata (N.Z.), 128.
Matra, James, M., 47, 48.
Maungatautari, Mt. (N.Z.), 220, 221.
Maupertuis, P. L. Moreau de, 18, 19, 26.
Mauritius Islands, 23, 86.
Mba R. (Viti Levu), 255, 256.
Mbau I. (F.), 240, 241, 246.
Mela, Pomponius, 1, 2, 25.
Melanesia, 32, 33 et seq., 206, 249, 261, 264, 268–9, 279, 280.
Melanesian labour, 250–52, 258, 259, 275–6.
Melanesian labour excluded, 209.
,, language, 34–5.
,, Mission, 161–2, 251–4, 258, 261, 275–6.
Melbourne founded, 95.
,, distress at, 117 et seq.
,, gold-fever at, 147.
,, railways at, 167.
Melville I., 79.
Mendaña, Alvaro de, explorer, 5, 7, 8, 191.
Menzies (W.A.), 193.
Middle I. (N.Z.), purchased, 138.
Mikronesia, 249, 276–7, 279, 280; *see* Caroline I., Gilbert I., Marshall I.
Mikronesians as labourers, 252, 276.
Mikronesian language, 34–5.
Mikronesians, 27, 33–5, 278.

Miller, Consul, 247.
Milne B. (N.G.), 269.
Misima I., 269.
Missions:
Adventists, Seventh Day, 161;
American in Gilbert I., 278; in Hawaii I., 244–5, 248;
Lutheran in Australia, 85;
Presbyterian in New Hebrides, 251 *n.*, 259–61;
Roman Catholic in Gilbert-Ellice Protectorate, 277–8; in New Guinea, 269; in New Hebrides, 261; in Tonga, 245; in Uea, 262.
Wesleyan, in Australia, 85; in Fiji and Tonga, 244–7, 255; in New Guinea, 269.
See Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Melanesian Missions.
Mitchell, Sir Thomas L., explorer, 78, 93–5, 96, 98–100, 105, 179, 191.
Mitchell (Q.), 195.
,, R. (Q.), 98, 185.
Mitta Mitta R. (V.), 90.
Mohaka R. (N.Z.), 223.
Moir, squatter, 192.
Mokau R. (N.Z.), 126, 215, 216, 222, 233.
Mokoia (N.Z.), 228.
Molesworth, Sir W., 103.
Molucca Islands, 3, 4, 6, 7, 15.
Mongolian race, 27.
Montacute (S.A.), 84.
Montefiore, Joseph Barrow, trader in N.Z., 125.
Moore, George, contractor, 46.
Moorundi, or Moorundie (S.A.), 85.
Moresby, Admiral John, 160, 263.
Moreton Bay (Q.), 21, 78, 85, 91.
,, Pine, 179.
Morgan Mt. (Q.), 185.
Moriori, *see* Chatham Islanders.
Motu tribe (N.G.), 268.
Motuara I. (N.Z.), 21.
Mount Barker (S.A.), 83, 84, 85.
Mua in Tongatabu I., 242, 243, 244, 245.
Muaupoko clan, 214.
Mulgrave (Q.), 185.
Müller, Baron Sir F. von, naturalist, explorer, &c., 183.
Mundella, Rt. Hon. A. J., 170.
Murchison, Sir Roderick I., 145.
Murchison R. (W.A.), 81, 182, 190, 192, 193.
Murphy, Messrs. John and Jeremiah, bushrangers, 155, 156.
Murray, squatter, 105.
Murray, Lieut. John, 61.
Murray R., 61, 82, 83, 85, 90–3, 96, 145, 147; agriculture on, 195; steamers on, 156.
Murrumbidgee R., 90, 92, 96, 149, 179; agriculture on, 195.
Murua I, *see* Woodlark I.
Musa R. (N.G.), 269.
Musgrave W., 269.

N****, 44, 47, 48, 49.
Namoi R. (N.S.W.), 73, 93.
Nannine (W.A.), 192.
Napier, Sir Charles, 83.
Napier (N.Z.), 138; road from, 230.
Nappamerry (Q.), 188.
Narborough, Admiral Sir J., 16.
Narran R. (Q.), 99.
Nash, John, trader in W. Pacific, 248.
Nassau I., 272.
Navua R. (Viti Levu), 255.
Neiafu in Vavau I. (T.), 248.
Nelson (N.Z.), 133, 134, 135, 141, 235; province of, 142, 232, 233.
Nepean R. (N.S.W.), 72.
New Britain, 16, 17, 20, 23, 262.
New Caledonia, 22, 37, 40, 88, 252, 260, 261.
Newcastle (N.S.W.), 61, 62; road to, 72; roads from, 73.
Newcastle (N.Z.), *see* Ngaruawahia.
New England (N.S.W.), 91, 96, 149, 156, 180, 195.
New England (U.S.) trades with Sydney, 49, 50.
New Guinea, annexation of, 262–7; present state of, 267–70.
New Guinea, discovery of, 4, 12, 13, 15, 16; and Australia, 120–1, 200, 206, 249, 279, 280.

New Guinea, customs of, 36, 37, 38, 39, 268.
New Guinea, Dutch, 28.
New Hebrides, 22, 23, 249–53, 258–62, 266, 280, 283.
New Holland, 15, 16, 21, 74; *see* Australia.
New Ireland, 16, 20, 23, 258, 262.
New Plymouth, *see* Taranaki.
New South Wales Corps, 52, 54–9, 68–9.
New Zealand and Tasman, 14; and Cook, 20–2; and French, 24, 88, 129–32; and federation, 120.
New Zealand, zone of Pacific Islands, 272–4.
Ngaruawahia (N.Z.), 212, 219, 229.
Ngati, Ngai, Nga = Maori article before clan names; for Ngatituwharetoa Ngapuhi, &c.; *see* Tuwharetoa clan, Puhi clan, &c.
Nicholson R. (Q.), 98, 184, 187.
Niue I., 266, 271, 274, 276.
„ customs of, 37, 38, 43.
Nobbs, Rev. G. Hun, P.M.S., 160.
Nogoa R. (Q.), 99.
Norfolk, the, 55.
Norfolk I., 22, 51, 61–2, 79, 105–6, 123, 149, 158, 160–2, 251.
Normanton (Q.), 183.
North Cape (N.Z.), 20, 130.
Northam (W.A.), 192.
Nuakata I. (N.G.), 269.
Nukapu (Swallow I.), 253.
Nukualofa, in Tongatabu I. (T.), 242, 244.
Nukulailai I. (Ellice I.), 276.
Nuyts, Pieter, 12.
Nuytsland, 12, 14, 15, 22, 23.

Oakover R. (W.A.), 189, 190, 192.
O'Brien, Henry, squatter near Yass, 118, 154.
Oeno Atoll, 161.
Officer and Co., Messrs., squatters, 166.
Oldham, Captain, R.N., 274.
Omba I. (N.H.), 261.
Ongtong Java Islands (Solomon I.), 14, 34, 275.
Oodnadatta (S.A.), 187.
Ophir (N.S.W.), 146.
Opotiki (N.Z.), 216, 221, 222, 230.
Orakau (N.Z.), 220.
Ord R. (W.A.), 191.
O'Shanassy, Sir John, Premier of V., 196.
Otago (N.Z.), 138, 141, 232, 233.
Ovalau I. (F.), 241, 246.
Ovens R. (V.), 90.
Oxley, John, surveyor and explorer, 72–3, 78–9, 90, 91, 92, 191, 194.

Paanopa I., 277.
Padbury, Mr., squatter in W. A., 167.
Paddon, Captain, sandalwooder of Inyang (Anaiteum), New Caledonia, &c., 251.
Pago Pago (Samoa), 248.
Palmer R. (Q.), 185.
Palmerston, *see* Port Darwin.
Palmerston Cape (Q.), 21.
„ I., 271, 272.
Palmyra I., 272, 279.
Panama, mail via, 247.
Pandora, the, 57, 158.
Pandora, Pass (N.S.W.), 90, 116.
Paoa clan, 216, 220, 225.
Papua, *see* New Guinea.
Papuans, 27, 31, 32, 33–43, 210, 279.
Paraguay, Australian colony in, 198.
Paramatta (N.S.W.), 50, 53, 55.
„ Factory, 63.
Parihaka (N.Z.), 226, 227, 228.
Parkes, Sir H., Premier of N.S.W., 154, 197, 203, 204, 206, 207, 249.
Paroo R. (Q.), 166, 182.
Parris, Robert, 217, 218.
Patea R. (N.Z.), 216.
Paterson, Colonel W., acting Governor of N.S.W., 68–9.
Patteson, Bishop, 161, 251, 252, 253, 254.
Paumotu I., 88; *see* Low Archipelago.
Peak Downs (Q.), 181.
Peel, Sir R., 75.
„ T., 80, 82.
„ R. (N.S.W.), 73, 92, 96, 149.

Pelew Islands, 9, 267.
Penn, William, 95, 127.
Pentecost I. (N.H.), 261.
Perry, Mt. (Q.), 185.
Perth (W.A.), 81; railways at, 168; telegraphs at, 191.
Peru, 252, 276.
Philippines, 3, 5.
Phillip, Admiral Arthur, 24, 47, 48, 49, 56, 70, 109, 157, 172, 200.
Phillipsland, 179, 180.
Phoenix group, 272.
Pic Patral (N.S.W.), 116.
Pine Creek (S.A., N.T.), railway, 167, 187.
Pines, Isle of, 88, 251.
Pitcairn I., 159–62, 271.
Pitt, Rt. Hon. William, 19, 48.
Plenty, Bay of (N.Z.), 20.
Pliny, 2.
Poel, G. T., 12.
Polack, Joel S., trader in N.Z., 125.
Polynesia, 33, 34, 205–6, 249, 262, 264, 279, 280.
Polynesian language, 34–5.
Polynesians, 27, 33–43; as sailors and labourers, 249, 250, 271; in Australia, &c., 47, 157, 209, 249, 250; Australia excludes, 209; in Melanesia, 34.
Pompallier, Bishop, 130.
Poole, James, 97, 189.
Poole Mt. (N.S.W.), 97, 189.
Porirua (N.Z.), 126, 134, 135, 138, 231.
Porou clan, 216, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225.
Porpoise, the, 69.
Port Arthur (T.), 79.
Port Augusta (S.A.), 164, 185.
Port Bowen (Q.), 78.
Port Curteis (Q.), 78, 100, 106.
Port Darwin (S.A., N.T.), 187.
„ Railway, 167.
Port Denison (Q.), *see* Bowen.
Port Essington (S.A., N.T.), 87, 98, 164.
Port Jackson (N.S.W.), 21, 50.
Port Lincoln (S.A.), 82, 85.
Port Macquarie (N.S.W.), 73, 78, 79, 96.
Port Moresby (N.G.), 263, 269.
Port Nicholson (N.Z.), 124, 126, 129, 133.
Portland Bay (V.), 93.
Port Phillip (V.), 61, 90, 93–6.
Port Pirie (S.A.), 189.
Port Sandwich (in Malicolo Island), 261.
Port Stanley (in Malicolo Island), 261.
Port Stephens (N.S.W.), 21.
Portuguese voyages, 1–10.
Possession I. (Q.), 21.
Poverty Bay (N.Z.), 20, 216, 223, 228, 230, 231.
Powell's Creek (N.T.), 187.
Prévost, A. F., D'Exiles, author, 17.
Pridden, William, author, 74.
Prince of Wales, the, 48.
Prince of Wales' I. (Torres Straits), 21.
Pritchard, Consul W. T., 247.
Ptolemy, astronomer, 1, 2, 26.
Pugh, Th. P., 195.
Puhi clan, 125, 126, 136, 226.
Pukapuka I., 273, 274.
Pukorokoro (N.Z.), 222.
Puni (Te), 133.
Puniu R. (N.Z.), 221.
Purari R. (N.G.), 268.
Purchas, Rev. Samuel, author, 17.
Purry, J., author, 14.
Pyap (S.A.), 199.

Queen Charlotte's Sound (N.Z.), 20, 21.
Queensland, 121, 164, 179–82, 184–5, &c.
Quiros, P. J. de, explorer, 5, 6, 8, 74.

Ra district (Viti Levu), 255.
Raffles Bay (S.A., N.T.), 79.
Raiatea, 262, 266, 272.
„ missions in, 244, 245; *see* Society Islands.
Ram Head (N.S.W.), 21.
Ranfurly, U. J. M., Earl of, 225.
Rangihaeata (Te), 129, 134–5, 138, 143, 214.
Rangihiwinui, (Te), 221, 222, 224, 225.

Rangitake (Te), 135, 137, 138, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 224, 228.
Rangitane clan, 214.
Rangitikei R. (N.Z.), 138.
Rangounou Bay (N.Z.), 126.
Rapid Bay (S.A.), 84.
Rarotonga I. (Cook Islands), 40, 273, 274, 279; missions in, 244–5.
Raukawa clan, 214.
Rauparaha (Te), 124, 125, 128–9, 134–5, 137, 138, 214, 222, 231.
Rauru clan, 216, 225.
Ravenswood (Q.), 185.
Reefton (N.Z.), 233.
Reeves, Hon. W. P., 235.
Reid's Mistake (N.S.W.), 85.
Rewa R., and villages in Viti Levu I. (F.), 240, 241, 246, 255, 257.
Rewi (Te), 215, 217, 219, 220, 221, 224, 228, 229.
Richards, sandalwooder (N.H.), 251.
Richmond, Hon. C. W., 217, 237.
Ridley, John, agriculturist, 84.
Rigo (N.G.), 269.
Rintoul, R. S., 111.
Ripon, F. J., Earl of, 79, 95, 110, 111, 112, 113, 129, 196.
Robertson, Sir J., Premier of N.S.W., 196.
Robinson, George Augustus, 94.
Robinson, explorer, 189.
Rockhampton (Q.), 100, 164, 180, 185.
Rockingham, Charles, Marquis of, 22.
Rockingham Bay (Q.), 21, 99.
Roe, Capt. J. S., surveyor and explorer, 78, 96.
Roebourne (W.A.), 182, 186, 191, 192, 193.
Roggewein, J., circumnavigator, 15, 42.
Roma (Q.), 195.
Romilly, H. H., 37.
,, Sir S., 104.
Rongowhakaata clan, 216, 223, 225.
Rooke, Capt., R.N., 161.
Ropata (Te), 221, 223, 224, 225.
Roper R. (Q.), 98.
Ross, Major Robert, 47, 48.
Rossel, E. P. E. de, 25.
,, I., 270.
Ross Lewin, 252.
Rotorua, Lake (N.Z.), 128, 214, 230.
Rotumah I., 249, 256, 271.
Ruanui clan, 216, 217, 224, 225, 227.
Rubiana lagoon (Solomon I.), 275.
Ruse or Rouse, James, settler, 56.
Russell, Lord John, 74, 134, 144.
,, (Bay of Islands, N.Z.), 136.
Rutherford, John, settler in N.Z., 125, 216.
Ryrie, Stewart (squatter), 105.

Saavedra, Alvaro de, 4.
Sadlier, Richard, 85–6.
Saibai I. (in Torres Straits), 263.
St. Joseph R. (N.G.), 269.
St. Philip and St. James, Bay of (in Espiritu Santo), 6, 261.
St. Vincent's Gulf, 82, 83.
Salinis, Le P. A., 88.
Samoa Islands, 23, 37, 248, 252, 262, 265, 266.
Samoan customs, 37, 38.
Sandwich, John (Montagu), Earl of, 22.
Sandwich I, *see* Hawaii.
San Francisco mail, 249.
Sandy Cape (Q.), 21.
Santa Cruz, 5, 6, 20, 253.
,, Islands, 251, 253, 275.
Santo, *see* Espiritu Santo.
Sarmiento, 5, 7, 8, 9, 52.
Scarr, Frank, surveyor, 187.
Scobie, James, 149, 153.
Seddon, R., Premier of N.Z., 206, 225, 235.
Segond Channel (in Espiritu Santo), 261.
Selwyn, G. Augustus, Bishop, 140, 206, 218, 251.
Service, Hon. James, Premier of V., 196.
Seychelles Islands, 86.
Shark's Bay (W.A.), 16.

Sharp, Capt. B., circumnavigator, 9.
Shaw, George, 74.
Shelvocke, Capt. G., circumnavigator, 9.
Shoalhaven R. (N.S.W.), 72.
Short, Captain J., squatter, 65.
Sidmouth, Henry (Addington), Viscount, 75.
Silverton (N.S.W.), 189.
Singapore, 86, 87.
Singatoka R. (Viti Levu), 256–7.
Sirius, the, 51, 53.
Smith, Adam, 63, 112.
,, Al., *see* John Adams.
,, John, 106, 120, 121.
,, W. J., 144.
Smythe, General W. J., 247, 256.
Smoky Cape (N.S.W.), 21.
Society I., 6, 20, 22, 23; *see* Tahiti.
Solander, Dr. Daniel C., 20, 21.
Solander's Isle (N.Z.), 21.
Solomon Islands, 5, 20, 23, 24, 251, 253, 259, 266, 274–6, 279, 280, 281.
Somerset (Q.), 185.
Somosomo (F.), 241, 246.
Sorrell, Colonel W., Lt.-Governor of T., 110.
South Australia, 81–6, 92, 121; boundaries of, 82, 180, 186–7; N.T., 186–7.
South Cape (N.Z.), 21.
,, (N.G.), 269.
,, (T.), 47.
Southern Cross (W.A.), 192.
Southland, the mythical, 1, 2, 5, 6, 15, 25.
Southland province (N.Z.), 232–3.
South Sea Island Labourers, 47; *see* Melanesian Labour trade.
Spain, W., Commissioner, 134–6, 137, 139.
Spanish prizes, 60.
,, voyages, 2–10.
,, wool, 54, 64–5, 89, 90.
Spencer's Gulf, 13, 83.
Stafford, Sir E., Premier of N.Z., 237.
Stanage Bay, 21.
Stanley, E. G., Lord, Earl of Derby, 106.
Starbruck, *see* Starbuck.
Starbuck I., 271, 272.
Stawell, Sir W. F., 150.
Steenkamp, agitator, 150, 152.
Stewart, Captain of *the Elizabeth*, 124, 125, 128, 129.
Stokes, Captain J. L., 74, 87.
Stout, Sir R., Premier of N.Z., 235, 236.
Streaky Bay (S.A.), 183.
Strzelecki, Count Sir Paul E. de, 78, 97, 144, 145.
Strzelecki Creek, 97, 188.
Stuart, J. MacDouall, explorer, 183, 186, 187, 188, 191, 194.
Sturt, Captain C., explorer, 78, 81, 91, 92, 96, 183, 188, 189, 191, 194.
Sturt's Creek (W.A.), 181, 191.
Stutchbury, S., geologist, 145, 146.
Sudds, Joseph, 104.
Sudest I., 269.
Supply, the, 51.
Surville, Jean François M. de, explorer, 22, 23, 24, 43.
Suttor R. (Q.), 98, 99, 181.
Suva, in Viti Levu I. (F.), 255.
Suwarrow I., 272.
Swallow Islands, 275; *see* Nukapu.
Swan R. (W.A.), 13, 81.
Swan River Settlement, 79, 80, 134.
Sydney, 50, 53; commercial, &c., importance of, 60, 89, 128; distress at, 117 et seq.; railways at, 167, 180.
Sydney, Thomas (Townshend), Viscount, 22, 47, 48, 157.

Tahiti, 20, 61, 129, 158, 160, 242; annexed, 87–8, 130, 245, 277; an industrial centre, 252; a missionary centre, 242–6; sailors from, in N.S.W., 249.
Tahiti, *see* Society I.
Tahitian customs, 36, 39.
Tait R. (N.G.), 263.
Tanna (N.H.), 250, 251, 252, 261.
Tapsell, 125.
Taranaki, 126, 128, 133, 134, 135, 143, 211, 217–20, 228, 231;

province of, 142, 221, 226, 231; road from, 222, 227.
Taranaki clan, 216, 217, 224, 227.
Tarawa I. (Gilbert I.), 277.
Tarcoola (S.A.), 188, 193.
Tarshish (N.S.W.), 147.
Tasman, Abel J., 11, 12, 13, 14, 17.
Tasman's Bay (N.Z.), 14.
„ Peninsula (T.), 79, 94.
Tasmania, 14, 17, 20, 61–2, 84, 93–5, 105–7, 122; aborigines of 27, 31, 94; helps N.S.W., 71, 93; helps W.A., 80, 81, 93; tickets of occupation in 73.
Tasmanians in Victoria, 93–5, 154–5.
Tataraimaka (N.Z.), 217, 219.
Taupo, Lake (N.Z.), 127, 214, 225, 230.
Tauranga, 128, 216, 220, 222.
Taviuni I. (F.), 241.
Tawhiao (Te), 212, 219, 225, 228, 229.
Te = Maori article before names: for Te Heu Heu, *see* Heu Heu (Te) &c.
Tebureimoa, 276.
Teira (Te), 217, 218, 228.
Tench, Captain W., 48.
Tennant's Creek (N.T.), 187, 188.
Terangi clan, 216, 220, 223, 225.
Terra del Fuego, 7.
Teste I. (N.G.), 269.
Thakombau, 241, 246–8, 257.
Thames R. (N.Z.), 20, 21, 124, 130, 215, 216, 230, 233.
Thargomindah (Q.), 182 *n.*
Therry, Judge R., 147.
Thévénot, M., author, 17.
Thierry, Baron C. de, 129, 130.
Thirsty Sound (Q.), 21.
Thomas, Rev. John, missionary, 244.
Thompson, Patrick, 104.
Thomson, Captain, R.N., 46.
Thomson R. (Q.), 182, 184.
Threlkeld, Rev. L. E., 85.
Thursday I. (Torres Straits), 185, 205, 263.
Thurston, Sir J., 257.
Tikopia I., 38.
Timor I., 67, 158.
Titokowaru (Te), 224, 228.
Toa clan, 126, 128, 129, 214.
Todd, Sir C., 186.
Tohu, prophet, 226–8.
Tokelau Islands, 20, 274, 276, 279.
Tolago Bay (N.Z.), 223.
Tonga Islands, 14, 242–7, 262, 266, 278–9; *see* Tongatabu, Haapai, Vavau, &c.
Tongan customs, 36, 37, &c.
Tongarewa I., 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 279.
Tongatabu I. (T.), 242–6.
Topia, 225.
Torrens, Lake (S.A.), 97, 183.
Torres, L. V. de, 6, 8, 191.
Torres Straits, 6, 13, 22, 23, 87; pearlers of, 258.
Towns, Hon. Captain R., 251, 252.
Townsend, *see* Townshend.
„ squatter, 192.
„ Cape (Q.), 21.
Townshend, Thomas, 22; *see* Sydney, Viscount.
Townson, Captain John, 65.
„ Dr. Robert, 65, 67, 69.
Townsville (Q.), 184, 185.
Tribulation, Cape (Q.), 21.
Tryon, Admiral Sir G., 205.
Tuapeka (N.Z.), 232.
Tui Kanokubolu, 242–5.
Tui Tonga, 242–4.
Tulagi (Solomon I.), 275.
Tumut R. (N.S.W.), 90.
Turnagain, Cape (N.Z.), 20, 21.
Turner, Rev. G., missionary, 251.
Tuwharetoa clan, 214, 215, 221, 223, 224, 225.
Twofold Bay (N.S.W.), 250.

Ua (Te), 221, 223.
Uea I. (Wallis I.), 262.
Undine Bay (in Fate), 261.
Union Islands, 20. *See* Tokelau.
Urewera clan, 216, 220, 221, 223, 225.
Uriwera, *see* Urewera.

Vancouver, Captain George, 22, 24.

Vancouver I., trade of, with Fiji, 255; mail to, 270, 271.
Van Diemen's Land (North), 12.
,, (South), 14, *see* Tasmania.
Van Diemen's Land Company, 93, 108.
Vanikoro I. (S.C.), 24.
Van Noort, circumnavigator, 9.
Vanua Levu (F.), 240, 241, 247, 257.
Vaté (N.H.). *See* Fate.
Vavau I. (T.), 242, 243, 244, 245.
Veddahs, 27.
Verata in Viti Levu (F.), 240, 241.
Vern, Frederick, agitator, 150, 151, 152.
Victoria, explored, 61, 90, 93–6, 97; created, 121–2.
Victoria, *see* Melbourne, Port Phillip.
Victoria R. (S.A., N.T.), 181.
Virginia's Verger, 43.
Viti Levu I. (F.), 240 et seq., 255–7.
Vogel, Sir J., Premier of N.Z., his policy, 180, 206, 235–6.
Volkner, Rev. C. S., missionary, 221.
Vostock I., 272.

Waharoa (Te), 212, 217, 219, 221, 228.
Waiapu R. (N.Z.), 128.
Waikare Moana (Lake), 230.
Waikato clan, 126, 128, 130, 136, 212, 215–6, 217.
,, R., 126, 215, 221, 233.
,, War, 220, 237.
Waingongoro R. (N.Z.), 222, 228.
Waipa R. (N.Z.), 215, 217, 218.
Wairarapa Lake (N.Z.), 138.
,, Plains (N.Z.), 138.
Wairau R. and Massacre, 134–5, 136, 137, 138, 235.
Wairoa (east) R. (N.Z.), 214, 223, 230.
Waitangi R. and Treaty, 131–2, 136, 140.
Waitara R. and Block, 126, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 224, 233.
Waitotara R. (N.Z.), 222.
Waka Nene, 136.
Wakatipu, Lake (N.Z.), 232, 233.
Wake I., 5.
Wakefield, E. G., 82, 111, 112, 130, 132, 133, 158, 196, 235.
Wakefield, E. J., 133.
,, Col. W., 131, 132, 133, 227.
Wallis, Capt. S., circumnavigator, 19, 20, 23.
Wallis I, *see* Uea.
Wanaka, Lake (N.Z.), 232.
Warburton, Colonel P. E., explorer, 190.
Warrego R. (Q.), 96, 99, 100, 164, 182.
Warwick (Q.), 195.
Washington I., 272.
Wawn, Capt. W., 248, 259.
Weld, Sir F. A., Premier of N.Z., 222, 237.
Wellington (N.Z.), 133, 135; capital, chosen as, 233–4; roads from, 138; province of, 142, 231.
Wellington Valley (N.S.W.), 73, 85, 116.
Wentworth, W. C., 72, 74, 75, 77, 111, 203, 204.
Weraroa (N.Z.), 222.
Westbury, Lord, 212.
Western Australia, 79–81, 82, 86, &c.
Western Port (V.), 79, 90.
West India Company, Dutch, 15.
Westland province (N.Z.), 232–3.
Whaingaroa, 221.
Whakatane R., 223, 230.
Whakatohea clan, 216, 220, 221, 222, 223, 225.
Whanganui (N.Z.), 134, 135, 222, 224, 227, 233.
,, R., 214, 221, 225, 231.
Whately, Richard, Archbp., 103.
Whatua clan, 126, 128, 132.
Whero Whero (Te), 136, 140, 212, 213 et seq., 219, 224.
Whish, planter, 252.
Whitaker, Sir F., 235.
Whiti (Te), prophet, 224, 226–8.
Wide Bay (Q.), 98, 100.

Wilgend (S.A.), 188.
William III, 16.
Williams, Rev. H., missionary, 128, 132.
Williams, Rev. T., missionary, 34.
Williams, Rev. W., missionary, 128.
Williorara (N.S.W.). *See* Laidley Ponds.
Willondra Creek (N.S.W.), 188.
Wills, William J., explorer, 183–4, 188.
Wilson, Capt. James, 13, 125.
Wilson's Promontory (Q.), 98.
Winstanley, prophet, 227.
Wittenoom, Hon. E. H., 192.
Wollondilly R. (N.S.W.), 72.
Woodford, C. M., Deputy Commissioner for Solomon I., 258.
Woodes Rogers, Captain, 10.
Woodlark I., 269.

Yarra Yarra R. (V.), 61, 94.
Yass Plains (N.S.W.), 90, 92, 116.
Yatheroo (W.A.), 167.
Yilgarn (W.A.), 192.
York (T.), 61.
York (W.A.), 81, 96, 196.
York, Cape (Q.), 21, 47, 87, 99, 184–5.
Yorke's Peninsula (S.A.), 183.
Young, Sir G., 46, 47, 157.
Ysabel I. (Solomon I.), 275.

Zimmermann, E. A. W. von, 74.

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A

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES

VOL. VI

AUSTRALASIA

BY

J. D. ROGERS

BARRISTER-AT-LAW
FORMERLY STOWELL FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

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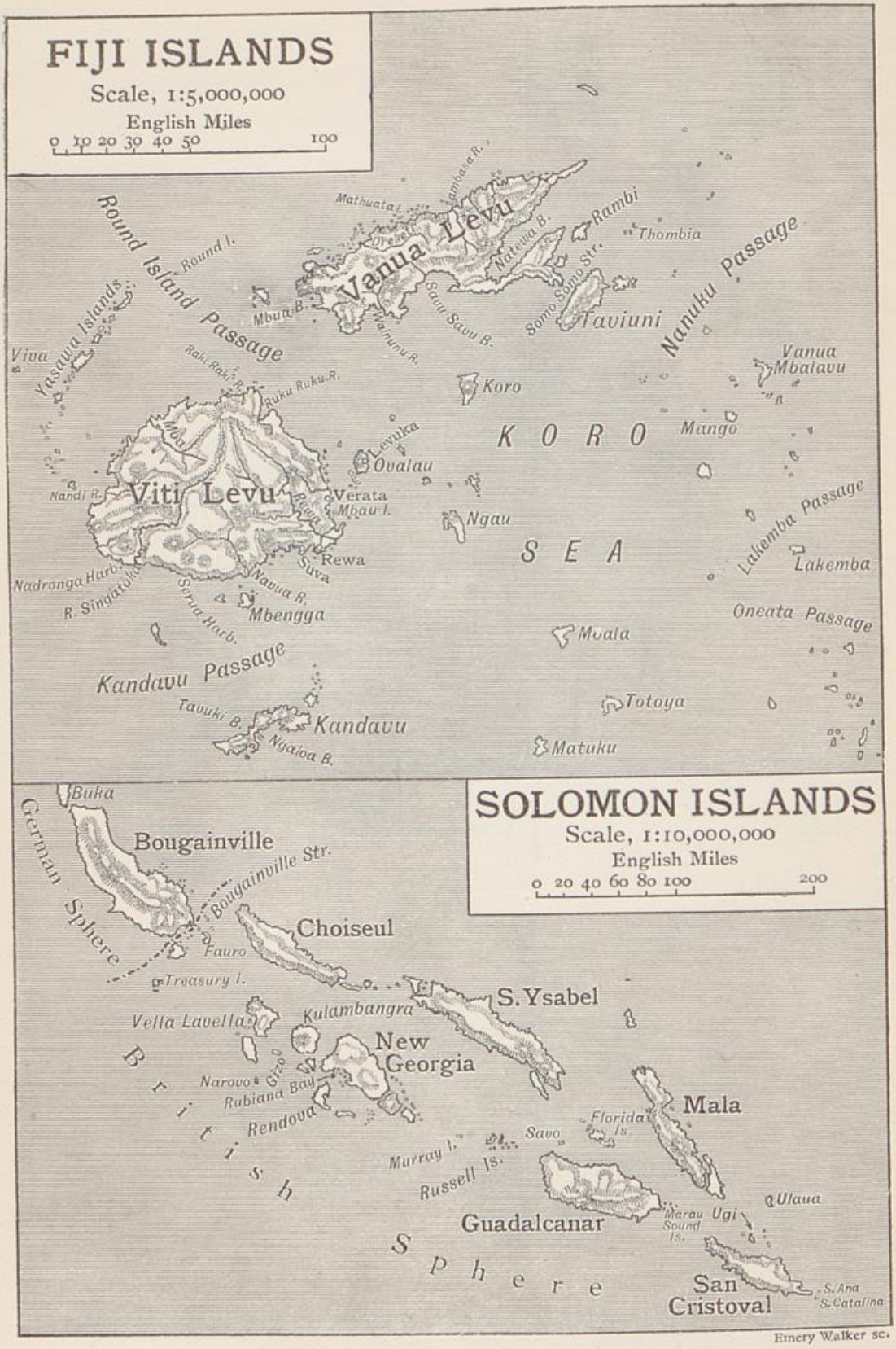
CONTENTS

PART II. AUSTRALASIAN GEOGRAPHY

		PAGE
CHAP. I.	*Pacific Islands*	1
CHAP. II.	*New Guinea Geography*	17
CHAP. III.	*Geography of New Zealand*	23
CHAP. IV.	*Australian Geography*	44
INDEX		118

LIST OF MAPS

1. Fiji Islands . } . . . . . *To face page* 1
2. Solomon Islands }
3. British New Guinea . . . }
4. Tonga Islands . . . . } . . ,, ,, 17
5. New Hebrides and Santa Cruz Islands }
6. Cook Islands . . . . }
7. New Zealand, North Island } . . . . ,, ,, 23
New Zealand, Middle Island }
8. New South Wales and part of South Australia (south-east district) . . . . . ,, ,, 45
9. Queensland . . . . . ,, ,, 48
10. Victoria and part of New South Wales . . ,, ,, 80
11. Western and South Australia }
12. Western Australia (south-west district) } . . ,, ,, 94
13. Tasmania . . . . . }



Emery Walker sc.

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF

THE BRITISH COLONIES

VOL. VI

AUSTRALASIA

PART II

AUSTRALASIAN GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

PACIFIC ISLANDS

Pacific islands comprise

THE historical portion of this book began with continents, continued with continental islands, and ended with islets—for the large units had a more continuous and important history, and the lesser units were often without history, or without any other history than that of their big neighbour. The geographical portions of this book will proceed in a reverse order; the wayside flower will be examined before the garden and the garden before the forest, and a description of complex continents and continental islands will be preceded by a description of the simplest islands of the Pacific. No description will be attempted except that which bears upon history directly or indirectly.

(1) *simple coral islands or flat atolls,*

The simplest Pacific islands fall into two classes, coral and volcanic. Coral islands are usually seas surrounded by land, which is again surrounded by sea, and are called atolls, and the atoll is the flat top of an invisible mountain. Thus

Funafuti (E) is a mountain whose oval base—16,000 feet under the sea—is 30 miles by 28, whose basin-like summit is a pool of still sea—13 miles by 10—surrounded by an inner rim never more than 20 feet above, and sometimes a few feet below sea-level, and by an outer rim of submerged reef. Coming from the sea the rims look like tiaras of silver inlaid with emerald, for the eye only sees white breakers and white coral sand surmounted by coco-nuts. The coral is an animal or rather a multitude of animals which live and weave their winding sheets of lime between the surface of the sea and sea depths less than 300 feet deep; therefore it is asked, how can they have raised mountains as high as Mont Blanc unless the sea-floor has been sinking, like a lift, while they have been rising 'on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things'? The answers to this question do not concern us; we are only concerned with the visible interrupted margin on which men live. There mangroves wade into the sea and die, and limy seaweed, foraminiferae, crabs, sea-slugs[1], and pearl-oysters scoop, encrust, absorb, excrete, and die; and out of these dying things soil thin as paper is born; and on the soil coco-nuts and pandanus and undergrowth[2] strike root; and in the soil gannets and boobies, terns and noddies, and the rapacious frigate bird, burrow, breed, and leave guano; and man, for man is already there—digs trenches inside the inner rim where the soil accumulates, and plants taro, bananas, and bread-fruit. Thus Funafuti rose like Aphrodite from the foam. All the Ellice, Tokelau, Gilbert, Manahiki, and Ongtong Java islands, and all the etceteras of the Pacific are atolls like Funafuti; so are Aitutaki (C), but for its hill, and the Herveys (C).

Atolls are manifold, but whether their outline mimics a

(E) = Ellice group. (C) = Cook's Islands.

[1] = bêche-de-mer, or trepang.

[2] purslain, trailing bean, &c.

ring, harp, triangle, bow, boomerang, prism, horseshoe or kidney, part of the outline is hidden below the surface of the sea, and the part which is seen is a long thin strip almost awash or is broken up into many flat islets of unequal size. Funafuti has 22, Caroline 41, Tongarewa (M) 15, Aitutaki 14, and Nui (E), a four-mile strip, has 8. There is only one straight narrow way from end to end of the long thin strips and those who live at either end never merge and seldom agree. Each big islet has little dependent islets; and each atoll is a miniature archipelago. Atoll dwellers are similarly domineering and divided. Ellis found Manahiki split into two and Tongarewa into eight tribe groups or islet groups. The atoll is neither a terrestrial nor a political unit: it is a noun of multitude.

Again, the lagoon may be fresh, as in Lakena (E), Washington and Olosenga; or dry, as in Jarvis, Baker, Flint, and the best guano islands, but it is usually connected with the sea and forms a home for sea-slugs and pearls, and if lagoon and channel are deep, as in Tongarewa, or deepened —as might be done in Aitutaki[1]—forms or might form a harbour for big ships, and that was why, when looking out for harbours, England annexed Tongarewa and Aitutaki, while she only protected the other members of the groups to which they belong. Except for guano, pearls, sea-slugs, harbours, and surplus coco-nuts, atolls are useless for commerce.

(2) *uplifted limestone islands,*

If the atoll is lifted up a hundred feet or so it becomes an ordinary limestone island, its soil is deeper, its flora is more varied, and its riches are increased. Niue is compared by romantic observers to an inverted coral soup-plate, and by less romantic observers to a spittoon. Nomuka (T) and Atiu (C) are similar. Vavau (T)—the adopted home of

(M) = Manahiki group. (T) = Tonga group.

[1] *N. Z. Parl. Rep.* 1891, Sess. 2, A. 3, p. 17; *Narr. of 'Challenger'*, vol. I. pt. ii. p. 765.

the orange—has the safest harbour in the Pacific, Neiafou, because its long, reefless sea-arms are screened by long limestone ridges which rise in one, two, or three storys. Hunga —which is described in Byron's 'Island'—is one of these one-storied ridges cut off from the mainland. Limestone ridges are as rare in the Pacific as terraced or storied limestone is common. Niue is two-storied. Mangaia (C), which resembles Niue, is thus described:—After crossing a fringing reef you ascend a coral wall 45 feet high, on which there is a platform which resembles a broad natural highway; and behind this platform there is a vertical rock wall 75 feet high—which afterwards rises by different stages to 190 feet above sea-level. The summit of the rock encircles the island like a ring, and is broad enough to contain the largest villages. Afterwards, towards the land side, this rock-rim drops vertically or slopes gradually 70 or 80 feet, and forms a foss in which taro is planted.[1] The first white man who landed on Mangaia admired its sugar-canes. All these islands being lower inside than outside are as riverless as atolls; and in Mangaia, as in Rarotonga[2] (C), the road goes round, not across the island. Similarly, the eleven villages of Niue—a number which recurs in Pleasant Island—dot the rim, and the first road was a circle like one of those roads of which we read in Dante. All these island roads are alike, and the villages upon them are as little fused as they would be if they stood in a straight line along a straight road. Tongatabu, which, though only partially tilted up some 40 or 50 feet, is a characteristic uplifted island of pure coral, is just larger and more fertile than Vavau, the second largest of the group; has Casuarina trees and fruit of all sorts; is as riverless as Niue or Vavau; and it, too, has its chief road round it, though its only harbours and important villages look north.

[1] Baessler, *Neue Südsee-Bilder* (1900), pp. 272–3.

[2] 'The great road of Toi.' The Mangaian rock-rim is called Makatea.

(3) *simple live volcanic islands,*

Many Pacific islands, instead of being built stone by stone by myriads of busy animals, are the product of some sudden volcanic explosion, but live volcanoes are too dangerous to play a leading part in island history. A straight line drawn from the Rotoruan lakes (N.Z.) to Samoa passes through the unquenched fires of White Island (N.Z.) the Kermadecs, Ata, eight lonely peaks, and the three Niua islands[1]. The Kermadecs are only sometimes peopled and were first peopled from New Zealand (1837), to which they belong; Ata (when inhabited) and the Niuas are dependencies of Tonga: and the eight lonely peaks stand like clouds by day and pillars of fire by night on the west flank of the Tonga group from which they are severed by 15 miles or so of sea over 5,000 feet deep. All eight peaks are believed to be active volcanoes: Koa, one of them, is 3,380 feet high, Tofua—another—was Tuitonga's demesne, where one of Bligh's comrades was murdered (1789), and Mariner cut Casuarina wood; Amargura, a third, was ruined in 1847: and Falcon island, a fourth, was thrust up from the vasty deep some 200 feet high by the convulsion (1886) which wrecked those marble-like terraces of Rotomahana (N.Z.) which now live only in Froude's less perishable description; was thrust down in 1898, and still bobs up and down. Those others that are inhabited are tributary to Tonga.

(4) *composite islands with volcanoes, ex-volcanoes, coral, and raised limestone,*

Thirteen hundred miles north-west of Tonga there is another line of live volcanoes, different in their direction, associated with dead volcanoes, uplifted limestone, and living coral, and possessing a more fertile soil.

Between the living volcanoes of Bagana (Bougainville) (S), Savo (S), and Tinakula (Cr), sleeping or dead volcanoes in Vella Lavella, Narovo, Kulambangra, New Georgia, Rendova, Murray, and Russell islands guard or rather constitute the western flank of the Solomon group; for the Solomons, like

(S) = Solomon Isles. (Cr) = Santa Cruz group.

[1] Niuatabutabu (Keppel), Tafahi (Boscawen), and Niuafoou.

the New Hebrides, are ranged in two ranks, and the association of old and new volcanic and limestone formations raises the rear to an equality with the front rank, and both ranks belong to the class of complex islands. This chain of volcanic peaks is continued SSE. where the eastern and western Banks's Islands[1] and the eastern row of the New Hebrides[2] smoke, bubble, or burst into flame. Five or six hundred miles east of the New Hebrides are the Fiji islands, where hot springs in Kandavu, Ono, Ngau, Rambi, and Vanua Mbalavu, and on the Singatoka and Wai Ndina in Viti Levu (F), and on almost every river-side or sea-shore, except in the furthest west and east of Vanua Levu (F), are the signs of present volcanic energy; there are no other signs; the fires are out, Enceladus is dead, and no known volcanic line passes through Fiji.

which resemble the simple islands, but have bays, rivers, &c.

The simplest types of extinct volcanoes yield forms quite unlike those of low coral islands and the difference sometimes does and sometimes does not affect men's lives. In Mbengga and the eastern Fijis, atolls cling like necklaces round some half-buried cone, and there the conditions of life are the same as on flat atolls. In Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Thombia (F), one side of the crater collapsed long ago and the enclosed concavity is a bay and there are no bays in coral islands. A similar collapsed crater forms the fruit gardens amid which the chief Rarotongan tribe dwells: and here the mountain has a convex side famous for coffee—and occupied by two other tribes; and the only bond between the three tribes is a road round the island. Similarly Mota (H) is like a wide-awake hat along whose brim Motans communicate with Motans. Rotumah the greater is a pig forest surrounded by a road so that, as in Niue and Mangaia, men only met one another at a single point

(F) = Fiji group. (H) = New Hebrides.

[1] Ureparapara, Vanua Lava, Santa Maria, Meralava.

[2] Omba (Leper's Island), Ambrym, Lopevi, Yazur (in Tanna).

—'Percotevansi incontro e poscia pur li si rivolgea ciascun.' A lesser Rotumah is tacked on to Rotumah the greater: for ex-volcanoes often stand in a row just not touching or just touching one another. Thus Fauro (S) alternates wide mountain with low isthmus, and Kandavu (F) is a wasp with three waists, at one of which two bays—Tavuki and Ngaloa—all but meet: indeed Europeans liken Kandavu to four tuff stones on a string. Conversely, Solomon Islanders call the three volcanic Floridas one. Linear articulation makes the one many and the many one, and a new source of confusion is introduced. Ex-volcanoes are usually associated with upraised limestone: thus in Mango, Kotu, and Eua (T), Lakemba (F), Norfolk Island, and Lord Howe Island, limestone and volcanic stuff grow into one another like Siamese twins; and there rivers are seen, and with rivers we get river-flats, deltas, and inlets at their mouth. There are exceptions: Mangaia has volcanic as well as coral elements, but no river; and many pure volcanic islands like Taviuni (F) have rivulets: but as a rule rivers such as we find in the larger New Hebrides, Solomons, and Fijis, are the product of vital as well as volcanic forces, usher in a better type of soil, and a new polity.

Pacific islands are grouped

Before the relation between the higher and lower type of island is discussed, a common characteristic of all the Pacific islands and atolls must be described.

(1) *by wind and current, e.g. the Gilberts,*

They are almost all grouped: and where grouping is ethnical it is also geographical. The Gilbert atolls—where the Mikronesians dwell—lie in one or two lines NW. and SE. The Ellice atolls form one line—so do the Tokelau atolls: the Cook's Islands form two rows headed respectively by Aitutaki atoll, and Rarotonga Island. Manahiki and Rakaanga (M) are also aligned, and the alignment is invariably in the direction of the trade-wind from south-east to north-west. The strand which knitted islander to islander across 50 miles or so of 'unplumbed salt estranging sea'

was woven of the wind, and island-members of a group were more united than dwellers on the same island or atoll. 'These born-playmates of the deep' thought in archipelagos and strove in a vague impossible way after union of a group, instead of limiting their efforts to their atoll or island. The exceptions proved the rule. The inhabitants of Rotumah and Niue—which are isolated—were always cosmopolitan in their ideas. After them, Tongarewans (M) were always the widest sea-farers because they were never wind-tied to their group. Next in order were the semi-detached Aitutakians (C). When we read of Polynesian sailors accompanying some English adventurers on some distant quest after guano or pearls, they are nearly always Rotumans, Niuans, Tongarewans or Aitutakians. The Ongtong Javans were insular in space and spirit. The Phoenix and other wholly detached islands were uninhabited.

(2) or by volcanic line, plus submarine support, e.g. Tonga,

The trade-wind is abeam to the Tonga group, whose direction is determined by the row of volcanic sign-posts on its west. The only unity is submarine. A Brobdingnagian giant, 100 feet or so in height, could walk the whole 165 miles from Tongatabu to Vavau, but for five gaps about 1,800 feet deep. The first gap is just below the Nomuka sub-group of which we read in Cook; the second is just below the Lifuka sub-group of which we read in Mariner; and the others lie between the Vavau and Nomuka sub-groups. The gaps are four, three, two, ten, and one mile wide respectively; so that there is still water almost all the way. Indeed the Lifuka Islands are really the coral islets on the windward margin, and the Nomuka Islands are half-volcanic islets inside the margin of some hidden atoll. If other submerged reefs be taken into account, the Tonga group is a chain of six links which lie end to end. The trade-wind had nothing to do with Tongan unity such as it was, but it had everything to do with the immemorial intercourse between Tonga and Fiji.

An easy sail of 300 miles down-wind brought Tongans to the Fijian archipelago, which may be compared to a huge horseshoe atoll, 750 miles round—200 miles from top to bottom—and 150 miles across its great main entrance which faces south. Moala, Totoya and Matuku rise from depths of 10,000 feet to heights of 1,500 feet in the middle of the entrance; a platform of moderate depth strewn with volcanic islands guards its right and Kandavu its left. Above Kandavu the islands of Viti Levu, Vanua Levu, and Taviuni and the reef islets in their rear occupy the same shallow platform. Five deep-sea passages cut their way through the horseshoe into the Koro Sea, as the magnified lagoon is called—Oneata (SE.), Lakemba (E.), Nanuku (NE.), Round Island (NW.), and Kandavu (SW.) Fijian waters are studded with more than 250 isles whose area exceeds that of Wales [1] and Viti Levu—73 sea-miles broad and 55 long—contains rather more than half and Vanua Levu (105 by 21) rather less than a third of that area. Each big island has a middle-sized satellite, and Kandavu is to Viti Levu as Taviuni is to Vanua Levu. Kandavu and Taviuni are of the long, volcanic type, and are the only representatives of islands of the second magnitude in Fiji. Ovalau—8 miles by 6—represents islands of the third magnitude. It is an oval volcanic mountain.

(3) *or like an atoll on a gigantic scale. e. g. Fiji,*

Viti Levu is oval like Ovalau; its symmetry or rather asymmetry is radial, and its centre is the top of Mount Victoria (4,555 ft.) which is nearer east than west, and is 10 sea-miles from the north and 45 from the south coast. From this uncentral centre the two greatest island-rivers, the Rewa and Singatoka, flow 45 sea-miles—as the crow flies—south-east and south-west; Mba, fourth of Fijian rivers, flows 16 sea-miles west; and the tiny Raki Raki and Ruku Ruku flow north. The only important rivers which do not flow from Mount Victoria are the Navua on the south, the Nandi on the west, and the Wai Delice on the east; and they are less than

(of Viti Levu

[1] Over 8,000 sq. miles.

the Mba in size and length. Of these rivers, the Rewa is greatest because of its depth—40 miles of its tortuous course are navigable; because of its breadth—of more than 200 yards for more than half that distance—and because of its unique delta. The Rewa Delta was the chief seat of Fijian wealth and strife; Mbau and Viwa are bits of volcanic mud washed down by the northern mouth of the Rewa; and Suva, the present capital, is situated on a bay as close to its western mouth as an un-muddy bay may be. This delta is still sugar capital of Fiji; the Nandi and Mba, on whose banks the sugar mills of Lautoka and Rarawai are erected, come next; then the Navua and Raki Raki. The Singatoka, which was opened to industry by the little war of 1876 and by recent rock-blasting at its mouth, belongs to the future. Rivers are the key to Fijian history; and of rivers those which radiate from Mount Victoria are most important. Again, draw a line from the high ground east of the Singatoka's mouth to Mount Victoria and thence to the northern coast—everything to the east is wind-swept, dripping, and luxuriant with undergrowth: and the west is comparatively dry and open. Rewan and Navuan sugar are nearer their market, but have the worse climate. Sheep have been tried in the dry zone at Tawarau (NW.), and Naqara (N.); but Fijian droughts are too wet for them and they only number 1,000 head. Cattle are 17,000. All plants grow in Viti Levu. Indigenous plants include spices, sugar cane (?) and a kind of kauri pine[1] which clothes the heights of Mount Victoria and the banks of the Navua; coffee and cotton are naturalized; and among imported plants maize succeeds in the west.

and Vanua Levu

Vanua Levu is five times as long as it is broad, and its breadth equals the length of Taviuni (which is also long and thin), which equals Tongatabu in length, and is as broad as Ovalau is long. It has no old limestones, like those of Viti Levu, and, like Iceland, was fire-born beneath the sea. Basic

[1] *Dammara Vitiensis.*

in the west, acid in the east, and both in the centre, it is volcanic from end to end. It is a shapeless old trunk with the Natewa peninsula attached to it by a thin thread, as is the case in Fauro Rotumah and Kandavu. In the west Mbua, which sandalwooders despoiled of its sandalwood, seems like the concave half of a tiny island of the Rarotongan type. East of the mountains at the back of Mbua Bay a series of peaks and passes runs east by north some 30 miles, where it meets a series of peaks and passes running due north and south by west almost from sea to sea. This T-shaped figure contains two rivers on the north, the Dreketi, which just exceeds the Mba in length from point to point, and the Lambasa, where sugar is grown and milled; and two rivers on the south, the Dreke ni Wai which forms Savu Savu bay (where there are eleven stores but no town), and the Wainunu, famous for hot water and tea. The mountains are from 2,200 to 3,400 feet in height, so that the volcanic river flats of the Lambasa, Dreketi, and Mbua are screened from the trade-wind and rain, and form open plains of grass, bracken, and reed, varied by Pandanus, Casuarina, and Cycad, and along the coast by the inevitable mangrove. Elsewhere the trees are moss-grown, and the very cliffs hidden by banyan roots. The eastern quarter of Vanua Levu is mountainous, narrow, and unimportant, if we except Kalikoso plain which is a feeble copy of Lambasa plain.

Viti Levu is first,

Viti Levu is apparent queen of the Fijian constellation, for it easily excels its only possible rival in size, wealth, variety, and unity of plan. Its unity of plan was not appreciated by Fijians. To them it was a series of river-mouths, and district was cut off from district by rivers which could not be bridged or forded. A road round the island was not to be thought of. Being sea-rovers pure and simple, they lacked the continental instinct of tracing rivers to their sources. They fell into three classes: weak, wild mountaineers driven from their homes beside the sea, which many had never seen

before 1874; rich dwellers by river mouths, who were always attacked front and rear from sea and mountain; dwellers on islets like Mbengga, Mbau and Viwa, or on isolated points like Verata, who were only attacked by sea and therefore preyed on those who were between two fires. The mountains are now pacified, and supremacy is transferred from islet-offshoots to river mouths and bays. Three mountain provinces, North, West, and East Tholo, have been added to the former six or eight coastal provinces of Viti Levu, and the latter are now called Tai Levu, Naitasiri, Rewa (including Mbengga), Namosi, Serua, Nadronga, Mba (including the Yasawa islets), and Ra; and all have natural, i.e. river boundaries. The rivers form obstacles to union, and there are no railways and only two towns in Fiji, Suva in Viti Levu and Levuka in Ovalau.

and Vanua Levu second),

Vanua Levu, like Viti Levu, used to be governed or rather raided from the outside, and this outside centre was usually Somo Somo in Taviuni Island. Strange as it may seem, some of the old islanders of this narrow island have recently set eyes on the sea for the first time. Its old three provinces, Thakandrove (S.) (including Taviuni), Mathuata (N.), and Mbua (W.), have been retained; their boundaries are artificial and correspond neither to mountain ranges nor to river beds. Its natural divisions are far too confused for political use.

The Windward Islands which form the eastern limb of the horseshoe, the central isles which dot the Koro sea, Kandavu, and distant Rotumah are the four remaining provinces.

Like Tonga and the islands within the New Zealand zone, on its east, and like the New Hebrides on its west, Fiji is exposed to hurricanes, in late summer when the trade-winds and monsoons are at war.

(4) *or by volcanic line and submarine*

The Solomon Islands lie almost 1,000 miles north-west of Fiji, and outside the hurricane belt. East and south of the Solomons, rats and bats are the only indigenous mammals,

but the Solomons possess an 'opossum' which is marsupial.[1] The flora of the Solomons contains what Fiji contains, except sandalwood; and their sago-palms yield 'ivory-nuts' useful for buttons. Including Buka and Bougainville Islands, which are German, the Solomons are twice the size of Fiji, and are 600 sea-miles in length. Between Bougainville and S. Cristoval they run in two rows, Choiseul Ysabel and Mala[2] above, New Georgia and Guadalcanar below. Discontinuous submarine platforms and islets connect members of a row, and there are cross-pieces between the two last members of the double row. The Florida islets connect Ysabel with Guadalcanar, islets from Ulaua to Ugi connect Mala with S. Cristoval, and the enclosed sea is like a lake. Indeed, wherever there are two rows of parallel islands imagination is apt to liken the sea which is between to the lagoon of an atoll. Geologically these islands resemble those of Fiji, in size they equal or are a little less than Vanua Levu, they are torpedo shaped and their outline is more regular than that of Kandavu or of Vanua Levu. The mountains sometimes run along the main length of the island, dividing it bilaterally, and sometimes, like Kavo in Guadalcanar, exceed 8,000 feet, so that rivers are more rapid and gorges more precipitous than in Fiji. In politics and language the Solomons are far less centralized than Fiji. Islets and islet-clusters played and still play the leading part in its history. In old days the islanders of Bougainville Straits (including Treasury Island), Simbo (which dominated Narovo), Vella Lavella and the Rubiana lagoon (off New Georgia), Florida, and to a less extent Ugi and S. Ana (off S. Cristoval), raided their big neighbours for slaves or heads, for the same forces as those which we saw at work in Fiji put power in the hands of these small tormentors. Now the wasps are turned into queen-bees and working bees. Or, to drop metaphors, if the reader looks at Florida through a microscope he will see an islet

support plus the form of a gigantic atoll, e.g. the Solomons,

[1] Cuscus. [2] *alias* Malaita.

called Tulagi and a harbour called Gavotu, if he then turns his microscope on to the sea between Vella Lavella, Narovo, and Rubiana he will see an islet called Gizo. Tulagi, Gizo, Gavotu, and Treasury Island are British property; the first two are seats of government, the second two are coaling stations. Again, in 1897 the chief seats of English traders were in Florida, Rubiana, Marau Sound, Simbo, Ugi, and S. Ana.[1] Of these names, Marau Sound, a group of islets east of Guadalcanar, is the only name unfamiliar to the historian of head-hunts. The Marist missionaries congregate in Bougainville Straits and near Florida,[2] the Methodists in Rubiana, and the Melanesian mission uses Ulaua, near Ugi, as a centre. The old savages and the new civilizers attempted to extend their sway from the same spots and by the same geographical methods.

the S. Cruz group,

The Santa Cruz group, which prolongs the line of the Solomons for 200 miles, includes the Swallow group—tiny raised atolls on one of which Patteson perished—Tinakula, the live volcano, Santa Cruz, Utupua, and reef-girt Vanikoro, where La Pérouse perished. It is flanked on the east by the Duff group of islets, Anuda, and Tikopia. Its two harbours lie on the west of Utupua, and on the north-west of Santa Cruz. Its only white trader was living a year or two ago at the mouth

[1] *Ante*, pt. i. p. 258, notes 1 and 2.

[2] Poporang islet and Rua Sura atoll.

On the Ellice Islands see Prof. Sollas, *Age of the Earth* (1905); Mrs. T. W. E. David, *Funafuti* (1899).

On Fiji: A. Agassiz, *Islands and Coral Reefs of Fiji* (1899), vol. xxxiii of Harvard Univ. Mus. of Comparative Zoology; H. B. Guppy, *Observations of a Naturalist in the Pacific* (1903), 2 vols.; and books referred to in notes to ch. iii and xv of part i.

And generally: Charles Darwin, *The Structure of Coral Reefs* (1842); *Rep. of H.M.S. Challenger Expedition*; *Voyage*, by John Murray (1880), &c.; *Rep. of U. S. Exploring Expedition under C. Wilkes*, vol. x, *Geology*, by J. D. Dana (1848, &c.); J. D. Dana, *Corals and Coral Islands* (3rd ed. 1890); S. Percy Smith, *The Kermadec I.* (1887); R. Etheridge, jun., *Lord Howe I.* in *Memoirs of Australian Museum* (1889); J. Lister, 'Geol. of Tonga' in *Quart. J. of Geol. Soc.* of London, vol. xlviii. p. 590 (1891); Rev. W. W. Gill, *South Pacific and New Guinea, with notes on the Hervey Group*, 1892.

of Granville river on the north coast, 15 miles from Cape Mendaña on the south coast of Santa Cruz. The area of the group exceeds 500 square miles, and its geology, flora, and fauna recall those of Fiji and the New Hebrides.

Between the Santa Cruz and New Hebrides groups we turn a corner. The trend of islands is no longer south-east but south-south-east, for 500 miles. The supernumerary, volcanic rank changes over from left to right, and the transition is effected in the northernmost islets. We pass too from the Solomons' Protectorate to the Anglo-French region.

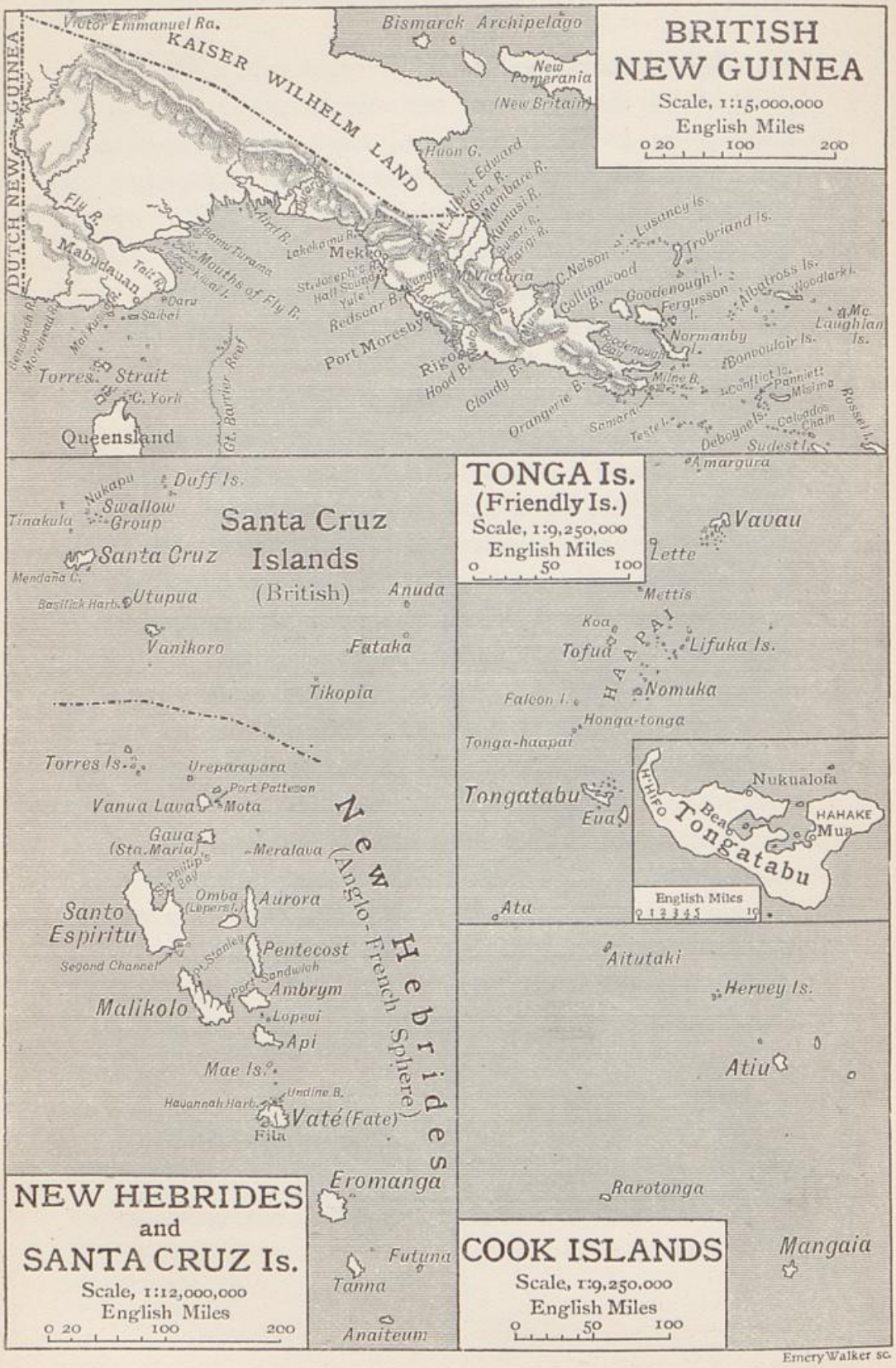
and the New Hebrides.

The New Hebrides—which equal Fiji in area—compose a symphony in three movements. Five low-lying coral islets of the Torres' sub-group are the prelude. The steep, volcanic or mostly volcanic Banks's Islands represent the first movement; their form is binary—four standing on the right and four on the left, among which Vanua Lava is pre-eminent, because of its harbour. But as yet we only have 'music of preparation and awakening suspense'. Present interest is concentrated on the succeeding group, of which the eastern line—Aurora, Pentecost, Ambrym, and Lopevi, the latter a live volcano 5,000 feet high—awes romanticists; and the big islands in their lee—Espiritu Santo, large as Vanua Levu, and Malicolo, half as large—attract utilitarians; while Omba, which links the two lines, has charms for both, because Santo (St. Phillip and St. James), Malicolo (Port Sandwich), and Omba have harbours. Then the two lines converge, through a cloud of islets (Mae, &c.), on Fate, which serves as coda to the second and introduction to the final movement. Fate contains the two white Governors and half the whites of the group, and has the size of Kandavu and—but for its two splendid harbours, Havannah (NW.) and Fila (SW.)—the shape of oval Ovalau. Fate ushers in the last movement, which is continued as a mere rondo or serial—Eromanga, Tanna, Anaiteum—each number shorter than the last. But

what memories live here! At Eromanga Henry began the labour trade. Tanna was the meeting-place of whalers, sandalwooders, and kauri-timbermen, until its sandalwood was exhausted and its volcano wrecked its only port (1878). Christianity crept north from Anaiteum. As they dwindle in size and taper to a point, the past throws over them an increasing glamour. And the whole tale is not yet told. Away to the east—out of line, out of tune with the rest—lies a raised coral islet. Its name (Futuna), its language, and its people are Polynesian. This odd, irrelevant coda reminds one of similar false notes in the prelude and elsewhere. Polynesians tried to colonize a Banks islet sixty years ago; colonized parts of Mae and Fate,[1] and possess detached outliers of the northern groups—Tikopia, Swallows, Rennell, and Ongtong Java. The islets thus colonized are mostly low, coralline islets, and are situated on the east, whence the incomers drifted from time to time 'like spars upon the ocean stream'. These facts suggest a sequel. When Captain King went to Norfolk Island, 550 miles south of Futuna, he saw signs of past inhabitants or sojourners and a coco-nut which must have drifted thither from the New Hebrides. Five years later summer winds and currents bore him in three days from Norfolk Island to New Zealand, 400 miles away. May not the Maori have sailed to New Zealand, first like the Futunists, then like the coco-nut, then like Captain King? But New Zealand, like New Guinea, is a continental island, and New Guinea claims our attention first.[2]

[1] = Vaté = Sandwich Island. Efate as it is sometimes written = at Fate. Vaté indicates the pronunciation.

[2] In addition to the authorities mentioned in this chapter see Stanford's *Compendium of Geography, Australasia* (1894), 2 vols.—vol. i by A. R. Wallace, vol. ii by F. H. H. Guillemard.



Emery Walker sc.

To face p. 17

CHAPTER II

NEW GUINEA GEOGRAPHY

New Guinea is a continental island.

LIVE volcanic islands and atolls are things of to-day, made and unmade before our eyes; Polynesian ex-volcanoes and raised coral rocks are things of yesterday; Fiji, the Solomons, and New Hebrides take us back to earlier times, which are probably later than those of Surrey chalk; but the principal mountains of New Guinea, composed as they are of quartz-veined schist and slate, are as old as Wales. Again, the three largest groups hitherto discussed are, if added together, less than Ireland; but British New Guinea, which is not one third of New Guinea, just exceeds Great Britain in area.[1] For these reasons New Guinea is classed with continental islands in spite of its meagre list of mammals, which includes two monotremes (Echidna and Proechidna), and forty-four minute marsupials (cuscus, tree-kangaroos, &c.), besides the usual dog, pig, rat and bat. Other reasons for classing New Guinea with the continents are furnished by its shape and substance.

and its eastern islets are its continuation.

If lands might be likened to animals, Funafuti would rank as a protozöon, Viti Levu as a bossy echinoderm, Kandavu as an insect, but New Guinea as a verbetrate, with head, spine, and tail complete. The head is hidden in Dutch New Guinea; the spine consists of ridges (not peaks), or successions of ridges, of which Mounts Scratchley and Victoria (13,121 ft.) constitute the best-known British representatives, and from this spine ribs break off north and south and create bilateral symmetry. The tail is fourfold. In the far east two flat coral patches, the Laughlans[2], and

[1] *circa* 90,540 sq. m.

[2] *alias* Nada, includes 7 islands less than 9 ft. *s. m.*

the reef beyond Rossel, on which Adèle islet stands sentinel, form the outside fold, behind which Woodlark Island—whose quartz supplies far-off blacks with tomahawks, and whites with gold—Misima, Deboyne, Redlick, and the Calvados chain from Real to Sudest and to Rossel, are interrupted continuations of the main chain, and yield gold, timber, and grass, and have been used for cereals and sheep. This wide solid belt incloses a wider, less solid belt composed of Lusancy, Trobriand, Albatross, Jouvency, Bonvouloir, Hastings, East, Sidney, Panaeati, Conflict, and Teste—islands which are the merest replicas of Funafuti, Tonga, Aitutaki, Mangaia, Niue, and the islands which we already know.[1] Close by the coast, Goodenough, Fergusson, Normanby, and the islands between Samarai and Teste are chips of the old block, Fergusson and its attendant islets being the island centres, just as Mount Victory by Cape Nelson is the continental centre of present volcanic activity. The true tail appears twice in a further and nearer arc; the further arc is coral-tipped and the two arcs are separated by a wreath of coral which we have traced from Lusancy to Teste, and which continues off and on as a barrier reef to Yule Island 300 miles away to the west. West of Yule Island huge rivers wash the sea clear of corals, and deposit mud islands at their mouth.

British N.G. comprises (1) *the Fly district,*

British New Guinea begins on the west with a river—Bensbach River—whence the Anglo-Dutch boundary goes due north to the Fly until the Fly crosses 141° long., thence it follows this meridian to the Anglo-German boundary (lat. 5°), which is thenceforth a mere matter of longitudes

[1] Thus the Trobriands include Kiriwina (which has the size, soil, and structure, but not the shape of Tonga) and Kaileuna, which 'from the point of view of fertility of soil are the gardens of the possession'. In the Jouvency islands Iwa Gawa Kwaiwata and Kitawa have wooded coral walls 100 ft. high or so surrounding 'a depressed central plateau'—as in Niue. The Lusancy coral islets are also volcanic like Aitutaki. The Sidney and Conflict islands are 9 ft. *s. m.* like Funafuti.

and latitudes.[1] The Bensbach and its eastern neighbours, the Morehead, Mai Kussa, Tait, &c., lead among groves of Cedar and Melaleuca and 'rolling grass-land fit for cultivation', and are probably former mouths of the Fly. The Fly's present mouth is guarded by Kiwai Island—a mere detached mudbank, 36 miles by 2½, on which 5,000 people dwell, a foot or two above sea-level, and speak two languages, and visit ever and anon neighbouring islands for fish, yams, and sago. If we substitute coral sand for river mud, tribes for languages, and coco-nut for sago, we might add that it is even thus that Polynesians live; but Polynesians live on the dry, these men on the wet, and because they live on the wet they occupy one house—sometimes over 800 feet long—raised on piles, and suffer from body-ringworm. So that river-mouth differs, though but a little, from deep-sea civilization.

The Fly is quite unlike anything we have hitherto described, or shall describe, as the following imaginary itinerary will prove: (1–150 miles) the river is tidal, the land is 1–2 feet *s. m.*; (150–240 miles) the land is as before, but has cedar, sago, and malava trees; (240 miles) the junction with an affluent (NE.) is 1,000 yards wide; (250 miles) there are villages on the banks (20 feet high) and on clay ridges (30 feet high) half a mile away; banana, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, and a few coco-nuts are seen; (284 miles) a grassy hill is seen; (370 miles) the first grass is seen on the bank; (414 miles) the last coco-nut is seen; (460 miles) an affluent (NE.) is passed; (480 miles) the first stones (quartz with gold, limestone, and sandstone) are seen in the river-bed; there are sandstone and clay hills 300 feet high and tall timber trees; (523 miles) the first rapids are passed; (535 miles) the steamer is left; (540 miles) an affluent (NE.) is ascended; (600 miles) sandstones and limestones, then clay-

[1] On east coast lat. 8°; at long. 147°, lat. 8°; at long. 144°, lat. 6°, at long. 141°, lat. 5°. Straight lines connect the intersections.

stones, are in the river-bed; (605 miles) the boats are left, and Victor Emmanuel Range (12,000 feet *s. m.*) is seen 45 miles to the north beyond the German frontier.

From which the reader will infer that the Fly is only a little less than the Rhine in navigable length, that its long mud flats are unparalleled in Europe, and that these ridge-dwellers when at home live under circumstances which are not very unlike those of the reef-dwellers whom he knows. Instead of a lagoon they have a sluggish river, instead of sea they have swamp, and instead of an imperfect circle or crooked line of low narrow rock, they have an imperfect crooked line of low narrow river-bank.

to which the Purari district must be added;

Let us now pass eastward by the Bamu Turama and many-mouthed Aird and ascend the Purari, which is the second greatest river, even as we ascended the Fly; (1–36 miles) there are sago swamps; the land is 1–2 feet *s. m.*; (36 miles) there are river-banks, low hills and timber; (60 miles) there are sandstone mountains (2,000 feet); (80 miles) the river is 300–400 yards wide; (80–120 miles) we steam westward along the foot of the sandstone mountains (3,000 feet), and coal is seen.

(2) *the district between Hall Sound and Redscar Bay;*

The swamps are shrinking; river-banks begin seven times, and mountains ten times as soon as on the Fly, although as yet the mountains are only outlying buttresses of the great range. We will now pass the Tauri and Lakekamu, which are to the Purari as the Purari is to the Fly, for here swamps cease 12 miles up-stream. Further east, a new type of country is ushered in by the Biaru and St. Joseph, where we note coral at the river mouths in Hall Sound, and the origin of the rivers in Mount Albert Edward, whence the Gira meanders through British and German territory to the northern sea. After the St. Joseph comes the Vanapa, which empties itself into Redscar Bay, and which is an improved edition of the St. Joseph, and ushers in a still newer type of country, for it will lead us straight up to Mount

(3) *the district between Redscar Bay and Hood Bay,*

Victoria, whence we may descend the Mambare (NNE.) or Kumusi (NE.) to the sea inside the British border. Our imaginary traveller's notes are as follows:— *the Mambare and Musa;*

(1–3 miles) the river is tidal; there are mangroves, sago, &c.; (4 miles) there are banks (12 feet), timber, cedar, &c.; (10 miles) and rapids; (40 miles) the boats are left; slate and quartz mountains continue thence to the lower Kumusi; (5,000 feet *s.m.*) there are Myrtaceae; (6,000–8,300 feet *s.m.*) everything is draped in moss and mist; (9,000 feet) the 'first contact with undergrowth of bamboo' begins; 'bamboo stems are like wheat in a field'; there is no mist nor moss; all is dry; (10,200–11,500 feet) Cypress, and grass patches appear; (11,500–13,121 feet) there are grass, strawberries, daisies, buttercups, &c., and no trees. The descent to the north coast is similar. If the traveller goes by the Kumusi he can go by steamer for the last 50 miles, amid ex-volcanic outliers of the main range.

This idealized traverse suggests the following traverse back. 'Ascend the Busari, Bariji (note the flat-footed ischiatic swamp-dwellers), or Musa (80 miles by boat; then swamp for 36 miles) to Mount Obree (10,246 feet). Descend Laloki River to Redscar Bay via Port Moresby; or descend Kemp-Welch River to Hood Bay, thence by coast or sea to Redscar Bay.'

The distances of the double traverse through the air are Redscar Bay to Mambare mouth (80 miles), Musa mouth (64 miles), Hood Bay (64 miles), Redscar Bay (72 miles)— total 280 miles; and this parallelogram contains all that is of present vital interest in the mountains, rivers, and history of the mainland. The region from Redscar Bay to Hall Sound is second; the eastern promontory, with its wonderful bays which even indent Cape Nelson, is third; and the widening swamps of the western riverland—whatever their future may be—are only fourth in interest to the student of the present. The district which we have described as first (4) *and the rest; but in importance the order is* (3) (2) (4) (1).

in present interest contains two principal seats of government, at Port Moresby, the capital, and Tamata (Mambare River); besides lesser seats at Rigo, near Hood Bay, and at Bogi and Papangi[1] on the Kumusi. The second district contains a lesser seat at Mekeo and the third a chief seat near Cape Nelson. Some of the eastern islands are governed from Murua island,[2] and the rest of the islands and mainland from Samarai islet (E.) and Daru islet (W.). This method of placing two of our subcentres on islets almost outside our sphere of operations, is the method which we pursue in the Solomons, and is a sure sign that our task is only beginning.

The rainfall is discussed.

New Guinea is a paradise of birds; its flowers are almost as gorgeous as its birds; and its forests are dense and infinite. But we are more concerned with the effect of forests upon rainfall than with beauty. Port Moresby is dry, has but few trees, and is on sea-level; Sogeri, 30 miles away, is 1,600 feet high and wooded and wet; a few miles behind and a few thousand feet above Sogeri, is a far wetter region of mist and moss, and a little further and higher we are again in the dry.

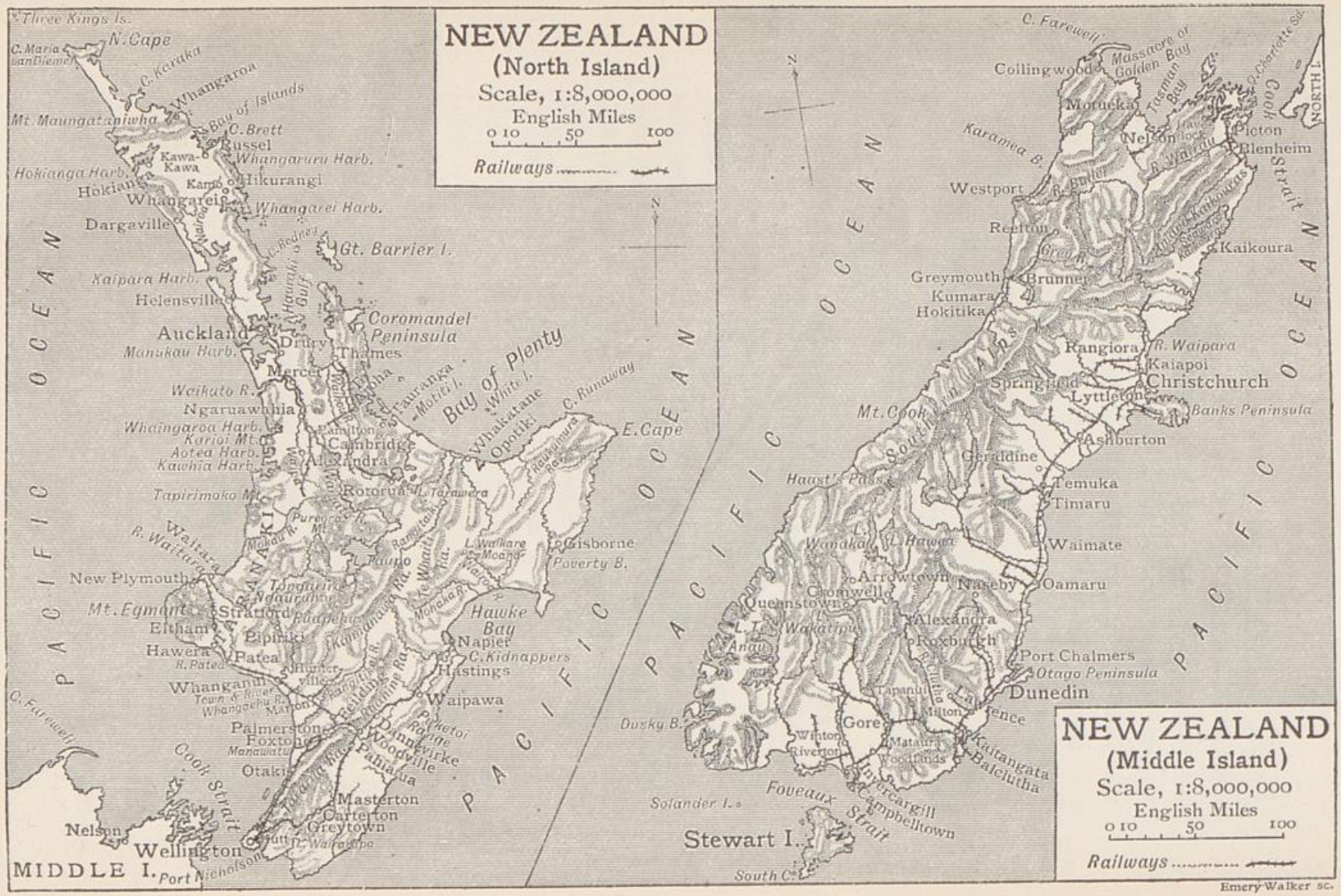
The following table presents recent results:—

N.Z.	Christchurch	25 in.	N.Z.	Hokitika	112 in.
N.G.	Pt. Moresby	51 in.	N.G.	Sogeri	123 in.
	Daru	63 in.	Solomons	Tulagi (av.)	127 in.
Fiji	Suva	81 in.			

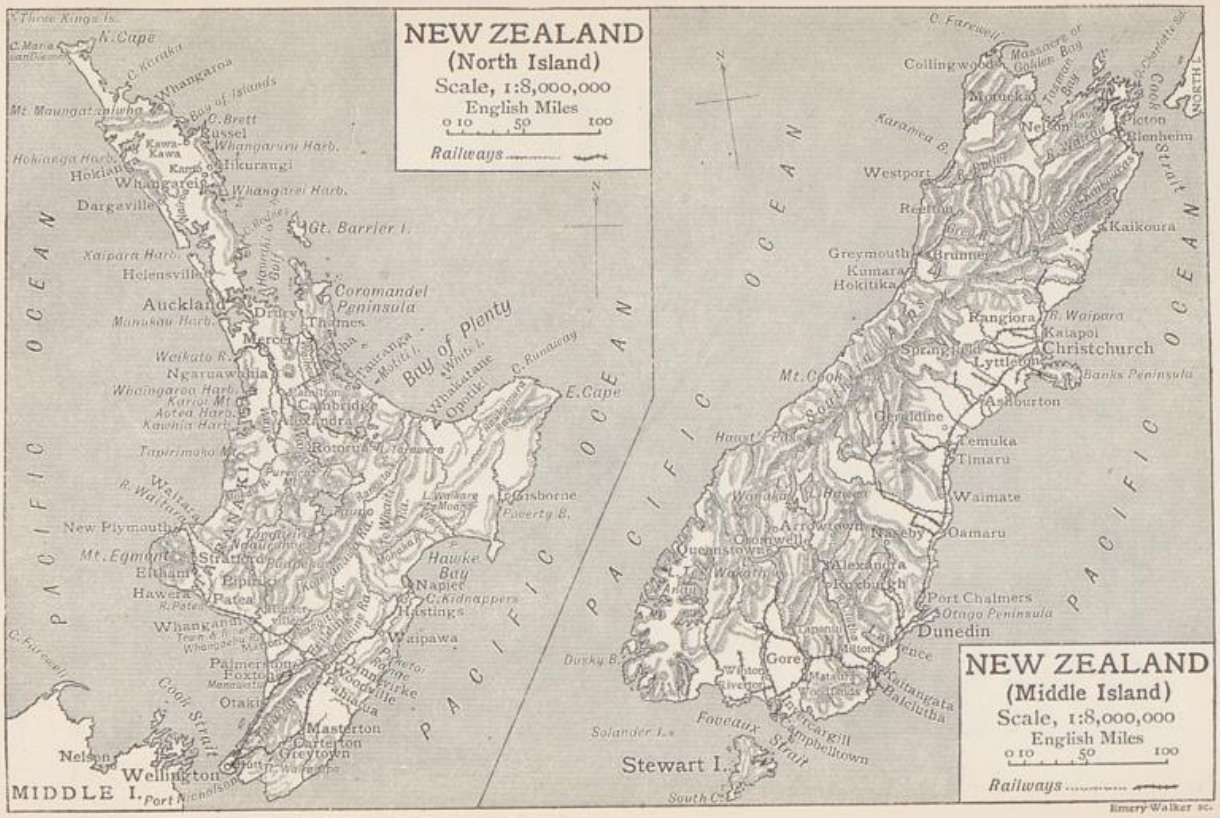
The rain has only been gauged in the drier parts of the Fijis, and Solomons, and of New Guinea; but probably the contrast between the climates at different altitudes is as great as the extraordinary contrast between the flat country on the western half and the narrow, precipitous ravines so graphically described by Mr. Pratt on the eastern half of British New Guinea.

[1] Both stations are now removed to Kokoda (Yodda valley) which is 70 miles inland, has an overland post to Port Moresby, and will probably supplant Tamata.

[2] *alias* Woodlark island.


NEW ZEALAND
(North Island)
Scale, 1:8,000,000
English Miles
0 10 50 100
Railways
Three Kings Is.
N. Cape
C. Maria van Diemen
C. Karaka
Whangaroa
Bay of Islands
Mt. Maungataniwha
C. Brett
Russel
Kawa-Kawa
Whangaruru Harb.
Hokianga Harb.
Hokianga
Kamo
Hikurangi
Whangarei
Whangarei Harb.
Dargaville
Kaipara Harb.
Helensville
C. Rodney
Gt. Barrier I.
Hauraki Gulf
Auckland
Coromandel Peninsula
Manukau Harb.
Drury
Thames
Mercer
Waikato R.
Ngaruawahia
Whaingaroa Harb.
Kariot Mt.
Aotea Harb.
Kawhia Harb.
Hamilton
Cambridge
Alexandra
Tauranga
Mokoia I.
Bay of Plenty
White I.
Whakatane
Opotiki
C. Runaway
E. Cape
Tapirimoko Mt.
Rotorua
L. Tarawera
Waitara R.
Mokau R.
Puke Mt.
Taupo
L. Waikare Moana
Gisborne
Poverty B.
New Plymouth
Mt. Egmont
Stratford
Eltham
Hawera
R. Patea
Patea
Pipiriki
Hawke Bay
Napier
C. Kidnappers
Hastings
Whanganui
Waipawa
C. Farewell
Palmerston
Foxton
Manawatu R.
Woodville
Pahiatua
Otaki
Cook Strait
Masterton
Carterton
Greytown
Nelson
Wellington
Hutt R.
Wairarapa
Port Nicholson
MIDDLE I.
PACIFIC OCEAN
C. Farewell
Massacre of Golden Bay
Tasman Bay
Collingwood
Motueka
Nelson
Picton
Blenheim
C. Cook
NORTH I.
Karamea R.
Westport
Reefton
Kaikoura
Greymouth
Brunner
Kumara
Hokitika
Rangiora
R. Waipara
Kaiapoi
Christchurch
Springfield
Lyttleton
Banks Peninsula
Mt. Cook
Ashburton
Geraldine
Haast's Pass
Temuka
Timaru
Waimate
Wanaka
L. Hawea
Arrowtown
Naseby
Oamaru
Cromwell
Queenstown
L. T.
Wakatipu
Alexandra
Roxburgh
Port Chalmers
Otago Peninsula
Dunedin
Tapanui
Milton
Lawrence
Dusky B.
Gore
Winton
Riverton
Mataura
Woodlands
Kaitangata
Balclutha
Invercargill
Campbelltown
Foveaux Strait
Solander I.
Stewart I.
South C.
NEW ZEALAND
(Middle Island)
Scale, 1:8,000,000
English Miles
0 10 50 100
Railways
Emery Walker sc.

To face p. 23



VI (2)

To face p. 23

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHY OF NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand is described.

THE area of New Zealand equals that of Great Britain and half Ireland. Middle Island is just the size of England, Wales, and their islets; North Island is half as large again as Scotland; Stewart Island is the same size as Herts. The figures are as follows:—N.Z.: N. I.=44,468 sq. miles, M. I.=58,525 sq. miles, Stewart I.=665 sq. miles; dependencies=1,093 sq. miles. Total=104,751 sq. miles. Dependencies include the Pacific islands which lie 600 to 1,800 miles north-east of Auckland, and which have already been discussed; the Chathams, 536 miles east of Port Lyttelton, and the uninhabited Snares, Bounty, Antipodes, Auckland, and Campbell islets, 60 to 460 miles south or south-east of Stewart Island.[1] These islands on the east, south-east, and south form one country—geologically, ethnically, historically, in flora and in fauna.

New Zealand is a land of lakes—New Guinea is all but lakeless—of flightless birds, even in its islets and in the Chathams (until after white men went there), of Lycopods, ferns, yews, and pines, especially kauri pines.[2] Kauri pines attain a girth of 50 to 60 feet, put their first branches forth 70 to 100 feet above ground, and rear their heads a little higher than Nelson's in Trafalgar Square. Hochstetter assigns as their southern limit Kawhia on the west and Katikati on the east; but only a few still linger in Coromandel Peninsula, fewer in the Wairoa range, and the rest dwell and dwindle somewhere north of Auckland. Elsewhere, yews—such as 'white pine,' totara, matai, and 'red-

[1] See *Trans. of N. Z. Institute* (1901), xxxiv. pp. 243–325; (1903) xxxvi. pp. 225–333.

[2] *Dammara Australis.*

pine'[1]—take the place of the kauri, for which they are sometimes mistaken. The land is far south of the region of coral, coco-nut, and sago-palm, and has or had a few years ago no poison plants—except tutu seed, no land snakes, and no land mammals, except imported dog, bat and rat, few grasses, few fruits, and few flowers, except flowering trees like the red rata.[2] The negative unity of New Zealand, or its unity derived from things which might be there and are not there, is gone; and the things which are there and nowhere else are gone or all but gone: for our British colonists have proved that whatever thrives in Great Britain thrives better in Great Britain of the south; and cats are unkind to birds that cannot or will not fly; and builders are too kind to kauris. The lesser has been sacrificed to the larger unity.

One range unifies the three islands,

North, Middle, and Stewart islands are geologically one, and like New Guinea have a slaty backbone; indeed, there are traces in North Island of several backbones, two of which run counter to one another.

The backbone-in-chief starts from a granite head in Stewart Island. It is attended through Middle Island by a notochord of granite, but its chief constituent is slate or schist. North of Foveaux Strait it rises into ridge upon ridge, between which tarns, glaciers, and in the west fiords are enclosed, and the ridges converge into a ridge called the Southern Alps, which point north-east, which attain in Mount Cook a height of 12,349 feet, and which create as impenetrable a barrier to rivers as the Alps of Europe. In the north of Middle Island, the range breaks once more fanlike into many ridges, some of which embrace Collingwood Bay, Tasman Bay, and the many Sounds, and two of which, the inland and seaward Kaikouras, are detached branches of the main trunk, like the Ortlers and Adamellos of their European

[1] *Podocarpus dacrydioides* = white pine; *P. totara* = totara; *P. spicata* = matai. Redpine = *Dacrydium cupressinum*.

[2] *Metrosideros robusta*.

prototype. The Kaikouras dive beneath Cook's Strait, emerge on either side of Port Nicholson and of the Hutt valley, rise into a range which is 2,000–5,000 feet high, forest-clad, and called by many names—Tararua, Ruahine, Huiarau, and Raukumura—and which finally vanishes from sight at Cape Runaway, 750 miles from Stewart Island. The line in North Island is straight but not unbroken. The Manawatu carves out a gorge between the Tararua and Ruahine on its way to the western sea; and the Mohaka breaks through it, but from the west, and where it breaks through, the Kaimanawa and Te Whaiti ridges stand behind in échelon as supports: and they too are of slate, 4,000–5,000 feet high, impermeable to rivers, and point north-eastward. The Manawatu is the only river which rises east of the great range and flows through it. This southern backbone attests the unity of Middle Island with that part of Northern Island which fringes the eastern ocean. It also explains all Middle Island, and the eastern third of Northern Island.

and explains Canterbury Plain and Christchurch, E.,

The Alps divide Middle Island into a western and eastern half; the western half is steep and narrow, the eastern gradual and wide. Further, a little north of Mount Cook, straight plains and valleys lead from east to west; elsewhere they are attracted towards the centre so that the north is creased and crumpled like the south. Christchurch (57,041)[1], capital of the former province of Canterbury, lies due east of this centre, seven miles from Lyttelton, its port (4,023). West of Christchurch, an open plain stretches seaward from the great range on the west, from the sandstones and limestones of the Waipara on the north, and from the basalt downs of Timaru on the south, and is girt by a semicircle of mountains—Peel, Harper, Clent, Somers, Hutt, the Mal-

[1] Figures in brackets after the name of a town mean the population at the census, 1901. Capitals include suburbs. Urban districts are in certain cases classed as towns. In making this classification I follow E. J. von Dadelszen's *Off. Yearbook of N. Z.*, from which later figures are also taken.

verns, Torlesse, Puketeraki and Grey—all of which are outposts of the great range, built as it is built, but disguised like Glaukon by later overgrowths. The plain is 120 miles long, and descends little by little 1,252 feet from Springfield on the west to Christchurch and the sea on the east, a distance of forty-four miles. Twelve rivers pierce the outposts' line, wash lime, sand, marl and tuff from the outposts' feet, and scatter these sweepings broadcast over the descending plain. A road leads from Springfield to *Hokitika, W.,* Hokitika (1,653), former capital of Westland, over passes which barely exceed 3,000 feet. The great rivers are on the south-east, north-west, and north-east. On the south-east, the Clutha, after an eventful journey of 220 miles from the neighbourhood of Haast's Pass (1,716 ft.) over the great range, pours into the sea some fifty miles west of *Dunedin, S.E.,* Dunedin (52,390), former capital of Otago.[1] Blenheim (3,222), *Blenheim, N.E.,* capital of the former province of Marlborough, is on the north-east of Middle Island, close by the mouth of the Wairau, whose source is 100 miles away to the south-west of it. At or near a point some seventy miles up-stream, there is a triple watershed whence rivers flow east into the *Nelson, N.,* Wairau, north into Tasman Bay, on which is Nelson (7,167), capital of the former province of Nelson, and westward into the Buller, at the mouth of which Westport (3,158) lies, 100 miles away. This watershed is a ganglion for river, road, and the railway that is to be; and the latter is destined to lead west to Reefton (1,722) whence trains already run down the valley of the Grey by Brunner (1,572), Greymouth (3,837) and Kumara (1,121), to Hokitika. Hokitika, Kumara, and the towns on the Buller and the Grey, are mineral towns. *Invercargill, S.,* Far away, in the south, Invercargill (10,637), capital of the former province of Southland, and Campbelltown (1,653) its port, nestle in secluded bays which resemble inverted miniatures of Tasman Bay.

[1] 53,853 if Mosgiel is included.

The shape of the Alps determines the course of streams, valleys, and plains, at the foot of which all the towns which have been mentioned lie except Dunedin. The situation of Dunedin, where the metallic riches of the Clutha find a vent, is due to another cause which is also geological, and which also affects Christchurch and Oamaru. The Alps crouch like Issachar, between two sheepfolds. Below the eastern sheepfolds there are agricultural plains fertilized by lime, marl and tuff from the west, and east of the plains ex-volcanoes create peninsulas, bays and harbours at Banks's Peninsula and Dunedin, and a cape without a harbour at Oamaru; marl and limestones performing the same task at Kaikoura. Otherwise the eastern coast is smooth and straight. Banks's Peninsula is an oval basalt mountain group (3,050 feet), just tacked on to the mainland as Natewa Peninsula is to Vanua Levu; and Lyttelton lies in a deep bay north of the point of junction. But Lyttelton is itself cut off from the island plain by another basalt mountain (1,600 feet *ca.*), and had to be connected with Christchurch by a railway (seven miles), the first in New Zealand, and a tunnel (2,866 yards). Christchurch was built at the only spot where there is a direct route from east to west, and its port was built at the nearest spot where volcanic action supplied a harbour. Railways and a port were also the first necessities of Dunedin. There Otago Peninsula resembles Banks's Peninsula in the function which it performs; Port Chalmers (2,205) plays the part of Lyttelton; and Dunedin, though it stands at the head of the bay is cut off from its hinterland by hills and forests.

but ex-volcanoes also explain Dunedin and Port Lyttelton.

Dunedin would have been of little use to the coal and gold miners of the Clutha but for railroads. Coal and gold pervade Otago from end to end. Oamaru (4,853), which owes its prosperity and fertility to a limestone resembling Bath stone, is the only considerable town in Otago which is not beholden either to gold or to coal. Go due west from Oamaru by Naseby to Lake Wakatipu; south to Riverton and back or all

The range makes Canterbury agricultural, and the rest of the provinces of M. I. mineral.

but back to Oamaru. Then go north from Lake Wakatipu to Lake Wanaka, south-east to Naseby and back to the starting-place. These two triangles comprise the coal and gold districts of the south, and the first is served by rail, the second by coach. If we ignore capitals, their ports and suburbs, there is not one town in Otago or Southland with a population of 500 or more which does not owe its existence or prosperity to coal or gold more or less. Mines enrich Gore (2,354) (A.P.F.), Kaitangata (1,463) (T.), Milton (1,241) (A.P.), Lawrence (1,159) (A.), Balclutha (1,017) (A.P.), Mataura (867) (F.), and Riverton (815) (P); Alexandra (818), Queenstown (690) (T.), Cromwell (642), Naseby (505), Roxburgh (478), and Arrowtown (410), are mainly mining towns; Winton (474), Tapanui (350), and Woodlands (200) are non-mineral. The five coal and gold centres of the north-west, which have been mentioned, have the character of Arrowtown and the size of Gore. Canterbury boasts of Timaru (6,486) (A.P.F.), Ashburton (3,440), Kaiapoi (1,795), Rangiora (1,768), Temuka (1,465), Waiamate (1,359), Southbrook (1,070), Geraldine (868), and Pleasant Point (749), all of which have the character of Woodlands and a size exceeding that of the nine largest towns of Otago and Southland, capitals excepted. Nothing could more vividly illustrate the parallels and differences in the east, south, south-east and north-west of Middle Island. In the south and south-east mines are ever present, in the north-west they are almost the only, in the east they are hardly ever an element of great wealth. The towns which face north and north-east—Picton (970), Motueka (886), Collingwood (400 *ca.*), and Havelock (316)—play a part like that played by the towns of the far south, but upon a smaller stage and with poorer accessories.

Geography has decided that the east shall be richest in corn and the north-west in minerals; that the south shall

(A) = Agricultural (P) = Pastoral (F) = Factories' (T =) Tourists' centre.

be richest and the north poorest in both combined; and the structure, shape, and direction of the great range contain the key which unlocks every geographical secret of Middle Island. With the aid of this key, Middle Island is read off as easily as Italy or South America.

In N. I. it explains Wellington,

North Island, in so far as it lies east of its range, is exactly similar to Middle Island and is therefore equally simple. Wellington (49,344), the capital of the colony, lies in the south-west corner of Port Nicholson, secure from every wind that blows through the windpipe of the Pacific, as Cook's Straits are called. The hills which protect it are of the same structure as those which bestow scant shelter upon Nelson and were once forest clad like those behind Dunedin. Between Wellington and the mouth of the Manawatu are Levin (1,147) on the Horowhenua and Otaki (629) on the Otaki. On the Manawatu but west of the range are Foxton (1,211), Feilding (2,298), and Palmerston North (6,534). North-east of Wellington a pass leads through the Hutt valley (1,162 feet) to Lake Wairarapa at the southern end of Wairarapa plain which is 40 miles long and 10 miles broad, open, and fenced in on the west by the Tararua range and on the east by limestone hills which grow up into the Puketoi range, then sink and rise like the billows of the sea until they join the sea at Cape Kidnappers. North of the plain comes 'Seventy-mile bush', a forest which is being rapidly cleared, and which lies between the Puketoi and main ranges. The approach to Napier (9,015), the capital of the former province of Hawke's Bay, lies through 50 miles of reclaimed marsh and the like. Forest succeeds plain, and marsh succeeds forest. The cities of the plain are Masterton (3,949), Carterton (1,205), Greytown (1,122): the forest owns Dannevirke (2,315), Pahiatua (1,209), and Woodville (926): while Hastings (3,650), Waipawa (669), and the capital rule the marshes. The plain and marsh are agricultural, the forest is mainly pastoral. The

the Manawatu district,

everything east of the range,

fertile land from end to end is due to the later formations of limestone and the like which clothe the interval between the great range and the sea. The same formations account for Napier harbour—the only tolerable natural harbour between Wellington and Tauranga. Red Island—the only instance of basalt on this coast—is an island of no importance. North of Hawke's Bay to East Cape, and from East Cape almost to Whakatane, range and sea are too close to admit expansion—except pastoral expansion at Gisborne (2,795), Clyde (623), and Opotiki (627); and the older and newer formations intermingle with fantastic results. One result is Lake Waikare Moana, an upland loch whose surface forms a cross with a handle—like lake Lucerne—and whose depths and surrounding valleys have the same form.

and the Whakatane district,

but nothing else.

The other side of the range presents a startling contrast. Except between Wellington and the Manawatu, the Whakatane and East Cape, no rivers flow westward from the range; and instead of lochs and valleys there is a plateau of basalt with tanks, cauldrons, rifts, and walls. East does not correspond with west. If we know the east of Middle Island we can guess what it is on the west. The east of both islands is similar; yet if we guess the west of the range of North Island from its east the guess will be wildly wrong. Another architect has built the west on a pattern as opposed to that of the east as Gothic to Greek, or insular to continental architecture. We are in the presence of the old force which fashioned Fiji. The clue which has guided us in safety from Stewart Island to East Cape fails; and another clue must be devised. But before following out this new clue we must trace the other thread of the old clue which starts in the far north and runs south-east, almost at right angles to the thread upon which we have hitherto been engaged.

The second slaty backbone runs through the great northern peninsula of Northern Island for a distance of 250 miles

or more: but it is incipient, tentative, and intermittent. It appears first in the far north at Three Kings' Island (890 feet), then at North Cape (*circa* 1,000 feet), then at the Maungataniwha (2,150 feet), and Tutamoe Mountains (2,576), and at Capes Kara Kara, Wiwiki, Brett, and Rodney. South of Whangarei it disappears beneath later marl and limestone, and just as we expect it to reappear, basaltic ex-volcanoes which have attended it on its course usurp its place and form Auckland peninsula. The peninsula of Auckland is an isthmus which lies east and west, and is more slender than the isthmus of Corinth. Two creeks from Waitemata harbour lead respectively within a mile and ¾ of a mile of the Manukau estuary which is reached over 'portages' 111 feet and 66 feet high. When standing on the peninsula Hochstetter counted sixty-three extinct craters (600 feet high or less) in 240 square miles[1]. South of Auckland the slate range resumes its course under the name of the Wairoa and Taupiri mountains which trend south, then west, then south, and lose themselves near Whaingaroa and Kawhia among the limestones and sandstones of the west, without having any influence on a single river or a single valley. True they form the east border of the lower Waikato basin; but where they turn west the Waikato river passes through them as though they did not exist; so that the habit of calling the Waikato below this point 'the Lower Waikato' is little more than convention.

A second range runs from furthest north (a) towards Kawhia, W.,

The Wairoa-Taupiri continuation is a mere yarn of the original thread: a second yarn resembles a daisy-chain of islands across Hauraki Gulf; and the chain leads to a ridge 1,200 feet high which runs from north to south through the Coromandel peninsula, and then plunges down beneath piles of superincumbent tuff. This, too, is a lost clue. Let the

(b) *and to the Thames, E.,*

[1] 20 × 12 miles. F. von Hochstetter, *Geologisch-topographischer Atlas von Neu-Seeland* (1863), *Erläuterungen*, p. 13; *New Zealand*, transl. by Sauter (1867), p. 230.

(c) *and appears W. of L. Taupo, S.,*

reader now look 140 miles south of Hauraki Gulf to a point 10 miles west of Tongariro mountain. A well-defined interrupted slate range runs thence due north for nearly 50 miles to Rangitoto (or vice versa), attains in Pureora Mountain 3,780 feet *s. m.*, and represents the third—unless perchance it is a fag end of the second—yarn of the missing thread. The original thread and its second and third yarns play an important part in moulding the geography of Northern Island.

and explains the west coast down to Kawhia,

The great peninsula north of the mouths of the Thames and Waikato has many bays; and 'inlets nearly divide the peninsula' 'into an archipelago':[1] but the eastern and western inlets are unlike. The gradual side is on the west, instead of the east. Thus the Wairoa starts from near Kawa Kawa in the Bay of Islands and flows into the muddy shallows of Kaipara, 40 miles below Dargaville (505). The Kaipara too, which debouches at Helensville (531), brings mud from the far east. Nor is mud the only impediment. Wind and rain come from the west—not from the east as in Fiji, so that each western inlet is barred by sand; and that is why there are no natural harbours for large vessels on the west coast of New Zealand. What Hokianga harbour is was described by E. J. Wakefield,[2] what Hokitika harbour was is described by E. Reeves.[3] The accommodation now afforded at Westport, Greymouth, Hokitika, and New Plymouth is artificial. Hokianga, Kaipara, Manukau, Whaingaroa, Aotea, and Kawhia are still traps for the unwary.

(*after which ex-volcanoes explain Taranaki*).

Further, there is scarcely one islet on the west coast. Doubtless nature intended ex-volcano Mount Egmont (8,260 feet), to be the centre of a circular islet, but placed it so near the mainland limestones that the two formations overlapped. Tuff and limestone are *les deux mammelles* of its

[1] Wilkes, *Report*, vol. x. p. 437.
[2] E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand* (1845), i. 156.
[3] E. Reeves, *Brown Men and Women* (1898), p. 6.

twin rivers, the Patea and Waitara. As a result, Taranaki is the garden of New Zealand; and New Plymouth (4,405), which was its capital, Hawera (2,131), Stratford (2,027), Eltham (1,400 *ca.*), Waitara (765), and Patea (691), are market towns whose prosperity is second only to that of the market towns of Canterbury. Further north, ex-volcanoes—such as Tapirimoko (2,074 feet), and Karioi (2,800 feet)—line the coast as far as those limestones and sandstones of Kawhia and Whaingaroa, which have been described, without forming either harbours or gardens.

and the east coast down to the Thames

The eastern inlets are deep, clear, and calm. No wild west wind blocks, no rivers choke them with silt and sand. Whangaroa, Bay of Islands, Whangaruru, and Whangarei, are encircled more or less by hard slate; a hundred islets of the same material shield the Bay of Islands from the mild east wind; and the solid islands which stand like the piers of an invisible bridge between the northern range and Coromandel peninsula convert Hauraki Gulf into a lake, within which is Waitemata harbour—a lake within a lake. Auckland (67,226)—once the capital of New Zealand and still one of the great ports of the Pacific—is built on the south side of Waitemata harbour. Coal as well as kauri swells the population of Whangarei (1,429), Kamo (260), Hikurangi (495), and of Kawa Kawa (263) near Russell (246), alias Kororarika alias Blackguards' Beach, the oldest English settlement in New Zealand; and Drury (364), Mercer (208), and Huntly (622), are the coal towns of the lower Waikato.

The main thread and its first yarn take us through the most thinly peopled, the second yarn takes us through the most thickly peopled district of New Zealand.

(after which volcanic action helps to create gold mines).

At the base of Coromandel Peninsula, where tuff-streams from the south meet, overwhelm and drive into the earth the slate range from the north, vast crowds are gathered together at Thames (4,020), Shortland (1,217), Paeroa (1,504), Waihi

(3,813), and Te Aroha (888), in pursuit of gold. These towns occupy a line only 36 miles in length, at or near the foot of the wall of slate and tuff 2,000 feet high which fences in the Thames on the east; yet their population equals that of the five chief mineral towns of Middle Island, where there is a double lure of coal and gold. It is the only district of Northern Island where mines and minerals concentrate people more densely than at Whangarei.

The third yarn of the original thread exercises no separate influence of its own, and its part played in moulding Northern Island is indissolubly united with the part played by an actor of a very different type.

Volcanic action centres round L. Taupo

Volcanic force, which was the joint-architect of Northern Island, always acts from a centre from which streams radiate like spokes of a wheel, and around which slopes, coasts, plains and forests dispose themselves harmoniously. In Northern Island the centre of action was Lake Taupo (1,211 feet *s. m.*) or rather its margin (2,000 feet *ca.*).

The lake itself is mysterious. Its bottom is 681 feet *s. m.*, almost exactly on a level with the lowest bottoms of the Hot Lake District,[1] and is clean cut like a tank. Its size is 238 square miles, almost exactly the size of the area within which the craters of Auckland or the hot lakes are contained.[2] The shape of the lake is more or less triangular, and does not suggest a crater, although a volcanic rock rises up in its midst, volcanic rocks surround it, and live volcanoes lead to it from south-south-west and lead from it to the north-north-east. The 'volcanic line' passes right through it.

and this volcanic centre plus the slate

South-south-west of the lake three huge active volcanoes stand in a row, each behind the other like the three bears, the largest furthest, and the smallest nearest, and gaze across the lake north-north-east[3] to the hot lakes; and by White Island

[1] The bottom of Rotoiti is cā 680 feet *s. m.*; see *Geogr. J.* (1904), xxiii. 645, 744.

[2] *Ante*, p. 31, note 1; post, p. 36.

[3] 26° north of east, *N.Z. Inst.* (1888), xxi. 339.

to the Kermadecs, Tonga, and Samoa. Ruapehu (8,878 feet) is the big bear, Ngauruhoe (7,481 feet) the middle, and Tongariro (6,450 feet) the little bear. From Ruapehu the uppermost Waikato pours into the lake, the Whangaehu flows due south, and the Whanganui starts north-by-west until it reaches a volcanic rift 20–25 miles west of Lake Taupo, which is on the same level as that of the bottom of the lake, and is filled by the southward-flowing Ongarue. When joined by the Ongarue the Whanganui flows southward to the sea. Between Ongarue rift and Lake Taupo is one-half of the terraced Patetere plateau, a tuff plain 1,500 to 2,500 feet *s. m.*, near whose western edge are the Pureora slate mountains (3,780 feet).

mountains on either side are the source of most rivers in N. I.,

The Ongarue is the joint product of Patetere tuff and Pureora slate. Two other rivers rise close by and must be credited with the same mixed origin: the Mokau which flows west, and the Waipa which flows north into the Waikato at Ngaruawahia, four miles above the Taupiri gorge, where the lower Waikato begins.

Ruapehu, the tuff plateau and Pureora slate form the outer margin of the lake on the south and west. Ruapehu, Kaimanawa slate and a pumice plain form its outer margin on the south and east. These two margins are V-shaped; and Ruapehu is the point of the V.

The volcanic line which starts from Ruapehu is north-north-east, the Kaimanawas trend north-eastward, consequently Ruapehu is only separated from the Kaimanawas (5,226 feet) by a four-mile strip of barren pumice called the desert of Rangipo, while opposite the lake the pumice strip is 15 miles wide and continues north-eastward as the Kaingaroa plain. The southward-flowing Rangitikei springs from Kaimanawa slate and Rangipo pumice; the Rangitaiki, which flows north-east between the Kaingaroa plain and Kaimanawa range, springs from Kaingaroa pumice and Kaimanawa slate; and a stream of old lava, which trespassed

over a pass in the Kaimanawa range, taints the source of the eastward-flowing Mohaka.

On the north the lake has no margin other than the plateau with its rifts and walls and terraces. North-north-east of the lake there is a low watershed from which the Waiotapu flows towards the lake, but before arriving at the lake it meets and merges in the upper Waikato, which issues from the lake on the western edge of the Kaingaroa plain. After the junction, the upper Waikato turns sharply to the left through a volcanic rift, crosses a volcanic region amid seething mud and boiling fountains, cuts the whole Patetere plateau in two, descends 1,000 feet, and 14 miles above Cambridge becomes the middle Waikato. From here to Ngaruawahia it has swamps, pools, and Maungatautari mountain on its left, swamps and lowlands on its right, and still further on its right more swamps and the Thames, which is merely its right leg severed at the hip and lying where it was severed. East of the Thames stands the tuff wall, 2,000 feet high, which continues the line of the Coromandel range and forms one border of the Patetere plateau. The eastern border of the plateau consists of the hot lakes and a narrow strip of pumice and the like which is strewn on either side of the volcanic line between the hot lakes and Lake Taupo. A volcanic wall, called the Paeroa ridge, divides this strip from Waiotapu river, and leads to Mt. Tarawera, whose eruption wrecked Rotomahana in 1886; wall, strip, and river are all parallel, and streams flow into the hot lakes from wall, strip, plateau, and subterranean boilers, and perhaps through subterranean channels from lake Taupo, and find their way to the north coast as rivers Maketu and Tarawera. A line traced round the edge of the outermost hot lakes includes an area of 240 square miles; so that the hot lake group, the old crater group of Auckland, and lake Taupo are equal to one another in area and coincide.[1]

[1] *Ante*, pp. 31, 34.

many of which are navigable ;

Most of the rivers of Northern Island are navigable. Tourists descend the Whanganui 79 miles by canoe and then 57 by steamer. Alexandra, the head of the navigation of the Waipa, is 122 miles from the mouth of the Waikato, and in winter traders paddle from Mangawhitikau, 30 miles further up-stream. On the northern Wairoa steamers ply from 30 miles above Dargaville to its mouth (70 miles), and thence to Helensville on the south side of the Kaipara (25 miles), a total distance of 95 miles. Steamers constantly ascend the Thames from Thames to Te Aroha (34 miles), the Manawatu (25 miles), the Mokau (25 miles), the eastern Wairoa (15 miles), the Patea and Waitara.

and those in the central district are less populous near their sources.

The rivers of the central district of Northern Island rise amid the coarse tussock grass and scanty manuka of the pumice plain, or amid the sombre forests of the slate ranges or on the tuff plain, much of which is 'covered with stunted brown fern . . . . not a blade of grass, not a green tree nor shrub . . . . nothing but brown fern',[1] and pass through wooded limestone heights and across plains of marl and clay, with rare strips of real grass and with every opportunity for pastoral and agricultural prosperity. The country improves as they approach the sea. If we apply 'the town test' which we have hitherto applied, we shall note Marton (1,101), Mangaweka (956), and Hunterville (576) on the Rangitikei, Whanganui (7,334) and Pipiriki (233) on the Whanganui, then omitting Taranaki, the lower Waikato and other districts which have been discussed—Hamilton (1,253), Cambridge (989) and Te Kuiti (134) on the Waikato; Tirau (70) on the Thames; Tauranga (946) and Rotorua (914) near the hot lakes, and Whakatane (239) on the Rangitaiki. The hub of this wheel is Taupo, with a population of 79 ! a clear proof that English civilization has not been centripetal like geography. Indeed, where geography has been most centripetal, civilization has been most

[1] P. W. Barlow, *Kaipara* (1888), p. 45.

centrifugal, and the rule is almost invariable that the population thins away towards the centre, as we see in the sequence of Tauranga, Rotorua and Taupo, of Marton, Mangaweka and Hunterville. The extremities are most alive, as though the vital principles were outside. As a whole, the towns of this district compare for populousness with those of Taranaki; but the two districts are unlike in every other respect.

The distribution of towns is analysed.

The hundred best towns which have been enumerated, and which are reduced in the following table to ninety by omitting negligible quantities, exhibit six grades of populousness which symbolize six planes of prosperity—(*a*) One third of the people dwell in ten sea capitals, of which two in each island are big, and the remaining six are small; (*b*) The exclusive mineral districts of either island are exactly on a par and form a second class; (*c*) The third class comprises the nine Canterbury towns in Middle Island and the fifteen towns east of the main range, of Foxton and of Opotiki in Northern Island; (*d*) Geographically and historically Taranaki is a thing apart; yet its five towns compare with the ten residuary towns grouped round the volcanic centre of Northern Island; (*e*) The twenty-one residuary towns of Middle Island figure side by side with the twenty residuary towns of Northern Island, the latter including items mentioned in (*d*) and (*f*); (*f*) The ten towns on the unique peninsula between North Cape and Taupiri gorge show the poorest average and occupy a class by themselves. If the scattered settlements by the fiords in the south-west of Middle Island could be called towns they would form a seventh and still poorer class. Excluding Maori these town-dwellers only account for half the population, and we are left to infer the distribution of the unknown half from the known half for which it supplies the *raison d'être*. Care has been taken to make the towns representative, and important urban districts are reckoned as towns. The table

illustrates the analogies between the eastern halves, between the mineral districts of both islands, and between the north and south of Middle Island; it also illustrates the different conditions prevailing in the far north, far west and centre of North Island, and the wide dispersion of the population throughout both islands.

Urban Population (×1000) *of New Zealand arranged in 6 classes.*		*Totals* ×1000.		*Average Density* ×1000.
$(a)^1$	4 capitals (2 in each island)	232	272	58
$(a)^2$	6 do. (4 in Middle Island)	40		6.6
$(b)^1$	5 mineral towns (M.I.) (north-west)	11·4		2·28
$(b)^2$	,, ,, (N.I.) (Thames)	11·4		2·28
$(c)^1$	9 Canterbury towns (M.I.) (east)	19		2·11, &c.
$(c)^2$	15 towns, Foxton to Opotiki (N.I.) (east)	30·2		2·01
$(d)^1$	5 Taranaki towns (N.I.) (west)	7·		1·4
[$(d)^2$	10 'remaining' towns (N.I.) (centre)	14·5		1·45]
$(e)^1$	21 'remaining' towns (M.I.) (north and south)	20·9	118	·99
$(e)^2$	20 towns (N.I.) comprising d^2 and f	19·5		·975
[(f)	10 peninsular towns (N.I.) (north)	5		·5]

Total white pop. (1901) = 773; total of above = 390.

N.B.—(a) to (f) items are given *supra* in the text but omit Campbelltown, Mosgiel, Otaki, Te Kuiti, Tirau, Taupo. The big capitals of M.I. include their ports. $(e)^1$ is partly mineral.

There is national as well as geographical dualism in N. I.;

Northern Island has been moulded by two artists of different schools, and its big rivers—Mohaka, Rangitikei, Whanganui, Mokau, Waikato, Rangitaiki, and the rest—represent their blended work. This dualism and strange fusion, has also characterized the history, as though the geography were only a metaphor or mirror of the history of New Zealand. The English, as we have seen, looked on the whole land as one, and covered its whole length and breadth with a hundred towns. They treated it as a continent, the most continuous part of which was in Middle Island and the prolongation of Middle Island into Northern Island. They cared little for the central volcanic

the English were continental,

region of Northern Island and still less for Northern Peninsula—if we except Auckland. It was the continental part of New Zealand, the part of New Zealand explained by the southern backbone—which they wanted most and the Maori wanted least, and which they got so easily and cheaply.

and the Maori were atollic in instinct.

To the Maori New Zealand was a chain of islets, or the next best things to islets, peninsulas and marsh-ridges. Maori civilization was infected through and through by its origin in atolls; and Maori were never happy unless they had water or wet mud on two sides. Their favourite haunts were lakes and small lake-like seas on which there were many islets like Motiti, Mokoia, Motaremo (Kaipara), Tipuna (Bay of Islands); or else were peninsulas such as Maunganui (Tauranga). They built Waiwiri Islet (Horowhenua) artificially in a lake,[1] and they made Auckland an islet to all intents and purposes, for they dragged their canoes across its western and eastern 'portages',[2] so that it proved an object of desire and an Armageddon where they committed mutual suicide, and so paved the way for their successors. To them the hot lakes were a chain of lagoons like the lagoons of an archipelago of simple volcanic atolls, and their only word for river was the old word for lagoon-channel.[3] They spoke of Lake Taupo as the sea, and Te Heu Heu built his village on 'a peninsular projection', others upon a narrow sand spit separating a detached backwater from the main lake[4]. Who but atoll-dwellers would have lived thus? Moreover, like all atoll-dwellers, they longed for multitudes of islets and peninsulas; therefore the east coast of Northern Peninsula, Hauraki Gulf, and the central lakes appealed most strongly to their archipelagic instincts, for there life was full and collision perpetual. When Cook described the

[1] Tregear, *Maori Race* (1904), p. 303.
[2] *Ante*, p. 31.
[3] = Awa = river. Wai-roa = long water, and sometimes = river.
[4] Hochstetter, *New Zealand*, transl. Sauter, p. 386.

west coast as uninhabited he was wrong, but not very wrong. The purely continental part of New Zealand also had its lakes, peninsulas, and islets, such as Napier, L. Wairarapa, Kapiti, the islets in the Sounds, and the peninsulas of Kaikoura, Banks, and Otago; but they were far too far from one another to attract the Maori. These lonely posts were sold for 'a handful of silver'. When the Awa clan got to Port Nicholson they felt isolated and defenceless, and would have probably gone home but for the English purchase. The Toa clan were only loath to sell the Manawatu district because they held Kapiti; the Englishmen only wanted to buy it because of its relation to the Tararua range; and there there was a source of conflict. The Sounds were the last and dearest of the purchases of Middle Island. But for a few detached posts by peninsulas and lakes, and but for the lure of Hokitikan greenstone, Maori history in Middle Island and the south-east of Northern Island—that is to say, in the area dominated by the great range—was almost a blank. No wonder they sold all, or nearly all, this area for a mess of pottage.

Taranaki seems to have attracted Maori and Englishmen with equal force: the former because it was so insular, the latter because it was so essentially a part of the mainland; and that was why it proved a source of strife.

In districts where they could not dwell on some rock between water and water, the Maori dwelt on some ridge between swamp and swamp. Captain Cook found on the Thames an 'Indian town built upon a small bank of dry sand, but entirely surrounded by deep mud'.[1] On the Waikato and Waipa, Gorst noticed village after village on the bank between river and 'large swamps in a state of transition from water to dry land'.[2] This picture recalls the Rewans in Fiji, or (but for their piles) the Papuans on the Fly in

[1] *First Voyage of Capt. Cook*, ed. Hawkesworth, ii. 352.
[2] J. Gorst, *Maori King*, p. 21, &c.

New Guinea; and those who are fond of military history will recollect Okaihau, Te Ngaere, Rangiriri, Orakau, and Gate Pa; while philanthropists will reflect how much more fatal peace by the swamp has been than war on the wold. Swamps which now bring consumption once brought power. The King-state was nothing more or less than the swamp state of the Middle Waikato basin. Even now, old fashioned Maori hug the swamps, where swamp-hens, eels, flax,[1] thatch,[2] taro, and kumara thrive. The Englishmen, noting that the swamps were flat and had some coarse grass, wanted to drain and reclaim them, and use them for agriculture and pasture. 'The Maori prefer to make a swamp than drain one'.[3] Hence strife arose in the Waikato marshlands.

If driven from islets, peninsulas, and swamps, the Maori fled to the mountains, where they often did without cultivated food. As in Fiji and the Solomons, mountains and forests sheltered, not the hunters but the hunted. The hunters of men stayed by mere, marsh, and shore. Rugged forests and mountains had no more attraction for Maori than for Englishmen.

It may be doubted whether the Maori thought of New Zealand, except as 'a long white cloud' of numerous islets, peninsulas, and marsh-ridges, which were most numerous somewhere north of the centre, and more numerous on the east than on the west of Northern Island. There they spent their crowded lives; there they fought most; and there their fittest survived. The wild men of the mountain, who are represented by the Uriwera of to-day, were least organized and civilized. They have not been pursued into their rugged fastnesses by Englishmen who were busy finding civilized uses for plains and less intractable mountains elsewhere. Perhaps, too, the land of the Uriwera was too far from any

[1] *Phormium tenax.* [2] Raupo.
[3] *N. Z. Inst.*, xxi. 338.

harbour; and harbours meant ports, and ports meant over-sea markets, and the English colonizing instinct has always been commercial, although it has had other aspects.

In the above I have used the *Official Handbooks of N. Z.* by Sir J. Vogel (1878, &c.) and Sir J. Hector (1885, &c.); E. J. von Dadelszen's annual *Official Yearbook of N. Z.*; R. A. Loughnan, *Settler's Handbook of N. Z.* (1902); Colonial Museum and Geological Survey *Reports of Geological Explorations*; F. W. Pennefather, *Handbook of New Zealand* (1893) in Murray's series of travellers' handbooks; Von Haast, *Geology of Canterbury and Westland* (1879), &c.

CHAPTER IV

AUSTRALIAN GEOGRAPHY

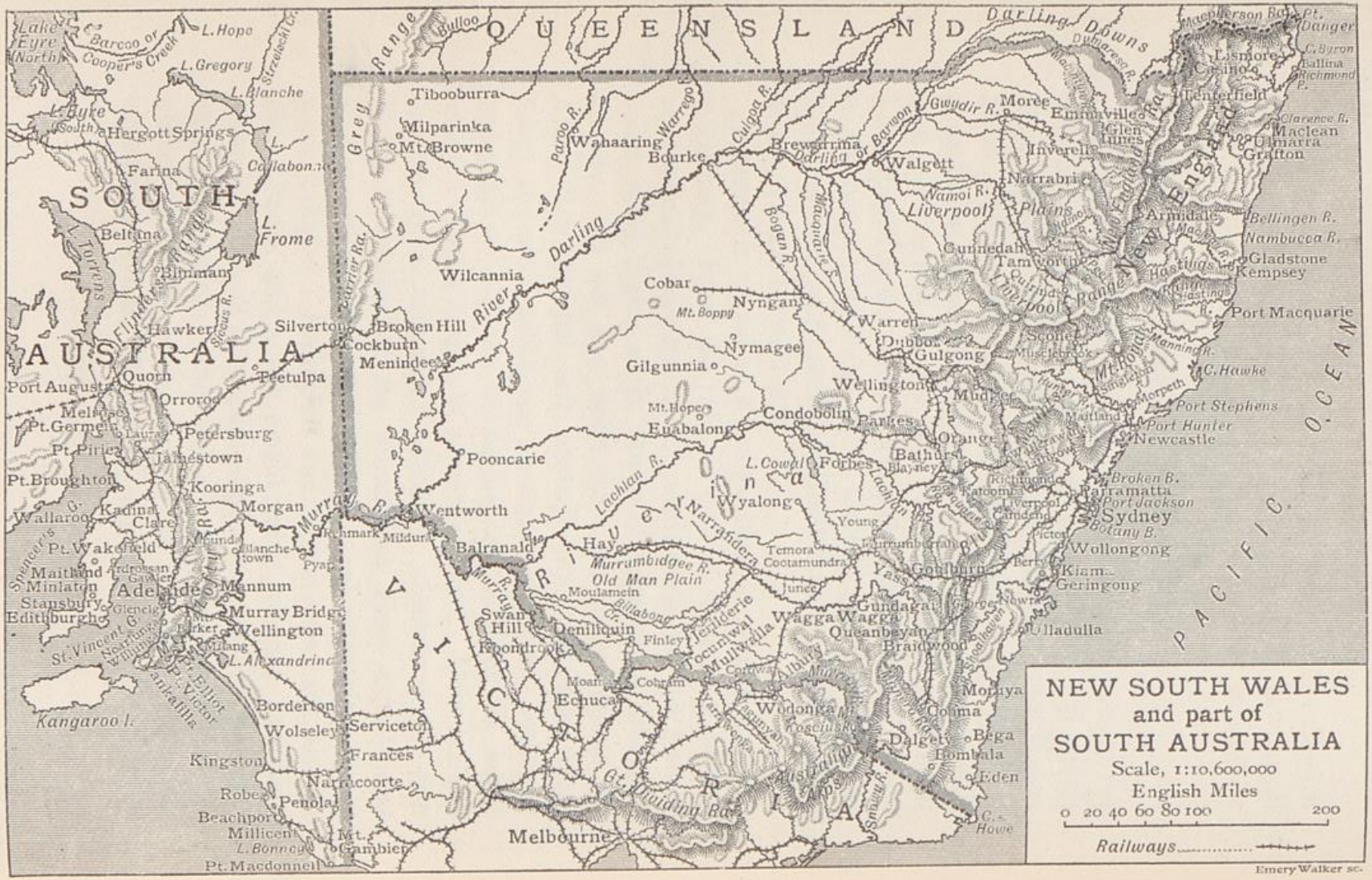
Australia is a continent like Europe,

HITHERTO we have compared Australasian colonies to the United Kingdom or to one of its parts. Thus Fiji equals Wales, Middle Island (N.Z.) equals England and Wales, British New Guinea equals England, Wales, and Ireland, or three-fourths of the United Kingdom. These puny standards must now be laid on one side, for Australia is built upon a continental scale. It is 2,972,906 square miles in extent, is to Europe as British New Guinea is to the United Kingdom, and could contain 39 Great Britains, 99 Scotlands, or 113 Tasmanias with ease.

and is contrasted with N. Z. in its flora and fauna,

Australia is as unlike its neighbours in quality as it is in quantity. From the point of view of students of botany and natural history the Asiatic world ends, and the Australasian world begins at the Straits of Lombok, a little east of Java. In this new world there are many regions, of which New Zealand and Australia are most like themselves and most unlike one another. If a New Zealander had come to Australia before the days of Cook, he would have felt like the denizen of a strange planet. New Zealand has no native mammals.[1] Australia abounds in the two lowest sub-classes of the mammalian class—monotremes such as ornithorynchus and echidna—and marsupials whose name is legion. Marsupials and monotremes exist also in New Guinea and a few neighbouring islands; two non-Australian kinds of marsupials—coenolestes and opossums—exist in America; otherwise all living mammals belong neither to the monotreme nor to the marsupial but to the eutherian sub-class. Rats, bats, dogs, and men are the only

[1] Unless a native otter exists.



Emery Walker sc.

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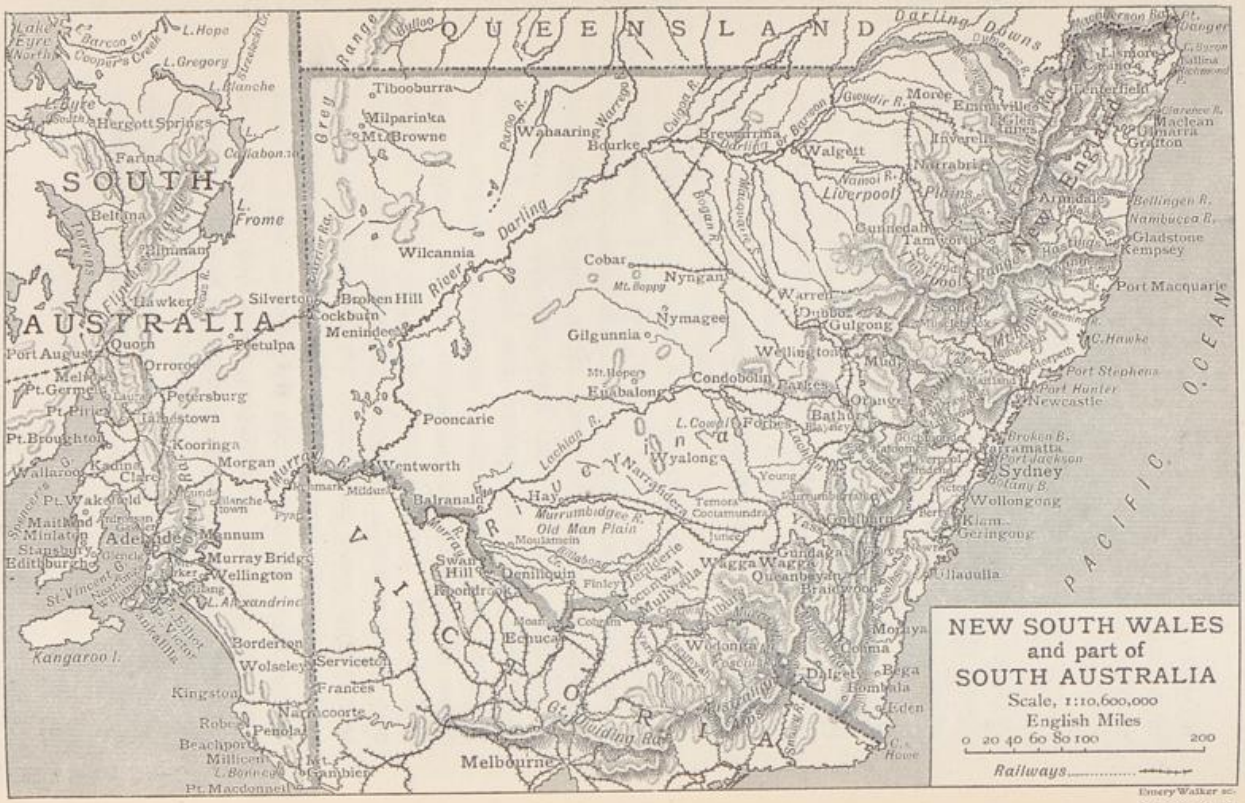
To face p. 45


QUEENSLAND
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Lake Eyre North
Lake Eyre South
L. Hope
L. Gregory
L. Blanche
Barcoo or Cooper's Creek
Herrgott Springs
Farina
Callabonna
L. Frome
Beltana
Hergott Springs
Tibooburra
Milparinka
Mt. Browne
Grey Range
Wahaaring
Bourke
Warrego R.
Culgoa R.
Darling Downs
Toowoomba
Gowrie
Warwick
Stanthorpe
Tenterfield
Glen Innes
Inverell
Moree
Narrabri
Walgett
Brewarrina
Liverpool Plains
Namoi R.
Gwydir R.
Barwon R.
Darling R.
Armidale
Bellingen R.
Nambucca R.
Gladstone
Kempsey
Port Macquarie
Maclean
Clarence R.
Grafton
Casino
Lismore
Ballina
Murwillumbah
Tweed R.
Gunnedah
Tamworth
Quirindi
Liverpool Range
Wilcannia
Darling River
Cobar
Nyngan
Mt. Boppy
Warren
Dubbo
Gulgong
Mudgee
Wellington
Nymagee
Gilgunnia
Condobolin
Parkes
Orange
Bathurst
Forbes
L. Cowal
Lachlan R.
Eubalong
Mt. Hope
Pooncarie
Wyalong
Broken Hill
Silverton
Broken Bay
Port Stephens
Port Hunter
Newcastle
C. Hawke
Hawker
Port Augusta
Quorn
Orroroo
Peetulpa
Melrose
Pt. Germein
Petersburg
Pt. Pirie
Jamestown
Pt. Broughton
Kooringa
Morgan
Wallaroo
Kadina
Clare
Pt. Wakefield
Maitland
Minlaton
Adelaide
Mannum
Murray Bridge
Wellington
Stansbury
Edithburgh
St. Vincent's Gulf
L. Alexandrina
Kangaroo I.
Borderton
Wolseley
Kingston
Robe
Beachport
Millicent
Mt. Gambier
L. Bonney
Pt. Macdonnell
Serviceton
Frances
Naracoorte
Penola
Melbourne
Echuca
Swan Hill
Deniliquin
Balranald
Hay
Wentworth
Murrumbidgee R.
Old Man Plain
Moulamein
Billabong
Finley
Tocumwal
Murray R.
Darling R.
Lachlan R.
Wagga Wagga
Queanbeyan
Gundagai
Braidwood
Tumut
Yass
Junee
Temora
Cootamundra
Young
Grenfell
Cowra
Forbes
Parkes
Orange
Bathurst
Lithgow
Penrith
Liverpool
Sydney
Botany B.
Broken B.
Port Jackson
Parramatta
Wollongong
Kiama
Gerringong
Ulladulla
Moruya
Bega
Eden
Dalgety
Bombala
Cape Howe
Goulburn
Yeoval
Molong
Mudgee
Merriwa
Muswellbrook
Singleton
Maitland
Raymond Terrace
Gosford
Hawkesbury R.
Nepean R.
Hunter R.
Manning R.
Macleay R.
Clarence R.
Richmond R.
Tweed R.
Gwydir R.
Namoi R.
Castlereagh R.
Macquarie R.
Lachlan R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Murray R.
Darling R.
Warrego R.
Paroo R.
Culgoa R.
Balonne R.
Barwon R.
Condamine R.
Dumaresq R.
Severn R.
Macintyre R.
Border Rivers
Great Dividing Range
Australian Alps
Blue Mts.
Liverpool Range
Warrumbungle Mts.
Nandewar Mts.
Moonie R.
Maranoa R.
Balonne R.
Warrego R.
Paroo R.
Darling R.
Murray R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Lachlan R.
Macquarie R.
Castlereagh R.
Namoi R.
Gwydir R.
Barwon R.
Culgoa

eutherian land mammals in Australia; and their domicile of origin was probably Asia. Again in New Zealand there are no land snakes, in Australia there are sixty-five kinds, mostly poisonous; in New Zealand no plants are poisonous, if we except 'tutu' seed, but Bailey and Gordon have drawn up a list of eighty-five Australian plants 'reputed poisonous' to stock; and almost every explorer has in his hour of need lost horses or camels from this cause. Again, Tennyson's 'Brook' could have been written in New Zealand but not in Australia for drought, unknown in New Zealand, is the particular curse of Australia, and running water rarely 'goes on for ever'. Except on the coast and coastal ranges the rainfall rarely exceeds ten inches in the year. Nature provides some compensation in the peculiar herbs and trees of Australia. Everywhere throughout the interior 'salt bush' prevails.[1] It is akin to our spinach, is rare outside Australia, has in Australia many kinds and many names, feeds stock, especially sheep and camels, clothes vast loamy waterless plains like Old Man Plain, south of the Murrumbidgee, is sprinkled over the sand waves of all but the worst deserts, and thrives where every grass withers except spinifex;[2] and spinifex is as uneatable as 'the quills upon the fretful porcupine' which it resembles. The Australian trees are either like the pine-trees—world wide, or like the Casuarina,[3] Australasian—or like Melaleuca,[4] Acacia, and Eucalyptus (gum-tree) characteristically Australian; and those three characteristically Australian orders are Protean in size, shape, and form, are equally adapted to profit by prosperity and resist adversity, and are wholly absent from New Zealand. These characteristic trees cast but little shade and are evergreen, if they can be called green, so that the poet who

[1] N. O. Chaenopodiaceae, gen. *Atriplex*, *Rhagodia*, *Salsola*.
[2] *Triodia irritans* is commonly called spinifex in Australia.
[3] Casuarina includes she-oaks, swamp-oaks, &c.
[4] Melaleuca includes the Australian tea-tree.

wrote οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιήδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν was not born in Australia. Gum-trees include more than 160 Australian kinds, and are confined to Australasia. Sometimes they are giants. In the south-east, near the sources of the Yarra Yarra, they form forests of trees, one of which was said by F. von Müller to attain 471 feet in height.[1] Along a mountain strip, 350 miles long, between Perth and Albany in the south-west of Australia, there are forests of 'jarrah'[2] varied in the Blackwood river district by a forest of 'karri';[3] both jarrah and karri are gum-trees, the former yielding the finest timber in the world, and the latter rising to heights exceeding 400 feet, or more than twice the height of the tallest kauri pine. Red gum, iron-bark, box, blue gum, stringy bark, and white gum are gum-trees, which are valuable for their timber, which are mostly of medium size, and which often grow in open ground with fine grass beneath—as in 'a nobleman's park'—to quote the words of the first settlers. In Tasmania a loaded cart went through country of this description from Launceston to Hobart before a road was built 'without felling a single tree'. Gum-trees also frequent the desert, where they stand like mourners beside the bed of a river that is dead and gone; and the vast timberless levels and upland plains of the Australian interior are often interrupted by dense matted scrubs consisting of dwarf gums, called mallee, twelve to fifteen feet high, grassless and waterless below, and with leaves overhead. These too have their use, for five kinds of mallee store water in their roots.[4] If the scrub does not consist of 'mallee' it usually consists of 'tea-tree' or else of certain kinds of Acacia—myall, mulga, boree, brigalow, gidya, and the like. Acacia too pervades Australia. Sometimes 'it spreads out in many branches from the root

[1] *Eucalyptus amygdalina.* [2] *E. marginata.*
[3] *E. diversicolor.*
[4] *E. microtheca, paniculata, populifolia, incrassata,* and *oleosa.*

upwards, interlacing with its neighbours, forming an impervious hedge'. It also provides wattle for hurdles and (like mulga) drink for man and food for stock, so that 'during the drought it saved the lives of thousands of cattle which would otherwise have perished owing to the failure of grass'.[1]

and in the distribution of its population in towns.

The economic history of New Zealand and Australia has been almost the same, yet the developments of town life in the two countries are as vividly contrasted as their fauna and flora. Two Australian towns, Melbourne and Sydney, contain more than the whole population of New Zealand; and Australia, though twenty-eight times as large, is only four times as populous as New Zealand. There were 3,771,715 whites in Australia in 1901, more than one-fourth of whom were cooped up in Sydney and Melbourne. This disproportion between two towns and the whole country is only equalled by Scotland, which is after all a manufacturing country, and as we have seen not much larger than Tasmania. There is no other modern parallel in white men's countries. The figures of separate States tell a still more striking story. In 1852 Lang denounced Sydney and Melbourne as wens because they contained more than one-fourth of the population of New South Wales and Victoria. Nowadays in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia more than one-third of the inhabitants dwell in the capital; in Queensland nearly one-fourth; and in Western Australia nearly one-fifth. The latter is the proportion which prevails between greater London and England.

The cause of this disproportion between country, where the elastic is stretched to splitting point, and capital cities, where it is rolled up into the smallest ball, is partly historical and partly geographical. All colonies are exporters before being self-supporters; and colonization is in the first instance an incident of external trade. Colonial and especially

[1] R. L. Jack, *Handbook of Geology of Q.*, &c. (1886), p. 7.

pastoral products demand the minimum of labour and the maximum of space, and capitals are looked on as centres which collect these products and send them to market. Sometimes the shape of the country or some military necessity counteracts these influences. Thus New Zealand, which is long and thin and has suffered from war, is exceptionally decentralized. Australia which has always been at peace, which is broader than it is long, and has many barren intervals, only exaggerates a universal colonial tendency in the intense concentration of its distributors and in the vast spaces over which its producers are scattered.

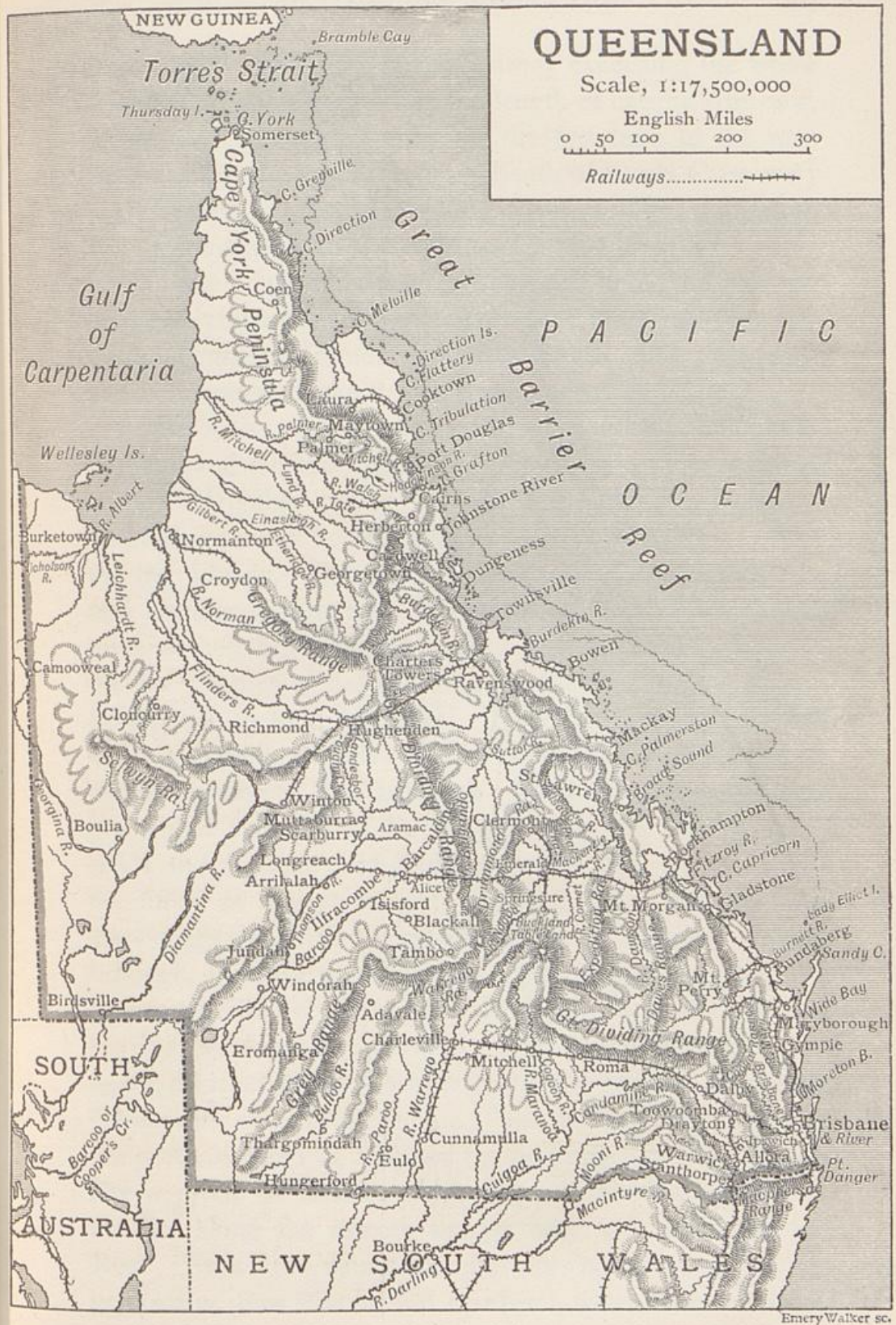
Its history is affected by

Australia, though so unlike its Australasian fellows, is partly guarded like some Pacific island by a coral reef; has one great range which like that of New Guinea or New Zealand unites it with other islands; and although destitute of living or half-living volcanoes seems, in the remote past, to have experienced basaltic flows and geysers of which the Darling Downs and Mount Morgan are respectively types and monuments.

(1) *its barrier reef,*

Queensland is shadowed along its eastern shore from Cape York to Sandy Cape (1,250 miles) by a half-sunken coral reef which is 12 to 160 miles away, which is studded with innumerable islets and is pierced by twenty-two deep sea passages. Not the islets on, but the passages through this barrier reef have played a part in history. Eleven passages are north of Cooktown, three near Cooktown, one opposite Port Douglas, two opposite Cairns, two a little south of Cardwell and Dungeness, and Dungeness is a little more than half way from its northern to its southern extremity. In its southern or lesser half there are only three entrances which are broad because they have been scooped out by three great rivers—the Burdekin, Fitzroy, and Burnett. Townsville and Bowen share the first, Rockhampton and Gladstone the second, Bundaberg and Maryborough the third of these three entrances. South of Sandy

which determines the position of the northern ports.



Emery Walker sc.

To face p. 48

Cape the Barrier Reef, after a journey exceeding the whole length of New Zealand or half the length of eastern Australia, ceases, and the coast trends for the first time to the west instead of to the east or south. North of Sandy Cape every port, except Mackay, Johnstone River, and St. Lawrence, faces some breach in the coral wall. 'No breach, no port', is the rule; but the converse does not hold, for half the breaches are north of Cooktown where there are only two ports, Thursday Island, in Torres Straits, and Somerset; and other causes make the ports prosperous or the reverse.

(2) *by eastern rivers and local industries which make the ports prosperous,*

Some of the ports are helped by their rivers: thus Maryborough and Rockhampton are situated more than half-way up the navigable course of their respective rivers, Maryborough 25 miles up the Mary, and Rockhampton 41 miles up the Fitzroy. Bundaberg, Cooktown, Johnstone River, and Dungeness are also river-ports on a small scale; but none of these ports depend on their river as London depends on the Thames or Calcutta depends on the Hugli. All are helped also by local industries. Thus Charters Towers gold-fields are within 80 miles of Townsville, and Mount Morgan within 30 miles of Rockhampton; Mount Perry copper-fields are within 70 miles of Bundaberg; and the Burrum coal-fields and Gympie gold-fields are respectively within 20 and 60 miles of Maryborough; and both Maryborough and Bundaberg shine with the reflected glory of Brisbane. Maryborough, Bundaberg, Mackay, Dungeness, Port Douglas, and Cairns are built of sugar; but all except the first three and the last are fourth-rate towns. Land traffic, from north to south, enriches Mackay, which is the half-way house between Townsville and Rockhampton; but north of the Burdekin the ports, isolated as they are by mountains and forests, are like a group of islands, which only communicate with one another along the smooth sea pathway within the Barrier Reef. Even a fine natural harbour does not necessarily bring prosperity: thus Bowen and Cardwell, which have the finest

(3) *and by the range*

behind the ports and the country behind the range.

natural harbours north of Rockhampton, occupy the third and fourth rank as towns. Both are cabined, cribbed, confined by the great range in their rear. The secret of the prosperity of Cairns and Cooktown is that they have penetrated the great range with road and rail. Behind the range are goldfields on the Palmer and Hodgkinson, and fields of tin and copper on the Tate and Walsh; all these rivers unite to form the Mitchell, and the Mitchell debouches on the western coast of Cape York Peninsula by many channels and amid swamps and mangroves which make a port impossible. Indeed, Cape York Peninsula has no western port, therefore the riches of the tableland all go to Cairns and Cooktown, especially to Cairns. Cooktown also supplies a port to the pearlers and bêche de mer fishers of the coral sea and New Guinea on its east, although in this respect Thursday Island has to some extent supplanted it. Further south, Townsville and Rockhampton have also reached beyond the range in their rear; but the range is much further off, and the prospect beyond it is far wider. Thus Cairns is about 30 miles from its watershed and the country beyond is under 300 miles wide; but Rockhampton is nearly 300 miles from its watershed and the country beyond is over 2,000 miles wide. The scale is different but the principle is the same; and the principle is that the sea passage makes the port exist, and the country at its back makes it great; for the port is only the link between the vast expanse of inner Australia and the distant English market.

The following list of ports from north to south will illustrate the point that those only who cross both barrier reef and mountain bar achieve greatness in the northern half of eastern Australia. Population is a symbol of greatness, and numbers are figures of merit; but the numbers include suburbs (if any) and exclude country folk, so that our mathematical standards are far from precise, and full ports seem fuller and empty ports seem emptier than they really

are. The distances from Brisbane are only roughly measured from point to point.

Port.	*Population.*	*Distance to Brisbane.*
Somerset	64	1,450 miles.
Cooktown	1,936	1,050 „
(Port Douglas) . . .	(494)	
Cairns	3,557	970 „
(Johnstone River) . .	(353)	
Cardwell	139	900 „
(Dungeness)	(53)	
Townsville	15,000	850 „
Bowen	1,585	750 „
Mackay	5,157	620 „
(St. Lawrence) . . .	(206)	
Rockhampton . . .	19,691	420 „
Gladstone	1,622	320 „
Bundaberg	9,666	220 „
Maryborough . . .	12,900	160 „

The great range unifies eastern Australia, New Guinea, and Tasmania.

It is to this mountain barrier that we must now turn.

As the reef in front of its coast makes Queensland one and calls all its ports, except its capital, into being, so the range behind the coast unifies and vitalizes eastern Australia. Its steep and rainy side is on its east side. It is impassable by rivers and it is long and low. It is seldom less than 2,000 to 3,000 feet, has few passes, and few heights. Mount Kosciusko (7,256 feet) near the source of the Murray is its highest peak. In Victoria five peaks exceed 6,000, 18 exceed 5,000 feet; in New England two are about 5,000 feet; near Darling Downs two are about 4,000 feet; near Cairns two outliers are 5,438 feet and 5,158 feet respectively; and north of Cairns it sinks towards Cape York, but sinks to rise again. The western islets of Torres Straits—including Thursday Island, where fishers of every race and creed catch or cure pearls, sea-slugs, and souls—are detached continuations of the same range, their feet being laved by waters 50 to 70 feet deep, and 80 miles across; and the apex of the range is Mabudauan Hill, 150 feet high, which is actually in New Guinea. The barrier range throws a bridge of islets across

the straits and annexes New Guinea. So too some islets of the Barrier Reef as they pass north of the Australian shores assert their kinship with other distant coral islands of the Pacific by growing coco-nuts, coco-nuts being unknown in Australia.

If we follow the range upon a map it looks like a picture of the tree Ygdrasil, whose summit and root are hidden in other spheres; for, as its summit is on the far side of Torres Straits, even so its root crosses a strait, four times as deep and not quite twice as wide as Torres Straits, unseen save for a few rocky islets, and with its fibres envelops Tasmania.

In Tasmania it is double and most of Tasmanian history took place between the two ranges;

In the south-east of New South Wales a river called Snowy River rises in an angle of the range. The sides of the angle resemble a V turned upside down; one side of the V forms Manero Range, and points more or less towards Cape Howe, and the other side forms Mount Kosciusko. As we follow the latter south-west another jagged dented V opens northwards, and in its opening the Murray and its tributaries the Mitta Mitta and Ovens rise. Further west less definite openings conceal the origins of the Goulburn and Loddon which also flow into the Murray. The sides of these V's, openings and dents are prolonged into ranges which on the north separate tributary from tributary, and on the south make for the coast between Cape Otway and Cape Howe, avoiding bays, but crowding towards Wilson's promontory in such confused numbers that less than twenty years ago a traveller noted a range 30 miles long and 3,000 feet high which was not marked on any map. These southerly prolongations may be compared to the fibres of a root. The fibres dip beneath Bass's Strait, emerge as rocky islets, and reappear in Tasmania. The extreme eastern fibre starts from Cape Portland, twists down the coast at a distance of from 5 to 25 miles, and ends in Pittwater and in the ravines of Tasman Peninsula. The extreme

western fibre starts from Cape Grim and soon attains a distance of 50 miles from its coast, which it retains more or less until its finish in Mount Wellington (4,166 feet). Both ranges frequently exceed 5,000 feet, and have their steep side on their sea side. The east coast is dry, but the west coast is as rainy as the west coast of New Zealand, and contains forests of pine[1] and beech,[2] tangled undergrowths all its own,[3] and little grass. In 1876 the only people who dwelt west of the western range were villagers at the mouth of the Huon near Hobart, a few families at Port Davey, and a few miners who had just come from the north coast to Mount Bischoff grubbing for tin. The thin east coast-strip possessed only a few scattered villagers, some of whom had been there more than half a century. Tasmania progressed only on the gradual sides of the two ranges, and these gradual sides meet in the centre of the island and form a greenstone plateau 2,000 to 3,000 feet high, diversified by 'tiers' and terraces, by mountains 4,000 to 5,000 feet high, and by lochs more in number than all the lochs of Australia. This plateau is the watershed from which the principal Tasmanian rivers flow north and south, and it is so limned that all its lochs except Lakes Arthur and Woods belong to the southern river system, which consists of the Derwent and its numerous affluents, and of Coal River, which has no affluents to speak of. The northern river system includes more than twenty river-mouths, the chief of which, Port Dalrymple, belongs to the Tamar and its affluents. Tasmania has two ranges and two climates on its east and on its west, and two important river systems on its north and on its south. Its history has also been dual; but the dualism of its history is due neither to the two ranges, nor to the two climates, but to the two river systems.

[1] *Athrotaxis selaginoides*, &c.; *Dacrydium Franklinii*, &c.
[2] *Fagus Cunninghamii.*
[3] *Anodopetalum biglandulosum*; *Bauera rubioides.*

Until the last thirty or forty years the history of Tasmania was the history of the two river systems, dominated by the Derwent and the Tamar, and might be described as the tale of two rivers.

in the south the Derwent,

Hobart, the capital city (34,815), is a river as well as an ocean port, and lies 12 miles up stream on the right bank of the Derwent. Huon pines are cut, roots and fruits are grown, and coal has recently been quarried 20 or 30 miles south-west of Hobart on the mouth of the Huon which boasts of three towns, Franklin (765), Victoria (261), and Lovett (230). East of Hobart, Richmond (395), Sorell (245), and Colebrook (147) on Coal River serve it with wheat and coal. Every other important town in the south, whether agricultural like New Norfolk (1,151), or pastoral like Hamilton (232), or both like Oatlands (616), is on the Derwent or its affluents.

and in the north the Tamar made its history, until minerals developed the N.E.,

Launceston (21,153)—an ocean and river port on the Tamar, situated at a spot where its affluents flow in from west, south, and east, and 40 miles from where Port Dalrymple, as its tubular mouth is called, sucks in the sea, and 120 miles from Hobart—is virtually the second capital. At or close by Port Dalrymple are Beaconsfield (2,658), Georgetown (274), and Lefroy (709), which began their career as gold-towns less than thirty years ago. The two eastern affluents which join the Tamar at Launceston are the North Esk and South Esk. The sources of the North Esk are near those of the Ringarooma, which flows in an opposite direction to that of the North Esk and reaches the sea a few miles west of Cape Portland. The Ringarooma is flanked on the north-west by a range which culminates in Mount Cameron, and on the south-east by the east dividing range which is here called Blue Tier. An offshoot of the Cameron Range forms the watershed between the Ringarooma and North Esk, and blends with the Blue Tier range in Mount Victoria; then the merged mountains split up once more into Tower

Hill and Ben Lomond on the west, and Black Boy and Mount Nicholas on the east, which are the chief sources of the South Esk. More solid boons flow from the mountains of North-east Tasmania. On the northern slope of the Cameron range a railway runs from Launceston to Scottsdale (636), whence coaches cross the range to Ringarooma (230), Derby (587), Weldborough (283), Moorina (350), Pioneer (150), and Gladstone (163), all of which collect much tin and a little gold from Mounts Cameron and Blue Tier. If we take the train from Launceston to Hobart, change at Conara junction, and travel east to Fingal (372) and St. Mary (281), we shall be within the shadow of Mount Nicholas, where the best Tasmanian coal is mined, and within easy reach of Matthina (Mount Blackboy) and Mangana (Tower Hill) gold-mines. The tin mountains are of granite, which has forced its way up through superincumbent masses of slate and the like; the gold and coal mountains are of greenstone overlying slate and overlain by coal measures. All the gold of the east is quartz gold, and the best gold is found where greenstone and slate are nearest, just as the best tin is found where granite meets slate. Greenstone has replaced slate or driven it underground all the way from Mounts Victoria and Blackboy in the north to Tasman Peninsula in the south; and these are the very parts from which the whites tried to drive the blacks down into Tasman Peninsula or back into the wild slate region in 1829. There was something geological about Colonel Arthur's operation. The slate region of the north-east is dotted with basalt plains which only began to attract farmers a little before the advent of miners in the seventies. Geology is no respecter of watersheds: thus tin, gold, and coal trespass beyond the eastern crests, and coal seams surround the central greenstone plateau like a girdle.[1]

(*Colonel Arthur's 'unsettled district'*)

[1] R. M. Johnston, *Systematic Account of the Geology of Tasmania* (1888).

and the N.W. (where the V.D.L. Co. had been isolated).

The southern and western affluents of the Tamar (or the railway trains) take us to pastoral centres like Campbell-town (735) and Perth (442), to agricultural centres like Longford (1,223) and Westbury (1,027), or to towns which, like Deloraine (949), combine both characters; and these towns, most of which are built on basalt plains, crouch beneath the eastern or northern escarpment of the central plateau. Before the sixties Deloraine was 'the last town ere we pass the Rubicon and enter the wilds of the north-west'.[1] In 1871 an agriculturists' railway was built from Launceston to Deloraine, which turned these wilds into gardens. Latrobe (1,360) is on the Mersey, which is 7 miles west of Deloraine; and the Mersey is the first of five rivers which have only been important since 1871, and which run side by side, at 5 miles interval, from the plateau or the west dividing range to the northern sea. The Mersey, Forth, Leven, Blyth, and Emu compose the Tasmanian Punjaub. In their upper reaches are plains about 1,000 feet lower than the central plateau, and known as Emu Plains, Middlesex Plains, and Surrey and Hampshire Hills; at or near their mouths are Devonport (3,515), Hamilton (160), Ulverstone (1,164), Penguin (540), and Burnie (1,548). Burnie, Surrey, and Hampshire Hills are basaltic, open and well grassed, and have been since 1828 the scene of the pastoral operations of the Van Diemen's Land Company, but until recent times they were almost cut off from the rest of Tasmania. Thus in 1854 Hampshire Hills, where 'the Company have laid out a large sum of money in farm-houses, gardens, and other improvements', were reached by a rough forest track from Emu Bay on the north, or by a rough inland track grandiloquently called 'the midland road' from Deloraine on the east;[2] and the Company traded more with Melbourne than with Launceston. It

[1] *A Year in Tasmania* (1854), p. 269.

[2] Ibid. pp. 283, 287. Comp. C. P. Sprent in *Royal Geogr. Soc. of Australasia*, Melbourne, 1885, pp. 51 et seq.

is only since the Sixties that the forests, which intervened between the possessions of the Company and the Tamar river system, have been cleared for agriculture, and that this region has been an essential part of Tasmania. Moreover, the railway now goes to Burnie, and the ridges which fence river from river, yield coal at Devonport and other minerals elsewhere. These ridges are only other fragmentary fibres of the great root; but their material varies; thus the ridge which borders Emu river is granite, and meets the westernmost fibre, which is slaty, in Mount Bischoff, where the richest Australasian tin mine was opened in 1873. After meeting in Mount Bischoff, the two fibres part once more, and further south, amid hills and valleys of slate and the like, granitic fibres reappear in Mount Heemskirk, where there is tin, in Mounts Zeehan and Dundas, with their famous mines of silver-lead, and in Mount Lyell, whose copper mine is the richest in Australasia and also yields gold and silver. This district, whose mineral history began in 1873, has proved so rich that a railway has been pushed from Burnie beyond the Surrey Hills to Mount Bischoff (350), Dundas (1,500), Zeehan (5,014), and the new port on Macquarie Harbour named Strahan (1,504), and from Strahan and Pillinger (637), which is also on Macquarie Harbour, to Queenstown (5,050) and Gormanston (1,760), near Mount Lyell. The reopening of Macquarie Harbour is a matter only of the last ten years and is solely due to mineral enterprise, which in this case began just beyond the point reached by the old Land Company in the first half of last century. Except in this new mineral district and at Corinna (120)—a mineral town on the Pieman—the whole district between the western dividing range and the sea is still but little more than a howling wilderness. Two small detached posts of the old Land Company, and one or two other pastoral settlements, between Burnie and Cape Grim, have recently been connected with Burnie by a fair road.

Tasmania is decentralized like N.Z.

Tasmania is almost as decentralized as New Zealand. It has two capitals; New Zealand, which is five times as populous and rich, has ten. Tasmania has one purely mineral district; New Zealand, which is more than twice as rich in minerals, has two. Excluding capitals, there are sixteen Tasmanian towns whose inhabitants exceed 500. All of these towns owe something to their mines. Almost these very words have been written of Otago and Southland.[1] Our list of Tasmanian towns, which is fairly complete, accounts for 55 per cent. of the population; our New Zealand list yields almost the same ratio. The average density of the ten New Zealand and two Tasmanian capitals is almost the same; pure mining towns of both states are on an average of the same size.[2]

	Average Density × 1000.
2 capitals (N. and S.)	27·9
7 mining towns (WNW.) . . .	2·26
11 towns (NNW. and C.) . .	1·1
12 towns (NE. and E.) . . .	·5
9 towns (S.)	·4

But analogies of this kind should not be pressed too far. The size of a town is sometimes a matter of opinion, and opinions differ in different States. These figures are only offered as rough and ready bases for comparison and as something less than mathematical exactitudes, though more than figures of rhetoric.

The range unifies N.S.W., Q. and V.,

It is time to leave towns and return to the mountains. Somewhere near the border of New South Wales and Victoria an inverted V was mentioned, one of whose sides contained Mount Kosciusko, where the Victorian branch-range starts, and the other was the Manero Range, from which the easternmost rootlets which cross to Tasmania depend. This was less than truth, for Manero Range serves also as the

[1] *Ante*, p. 28.

[2] *Ante*, p. 39.

west side of a second V-shaped valley, whose east side is the starting-point of the trunk which ends in New Guinea. Manero Range connects Victoria, as well as Tasmania, with eastern Australia. It unites but does not divide States, for the border between New South Wales and Victoria is a purely arbitrary line drawn from Cape Howe to the source of the Murray. Early settlers on Manero Plains, which are enclosed between the lines of the second V, used Twofold Bay as their port; and as there is no natural frontier which would include both Manero Plains and Twofold Bay in one State it was decided to fix the frontier by compass. The district south of the Plains is poor judged by New South Wales' standards; its chief towns are Bega (1,898), Bombala (986), Eden (370), or Twofold Bay, and when the new Australian capital is built, Dalgetty; but interest begins at the base of the trunk.

and its course is described

If, changing our metaphor, we could imagine the range travelling from its base by Manero Range to its goal in the far north, its journey through New South Wales would fall into four stages: the first leads beyond Lake George to near Goulburn (120 miles), and the second to Liverpool Range (210 miles), the third is Liverpool Range (90 miles), the fourth includes New England Range and ends in Darling Downs (210 miles).

through N.S.W. to Goulburn,

During the earlier stages the range moves due north; and the beginning of the first and end of the second stage are almost on the same meridian. The coast meanwhile has been moving eastward, and was once 30 miles, then, near Goulburn, 60 miles, and is now 160 miles away. Shortly after the start, part of the range—loath, as it were, to lose sight of the sea—secedes from the great range, tries to run parallel with the coast, and for a time succeeds.[1] Where it secedes, the Shoalhaven rises, then runs by its western side for 80 miles, then turns sharp to the east, rends it in twain,

[1] Currockbilly and Cambewarra Range.

and seeks the sea near Nowra (2,813) and Berry (1,990). The best-known town in the Shoalhaven district is Braidwood (1,551), whose ports are Ulladulla (1,765) and Moruya (1,099), as well as those at the mouth of the Shoalhaven. The rebel range, after being cut in pieces by its liquid companion, puts itself together again—not without help from the west, and begins a new life, north of the Shoalhaven—as the Illawarra Range; between which and the sea are Central Illawarra (4,675), Geringong (1,051), Kiama (1,769), Shellharbor (1,944), Wollongong (3,545), and Illawarra North (3,190); for here towns are many and large, and we are already in 'the garden of Sydney'. Some 30 miles south of Sydney the Illawarra Range gets too near the sea, which destroys it as the river destroyed its predecessor.

While the rebel range has been curving eastward, the legitimate range has been keeping steadily to the north, flanked on the west by the Murrumbidgee, which having risen in the second V runs north to Yass (2,221) and then turns westward by Gundagai (1,488)—the head of its navigation—to Wagga Wagga (5,108). Cooma (1,938) is the chief town of Manero Plains, and a railway runs thence by Queanbeyan (1,219) to Goulburn (10,613), which is east of the range, abreast of Yass, and within the immediate influence of Sydney.

to Liverpool Range,

Near Goulburn the main range wavers in its purpose and turns a little seaward. As it turns, its original direction is prolonged by a runner which divides the Lachlan from the Macquarie.[1] The Macquarie, rising as it does in the acute angle formed by runner and range, is compelled to travel north. After a while the main range changes its mind and holds on its former course in spite of its increasing distance from the sea. Again it repents and strays seaward (here the Cudgegong rises): again it stiffens itself and returns to its old ways, detaching Hunter Range, which continues seaward,

[1] Macquarie Range.

along Liverpool Range,

and at last its penitent pilgrimage—of 90 miles—straight towards the sea begins. This humiliating stage is called Liverpool Range. As the mountain mass solemnly wheels round towards the east, two impenitents break off from it at a tangent towards the north,[1] flanked on their east by the Conadilly and Peel, which run north for the same reason that the Macquarie ran north. Because the independent mountains are true to their goal, the rivers are false to theirs; and when the mountains pay the inevitable price of their independence and lose themselves in the plains, the rivers regain their lost direction, merge in one another, and with mutually augmented force sweep round to the west, and become the river Darling.

and along New England Range to Macpherson Range, Q.,

When the main range finds itself almost as near the sea as it was at Goulburn, it makes two half-turns to the north, and at each half-turn two scions, Royal Mount and Hastings Range, desert it and continue seaward—Manning and Hastings rivers running by their sides—but faint and fail half-way. At the second half-turn an overzealous follower turns too far and wanders off north-west into space.[2] Between it and its leader the Gwydir springs into life, runs north-west, and it, like its fellows, is transformed into the Darling. Hunter River—the only long straight river of the east coast of Australia[3]—waters the oblong valley shut in by the Hunter, 'main', Liverpool, and Royal Mount ranges. Liverpool Plains lie about the Conadilly, but Liverpool Plains District includes the Peel and other affluents of the Namoi. The New England District begins with the Gwydir and overlaps the east side of the main range, which now resumes its northward course, assumes a new name, and is christened New England; but repeats its old error, starting 70 miles, and after 200 miles' journey ending 100 miles from

[1] Warrumbungle and Peel ranges.
[2] Nandewar Range.
[3] I include its principal western affluent, the Goulburn.

the sea. Conscience-stricken it makes two half-turns to the east, and on each occasion an unconscientious disciple refuses to follow his master, and hurries northward to his doom. When 70 miles or so from the sea it makes a whole turn to the north, whereat one over-conscientious disciple defies it, and for the first time in all this journey of 600 miles runs boldly and with head erect to the very coast.[1] Where the conscientious master and unconscientious disciples parted company the Dumaresq and Condamine rise, and they too start north under aliases when they mean some day to throw off their disguise and proclaim themselves the Darling. The over-conscientious defiant disciple is the Macpherson Range, which meets the sea at Point Danger and is part of the frontier between Queensland and New South Wales, and would form an ideal frontier if New South Wales and Queensland were merely coastal states; but in Australia the coastal range has always been regarded as a bridge, not as a partition wall, between east and west. The upland valley of the Condamine is the original Darling Downs; but the upland valley of the Dumaresq is included in the expression Darling Downs District. New England District belongs to New South Wales; Darling Downs District to Queensland.

and through Q. to Warrego Range,

After passing Macpherson Range the main range does what it has never done before, and steers west of north; while the coast does what it has never done before, moving due north to Sandy Cape and then, as we have seen, north-westward. Opposite Sandy Cape the main range is already 300 miles away, and it is the coast which tries to correct the interval. Formerly the mountains conformed to the coast as it wandered east; now the coast conforms to the mountains as they wander west, but with indifferent success. When the mountains are 450 miles as the crow flies north-west of Macpherson Range, the sea is still 330 miles away. Meanwhile dissident after dissident leaves the mountain's right side

[1] Macpherson Range.

and struggles due north; first there is Cooyar Range, which is the north and west fence, even as Macpherson Range is the south fence of the Brisbane and Mary river systems. Next comes Dawes's Range, between which and Cooyar Range is the Burnett river system. These river systems are not wholly distinct from one another, for the Mary is a mere appendix to the Brisbane, and the Lower Burnett is co-ordinate with the Mary. Similarly the two ports Maryborough and Bundaberg are subordinate to Brisbane (119,428), which is the paramount port of these three districts. After Dawes's Range comes Drummond Range, and these two ranges enclose the Fitzroy, of which Rockhampton is the only port. The Fitzroy is fed from south, west, and north-west, by the Dawson, Comet, Nogoa, and Isaacs; which are partitioned off from one another by Expedition Range, Bucklands tableland, and Peak Downs in their upper reaches, and of which all, except the Dawson, are in their lower reaches fused in the Mackenzie. Gladstone is to Rockhampton as Maryborough is to Brisbane. Between Macpherson Range and the point 450 miles to the north-west to which we have come, the mountains never stretch one single semblance of an arm to the west. Briareus used to be ambidexter but is now right-armed. At the 450th mile something more like a tumour than an arm bulges out to the west and forms with the main range not a V but an inverted V. Warrego Range, as this excrescence is called, might plead as an apology for its originality that it is an accidental prolongation of Drummond Range, which at this point seems to pass through the main range. Whether this is so or not Warrego Range is the north boundary of the Darling river system, but not, as Mitchell thought, the southern boundary of the Carpentaria river system, and is the end of the first stage of our imaginary journey along the great dividing range of Queensland.

to Selwyn Kirby Range,

The second stage of the journey ends 300 miles further north. The mountain ridge is lower—about 1,500 feet

s. m.—and more level. At the commencement of this stage the Belyando rises in a sequestered nook between the Drummond and main range, and joins the Burdekin in the north. If we add to these 300 miles, 200 miles borrowed from the third stage we have here the west wall of the Burdekin river system, of which Townsville is one of three possible ports. At the end of the second stage a second inverted V occurs on the west—as abruptly and inexcusably as Manero Range. It is the parting of the ways. Here a branch called Selwyn Range, Kirby Range, Barklay tableland, and the like—1,500 to 1,000 feet *s. m.*—diverges to the west, crosses Northern Territory (S.A.) about 200 miles from the sea, forms Denison Plains south of Kimberley District (W.A.), links these districts to northern Queensland, and then dies a natural but unknown death. North of it is a network of rivers, which flow into the Gulf of Carpentaria and the Indian Ocean. Between the Carpentarian Pacific and Warrego watersheds the Barcoo, Thomson, Diamantina, and Georgina rise and flow south-westward towards a goal which they are not destined to attain. The nearest Pacific port to the north wall of the Barcoo river system is Townsville; the nearest Pacific port to its south wall is Rockhampton; the ports on the Gulf of Carpentaria may be disregarded for reasons which have already been discussed; therefore Townsville and Rockhampton are its only possible ports.

Meanwhile the character of the country west of the great range has changed. Between Manero Range and Darling Downs successive tablelands are wedged in between the successive V-shaped ranges which have been described and slowly slope to the west as the dissenting range sinks and is absorbed. These tablelands are of the same stuff as the main range—are as old as Wales—and teem with mineral wealth. From Darling Downs to the point we have now reached there are no V's, no old rocks, nor metals on the west of the

range; but all the country undulates. The best country is open and grassy, with soil of shale and sandstone; and the worst country is scrubby or stony, and the stone is desert sandstone. Both formations are coeval with our chalk, and constitute the Queensland Downs; and layers of the same material—thin as paper—are spread over the dead levels further south and constitute the western plain of New South Wales. Occasionally limestone varies the eternal monotony of sandstone.

to Port Douglas,

The third stage, which takes us almost to Port Douglas—just north of Cairns—is 300 miles long, and for the first 80 miles it goes north instead of north-west; then there is a fork, the western prong of which points north and is called Gregory Range; but the eastern prong, which travels east of north—like the main range of New South Wales—represents the real range. After this split the west flank is once more divided into tableland and plain—the former when at its best is gold country, and the latter when at its worst is mangrove swamp. At the end of this stage the range is close to the east coast and not far from the west coast, for we have now arrived at Cape York Peninsula.

and Cape York.

In the fourth or final stage, the eastern and western coasts opposite Cooktown are the skirts of the range which holds its way midway between coast and coast. Soon the coast-lines converge towards the true north; then the mountain bows its head, its sides shrink and shrivel, desert sandstone chills and chokes it first on its left side, then on its brow, then on both its sides; its lamp of life grows dim, flickers, and goes out. The life-history of the range might be written thus: it tried to serve two masters, its own northing instinct and the example of its attendant coast; when these opposite inclinations were at last reconciled, the coasts were already two, they and the mountains became one, and both dwindled and died.

South of the Barrier Reef, the only capitals are first-rate

Sydney was chosen for its port,

harbours, and the only first-rate harbours are capitals. The capitals also proved first-rate points from which to assail the interior; but the selectors knew nothing of this, looked only out to sea, and turned a blind eye inland. Port Jackson, in which Sydney (487,932) lies, was discovered by Captain Phillip almost without search. On his arrival in Botany Bay with his odd freight he disliked the place, went for two or three days' cruise to find a better, and hit on Sydney and Port Jackson. Had they been a few miles further off they would never have been discovered until too late. When he saw the deep winding entrance sheltered by sandstone rocks and the calm, many-dented inland sea within, and the site of Sydney nestling in one of the deepest and smoothest nooks —like some Holy of Holies—he thought he saw the finest harbour in the world, and his instinct was prophetic. That was why he settled in Sydney. Yet Sydney has other unique natural advantages of which no naval captain dreamed.

but its value is also due to local industries, e.g. coal, and rivers,

The main range is of the usual slaty type, diversified with granitic outbursts, basaltic overflows, and all sorts of primary rocks. Its left and right arms belong to the same class, but on the coastal side early secondary stones clothe the bare slate; and the 'Hawkesbury sandstone', which monopolizes the coastal district between the Shoalhaven and Hunter, forms clothing of this kind. The early colonists bemoaned this invariable sandstone until they found that it concealed a rich store of coal. At present coal is worked underneath a suburb of Sydney at a depth of 3,000 feet, on the south of Sydney at Illawarra, in the west on the mountain crest at Katoomba (2,270), Lithgow (5,268), and Wallerawang (500), and above all in the north in Hunter Valley at Newcastle (54,992). As in our Black Country, iron sometimes accompanies coal. Newcastle exports not only its coal but its agricultural products, like an independent port. Sandstone is not propitious for agriculture, but basalt has fertilized Illawarra; and Hawkesbury floods have made Penrith (3,543),

Richmond (1,202), and Windsor (2,039); and its affluents have made Campbelltown (2,152), Camden (1,719), Mossvale (1,385), and Picton (1,053); the Hunter and its affluents have made Maitland (10,073), Singleton (2,872), Muswellbrook (1,710), Scone (1,145), and Morpeth (1,288); and lesser rivers have made Paramatta (12,561), and Liverpool (3,901) agricultural centres. Richmond and the last three towns are the heads of navigation of their respective rivers. Sydney has proved the centre of a charmed semicircle, destitute of gold but rich in coal and every form of rural wealth, although it was chosen for a totally different reason; and Sydney is much more than that.

and to its being the starting point of three natural ways across the range to centres of wealth on or beyond the range,

Three railroads radiate from Sydney: one to the south-west by Goulburn and Yass to Murrumburrah (1,448), near Young (2,755), and thence by Cootamundra (2,424), and Junee (2,190), to Wagga Wagga on the Murrumbidgee, and to Albury (5,821) and Corowa (2,000), which are heads of navigation of the Murray; a second leads west by Wallerawang to Bathurst (9,223), Blayney (1,529) Orange (6,331), and Wellington (2,980); of which Orange is on the Lachlan and leads to Forbes (4,314), Parkes (3,180), and Condobolin (1,091), which are also on the Lachlan; and Wellington is on the Macquarie, and leads forward to Dubbo (3,412) and Warren (1,175) on the same river, and to Nyngan (1,155) on the Bogan, or backward to Gulgong (1,579), Mudgee (2,789), and Cudgegong (2,985) on an affluent of the Macquarie. But we must not attend to these backward ways at present. A third railroad leads by Newcastle to Murrurundi (1,235) and Quirindi (1,676) on Liverpool Plains, whence the traveller may descend the Namoi to Gunnedah (1,911), and Narrabri (2,286)—60 miles from Moree (2,339) on the Gwydir, and 80 miles from Walgett (750), which, though only a pastoral town, is in flood-time the head of navigation of the Darling; or he may cross to Tamworth (5,802) on the Peel, and the New England towns of Armidale (4,249), near Hillgrove

(2,274), of Glen Innes (2,918), near Inverell (3,293), and Tingha (1,200), of Tenterfield (2,604), and Emmaville (1,000). The last five towns are tin towns, and the rest, or almost all the rest of the towns upon the summit or upon the western slope of the great range which have been named, are or have been gold towns. Outside the first semicircle there is a second semicircle which reaches to Tenterfield, Walgett, Nyngan, Condobolin, Wagga Wagga, Albury, and Cooma, and between the two semicircles the tableland is, or has been, strewn with gold, although gold was not first in time, and is not first in rank, among the riches of the tableland. Let us pause now for a few moments at the seven towns which dot the outer rim of the second semicircle.

In most countries railroads are artificial roads which cut knots instead of untying them. That is not the case in New South Wales. These three railway lines were the very three lines by which Hume went to Lake George, Wentworth and Oxley to Bathurst, and Bell to Newcastle, in the last days of the first epoch. The routes became roads, and in the next epoch, from Lake George Currie went to Cooma, and Hume and Mitchell to Wagga Wagga and Albury; from Bathurst Oxley went to Condobolin, and Sturt and Mitchell to Nyngan and Walgett, and from Newcastle Cunningham went to Tamworth and Tenterfield, and Mitchell to Narrabri, as though they were the ghosts of the mainroads and railroads that were to be. Speaking broadly, there are only three ways of escape for foot, horse or train from the valleys of Hawkesbury sandstone, and Sydney is the junction where these three ways unite.

which are far apart and beyond which are

And there are no natural and only ways from any port in Australia which lead so inevitably and so simply to points so far apart. The postal distances from Sydney to the seven towns on the circumference of which Sydney is the hub vary from 260 to 480 miles. If a bird flew from Sydney round this ring and back again its aerial flight would accomplish

1,300 miles. Nor are any of these seven towns termini except Cooma; Albury is the two-thirds'-way house to Melbourne; Wagga Wagga, Condobolin, Nyngan, and Walgett, are on the verge of the illimitable Western Plain, and Tenterfield is the gateway to Queensland. The long lines from Sydney to these extreme points are only avenues through which more distant vistas are discerned.

(1) *northern districts more or less detached from N.S.W., e.g. the Clarence district,*

We will pursue the last thread first. At Glen Innes we enter tin country, south of which metals, other than gold, are rarely found upon the tableland. On going north along the coast from the Hunter, we pass the Manning, the Hastings, with Port Macquarie (1,171), the Macleay, with Kempsey (2,399), and Gladstone (1,171), the Nambucca, and the Bellingen, with Fernmount (1,220), all of which rivers flow from west to east and are short and hard to cross. We are now abreast of tin land and find for the first time a river which is antler-shaped. Every big coastal river-valley between this point and Cardwell, some 900 miles north, has the same shape. The river-mouth is where the deer's mouth would be, and the antlers, spread far and wide, are many branched, and sometimes a secondary river-valley takes shelter beneath one of the outstretched antlers. In this case the primary river is the Clarence, with Grafton (5,148), Ulmarra (1,722), and Maclean (1,350), and the secondary river, which is overshadowed by the northern antler of its primary, is the Richmond, with Lismore (4,397), Casino (1,949), and Ballina (1,819). The Clarence District ushers in a new kind of tree—the Moreton Bay Pine—as Dr. Lang noted long ago,[1] a new industry—sugar—and a new kind of coal drawn from strata a little later than those which bear coal near Sydney. The 'Dorrigo' Valley on the southern antler is volcanic, and began to attract agriculturists in 1905. By nature the whole district is far from road or rail, and is semi-detached; but Lismore is now and Grafton will soon

[1] *Ante*, part i. p. 179.

be, in defiance of nature, connected by rail with Tweed River and Tweed River with Brisbane.

and the Q. districts of Darling Downs and Brisbane ;

When we pass further north we are in a country which seems wholly detached from Sydney, but the semi-detached and wholly-detached districts are strangely alike. The table-land is still tin land ; the coast grows sugar, and has Clarence, or, as it is now called, Burrum, and Ipswich coal. Indeed, Ipswich coal overlaps the range and encroaches on the Darling Downs. On the coast the Mary is to the Brisbane as the Richmond is to the Clarence. Here too we find the first easy route over the range since leaving Newcastle, and the best natural port since leaving Sydney. Accordingly it is here that a new capital is fixed.

Brisbane (119,428) is situated 25 miles up-stream on the deep tortuous river Brisbane, which debouches into a large land-locked bay called Moreton Bay ; and 24 miles further up the same river[1] is Ipswich (15,246), the coal town, which is to Brisbane what Newcastle is to Sydney. In Brisbane two railways meet, the first leading by one of several possible ways past Gympie (14,431), the gold town, Maryborough, Bundaberg, and Gladstone to Rockhampton, and the other by Ipswich over one of two possible passes to Toowoomba (14,600) and Drayton (1,000) on Darling Downs. There it meets the railway from New England, which has in the meantime touched at Stanthorpe (735), the tin town, Warwick (4,225), and Allora (1,086), and now continues along the west crest of the watershed to Dalby (1,416), Roma (2,371), Mitchell (376) on the Maranoa, Charleville (1,419) on the Upper and Cunnamulla (991) on the Lower Warrego. The Maranoa and Warrego lead into the Darling from the north ; and on the Darling, 150 miles from Cunnamulla, the western railways of New South Wales end. Charleville and Cunnamulla are not only in touch with New South Wales, but with the only western tributaries of the Darling, the Paroo—on

[1] But called here the Bremer.

which are Wanaaring (120) (N.S.W.), Hungerford (107), and Eulo (191)—and the Bulloo, with Adavale (293) and Thargomindah (316), an opal town, as its capitals. The Paroo and Bulloo are called tributaries of the Darling, but their tribute has never yet reached their liege lord. It is always spilt on the way.

Looked at from the point of view of Sydney, Brisbane fulfils two functions. First, it is a side door through which the down lands on the northern affluents of the Darling send part of their goods to market. The Darling as a whole is the sphere of New South Wales, and Sydney is its only key. Brisbane supplements Sydney in some of these remoter down lands by providing an alternative by-port. Secondly, as sole indisputable sovereign of the coastal districts through which the Brisbane, Mary, and Burnett flow, Brisbane intervenes between the sphere with which Sydney has everything to do, and that with which Sydney has nothing to do.

which lead to wholly detached districts, e. g. Rockhampton,

The northern sphere to which the influence of Sydney does not extend begins at Rockhampton. Its coastal sphere is cut off from New South Wales by the exclusive sphere of Brisbane, and its western railway penetrates a new river system. On the west of Rockhampton is Mount Morgan (8,486), rich in gold and copper, and a T-shaped railroad to Emerald (1,015) in the middle, to Springsure (443) on the south, and to Clermont (1,955) on Peak Downs on the north. Hitherto the railroad is in its own river-valley, of whose antlers the T is a rude drawing. It now leaves the Fitzroy for the Belyando, which belongs to the Burdekin, and between the Fitzroy and Burdekin there is this affinity. There are coal-seams on Peak Downs, and on the Dawson and Mackenzie close by the railroad, which are the same as those on the Burdekin, and correspond not to the Clarence, Burrum and Ipswich but to the Sydney coal-seams. When the railroad leaves the Belyando it crosses the great range 300 miles due west of its starting-point to Alice and

and Townsville, which are joint capitals of the Barcoo district,

Barcaldine (1,476) near the sources of the Barcoo, and Longreach (1,690) on the Thomson, 150 miles below its source. Townsville, too, is the starting-point of a railway which strikes west—passes two gold towns, Charters Towers (20,976) and Ravenswood (2,508 *circa*)—hits the main range at the critical spot where Landsborough hit it, and where it splits in two. Near this spot is Hughenden (1,659), the railway junction for Richmond on the Flinders, and Winton (1,030) on the Diamantina. Hughenden is 80 miles from Richmond, which is 120 miles from Winton, which is 100 miles from Longreach, which is 80 miles from Barcaldine; and in this district space is plentiful and men are scarce, so that 100 miles count for as little as 10 miles, and ten men for as many as 100 men elsewhere. The railroads of Townsville and Rockhampton almost meet where the Barcoo, Thomson, and Diamantina start south-westward, the Flinders northward, and the affluents of the Burdekin eastward. The triple watershed is flattened out, and the inverted V to which we have referred appeals more to the eye of reason than to the eye of sense. Imagination is required to appreciate its crucial importance.

West and south-west of Richmond, Winton, Longreach, and Barcaldine, 'runs' are sometimes 3,000 square miles, distances are telescopic and towns microscopic. Descending the Barcoo for 500 odd miles we pass Isisford (350), Windorah (99), leaving Blackall (750), Tambo (500), and the immeasurable parvitudes of Eromanga and other opal towns on our left. Ascending the Thomson 300 odd miles from Cooper's Creek, where it joins the Barcoo, we pass Jundah (123), Arrilalah (135), Ilfracombe (249), Scarburry—where there is a store and inn—Muttaburra (353), and Aramac (361). Scarburry is marked on maps whose scale is 200 miles to the inch, without displacing larger towns. The 400-mile course of the Diamantina is still more lonely; and 400 miles west of Hughenden, Camooweal (120) stands in

solitary state at the head of the Georgina, Boulia (101) in its middle, and Birdsville (52) near its foot, where it ineffectually tries to join the Diamantina. There, four rivers—Barcoo, Thomson, Diamantina, and Georgina—converge ironically towards the illimitable inane: the further they go the weaker they grow; and when at its weakest each divides its force by multiplying its channels, so that when the channels meet, it is sometimes impossible to say which belongs to which river. These rivers are mostly dry but occasionally form an indistinguishable flood.

and of the Carpentarian district of which Cairns and Cooktown are also joint capitals;

On the Carpentaria side the rivers gain volume as they approach the sea; and there are two inferior ports—Burketown (310) on the Albert, and Normanton (838) on the Norman—some 30 or 50 miles up their respective rivers; two gold towns, Cloncurry (239), 200 miles or so from Burketown or Hughenden, and Croydon (2,984) near Normanton; and there are many large cattle runs where the blacks are still a danger. This district is still only half attached to the Townsville-Rockhampton district. Herberton (2,806), the tin town, Chillagoe (723), the copper town, and the gold towns of Maytown (698), Palmer (741), and Coen (199), are wholly attached to a separate district dominated by Cooktown and Cairns. Georgetown (422), and some minor towns on the Gilbert and Etheridge gold-fields owe divided allegiance to Townsville, Normanton, and Cairns.

(2) *West New South Wales,*

In following the northern clue we have insensibly wandered throughout the length and breadth of Queensland, and must now retrace our steps to New South Wales, on whose outer verge we left other clues dangling in mid-air at Corowa, Wagga Wagga, Condobolin, Nyngan, and Walgett. Queensland is twice the size of New South Wales, which is only as large as three Great Britains, one Ireland, and a bit. Yet small though New South Wales is we have hitherto only described its lesser or eastern half; its western half comprises the Western Plain. On the eastern half, which is

151,000 square miles, 1,265,000 people dwell. On the western half, which is 160,000 square miles, 90,000 people—or one-fifteenth of the people—dwell. The western half is large, lonely, level, dry, and bare.

beyond the slopes of the table-land,

In a sense we have a foretaste of the Western Plain east of Walgett, where the Gwydir and Namoi tear themselves into ribbands when about to join the Darling—after the fashion of the Barcoo; for there there are five counties in which each person has two square miles to himself. Again there is this essential distinction between tableland and plain. The former is a raised causeway or gallery along which men, beasts, and things must travel if they go from Manero Range to Cooktown—descending if they wish on the closed coastal compartments on the right, or on the indivisible down lands and plains upon their left. On the plains there is no one roadway, for everything is arid and even, and roads lie everywhere or nowhere. But this essential distinction is blurred upon some of the slopes between tableland and plain. One instance will illustrate what is meant. Cootamundra is a junction from which a railroad starts arbitrarily to the watershed between the Murrumbidgee and Lachlan at Temora (1,603), and Wyalong (5,250 *circa*) on the western slope. In 1893 Wyalong was mallee scrub, but gold was found underneath the earth, and water more precious than gold; so the railway went there as straight as any West Plain railway, and men took the place of underwood. But the route to Wyalong is a mere by-route, and there are other by-routes on the mountain slopes which are quite as accidental and capricious as the route to Wyalong; and these by-routes are of no importance at all, except when they are turned into cross routes, and supersede the natural cross routes of early history—such as the Cookbundoon and Pandora Passes. We have neither space nor inclination to discuss cross routes; it is enough for us that all the natural main routes upon the tableland maintain their

supreme significance, and that on the plain—and only on the plain—all routes, both great and small are alike. Even this rule is not quite true unless we define the plain more narrowly than we have hitherto defined it. The Murray and the Murrumbidgee which flows into the Murray, flow all the year round, form natural highways, and introduce a different type of country. With them convention associates the Lachlan, which, like the Darling and all its tributaries, is apt to run dry, and when approaching its principal fritters away its feeble resources with the same fatal indecision as that which afflicts the Gwydir, Namoi, Macquarie, and the rest. The country between the Murray, Murrumbidgee, and their weak-kneed companion the Lachlan is called Riverina; is as big as Tasmania; has agriculture and in its southern part vines and timber; and is usually excepted, as we shall henceforth except it, from inclusion in the Western Plain. On the Western Plain, in the narrower and more usual sense, there are no perpetual rivers, no timber-trade nor agriculture, as in Riverina. It can be entered and crossed anywhere, but if it is entered by rail it is entered at Nyngan.

and north of Riverina,

At Nyngan two railroads start north-west and west; straight as a die, for there are no obstacles in their way, the one to Bourke, with a branch to Brewarrina, and the other to a cul-de-sac in Cobar. If the reader will run his eye down the Darling from Walgett he will only detect six towns of importance: Brewarrina (683), Bourke (2,669), Wilcannia (935) towards which the railroad to Cobar points, Menindie (200 *ca.*), Pooncarie (70), and Wentworth (642). These towns do for west New South Wales what Winton, Longreach, Richmond, and Hughenden do for the western district of central Queensland. They are almost as populous, and some of them are almost on the same meridian as their northern antitypes. Further, Bourke is only 150 miles from Cunnamulla where the Brisbane-Charleville railway stops; so that from Wentworth to Hughenden there is a connected

e. g. the towns on the western Darling,

chain of small and scattered inland emporia 1,000 miles in length.

and Cobar, The other line goes direct to Cobar (3,371), which resembles Wyalong in its situation and industry, but its mines are chiefly copper, not gold. Next to Mount Lyell (T.), Cobar contains the richest Australasian copper-mines. The copper is concealed beneath low, almost imperceptible, slaty ridges, which run north and south from Cobar and Mount Boppy, through Gilgunnia and Nymagee (1,500 *ca.*) to Mount Hope (600 *ca.*) and Euabalong, 120 miles away. All these towns seem to climb down one and the same line of longitude. The nearest river to Cobar is the Bogan, eighty miles away; and as the slates are too near the surface of the soil to admit of artesian water, the people live on stored rain-water and the like.

and Broken Hill, On the other side of the Darling, which is about 140 miles west of Cobar, the plain slowly rises; and about 140 miles west of the Darling other slate rocks—a few hundred feet above the plain—climb up and enwreath another line of longitude; the southernmost belonging to the Barrier Range and the northernmost to the Grey Range. These ranges bound the basin of the Darling on the west and South Australia on the east. The Grey Range is continued north and joins the Warrego Range; to the south the Barrier Range sinks into the plain or the plain rises into the range, for high ground can easily be traced from the Barrier Range to Mount Lofty Range, and forms the source of affluents which make for the Lower Murray. The Grey Range contains decadent gold mines in Milparinka district (700 *ca.*) at Mount Browne and at Tibooburra (300 *ca.*). The Barrier Range contains the greatest of all Australasian silver-lead mines at Broken Hill (27,502), and Silverton (290). The Barrier Range District, though situated in New South Wales, deals almost exclusively with Adelaide, to which it is three times as near as it is to Sydney, and with which it is connected by rail.

and places where men are scarce,

Omitting mining districts—as well as Riverina—from the Western Plain, the latter contains 25,000 persons, or one person to every $5\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. In the Queensland districts watered by the Barcoo and its partners there are 15,000 persons to 195,000 square miles, or 13 square miles per person. These figures give some faint conception of the solitudes which may be felt in the vast sheep lands of Queensland and New South Wales. They are the necessary complement to the crowded hives at Sydney and at its assistant capitals; for here most of the wool is grown, which makes those ports big and busy. Not that men might not grow here too. Broken Hill is the largest non-capital town after Newcastle which we have hitherto encountered; and its inhabitants exceed in number all the pastoral inhabitants of the whole of the Western Plain.

the soil shallow,

The Western Plain has three kinds of soil, light sandy red soil; black clay; and an alternation of sand hill and claypan. The first arises from the decay of sandstone charged with iron, and mixed with shale: the second is silt, often basaltic silt, borne by water from the tableland and spread far and wide by flood; for even the Darling from time to time emulates the Nile. 'In 1864', wrote Mr. Parsons, 'the valley of the Darling for over 500 miles in length was an inland freshwater lake varying from ten to twenty miles in breadth.'[1] In normal times salt-bush—and sometimes after rain, grass—clothes both these kinds of soil; but in the worst times, to use Sturt's expression, the vegetable kingdom seems annihilated and the earth is hard, naked, and cracked. The third kind of soil exists in the north-west of New South Wales—is due to wind—and is almost worthless; yet even here 'the fall of an inch of rain will convert a desert into a flower garden.'[2]

Besides being occasional spendthrifts, the western rivers

[1] E. E. Morris, *Picturesque Australasia* (1889), iii. 508.
[2] J. D. Jacquet, *Broken Hill Lode*, p. 34.

and the rivers not to be relied on;

are chronic misers, and hoard their riches in what seem underground cellars of sandstone. But the seeming cellars are really tunnels half full of rain-water which has poured in upon the pervious sandstones crowning the west crest of the great range and now underlying its lower slopes. A stored wealth of water is already there when the rivers contribute their quota: and it is not only there but it is already moving westward on a bottom of slate and granite, or dashing against invisible breakwaters of slate and granite like those which peer above the plain at Wyalong, Cobar, and the Barrier and Grey ranges. Where current meets current or some other obstacle there is friction, heat, and a desire to rise, to which the Artesian bore ministers. Subterranean geography is not an exact science, and we can only note that hidden rivers are running hard between Winton on the Diamantina and somewhere near Balranald on the Murrumbidgee; between Dolgelly near Moree and the Grey and Barrier ranges. But their courses are mysterious. At Dolgelly and Winton they are over 4,000 feet deep and they are nearly always below sea-level; sometimes they gather in caves fifty feet high, and sometimes they are diffused throughout the pores of porous stones. It is always certain that the miserly river loses what it secretes; but it is never certain that human art will bring back the buried treasure into general circulation.

(3) *and Riverina which is half attached to Melbourne,*

We have now arrived at Riverina, the Australasian Mesopotamia, or land of the three rivers. West of Condobolin, towns are on the same scale as pastoral towns on the Western Plain, for, as we said, the Lachlan belongs by convention rather than by nature to Riverina. On the Murrumbidgee, the train from Cootamundra leads to Narrandera (2,255) and Hay (3,014); and Hay is a centre from which coaches go west to Balranald (741) on the Murrumbidgee, north to the Lachlan, and south to the Murray over plains of salt-bush where made roads are superfluous.

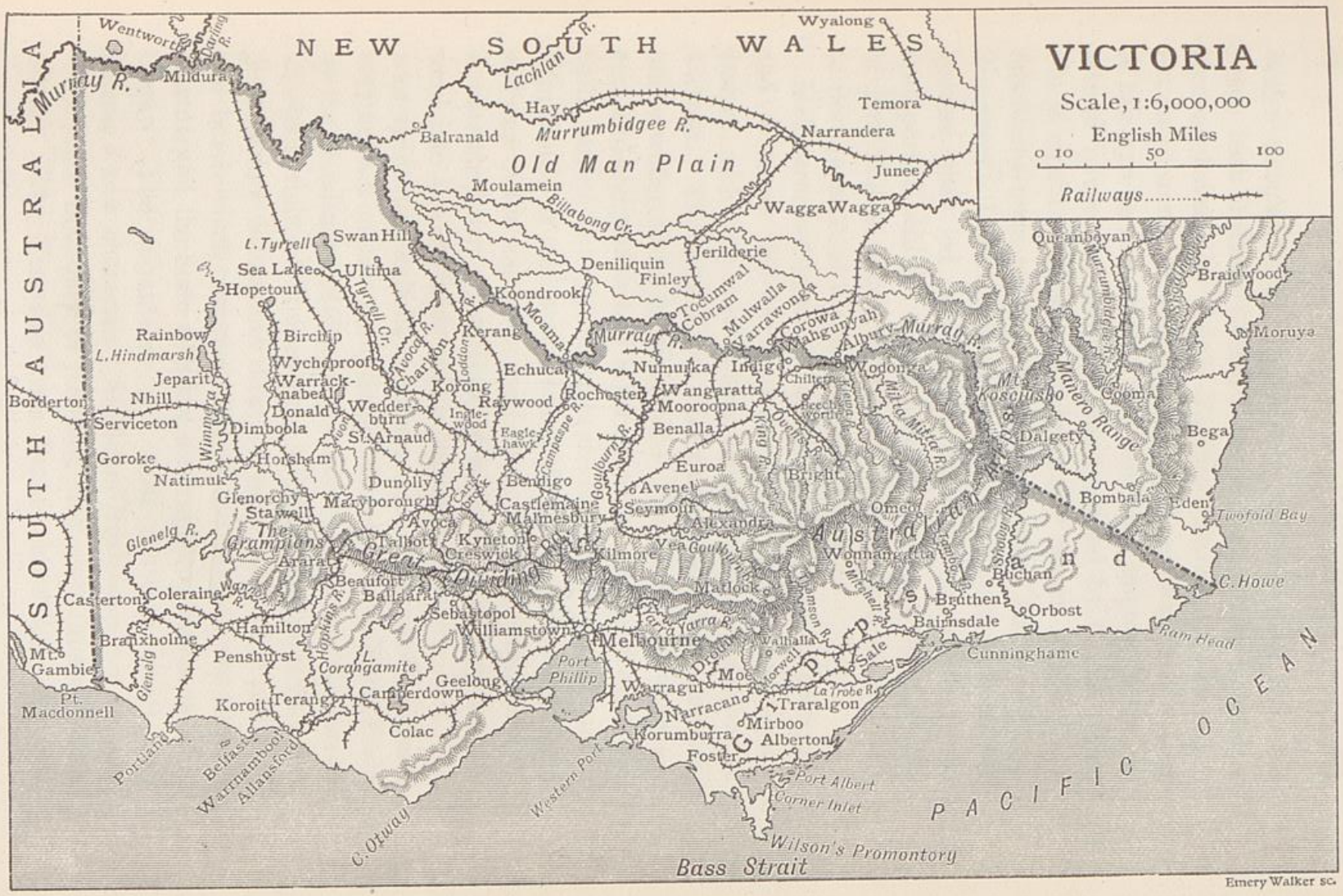
A resident at Hay writes that he had lived there five years and never seen grass. At a place called Tocumval, part of the Murray loses its way and joins the only northern tributary of the Murray; and this tributary joins the Murray 160 miles further west. The strayed follower, and the servant which leads it home again, boasts of four towns—Jerilderie (744), Finley (750), Deniliquin (2,645), and Moulamein (131). Deniliquin deals entirely, and the others deal partly, with Melbourne, which is twice as near as Sydney. The Murray towns are twin towns, one of the twins being Victorian and the other belonging to New South Wales. As we drift down stream we pass Corowa (2,000) (N.S.W.), and Wahgunyah (400) (V.); then Mulwalla (500) (N.S.W.), and Yarrawonga (1,500) (V.); then Tocumval (400) (N.S.W.) and Cobram (2,000) (V.); then Moama (928) (N.S.W.) and Echuca (3,970) (V.) As we go west Victorian ascendancy grows stronger; and the last towns, Koondrook (750) (V.) and Swan Hill (950) (V.), have no New South Wales equivalents. West of Riverina proper is Mildura (3,300) (V.) the irrigation colony on the Murray near Wentworth. Each of these seven Victorian towns is connected with Melbourne by railway; none of these four New South Wales towns are connected with Sydney by railway; consequently Melbourne is the predominant partner in the sphere subject to dual economic control. The reasons for some of these railroads are apparent. Melbourne is the first great natural port which exists south of Sydney, and does for the remote southern districts of New South Wales what Brisbane does for its remote northern districts. It plays the part of by-port and assistant capital. Its first task was to connect itself with its principal by road and rail. The great road and railway from Melbourne follows the track discovered by Hume (1824) and perfected by Bonney (1837); and crosses the Murray and its southern affluents—the Goulburn, Ovens, and Kiewa, and their affluents—at Hume's or Bonney's crossings. The

but Melbourne is much more than the port of Riverina or by-capital of N.S.W.

route to Albury is simply and solely the shortest cut to Sydney and cuts against the grain. From this great route—now a railroad—one small branch, to Wahgunyah, follows a deep lead of gold; another, to Yarrawonga, is a natural highway; and a third, to Cobram, follows the Goulburn so long as the Goulburn goes straight. Thus far the problem is simple. But the next three railways hail from Bendigo, following the valleys of the Campaspe and Loddon more or less, and the Mildura branch is one of many branches from Ballaarat; as though Ballaarat and Bendigo were centres. Granted that filial necessities created the line to Albury, and economic demands developed its three small branches, it is clear that we have in Bendigo and Ballaarat proofs that equally powerful forces were pulling Victorians away from Sydney towards other points of the compass. Riverina was not the only attraction; and no explanation is possible unless we regard Melbourne not as a sub-centre but as the centre of an independent State, which had its own work to do and its own way to go; and Ballaarat and Bendigo as signs and partners of its peculiar destiny.

Melbourne is the next first-class port south of Sydney,

Victoria (87,884 sq. miles) is a shade smaller than Great Britain. Melbourne, in the narrowest sense of the word, is situated a few miles up the Yarra Yarra, a river which is to the Brisbane as the Seine is to the London Thames. Vessels drawing 22 feet can now steam up to Melbourne. Formerly this was only possible for vessels drawing 9 feet. The ports for larger vessels are on the sea at Williamstown on the west and Port Melbourne on the east of the mouth of the Yarra Yarra. Williamstown is 9, Port Melbourne $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from their acropolis, for at the present day both these ports are as much a part of Melbourne, in its wider sense, as Blackwall and Deptford are of London. Greater Melbourne (493,956) consists of three ports blended into one and the two seaports lie in the northernmost fold of Port Phillip, which is called Hobson's Bay. Between Cape Howe, where New South



VI (2)

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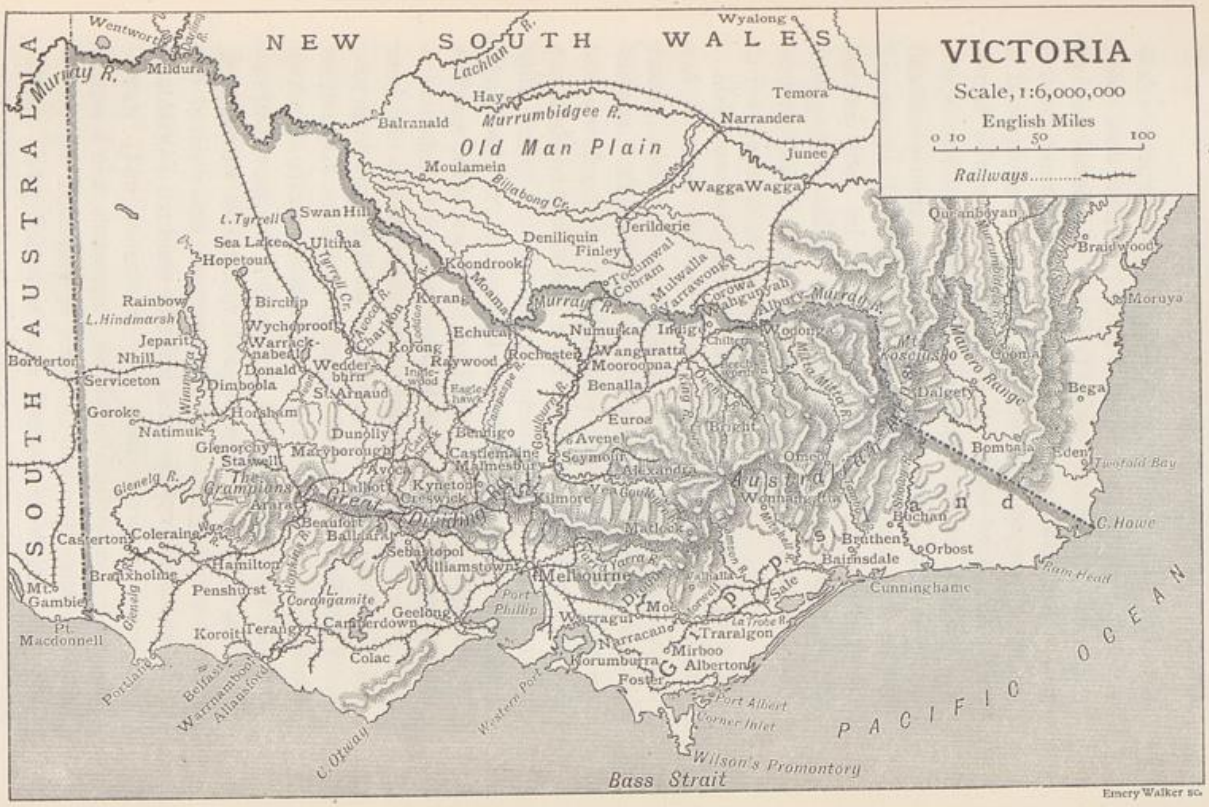

VI (2)

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Wales ends, and Port Phillip there are only three harbours which look inviting. First, there is a chain of freshwater lagoons formed by rivers—Tambo, Mitchell and Latrobe; but the channel between lagoons and sea was until a year or two ago narrow, choked with sand, and impracticable. A second refuge for mariners was provided by Corner Inlet, which cuts into Wilson's Promontory where most of the mountains mass together before they cross Bass's Strait to Tasmania. Until a year or two ago these ports were useless because they led nowhither. Western Port, which is the third port, is shallow, sandy, and treacherous, a mere parody of Port Phillip, which, now that it is buoyed, is second only to Port Jackson as a *statio tutissima nautis*.

and also divides Victoria into two equal halves,

Melbourne is the nearest seaside place to Riverina (N.S.W.) and is about half-way between Cape Howe which is the eastern, and long. 141° which is the western, boundary of Victoria. The meridian of Melbourne also divides Victoria into a wilder and a gentler half. The wilder half is on the east and the gentler half is on the west. Rugged mountain limbs, hirsute with gigantic trees and riven by steep clefts, make Gippsland—as the country south of the Victorian main range and east of the sources of the Latrobe is called—inaccessible. A watershed barely 500 feet high leads from this region westward into the lowlands which surround Western Port with poor sandstone, forbidding swamp, and some scrub. These lowlands are on their north divided from the upper Yarra Yarra by the Dandenong Ridge, which carries a whiff of Gippsland to within sight of Melbourne. West of Melbourne a complete change occurs and there are open undulating plains of rich basalt which continue south of the range to the western boundary of the State with few interruptions, except at Cape Otway. The mountains and their northern rivers also assume a new character. At Mount Kosciusko, just beyond the eastern boundary of Victoria, they have attained their climax. The Victorian coda begins fortissimo. On the

north of the range the Mitta Mitta and Kiewa retain the nature of mountain torrents almost until they join the Murray at Albury. Further west the Ovens is turbid and flanked by mountains on the east. Still further west the King is clearer and its valleys larger. The Kiewa, Ovens, King, and Goulburn rise close to one another; but, except near its sources, the Goulburn threads wide plains on its way to Echuca, which is due north of Melbourne. The mountains display a similar diminuendo, and after the sources of the Goulburn are past their summits rarely exceed 3,000 feet; spurs and gorges are absent; and the Campaspe, which flows to Echuca, the Loddon, which flows to Swan Hill, and the Avoca and Wimmera, which flow into nowhere, rise amid tame surroundings, and meander over valleys which become more and more indistinguishable from plains the further west and north they go. Indeed in one place west of the Loddon a thing called Avon-Richardson—like some fluid Melchisedek—flows from nowhere into nowhere. A hundred miles from the western border of the State the mountains are once more nearly 4,000 feet, are abrupt, and are called 'the Grampians'. From the Grampians affluents of the Wimmera trickle north—the Glenelg starts west and turns south, and the Wannon goes straight south. The long career of the great range has suddenly stopped. The end of the Victorian finale has been reached. The Grampians are its last loud emphatic note.

and is the starting-point of five great ways,

Melbourne concentrates and commands Victoria by means of five great main roads which are also railroads. Put Port Phillip in the hollow of your left hand! The five roads are like five fingers, all of which, except the little finger, touch the extremities of the State. Subsequent addition and multiplication has complicated but not obscured this essential fact.

of the eastern way,

The first road leads east by Drouin (700) and Warragul (1,634), which are in Gippsland, to Moe (500) and Morwell (800), which is north of and near the coal towns of Narra-

can (200) and Mirboo (700); to Traralgon (1,485), which is south of and near the gold town of Walhalla (2,804), and to Sale (3,462) and Bairnsdale (3,000) on the lagoons. Along this route Strzelecki struggled at the rate of two or three miles a day for twenty-six days in 1840. Shortly afterwards Scotchmen settled on the lagoons, and Strzelecki's route was a matter of vital interest to them. It was their link with life, and was also a natural way, lying as it does on a low strip of land beneath which the mountains dip on their way to Wilson's Promontory. So it became first a road, then a railway. Neither road nor rail were made for the sake of gold, nor were they made for the sake of coal, which is not so good here as it is further south.

(which is now shadowed by another more southerly way)

During the earlier part of its course another more recent railway supplements the first railway, and acts like shadow towards substance, but turns south by Kooweerup swamp, which is now drained, passes a few small villages by Western Port, reaches Korumburra (4,000), Jumbunna (1,000), and Outtrim (3,000), which is the only good coal district in Victoria, and goes by Foster (450), where there has been gold, to Alberton (500) and Port Albert (230), on Corner Inlet. This new railway may be described as carboniferous in its origin as well as effect, Victorian coal having begun to be important shortly after its completion (1893–4).

(and which finishes at the lagoons)

But to return to the first railway—with which the new upstart must not be confused—east of Bairnsdale, where it ends, Cunninghame (700), where there is an artificial navigable exit from the lagoons, Bruthen (400), Buchan (250), and Orbost (500) count as large towns. Here and in Wonnangatta county, which sits astride of the great range, we are in lonely forests and ravines, and each man has a square mile to himself. On or just north of the watershed Omeo (900), at the head of the Mitta Mitta, where Macmillan and Strzelecki crossed, and Matlock (450), which stands 4,561 feet *s. m.* at the head of the Goulburn, possess romantic rather than

practical interest. The great natural eastern way stops 200 miles from Melbourne, at the lagoons; beyond and above it there is some gold and much beauty; below there is much coal of the Ipswich variety, and some beauty; all along it are cattle and crops; but these are effects only: its one cause was the yearning of Melbourne towards her absent child.

Of the way to Albury, NNE.,

The second way is the great way to Albury and so to Sydney. Its Victorian section points north-north-east; is 187 miles long; and its *raison d'être* is the yearning of the child towards its mother. In order to respond to the promptings of human nature it runs counter to nature in another sense, and crosses instead of following streams. It passes Kilmore (1,922), Seymour (2,440), Avenel (450), Euroa (1,250), Benalla (3,000), Wangaratta (2,621), Chiltern (1,700), and Wodonga (862), carefully avoiding mines and minerals except at Chiltern. There are four small branch ways: one up the Goulburn to Yea (600) and Alexandra (600)—old second-rate gold towns; a second down the Goulburn by Mooroopna (1,246), Numurka (1,011), to Shepparton (3,200), and so to Cobram (2,000) on the Murray—all of them non-mineral towns; a third along a natural highway to Yarrawonga on the Murray, where there are vines not mines; and a fourth up the Ovens to Bright (900), Yackandandah (800), and Beechworth (3,000), and northward near Chiltern and Indigo (1,500) to Rutherglen (1,748), and Wahgunyah (400), on the Murray. Here at last we have genuine gold country. Mines account for one branch and part of another, but have nothing to do with the trunk road-and-railway from Melbourne to Albury.

Of the way to Riverina via Bendigo, N.,

Thirdly, a main road-and-railway goes north by Woodend (1,000) to Kyneton (3,371) on the Campaspe. There the road forks, and either follows the Campaspe to Rochester (1,150) and Echuca (3,970)—the principal port on the Murray—or else crosses by Malmesbury (1,221) to the Loddon, which it follows to its mouth at Swan Hill (915);

Echuca and Swan Hill being 167 miles and 214 miles respectively from Melbourne. Not so the railway, which goes on from Malmesbury to Forest Creek (1,229), Castlemaine (5,703), and Maldon (2,800), and then to Bendigo (30,774) and Eaglehawk (8,367). It avoids the valleys and pursues the ridge, because ever since Kyneton it has been on the trail of gold and has followed the line, not of least resistance, but of most attraction. Kyneton, Malmesbury, Forest Creek, Castlemaine, and Maldon are of the usual size of purely mineral towns, for instance, in New Zealand and Tasmania. Eaglehawk equals Mount Morgan, and Bendigo exceeds Broken Hill in size and far exceeds it in civic dignity. Broken Hill is merely mineral; but Bendigo is the first great inland town which we have encountered in Australasia; and these towns—once a mere string of miners' camps 54 miles long—exhibit the varied life and influence of old towns. The string pointed due north, and due north the railroad goes, then it splits into three yarns. One descends the Campaspe and joins the road and goes to Echuca; gold lures a second to Raywood (461), whence it continues through Kerang on the Loddon, either to Koondrook on the Murray, or by the side of the old road to Swan Hill on the Murray; and a third is drawn towards gold-fields at Inglewood (1,320), Korong (300), and Wedderburn (1,400), and wanders vaguely on to Charlton (1,195) on the Avoca, to Wycheproof (600), Sealake (150), and Ultima. The Lower Loddon and Avoca are already in the plain; and the citizens of the plain are busily engaged in bringing water from afar and transforming mallee into wheat-fields. It is slow work, and the continuations of railroads which assist in it are always continued in our next.

Of the way to Mildura and Serviceton via

The fourth road had two starting-points. In the remote past—that is to say fifty or sixty years ago—a road went from Geelong (23,338), an excellent port in the south-west

Ballaarat, NW. and NNW.,

of Port Phillip, to what is now Ballaarat (43,823) and its satellites Sebastopol (2,969) and Buninyong (1,292). It was then a branch road, for the chief road, half as long again, went thither from Melbourne direct. From Ballaarat this one road with two beginnings went along the north edge of the main range, then along the Wimmera to Glenorchy (219) and Horsham (2,724), and the Wimmera at these latitudes is as arid as the Loddon at the latitudes which we have just left. Then gold was found at Ballaarat, Creswick-and-Allendale (4,660), Clunes (2,426), Talbot-and-Amherst (1,405), Maryborough (5,622), Carisbrook (1,236), Majorca (719), Dunolly (1,384), and still further north. Immediately, railroads sprang into existence, not from Melbourne direct, but from Melbourne to Geelong, and Geelong to Ballaarat. Thenceforth the madding crowd used Geelong as the only starting-point for the way to the north-west. Beyond Ballaarat the magnetism of gold drew the iron way to the right of the old roadway through the long series of gold towns which have been named; and this line has also been growing year by year, and now passes through St. Arnaud (3,656), last of the mineral towns, to Donald (1,000), Birchip (600), and Mildura (3,300) on the Murray, 370 miles away. Next, west-north-west of Ballaarat the gold of Beaufort (1,100), Ararat (3,580), and Stawell (5,318) conjured a second branch railway into being, which goes from Ballaarat along the left of the old road and of the range, and rejoins the old road when the mineral sphere has ended at Glenorchy and Horsham. This railway has now been prolonged by Dimboola (600), Murtoa (720), and Nhill (1,300), to Serviceton (156) on the border 286 miles away, and so to Adelaide, and sends out branches to Warracknabeal (2,500) and Hopetoun (400), to Natimuk (400) and Goroke (250), and to Jeparit (248) and Rainbow on salt-lake Hindmarsh. In these parts of the country very few miles intervene between the mountains and the plains where miners are

not, but only Fausts who plough sands, and missionaries of this world who baptize the soil with dammed water and convert scrubdom. But to return to the ganglion from which these fibres branch, Ballaarat is secondary starting-point for the west-north-west, as Bendigo is for the north-north-west. But Ballaarat is greater than Bendigo; it is larger in its numbers, fuller in its life, and has left its *jeunesse dorée* further behind it. It is the most conspicuous example in Australasia of an inland semi-capital like Birmingham, Johannesburg, and Leipzig. Some fifteen years ago a railroad was built direct to Ballaarat from Melbourne, and thenceforth Geelong ceased to be its chief port, and Melbourne once more became the key to the west-north-west.

and of the way to Portland and Hamilton, W.

Geelong had always been the place from or through which lay the way to the west, although even here accident once introduced a rival route and then restored the old route. The western way is unlike the three northern ways. Those ways led to three or more fields of the cloth of gold. The cloth has long since been removed and the cream skimmed; but reefs are still worked at Bendigo—some 3,900 feet below the earth—at Ballaarat, Beechworth, Stawell, and Ararat; and deep leads at Rutherglen, Raywood, Creswick, and Maryborough. There are not and never were any golden apples to be picked up by those who raced westward. A homing instinct created the north-eastern way; gold was the loadstone of the other northern ways; but the way to the west, like the way to the east, was built in order to keep the detached ports, Portland (2,185), Belfast (1,990), and Warrnambool (6,404), in touch with the capital. It will be remembered that the north-western roads from Melbourne and Geelong—after Ballaarat—avoided the south side of the range. The country south of the range is watered by the Hopkins and its affluents, which rise near Ballaarat and Ararat and flow into the sea at Warrnambool, and by the Glenelg and the affluents of the Glenelg, to whose mouth

Portland is the nearest port. Between Warrnambool and Port Phillip there are no ports, and on land the district round Cape Otway is woody and hilly and of little use. The district north of Cape Otway District is open, undulating, and diversified with dead, isolated craters, filled with wood or water. Its largest sheet of water is called Lake Corangamite, is salt, and is probably of volcanic origin. Except for the closed crater-cones — which like those around Auckland are usually 500–600 feet above the surrounding land—its plains slope gradually from Ballaarat, Beaufort, and Ararat, which are respectively 1,437, 1,272, and 1,028 feet above sea-level—to the south and to the west. The old roadway went either to the south or to the north of Lake Corangamite, the former by Colac (2,817), Camperdown (2,000), Terang (1,800), to the three ports and their satellites, Allansford (900) and Koroit (1,684); and the latter by Penshurst (750) and other forgotten villages to Hamilton (4,024), the inland metropolis of the pastoral and agricultural districts out west. The former road is now a railway. The latter road has for long been overshadowed by the west-north-western railway, which, unlike the west-north-western roadway, encroached upon this district, and sent out a branch line from Ararat to Hamilton, Branxholme (450), and Portland, with branch-branches to Coleraine (1,050) and Casterton (1,250). But here we are 215 miles from Melbourne, close by the border of Victoria, and the country is fertile unto this last. Fifty miles north at Goroke, the country is still agricultural. Forty miles further north is Serviceton, where the country is barren, and through which the railroad between Adelaide and Melbourne passes. A little further north we come to a seventy-mile stretch of bad west-plain country, where each man has eleven square miles to himself—which is almost as bad as in the Barcoo district of Queensland—and then a ten-mile stretch of better west-plain country where each

man has three miles to himself, which is almost as bad as on the Western Plain of New South Wales.

Victoria is compact,

Victoria is extraordinarily compact and centralized. In the far south-east and the far north-west it has vacant spaces, but elsewhere life is crowded. From end to end all ways converge on Melbourne. Port Phillip is the handle of the fan. The five 'brins' had their separate histories: different accidents directed them hither and thither; yet east balances west, the three northern balance one another in importance and interest, and all five maintain the vivid distinctness which they possessed, for instance, in the 'Digger's Map of 1853'. The curious part played by Geelong, at one time supplanting and at another time supplanted; the growth of cross-routes —for instance, through the gold towns of Avoca (1,100), Daylesford (3,384), Heathcote (1,090), and Tarnagulla (729); and the existence of doubled routes and by-routes, cannot blind even a superficial observer to the beautiful symmetry and unity of which Victoria and Melbourne are examples. Indeed, he is much more likely to ignore the one obvious blot upon the perfect harmony of the picture.

but is unfinished on the west,

It, too, is unfinished on the west. What is the meaning of these volcanic cones? Of these plains of basalt contracting to the west and expanding to the east? Where does the desolate north-west lead to? Is the Murray, which has now received its last important tributary, going to end, as it lived, gloriously? In the case of Victoria, as in the cases of New South Wales and Queensland, there are unsolved problems on the west; and South Australia contains the missing secret. It is the mission of South Australia to complete the serial and round off the imperfections of the preceding numbers.

where the volcanic Gambier District, S.A.,

'The garden of South Australia', as the Gambier district is called, adjoins the south-west corner of Victoria. It is as large as Lancashire, half as populous as Rutlandshire, and has one capital—Mount Gambier (3,162), and two ports—

Macdonnell (278) and Beachport (228). Its mountains, Gambier, Schank, Burr, and Leake, are extinct volcanoes; and the people of the capital draw their water from what is either a crater or a miniature Taupo; and it is here that we have the apex of the volcanic lines which spread out westwards like a fan until their power is spent somewhere near the meridian of Melbourne. This is the spot from which virtue went out over western Victoria. The beginning of the volcanic area is also the end of an area of limestone and lagoons.

and Murray Limestone district,

The country rock around Mount Gambier is limestone, and the soil rings hollow, for beneath it there are caves with aisles like cathedral aisles and entrances like wombats' burrows, and there are deep leads—not of gold but of water. Between Mount Gambier and Beachport there is a large lagoon of fresh water called Lake Bonney, which is fringed seawards by sand-spits, on which Pacific Islanders would have loved to dwell, and landwards by limestone ridges and boggy furrows which are parallel with the coast. The coast is scythe-shaped right up to the Murray mouth, 180 miles to the north; on the east there is the succession of sand-spit, of lagoon—usually fresh, of limestone ridge, and of boggy furrow—usually drained. Of this district Beachport Robe (394) and Kingston (700) are western ports; Penola (590), Narracoorte (821), and Frances (200)[1] are eastern outposts; and Tantanoola (250), Millicent (733), Furner (400), Rendlesham (150), and Lucindale (99), which intervene between ports and outposts, occupy reclaimed marsh-lands. The old road from Adelaide to Melbourne lay through Penola and these wet lands.

and other types of country south of the Murray round it off;

Again, Frances half belongs to a third kind of district, where rich, red soil overlies limestone, and which is represented by Borderton (500) and Wolseley (300)—the termini, so far as South Australia is concerned, of the Adelaide-

[1] Includes district; figures from *Australasian Handbook* (1906).

Melbourne railway. Lastly, this railway passes through a fourth kind of district, called 'Ninety Mile Desert', as it crosses from the Murray to the frontier along the very track once frequented by the gold-hunters of Adelaide on their way to Bendigo. 'Ninety Mile Desert' extends right away to the Murray on the north, and is only a continuation of north-west Victoria, covered as it is with a light sandy loam and dense mallee. Including the volcanic sub-region there is one person to the square mile; excluding the volcanic sub-region there is one person to two square miles in the South Australian region betwixt the Murray, Victoria, and the sea. All this region is affected by the Lower Murray, which is the second of the lapsed legacies left by its Eastern neighbours, and of which South Australia is residuary legatee.

then comes the Murray,

The Murray, as it descends from Mildura (V.) and Wentworth (N.S.W.), passes Renmark (905), a co-operative irrigation colony, and Pyap (74) on its lonely way to the great bend at Morgan (401). Here life revives on its right bank only, as the river flows past Blanchetown (38), Mannum (479), Murray Bridge (650), and Wellington (160) to its doom. After absorbing the choicest gifts of the great range, from the Grampians to Kosciusko, and from Kosciusko to the Warrego Range, and after a navigable course comparable to that of the Mississippi, it broadens out into an inane drivelling lagoon, called Lake Alexandrina, from which most of its water is slobbered out into the long chain of mere and lagoon which has been described; and the rest is spit out into the sea through a small crooked slit half choked with shifting sand. Milang (400) is the port of Lake Alexandrina; Goolwa (586) is the port of this apology for a mouth. Outside this pitiful anti-climax to a great career, Ports Elliott (334) and Victor (250) gather up such crumbs of commerce as may filter through from the Murray. The bulk of that commerce has been unshipped at Morgan or the river ports south of Morgan—as though this part of the

Murray were part of an inland sea—and has gone to Adelaide.

and then Adelaide,

The Murray, south of Morgan, is more barrier than link, and isolates the country on the west as though it were a peninsula. East and south of the Murray the country, though nearer to Adelaide in miles, seems like an appendix to Melbourne. West of the Murray, after the great bend, Adelaide sheds its exclusive influence; nor does it seem as though it were concluding what has gone before, for the Murray comes to no conclusion, but it seems like the beginning of something new.

which is not a port,

Adelaide (162,094),[1] which is the new starting-point, is situated on the River Torrens, which is mouthless, and used to be crossed on stepping stones, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Port Adelaide, or about the distance that Christchurch is from Lyttelton. Port Adelaide is situated on a narrow salt creek, 9 miles south of its mouth, and can now accommodate ships drawing 21 to 22 feet of water.

and which is the starting-point of five ways,

Like Sydney, Adelaide has a range in its rear, 2,000 to 3,000 feet high, running north and south, and fairly rich in minerals; but the great range of Sydney is 100 miles, that of Adelaide or Lofty Range is 20 miles from home. Like Melbourne, Adelaide is the nucleus of five diverging roads; but each Melbourne road takes us from 150 to 300 miles without a check; almost all Adelaide roads pull up short at the sea or the Murray, which is as bad as the sea, after 50 or 100 miles.

S., The south road goes by Glenelg (3,949) Noarlunga (170), and Willunga (422), to Yankalilla (700) on the west, or to Ports Victor and Elliott. In either case it ends.

SE., The south-east road has four branches which top the heights at Echunga (152), Hahndorf (496), Nairne (290), and Mount Barker (1,436), and descend the eastern slopes by Bull's Creek (142), Strathalbyn (868), Woodchester (370),

[1] Includes Port Adelaide, Glenelg, and suburbs.

and Callington (120), to Goolwa and Milang, where there are full stops, and to Wellington and Murray Bridge, where there are colons. For at Wellington the old roadway, and at Murray Bridge the new railway from Adelaide, begins a new life as it enters on the neutral province over which Melbourne and Adelaide cast their mingled shadows.

A third road goes east up the Torrens by Gumeracha (255), Blumberg (219), Tungkillo (695),[1] and Palmer (500),[1] to Mannum on the Murray, and there it ends. *E.*,

Fourthly, road and rail go due north to Gawler (7,000), and then send out three branches. The first is a road which goes by Tanunda (724), Nuriootpa (330), and Truro (218), to Blanchetown (38), where the Murray once more bars the way, numbers dwindling as it nears its goal. A second branch for rail and road goes by Kapunda (1,805), once a great copper town, and Eudunda (481), to Morgan (401) on the Murray; and Morgan is the railway terminus. Both rail and road go along a third branch due north to Stockport (300), whence the great north road proceeds to Auburn (142), and Clare (788); and ten miles or so east of it the railway proceeds along the crest of the range to Kooringa (2,600), the site of what was once the famous copper-mine of Burra Burra. The Clare road and Kooringa railroad lead further. Here and here only there is no natural stop. *N.*,

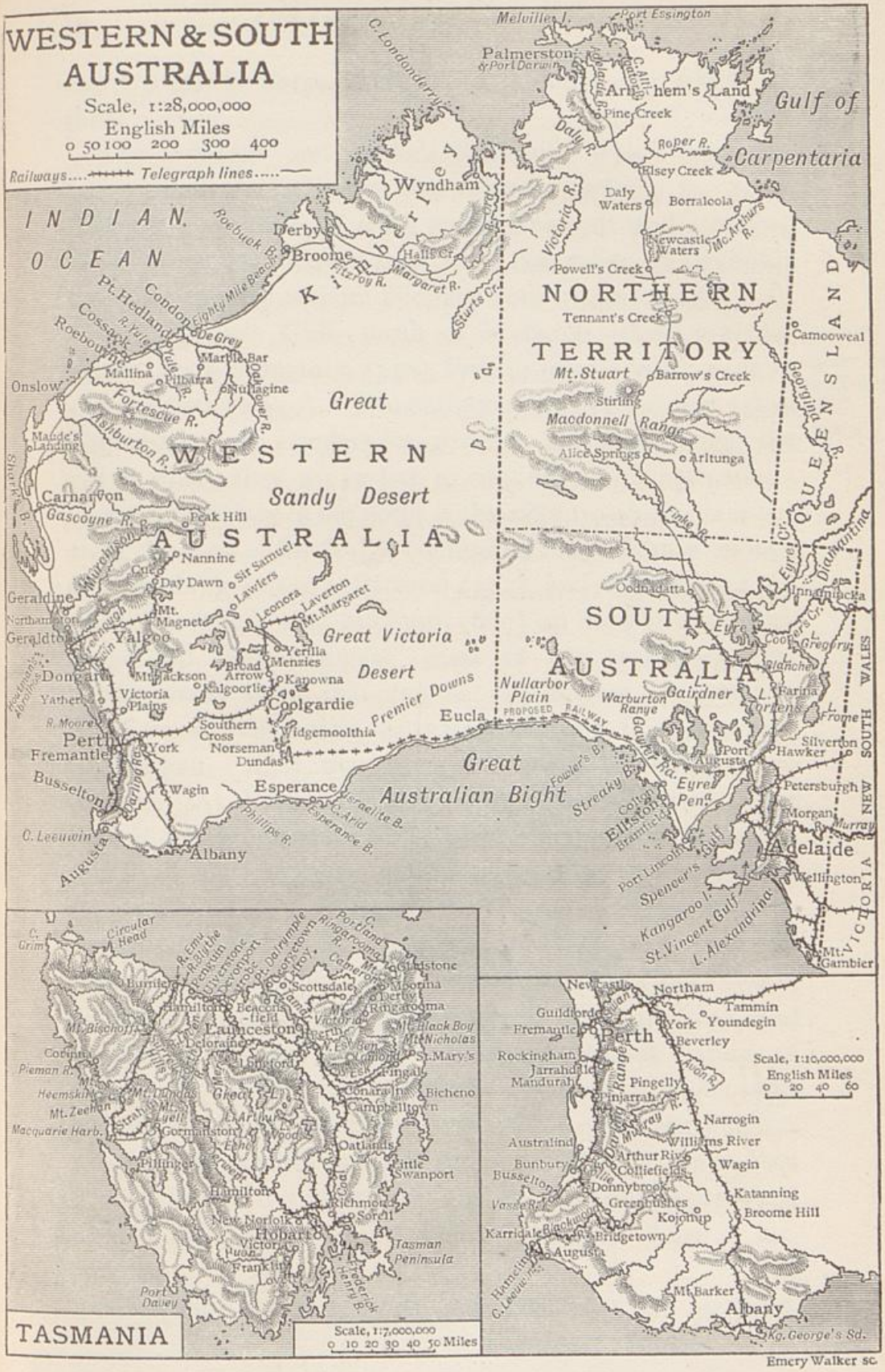
A fifth road follows the coast to Port Wakefield (561), at the head of St. Vincent's Gulf; and here branch roads and rails point westward. West of Gulf St. Vincent is Yorke's Peninsula, which does not own a single river; in the east of which are Clinton (223), Ardrossan (170), Stansbury (400),[1] and Edithburgh (409); inland are Maitland (295), Minlaton (250), Oaklands (250),[1] and Yorketown (376); and in the north the great copper towns of Wallaroo (3,500), Kadina (1,728), and Moonta (1,607). Wallaroo on Spencer's *and N.W.*,

[1] Includes district; figures from *Australasian Handbook* (1906).

Gulf is the port of this district. The Port Wakefield and Yorke's Peninsula roads converge in Wallaroo.

of which four are very short and one is unending;

A line drawn from Wallaroo to Clare, Kooringa, and Morgan, then down the Murray, round Kangaroo Island and Yorke's Peninsula to Wallaroo, encloses the two peninsulas and one island which Adelaide more immediately dominates. There is a littleness and finality about this country quite unlike anything elsewhere in Australia. Port Wakefield in the north, Yorke's Peninsula on the west, and the hills near Yankalilla are visible from Mount Lofty a few miles from Adelaide; and all the invisible cispontine towns which have been named can be reached by an Adelaide bicyclist on a summer's day. When Dutton wrote (1846), 'You may in your gig drive from north to south through the *province* without meeting with unsurmountable obstructions', he unconsciously identified South Australia with this snug, cosy tract. It is small and fertile throughout. Its villages are more numerous than populous. It is a 'fair field full of folk' fenced in by definite boundaries but for that fluted aperture on the north—ten miles wide—where the road does not stop at Clare nor the rail at Kooringa. Through this aperture the diminutive occupants of the neighbourhood of Adelaide soar aloft, and Dutton's province turns out to be the germ only of a province more than seventy times its size. A fanciful reader may recall the old child's story of the 'Fisherman and the Jin'—in the Arabian, not the Australian sense of that word. A fisherman caught 'a cucumber-shaped jar of yellow copper evidently full of something'—our jar is also of copper but double—opened it, and out came a shapeless figure, 'huge of bulk, whose crest touched the clouds while his feet were on the ground. His head was as a dome, his legs long as masts and his teeth were like large stones.' Then the fisherman asked, 'How didst thou fit into this bottle which would not hold thy hand, no, nor even thy feet? And how



Emery Walker sc.

To face p. 94

came it to be large enough to contain the whole of thee?'

The Adelaide and Yorke's Peninsulas which began by being South Australia are now not even its feet; for South Australia has emerged from its confinement and stretched itself out across stony wastes to a dome-shaped peninsula 2,000 miles away without budging from where it was.

On Spencer's Gulf—north of Wallaroo—there are four ports: Ports Broughton (350), Pirie (7,983), Germein (367), and Augusta (2,340). Discontinuous ranges—at first called Hummock then Flinders Range—run northward along the coast, where they are a bar to roadways and agriculture. The principal way to the north is the railway, which continues along the crest of the real or continuous range from Kooringa to Petersburg (2,157), Orroroo (372), and Carrieton (236), whence it strikes west to Quorn (677) on the Flinders mock range and Port Augusta. East of the real range the northernmost thing that can be called river or brook is Burra Creek, which runs, or pretends to run, from Kooringa to Morgan. After that there are many starters but no runners. At Petersburg the range spilts into two. One branch, which can scarcely be called a range, goes 145 miles east to the Barrier Range, and forms the nominal watershed of the rivulets which start towards the Murray on the south or the salt-lakes on the north. Salt-bush pasturages—the deserted gold-fields of Teetulpa (50?) and Waukaringa (148)—and the branch railways from Petersburg to Cockburn (197) and Broken Hill (N.S.W.), are the most conspicuous features of this region. The other branch is a real range, which after passing Carrieton and after being reinforced by the Flinders mock range, divides salt lake from salt lake—Torrens from Frome, Frome from Blanche, and Blanche from Eyre—and while doing so it is called Flinders Range. Then it disappears.

and the latter leads to Broken Hill, NNE.,

Meanwhile, the great north road has left Clare for Glad- *or to Port*

Augusta, N., stone (692), where it meets a branch railway from Petersburg via Crystal Brook (516) to Port Pirie—for Laura (1,200)[1]—between which and Crystal Brook is the Beetaloo reservoir whence Port Pirie and Wallaroo derive their water—for Melrose (298), Beautiful Valley, and Port Augusta. From Clare to Laura the road is by the upper waters of the Broughton, which joins the sea at Port Broughton; at Melrose it is on Willochra Creek, which never joins any sea but when it flows flows into Lake Torrens—a salt lake 140 miles long and 25 miles broad—lying 40 to 180 miles north of Port Augusta. For Port Augusta is the threshold of the country where the rainfall is less than ten inches in the year, where mountains are rocky and barren, where agriculture ceases, and salt lakes prevail.

then to salt lakes, Central seas or lakes are the very life-blood of every other continent. The Australian salt lake is neither central sea nor lake, but a substitute for both, and it brings death, not life. Some salt lakes, like lakes Hindmarsh and Tyrrell (V.), are isolated accidents; others, like those on Yorke's Peninsula are small freaks; others, like lakes Torrens, Gairdner, and Amadeus, and other similar blots upon the map between Southern Australia and the seaboard of Western Australia, are salt Serbonian bogs—above sea-level but below the level of the surrounding plain—into which rivulets created without design, except to confute believers in design, discharge their filth, and above all the salt with which all running streams are charged. 'Non ragionam di lor.' But there is nothing trivial, mean, nor despicable about lakes Eyre, Hope, Gregory, Blanche, and Frome; for they are the grave of lost rivers which form a river system second only to that of the Murray. There, what is left of the Barcoo, Thomson, Diamantina and Georgina ends. Siccus River—aptly so called—joins them from the south; when they are wet the Finke, Todd, Marshall, and Hay join them from the

[1] Includes district; figures from *Australasian Handbook* (1906).

northern tropics; and the Alberga joins them from the north-west after travelling from latitude 26, which is the frontier of Northern Territory. These rivers are so parched that they rarely run, much less end; and these sloughs of despond can neither be mended nor ended, for Lake Eyre, the chief offender, lies ninety feet or so below sea-level. It has been called the 'dead heart of Australia'.

After leaving Port Augusta, which is 259 miles by rail and about 200 miles by road from Adelaide, the railway starts on its northern pilgrimage, east of Lake Torrens and those salt lakes which are the result of imperfect creation, and west of those miscreated salt lakes which bring to nought the huge river system of Western Queensland and Central Australia.

to Hergott Springs,

It is in the midst of the mountains until it bends west towards the dry land between lakes Torrens and Eyre; and where there are mountains there are minerals. There is a little agriculture at Hawker (358) and Beltana (150); there are copper-mines east of the railway at Blinman (201) and Yudanamutana (25), and coaches run across 300 miles of those very sands, stones, and claypans which baffled Sturt, to Innamincka (Cooper's Creek), Haddon Downs (Diamantina), and Pandie Pandie (Georgina), on the Queensland border, from Farina (133) and Hergott Springs (200). It is the same distance from Adelaide to Port Augusta, from Port Augusta to Hergott Springs, and from Hergott Springs to Oodnadatta (95)—the railway terminus—which is 688 miles from Adelaide and on the north-west of Lake Eyre. At Oodnadatta the railway has accomplished one-third of its intended course. The telegraph wire, which has accompanied it thus far, continues for another 1,350 miles north to Port Darwin, where it joins the English cable; and there are stations by its side, for instance at Alice Springs (322 miles from Oodnadatta), Stirling (489 miles), Barrow (511 miles), Tennant's Creek (671 miles), Powell's Creek (791 miles), Newcastle Waters (854 miles), Elsey Creek (1,041 miles), and

and to Oodnadatta and Northern Territory.

Pine Creek (1,204 miles), whence the railway and telegraph run once more together to Port Darwin (1,350 miles). At or near each station there is usually a cattle or horse farm.

The country north of Oodnadatta falls into three sections,

Geographically the country north of Oodnadatta falls into three sections. From Oodnadatta to a little beyond Alice Springs (80)—which is on the tropic of Capricorn and is half-way house between Adelaide and Port Darwin—the ground rises to a height of 2,600 feet *s. m.* The rivers of this district profess to flow into Lake Eyre but rarely if ever act up to their professions. During the last part of the rise, parallel lines of mountains cross it from east to west, tier behind tier, each tier being higher than the last. The longest mountains are 400–500 miles from end to end and the highest are 5,000 feet *s. m.* They are called the Macdonnells, and are mostly of Archaean granite. At Arltunga (70), 60 miles east of Alice Springs, they bear gold; often, too, they serve as stores of water, which lurks in their cavities, and drips down and soaks the sand at their feet; otherwise they fulfil no function in the geographical economy of Australia, for rivers flow not from but through them from the sandy tableland in their rear. The oddity of their structure may be illustrated by a proposal which has been made to dam up a gorge 100–200 yards wide, and a valley above the gorge which lies between two tiers and is 100 miles from east to west and two miles across, in order that the water which passes through the gorge may be collected in the valley as in a reservoir.

(a) *a rising section with dry rivers, 350 miles,*

(b) *a falling and rising section without rivers, 700 miles,*

In the second section the tableland drops from 2,600 ft. *s. m.* near Alice Springs to 700 feet *s. m.* at Newcastle Waters, at a rate of two to three feet a mile, and then rises to about 1,000 feet *s. m.* at the watershed near Elsey Creek. During these 700 miles there are mountains, but no mountains with a meaning; nor are there rivers nor any river system, but only the shades and semblances of rivers which seem to run south. West of the telegraph line this confusion is worse confounded. A line drawn westward for 1,000 miles

from Central Mount Stuart—the supposed centre of the continent (lat. 22°)—meets many mountains, not one of which has symmetry or significance; some grass, salt-bush or scrub, much sand and many salt lakes, but no rivers; and then when the frontier is crossed passes through what maps call the Great Sandy Desert, which is covered with sand-waves parallel more or less with the north coast, and is haunted from end to end by blacks and rats; and after the desert it reaches a part of Western Australia which is just inhabited. Formless chaos reigns upon the west, and upon the east things are equally incoherent and forbidding until Tennant's Creek is reached (lat. 19½°). A line drawn from Tennant's Creek due east to Camooweal (Q.) and due north to Borraloola and the mouth of the McArthur encloses what is a mere continuation of the down lands lining the south side, and of the deep river valleys intersecting the north side of the Carpentarian watershed of Queensland. The down lands, though riverless, are, according to a skilled observer, 'the cream of the pastoral land of the Territory,' and on the sea side horses and cattle abound.[1]

(c) *and a section with wet rivers, 300 miles,*

The third section passes through the dome-shaped peninsula which used to be called sometimes Van Diemen's Land, and sometimes Arnhem Land. From near Elsey Creek the Roper starts east, and opposite the Roper's mouth and on the same degree of latitude is the mouth of the Victoria in the west. A little north of Elsey Creek affluents of the Daly start west, of the Adelaide north, and of the Alligators north-east. All these rivers flow through broken country and are navigable, the Victoria for 100, the Roper for 90, the Adelaide for 80, the Daly for 60, and the Alligators for 30 or 40 miles by coasting steamers. Indeed, the Victoria is navigable for 50 miles by the largest steamers, and is preferred by Captain Carrington to Thames, Hugli, or

[1] John Costello, in *South Australian Parl. Papers*, Report on N. T. (1895), p. 182.

Mersey.[1] Port Darwin, upon which Palmerston (1,106), the capital of Northern Territory, stands, compares as a natural harbour with the best Australian harbours. Along, or near, the railway between Palmerston and Pine Creek gold is worked chiefly by Chinamen; and more than half of the 4,096 inhabitants of Northern Territory are yellow. Except for its port, its mines, and a few scattered squattages, Northern Territory is left fallow. Every one will have 163 square miles to himself when the millennium arrives and social democracy triumphs and this land is equally divided among its people.

Port Augusta also leads to Eyre's Peninsula, the Great Bight, and W.A.,

Port Augusta is a starting-point for the far west as well as for the far north. Immediately west of Port Augusta, is Eyre's Peninsula, a triangle of sand, scrub, and salt lake, with the gaunt Gawler Range forming its base, and furnishing granite, grass, and water. There are three ways to the west. A coach goes to Streaky Bay (150) by Gawler Range; for here, as well as elsewhere, ranges are the fathers and mothers of roads; and this road was followed by Sir J. Forrest on his first traverse from Western to South Australia and is followed by the Western Australian wire. A second way leads down the coast by Franklin Harbour (910),[2] Tumby Bay (200), to Port Lincoln (470), a better harbour than Port Darwin, and a far better harbour than Port Adelaide, and up again by Elliston (113), Bramfield (50), and Colton (200), to Streaky Bay (150). The distance from Port Lincoln to Streaky Bay is 205 miles, and these towns and the towns between them lie on limestone. There is hardly a river on the east, and there is not one on the west coast. At Port Lincoln, wrote Sturt (1849), 'the inhabitants procure their water from a spring on the sea shore which is covered at every tide.' 'In the neighbourhood of Streaky Bay', writes Mr. G. W. Cox, 'an

[1] *Royal Geogr. Soc. of Australasia*, Adelaide, 1886, p. 75.
Includes district; figures from *Australasian Handbook* (1906).

enormous volume of fresh water is seen to rush out at low tide from beneath the cliffs, preserving its freshness for some distance out to sea.'[1] The limestone is honeycombed with water which oozes through the sands on the foreshore. Another riverless stretch of 205 miles separates Streaky Bay from Fowler's Bay; and another riverless stretch of 90 miles separates Fowler's Bay from the 'Head of the great Bight', between which and Eucla (W.A.), 130 miles away, there are not only no rivers, but there are neither sands, foreshores, nor harbours, for the whole coast is one long limestone precipice 300 feet or more in height. The inland country slopes downward instead of upward, as in Niue, and for 150 miles inland there is a grassy cavernous limestone plain upon which dew is the only water. This plain, so far as it lies inside South Australia, is aptly called Nullarbor Plain. Its eastern edge is behind Fowler's Bay, 220 miles east of the frontier, and its northern edge is what maps call a sandy desert, a replica of the Great Sandy Desert in the north, and so dry and untrodden that Maurice saw Giles's tracks upon it twenty-five years after they were made. Beyond the frontier of South Australia this sandy desert, now called Victoria Desert, extends 280 miles; Nullarbor Plains, now called Hampton tableland or Premier Downs, extend 280 miles, and the harbourless, riverless, cliff-armoured bight extends 350 miles into Western Australia. True, a margin of scrub is usually behind, and for two-thirds of the way a margin of sand a-soak with fresh water is in front of the cliffs; but the coast from Fowler's Bay (S.A.) to Israelite Bay (W.A.), where the cliffs end, and the country behind the coast, is essentially the same whether it lies in South or Western Australia, and the first 200–300 miles of Western Australia, and the last 200–300 miles of South Australia, mirror one another, and are indissoluble parts of one useless whole. In the coastal 'counties' between Port Augusta and Fowler's

[1] *Royal Geogr. Soc. of Australasia*, Brisbane, 1896, p. 115.

Bay there are four square miles, or including Port Lincoln six square miles, for every white person; and in inland districts, to which we must now turn, the desolation resembles the desolation of Northern Territory.

or north-west over the inland track into W.A.

A third way leads either to the north-west from Port Augusta, or to the west-south-west from a point between salt-lakes Torrens and Eyre. Experts trace the barren sand-waves of the Victorian desert to a thin strip of less barren sand-waves which start westward from this point between the salt lakes. North of this sand-strip there are older formations, granite, slate, and what-not, dotted down at random upon the map; and sheep-runs exist, or have existed, here or hereabouts, as far north as the tropics. The Warburton Range, which is 150 miles west of Lake Eyre, is one of these random dots upon the western wilds, and was in 1902 the scene of considerable gold reef-mining.[1] A few hundred miles north-west of Warburton Range similar broken ridges serve as broken bridges parallel with the Great Sandy Desert on the north and the Victoria Desert on the south, and guided Gosse, Giles, Sir J. Forrest, and all the first explorers from Western Australia into South Australia. All this intermediate country presents a scene of disorderly variety, and is without any intelligible scheme. It has hitherto proved destitute of mineral wealth, except at Warburton Range, and here, as in the so-called deserts, the earth is without form and void.

W.A. consists of five coastal strips,

Behind the vast shadowy figure of South Australia looms the vaster and more shadowy figure of Western Australia ready to receive the residue of that residue of East Australian prosperity which has fallen to the lot of South Australia. But the further west we go the more jejune and indigestible are the fragments that remain. Most of Australia lies in that rainless region of the earth to which Egypt and

[1] Tarcoola and Wilgena Goldfields, *Records of the mines of S.A., Tarcoola and the North Western District* (1902), H. Y. Brown.

the Sahara belong. True! the long main range redeems Eastern Australia where it brings moisture in the form of rain and inland rivers; but considering its length it is the lowest range in the world; and Australia is as broad as its eastern range is long; therefore its power for good is weak, many feeders of the Murray are uncertain and unreal, all the feeders of Lake Eyre are delusive mockeries; and west of these feeders Tantalus himself would not be duped by anything resembling an inland river, except perhaps by Sturt's Creek. The influence of the eastern range on Australia dwindles and dies—as the influence of the Urals on Europe, if the Urals were the only river-bearing mountains in Europe, would dwindle and die—as we move westward with the sun; and the powers which make for death assert an increasing ascendancy in the districts which form the inheritance of Western Australia. Unless, that is to say, new principles of life come into play, and some new principles do come into play. But the new principles are few and weak, and are with one exception infused into Western Australia from over seas, so that the new life only animates the outermost skin, and civilization hovers round the coast like a sea breeze. Moreover, the coast is split up into five strips of different quality.

(1) *Kimberley,*

In the north the Kimberley and Roebourne districts—of which Dutchmen used to write as 'De Witt's Land'—lie wholly within the tropics and are merely repetitions with a difference of the other tropical peninsulas of Australia. Their tides—as in almost all tropical Australia—are often 30 or 40 feet high; they suffer from hurricanes, especially Roebourne; and their summer rains are heavy.

Kimberley may be described as almost an island, for it is surrounded by one sea on two sides, and on one side by two rivers, the River Fitzroy—including its affluent the Margaret—and the River Ord. The isthmus, so to speak, between the heads of the Margaret and Ord is

really a spur from the low ill-marked watershed which we have traced from near Hughenden, Camooweal, and Elsey Creek. A little to the east of this isthmus into Kimberley the watershed brings forth Sturt's Creek, of which Western Australians are very proud, because it is their only natural inland river,[1] and it actually runs its whole length—once in every four years or so—into an inland salt lake. A little west of the isthmus the watershed sinks into the barren sand-strewn plain, which becomes as it approaches the coast 'Eighty Mile Beach', and under that designation separates Kimberley from Roebourne.

The peculiarity of Kimberley itself is that north of its river girdle rugged irregular mountains rise to a height of 2,500 feet—which far exceeds that of the watershed; consequently we have no broad straight-flowing rivers like those in Carpentaria, and no navigable rivers like those in Arnhem Land. Civilization chiefly takes the form of cattle, and barely exists beyond the Ord and Fitzroy and their affluents, or beyond Sturt's Creek and a little westerly annexe to Kimberley between the Fitzroy and Roebuck Bay. Its chief ports are Wyndham on the Ord (40), Derby on the Fitzroy (90), and Broome on Roebuck Bay (600).[2] Hall's Creek (150?), its gold town, is situated between the Margaret and Ord, 200–300 miles both from Wyndham and from Derby.

(2) *Roebourne,*

Roebourne District includes the country watered by the De Grey, Yule, Fortescue, and Ashburton, which converge near their sources, and which rise amid barren, rocky mountains some 3,500 feet high, at a distance which in the case of the Ashburton exceeds 350 miles in a direct line from its mouth. These rivers are neither perennial nor navigable; the ports are Cossack (200)—close to Roebourne (300), Condon (20), and Port Hedland, and a road connects these ports with one another and with Onslow (200)[2] on the

[1] 'Earlstein river' is scarcely a river.
[2] Includes district; figures from *Australasian Handbook* (1906).

Ashburton. Condon and Port Hedland are the outlets for the gold-mines on the affluents of the De Grey at Marble Bar (2,000), Nullagine (250), and Warrawoona (150); Cossack for the gold-mines on the Yule at Mallina (10) and Pilbarra (50); and Onslow for still smaller gold-mines on the Upper Ashburton.

(3) *the Ashburton-Gascoyne district,*

Next we come to what the Dutch sometimes called 'Eendragt Land', or the region watered by the Ashburton, Gascoyne, and Murchison, all of which are long rivers and converge at their sources amid mountains 3,000–4,000 feet in height. Almost all this region lies south of the tropics, but it is even more lonely and inhospitable than Kimberley and Roebourne. Maude's Landing, Carnarvon (290), Shark's Bay (150), and Geraldine (100) are its chief towns on or near the coast. Some 300 miles in a direct line from the mouth either of the Gascoyne or the Murchison, and between the sources of those rivers are the gold-mines of Peak Hill (526). But here we are already at the entrance gate of another sphere.

after which the country and climate change as we come to

Travellers from Perth to points beyond the Murchison go by sea, and travellers from Perth to Geraldine or Peak Hill go by land. From Houtman's Abrolhos, near the mouth of the Murchison, to the mouth of the Ord—a distance of over 1,700 sea miles—pearl and guano industries prevail. From Geraldine to Perth inclusive—a distance of over 300 land miles—these industries cease, and agriculture, which scarcely exists north of the Murchison, thrives. Again, in Kimberley, Roebourne, and everywhere north of the Murchison gold is the gift of existing rivers; south of it the cloth of gold is spread in the riverless wilderness. Again from the Ord to the Murchison all rivers are long and radiate afar from a single neighbourhood; south of the Murchison all rivers are short and—except in the south-west where the coast wheels round—their sources are as far apart as their mouths. Again, we have now left the tropics

where tides are high, where hurricanes wreck towns and fleets, and where summer is the wet season. In the south-west corner of Australia tides are low, the prevailing wind is the west wind—as in Tasmania and Middle Island (N.Z.), and winter is the wet season. Between tropics and south-west the climate is a compromise between these contradictions; and the so-called Darling Range—which runs parallel with the shore at a distance of about 20 miles and a height of about 1,500 ft. *s. m.* from a point south of the Murchison to the south-west corner, and then with changed name and nature shadows the south coast at the back of Albany—often secures the best of both climates. It is in no sense a range. The westward-flowing rivers, though feeble and intermittent, flow through it, not from it; and the edge of the tableland in its rear is their source—a peculiarity which recalls the Macdonnells (S.A.). No rivers flow eastward, but the tableland continues at an altitude of 1,000–2,000 feet far away into South Australia. The mountains are of Archaean granite, clothed on their western bases with slate, schist and later formations. Consequently they bear timber, which takes the shape of jarrah and karri between Perth and Albany. Mountains and trees woo the west wind which comes with healing in its wings; and Perth often enjoys moderate rain from year's end to year's end. North of the Murchison the climate is not tempered by coastal ranges or coastal trees, and from the Murchison to the verge of the tropics, and in some years still further north, there is immoderate drought throughout the year, but here nothing is certain but uncertainty. Again, when we travel south across the Murchison we travel from a country of miniature towns and colossal distances to a compact and comparatively civilized area. This area is nothing like so compact as Victoria or the country round Adelaide; and although the capital is in its middle the natural roads and railways which lead from it do not radiate

from it—like those from Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide —but hug the shore or the edge of that tableland which is never far from the shore. Perth is more junction than centre; and but for historical accidents its civilization would owe its inspiration to the Cape of Good Hope as much as it does to Eastern Australia. Perth and Albany belong to the Indian Ocean, not to the Pacific; and Western Australia is illumined from the west as well as from the east. There is a change of scene, climate, and to some extent of political relations; and after leaving the Ashburton we turn a corner metaphorically as well as literally; although the import of the change is not apparent until the Murchison is reached, and its full import is visible for the first time on the banks of the Greenough, a few miles south of the Murchison.

(4) *the Perth-Geraldton Albany district,*

The new district at which we have arrived is knit by rail and road to the capital, which is Perth (36,274)[1], and Perth has two equidistant assistant capitals, Albany (3,680) in the south, and in the north Geraldton (2,476), which is 60 or 70 miles south of Geraldine and 33 miles south of Northampton (200), where the railway ends. Lead and copper have been worked off and on at Geraldine and Northampton for the last fifty years. Geraldton is therefore a mineral port. And it is also the port of the flats of Greenough (524), which extend southward to Dongara (300) on the Irwin, and which grow the best wheat in the colony and the only or almost the only wheat on its coast; for here the coast is of limestone and elsewhere it is usually smothered up by sand. On the Irwin coal also is found. More than 100 miles south, and on either side of the railway and of the valley of the Moore are the rich pastoral districts of Yatheroo (200)[2] and Victoria Plains (300)[2]. After the Moore the next important river is the Swan, as it is called when it runs west, or the Avon as its upper

[1] Now over 50,000.

[2] Includes district; figures from *Australasian Handbook* (1906).

northward-flowing reaches are called. Fremantle (24,000), an excellent made port at the Swan's mouth, has ousted Albany, which is excellent by nature, from its sometime supremacy. Perth is 12 miles up-stream; and Guildford (1,698) and Helena Vale (1,867) 9½ miles further up-stream; and the district near where the Swan undergoes metamorphosis into the Avon, extends from Goomallyn (600), which is about 85 miles north-east of Perth, by Newcastle (560), Northam (2,096), and York (1,385), to Beverley (2,500)[1], which is about 85 miles south-east of Perth, and comprises agricultural land which vies with that of Greenough. These five towns are on the edge of the tableland behind the rocky screen formed by the Darling Mountains, and until a few years ago represented the eastern limit of agricultural settlement; but of late years wheat has been grown with some success at Youndegin, Tammin, and Kellerberrin, which are further east of Northam than Northam is of Perth.

Perth is not only the capital, but it is also in the middle of that settled coastal strip which faces west. From Perth to Geraldton is 306 miles; from Perth to Albany is 338 miles by rail, and 254 miles by road. Between Perth and Geraldton there are no ports, and there is only a single through road or railway. Between Perth and Albany—which, as a port, is comparable to Ports Darwin and Lincoln—there are indifferent ports at the mouths of the Little Murray, Collie, Vasse, and Blackwood, and there is a double or treble line of road or railway. Mandurah (160), near Pinjarrah (180) on the Little Murray; Australind (40) and Bunbury (2,587) on the Collie; Busselton (734) on the Vasse, and Augusta (50) on the Blackwood, are the best-known ports of this district. The immense superiority of Bunbury, which a superficial glance at the figures of its reputed inhabitants will attest, is due to the neighbourhood of excellent coal-mines at Colliefields (1,458), excellent tin-mines at Greenbushes (2,000), and a little gold

at Donnybrook (587). Karridale (230) ships karri timber from Hamelin (70) instead of Augusta, which is almost as near; and Jarrahdale (1,209), although only 30 miles from Perth, ships its jarrah timber from Rockingham instead of from Fremantle. A southern railway as well as road goes by Pinjarrah and Bunbury to Busselton, with branches to Jarrahdale, Colliefields, and Bridgetown (520) near Greenbushes, and the road continues from Busselton to Augusta and Hamelin, and from Bridgetown to Albany. But this south railway is not *the* south railway, nor is this south road *the* south road. The great south road goes straight to Albany by Williams River (500) on an affluent of the Little Murray, and Arthur River (124) and Kojonup (200) on an affluent of the Blackwood. After passing Northam, York, and Beverley, the great south railway clings to the skirts of the tableland just beyond the sources of all rivers, passes Pingelly (80), rich in agriculture, Narrogin (110), which is on the ganglion of high land, 1,114 feet high, whence the Avon, Murray, Collie, and Blackwood diverge; Wagin (600), Katanning (250), and Broomehill (400)—at all of which agriculture is progressing—and Mount Barker (320), near which are karri forests. The great south railway, the other south railway, and the great south road form an N, along the lines of which every important town lies, and almost all the agricultural and manufacturing industries of this district are carried on. The interstices of the N are devoted mainly to timber and to pastoral pursuits. Although the coastal strip between Perth and Albany is by far the thickest and most thickly peopled coastal strip in Western Australia, the outsides strokes of the N are never 100 miles apart, so that the civilized tract which they contain is unnaturally thin, and on one side of it there is the deep sea, and on the other something to which we shall return hereafter.

(5) *and the district of*

Between Albany and Cape Arid civilization gradually pales its ineffectual fires, rivers are shorter and scantier,

the Great Bight.

railways are not, and there is only one fair port—Esperance Bay (341).

After Cape Arid—whose nature may be inferred from its name—we enter the 'Great Bight', a district which has already been glanced at from its opposite side, and in which Israelite Bay (30) and Eucla (50) are the only ports. Eucla is 750 miles away from Albany, and gives its name to that division of Western Australia which includes the Great Bight. The Dutch also had a special name for the coasts of the Great Bight, which they called 'Nuyt's Land'; the Albany district being called 'Leeuwinland', and the Perth district 'Edelland'. But their names were very vague, for they only knew Australia from the outside. From their frontier beyond Eucla, Western Australians have constructed a telegraph wire round their coasts to Derby, and thence to Wyndham. This wire is the only permanent material bond between their scattered provinces. The climate after leaving Albany has been gradually deteriorating, and the climate of the Great Bight resembles that of the interior, to which we must now return.

W.A. also includes the eastern mining district,

Hitherto it would seem as though Western Australia lacked solidity and natural unity, and consisted of a series of thin disconnected coastal strips, stretched around a semicircle of sea 3,000 miles in length, and hemmed in by amorphous waste lands upon which only a few wandering miners have encroached. But for the squatters—who are too few and too ubiquitous to figure in books of geography, which are fain to lean, however diffidently, on statistics and on maps, this description would have been true down to a few years ago. Only the border of the skirt was hemmed, with a few coarse stitches on north-east, north-north-west, and south-east, and with fine close stitches on the west; the rest of the garment was unsewn and as nature made it. Then a miracle happened. The most profuse and dazzling riches welled forth from the barrenest land in all Australia; crowds of busy men peopled

a region where one would have thought that the scapegoat of Scripture could only starve. Palaces as brilliant and dazzling as those of Aladdin and Klingsor sprang up in a few days in the uttermost deserts, cities and streams which had only been seen in a mirage by doomed explorers suddenly took shape and substance; out of darkness came light, and new rays of hope and new prospects of unity shone on Western Australia from the abodes of desolation and despair.

which has a geological clue.

Maps of that part of Western Australia, which is surrounded by the five coastal strips which have been described, are splashed with salt lakes, speckled with sand heaps, and shaded with granite hills, all of which are jumbled together in an inextricable tangle which defies description. The clue to this maze is geological, and its geology is as simple as its physical geography is confused.

There are six longitudinal geological strips, two of which are coastal,

Geologically Western Australia consists of six parallel straight lines or belts of granite, schist, or slate—or all three combined—which run more or less from south to north.[1] The westernmost belt hides and burrows underground, but just emerges from its hiding-place in order to enrich Cape Leeuwin on the south, and Northampton and Geraldine on the north. The second belt loves the light, and thrusts itself upon people's attention under the name and style of the Darling Range, which is not a range, and enriches Greenbushes and Donnybrook. The compact civilized area which we have hitherto described as the fourth coastal strip is the country which covers, or is covered by, these two narrow belts. The third belt, which is about 100 miles from the western coast and about 100 miles broad, is neither retiring nor ostentatious, is sometimes in evidence and sometimes clothed with white sandstone, and may be ignored, for it enriches nothing and nobody. It represents the interval

[1] A. Gibb Maitland, '*Mineral Wealth of Western Australia*' (1900), p. 9, citing Woodward.

between the coastal strip which has been described and the mining interior which remains to be described.

and the fourth contains Southern Cross and Nannine,

A fourth belt starts from Phillips's River, 100 miles east of Albany, and goes a little west of north by Parker's Range (40), Southern Cross (1,275), Hope's Hill (30), Golden Valley (20), Jackson (60), and Mount Magnet (632) to Day Dawn (552), Cue (1,327), Austin (130), and Nannine (120), a distance of 500 miles. The line is straight, single, and narrow, like a volcanic line until the last 100 miles, where it is flanked on the west at an interval of 50 miles or so by Rothesay (100), Field's Find (130), Gullewa (100), Yalgoo (200), and Melville. Between Cue and Nannine it wavers in its direction, and 100 miles north of Nannine it probably reappears in those mines of Peak Hill and the Upper Ashburton which have been referred to. The whole course is more strewn with gold than the fabled racecourse of Atalanta. The fifth belt is as wide, poor, barren, and unprofitable as the second belt.

and the sixth contains Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie.

The sixth is the most wonderful of these spangled belts. Starting from Esperance Bay, which is 100 miles east of Phillips's River, it goes by Dundas (15) and Norseman (263) to Widgemooltha (100), after which it forms double rank, the ranks being 50 miles apart. On the west are Burbanks (627), Londonderry, Bulla Bulling (15), Coolgardie (4,920), Paddington (1,300)[1], Broad Arrow (3,000)[1], Black Flag (100), Bardoc (60), Goongarrie (150), Murrim Murrim (250), Menzies (2,042), Yerilla, Niagara (400), Mount Malcolm (450), Leonora (2,500)[1], Diorite King (60), Woodarra (200), Lawlers (542), and Sir Samuel (360); on the east are Bulong (750), Boulder (14 585), Kalgoorlie (9,643), Kanowna (12,500)[1], Hayes's Find (150), Kurnalpi (150), Mounts Margaret and Morgans (1,500)[1], and Laverton (200). The northernmost point of this belt is 450 miles or so from its starting-point in Esperance Bay; and 400 miles or so further north,

[1] Includes district; figures from *Australasian Handbook* (1906).

what is probably a continuation of the same belt reappears at Nullagine and those gold towns on the De Grey and Yule which have been referred to.

These two mineral strips are unlike other gold districts,

All the towns which line the fourth and sixth belts are gold towns, and the numbers of their reputed inhabitants are only meant as the very roughest indications of their relative value. Often towns almost adjoin one another; and perhaps it would be more logical to include Burbanks in Coolgardie, Boulder in Kalgoorlie, Leonora in Mount Malcolm, and Bardoc, Black Flag, Broad Arrow, and Paddington in one another. Often, too, the town limits arbitrarily or unequally exclude dwellers in the surrounding districts, who, especially in the case of nomadic industries, form the large majority. Though rough and crude as gauges of comparative prosperity, these numbers illustrate the extraordinary abundance of gold towns which have been scattered throughout these wastes during the last fifteen or sixteen years, and the amazing preponderance of Kalgoorlie, Kanowna, Coolgardie, Menzies, and Leonora. A few towns like Yerilla, Londonderry, and Golden Valley are deserted or almost deserted, and a very few towns have other resources besides gold or copper, which is so often associated with gold; thus there is sandal-wood at Yalgoo, Bardoc, Kurnalpi, and Bulla Bulling, as there is at Shark's Bay, and on the Great Bight, and in most parts of Western Australia, and Goongarrie deals in bricks. Where the gold is alluvial it usually lies in deep leads, as in Kanowna, Bulong, and Kurnalpi, and requires almost as much and as expensive machinery as the lodes which must be quarried, crushed, or chemically treated. In the Western Australian wilderness gold seeking is not an adventure, but an industry. As an industry it has already attained the stability which characterizes Thames (N.Z.), Bendigo, and Ballaarat. But the conditions are dissimilar to what they are elsewhere in Australia. Thames, Bendigo and Ballaarat will survive, it

seems scarcely possible that these cities of the wilderness will survive the industry which brought them into being. Elsewhere, as a rule, gold took men out into the highways. True, in Gippsland and West Tasmania, metallic wealth took men out into the by-ways, but the by-ways were just off the highways and had only remained by-ways for so long owing to the excessive luxuriance of their primaeval forests. In Western Australia, Southern Cross is 140, Kalgoorlie 280 miles from the nearest tract which the maddest visionary would associate with highways.

(except perhaps Cobar and Broken Hill)

In New South Wales the copper belt between the Bogan and the Lachlan, and the gold-and-silver belt along the Grey and Barrier Ranges, present more analogy with the two gold-belts of Western Australia; but Grey gold is on the down grade, and Barrier silver accounts for only one town which is a little larger than Kalgoorlie-cum-Boulder, and those belts clasped together people who were already in touch with one another. The multitudinous gold towns of Western Australia have vacancy on their east, all but vacancy on their north and south, and their parent towns are at vast distances on their west.

and suggest questions.

How, it will be asked, can these cities subsist under such unique conditions? Are they likely to be evanescent phantoms or permanent realities? And if permanence is in store for them, what purpose do they fulfil? How far do they or are they likely to promote the general welfare?

Water-schemes and railways imply that these parts are permanently occupied;

In the early days miners on the eastern tableland squeezed water out of moist sand as out of a sponge; or scratched dry salt lakes for the salt water which was usually underneath the surface and was then condensed, or they relied for their water supply on some natural cellar of granite rock or limestone cave. In 1903—when there were said to be 50,000 persons within 30 miles of Kalgoorlie alone—these casual expedients were no longer of use; dams and reservoirs were constructed; and Sir J. Forrest opened one of the biggest water

schemes in existence—a scheme of which he had been political godfather. The scheme may be described as the creation of an artificial perennial river which runs 1,300 feet uphill from Helena River—20 miles from Perth—to Kalgoorlie, a distance of 350 miles. The dwellers in the wilderness derive their food, as well as their water, from the far west, and every populous gold town is connected with the source of its food by railway. One railway goes from Geraldton to Yalgoo, Mount Magnet, Cue, and Nannine, and it is 310 miles long. A more important railway goes east from Perth to Southern Cross, Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie, Kanowna, Bardoc, and Menzies, to Leonora and Laverton, which is 630 miles by rail from Perth, 350 miles through the air due east of Geraldton, and 350 miles through the air due north of Esperance Bay. The railway from Coolgardie to Norseman—half way between Coolgardie and Esperance Bay—is still an unfulfilled desire.

so do political schemes,

These water schemes and railways are pledges that the cities of the wilderness will not vanish suddenly into the nothingness out of which they suddenly emerged, and that dust will not return to dust. Though exclusively mineral in their nature and origin, these cities are universally regarded as permanent in their destiny. The railways are something more than huge iron feeding tubes or elephantine trunks. Sir J. Forrest regards them as the first stage of a future railway to Port Augusta which will consummate the real federation of the eastern and western sides of Australia. But these prospects are scarcely within the horizon of practical politics. The gap between Coolgardie and the frontier is 400 miles, and its connection with the nearest point of the Oodnadatta railway would mean another 450 miles or so. Moreover, South Australia has still some 1,100 odd miles of unbuilt railway to the northern sea to occupy her energies or day-dreams. Still all things are possible in Australia; and increased success in working gold at Warburton range (S.A.) and in finding

water underneath Nullarbor Plains, or the discovery of rich gold mines at or near Petermann range, might change these unsubstantial hopes into accomplished facts. Even if mines were to fail after a time, they have already acted like strong tonic throughout the non-mineral districts, whose cattle they have multiplied by three, and whose population they have multiplied by two and a half in ten years (1891–1901). The population of Western Australia in 1891 was 49,182, and in 1901 was 184,124, or nearly four times as much, and the population of the non-mineral districts in 1901 was 124,669, or two and a half times as much as it was in 1891. But before utilizing official figures a few words of explanation are necessary.

and census figures.

The census authorities of 1901 class Peak Hill, Phillips's River, and Esperance Bay, which possess in the aggregate about 1,000 inhabitants, with the mining interior; they class Perth, Fremantle, and some 5,000 other neighbouring inhabitants as 'metropolitan', and deduct the metropolis from what we have called 'compact and civilized Western Australia', or what they call 'the south-west'; and they class all the area between the Murchison and Ashburton, and all the Kimberley and Roebourne districts as the north and north-west. Their results are as follows:—

Population of	Mining Interior . . .	59,455
,,	,, Metropolitan District . .	67,431
,,	,, South-west do.	51,711
,,	,, North and north-west do. . .	5,527
		184,124

In 1901 nearly one-third dwelt in the wilderness, more than one-third in or about the capital, less than a third in the residue of 'compact civilized Western Australia', which residue in 1901 exceeded in population the whole population of Western Australia ten years previously; and of the other four coastal strips—two of which are the barrenest in all

Australia, and the other two lie within the tropics—we can only say, as we said of Arnhem Land and Carpentaria, that they are not yet a success. Indeed, the north and north-west region hardly seems to move; its women are scarce, and 2,103 of its 5,527 inhabitants are 'Asiatics'. Only thirteen 'Asiatics' infest the mining interior. Western Australians have made a big thing of their mining interior—although its future suggests anxiety as well as hope—their capitals are growing and they are extending, improving, and consolidating their compact civilized district while these pages are passing through the press; but elsewhere their country is a thing of strips and shreds and patches and their tropical provinces still languish.

No complete picture of facts or events belonging to the period succeeding 1901 is as yet possible, and none has been attempted either for Western Australia or for any other part of Australia. They belong to the present—'This narrow isthmus 'twixt two boundless seas, The past, the future, two eternities'—descriptions of which inevitably lapse either into imperatives or into interrogatives — and the historical geography of our Australian colonies resembles 'the biographical sketch of a living man' which 'does not close with a stroke, but with three stars. They glow still, those stars. Under their influence much may happen — much struggle, much peace'. *Sed Quaere.*

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The chief other authorities on Australia are Gordon and Gotch, *Australasian Handbook* (annual); Anthony Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand* (1873); the annual Statistical Registers and Year Books for the different colonies; Census Reports (1901) for the different colonies; E. F. Pitman, *Mineral Resources of New South Wales* (1901); *Letters from Victorian Pioneers* (1898); C. H. Barton, *Outlines of Australian Physiography* (1895); Professor Gregory, *Dead Heart of Australia* (1906); and the *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia*, published at Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane respectively.

INDEX

Adavale (Q.), 71.
Adelaide, capital of South Australia (S.A.), 47, 76, 86, 92 et seq.
Adelaide R. (N.T.), 99.
Adèle I., 18.
Ahuriri, *see* Napier.
Aird R. (N.G.), 20.
Aitutaki I. (Cook Islands), 2, 3, 7, 8.
Albany (W.A.), 46, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112.
Alberga R. (S.A.), 97.
Albert Edward Mt. (N.G.), 20.
Alberton (V.), 83.
Albert R. (Q.), 73.
Albury (N.S.W.), 67, 68, 69, 80, 82, 84.
Alexandra in Otago (N.Z.), 28.
,, on the Waipa (N.Z.), 37.
,, (V.), 84.
Alexandrina, Lake (S.A.), 91.
Alice (Q.), 71.
,, springs (N.T.), 97, 98.
Allansford (V.), 88.
Allendale (V.), 86.
Alligator R., East (N.T.), 99.
,, ,, South (N.T.), 99.
Allora (Q.), 70.
Amadeus, Lake (S.A.), 96.
Amargura I. (Tonga I.), 5.
Ambrym I. (N.H.), 15.
Amherst (V.), 86.
Anaiteum I. (N.H.), 15, 16.
Antipodes, Island and Islands, 23.
Anuda I., 14.
Aoba, *see* Omba.
Aotea (N.Z.), 32.
Aramac (Q.), 72.
Ararat (V.), 86, 87, 88.
Ardrossan (S.A.), 93.
Arid, Cape (W.A.), 109, 110.
Arltunga (N.T.), 98.
Armidale (N.S.W.), 67.
Arnhem Land (N.T.), 99, 100, 117.
Aroha (Te) (N.Z.), 34, 37.
Arrilalah (Q.), 72.
Arrowtown (N.Z.), 28.
Arthur, Col. Sir G., 55.
,, Lake (T.), 53.
,, R. (W.A.), 109.
Ashburton (N.Z.), 28.
,, R. (W.A.), 104, 105, 107, 112, 116.
Ata I. (Tonga I.), 5.
Atiu I. (Cook I.), 3.
Auburn (S.A.), 93.
Auckland (N.Z.), 23, 31, 33, 36, 40.
,, Island and Islands, 23.
Augusta (W.A.), 108, 109.
Aurora I. (N.H.), 15.
Austin (W.A.), 112.
Australind (W.A.), 108.
Avenel (V.), 84.
Avoca (V.), 89.
,, R. (V.), 82, 85.
Avon R. (W.A.), 107, 108, 109.
,, and Richardson R. (V.), 82.
Awa Clan, 41.

Bagana Mt. in Bougainville I., 5.
Bairnsdale (V.), 83.
Baker I. (Phoenix Group), 3.
Balclutha (N.Z.), 28.
Ballaarat, 80, 86, 87, 113.
Ballina (N.S.W.), 69.
Balranald (N.S.W.), 78.
Bamu, R. (N.G.), 20.
Banks's Islands, 6, 15, 16.
,, Peninsula (N.Z.), 27, 41.
Barcaldine (Q.), 72.
Barcoo R. (Q.), 64, 72, 73, 74, 77, 96.
Bardoc (W.A.), 112, 113, 115.
Bariji R. (N.G.), 21.
Barklay Tableland (Q.), 64.
Barrier Range (N.S.W.), 76, 78, 95, 114.
Barrier Reef (Q.), 48–52, 65.
Barrow's Creek (N.T.), 97.

Bass's Strait, 52.
Bathurst (N.S.W.), 67, 68.
Bay of Islands, *see* Islands, Bay of.
Beachport (S.A.), 90.
Beaconsfield (T.), 54.
Beaufort, 86, 88.
Beautiful Valley (S.A.), 96.
Beechworth (V.), 84, 87.
Beetaloo Reservoir (S.A.), 96.
Bega (N.S.W.), 59.
Belfast (V.), 87.
Bell, son of Lt. Bell, 68.
Bellingen R. (N.S.W.) 69.
Bellinger, *see* Bellingen.
Beltana (S.A.), 97.
Belyando R. (Q.), 64, 71.
Benalla (V.), 84.
Bendigo (V.), 80, 85, 87, 91, 113.
Ben Lomond (T.), 55.
Bensbach R. (N.G.), 18, 19.
Berry (N.S.W.), 60.
Beverley (W.A.), 108, 109.
Biaru R. (N.G.), 20.
Birchip (V.), 86.
Birdsville (Q.), 13.
Blackall (Q.), 72.
Black Boy Mt. (T.), 55.
„ Flag (W.A.), 112, 113.
Blackwood R. (W.A.), 46, 108, 109.
Blanche, Lake (S.A.), 95, 96.
Blanchetown (S.A.), 91, 93.
Blayney (N.S.W.), 67.
Blenheim (N.Z.), 26.
Bligh, Admiral W., 5.
Blinman (S.A.), 97.
Blue Tier Mt. (T.), 54, 55.
Blumberg (S.A.), 93.
Blyth R. (T.), 56.
Bogan R. (N.S.W.), 67, 76.
Bogi (N.G.), 22.
Bombala (N.S.W.), 59.
Bonney, C., 79.
„ Lake (S.A.), 90.
Bonvouloir I., 18.
Borderton (S.A.), 90.
Borraloola (N.T.), 99.
Boscawen Island, *see* Tafahi.
Bougainville I. (Solomon I.), 5, 13.
„ Strait (Solomon I.), 13.
Boulder (W.A.), 112, 113, 114.
Boulia (Q.), 73.
Bounty Islands, 23.
Bourke (N.S.W.), 75.
Bowen (Q.), 48, 49, 50, 51.
Braidwood (N.S.W.), 60.
Bramfield (S.A.), 100.
Branxholme (V.), 88.
Brett, Cape (N.Z.), 31.
Brewarrina (N.S.W.), 75.
Bridgetown (W.A.), 109.
Bright (V.), 84.
Brisbane, capital of Q., 47, 63, 70–71.
Brisbane R. (Q.), 63, 70, 71.
Broad Arrow (W.A.), 112, 113.
Broken Hill (N.S.W.), 76, 77, 85, 95.
Broome (W.A.), 104.
Broomehill (W.A.), 109.
Browne, Mt. (N.S.W.), 76.
Brunner (N.Z.), 26.
Bruthen (V.), 83.
Buchan (V.), 83.
Bucklands Tableland (Q.), 63.
Buka I. (Solomon I.), 13.
Bulla Bulling (W.A.), 112, 113.
Buller R. (N.Z.), 26.
Bulloo R. (Q.), 71.
Bull's Creek (S.A.), 92.
Bulong (W.A.), 112, 113.
Bunbury (W.A.), 108, 109.
Bundaberg (Q.), 48, 49, 51, 63, 70.
Buninyong (V.), 86.
Burbanks (W.A.), 112, 113.
Burdekin R. (Q.), 48, 49, 64, 71, 72.
Burketown (Q.), 73.
Burnett R. (Q.), 48, 63, 71.
Burnie (T.), 56, 57.
Burr, Mt. (S.A.), 90.
Burra Burra (S.A.), 93.
Burra Creek (S.A.), 95.
Burrum R. (Q.), 49, 70, 71.
Busari R. (N.G.), 21.
Busselton (W.A.), 108, 109.
Byron, Lord, 4.

Cairns (Q.), 48, 49, 50, 51, 65, 73.
Callington (S.A.), 93.
Calvados Chain, 18.
Cambridge (N.Z.), 36, 37.
Camden (N.S.W.), 67.
Cameron Mt. (T.), 54, 55.
Camooweal (Q.), 72–3, 99, 104.

Campaspe R. (V.), 80, 82, 84, 85.
Campbell Island and Islands, 23.
Campbelltown (N.S.W.), 67.
" (N.Z.), 26.
" (T.), 56.
Camperdown (V.), 88.
Canterbury plain (N.Z.), 25, 26.
" province (N.Z.), 25, 26, 28, 33, 38–9.
Cape of Good Hope, 107.
Cardwell (Q.), 48, 49, 50, 51, 69.
Carisbrook (V.), 86.
Carnarvon (W.A.), 105.
Caroline I., 3.
Carpentaria watershed, 63, 64, 72, 73 et seq., 99, 104.
Carrieton (S.A.), 95.
Carrington, Captain, 99, 100.
Carterton (N.Z.), 29.
Casino (N.S.W.), 69.
Casterton (V.), 88.
Castlemaine (V.), 85.
Central Mount Stuart (N.T.), 99.
Charleville (Q.), 70, 75.
Charlton (V.), 85.
Charters Towers (Q.), 49, 72.
Chatham Islands, 23.
Cherry I., *see* Anuda I.
Chillagoe (Q.), 73.
Chiltern (V.), 85.
Choiseul I. (Solomon I.), 13.
Christchurch (N.Z.), 25, 26, 27.
Clare (S.A.), 93, 94, 95.
Clarence R. (N.S.W.), 69, 70, 71.
Clent Hills (N.Z.), 25.
Clermont (Q.), 71.
Clinton (S.A.), 93.
Cloncurry (Q.), 73.
Clunes (V.), 86.
Clutha R. (N.Z.), 26, 27.
Clyde (N.Z.), 30.
Coal R. (T.), 53, 54.
Cobar (N.S.W.), 75, 76, 78, 114.
Cobram (V.), 79, 80, 84.
Cockburn (S.A.), 95.
Coen (Q.), 73.
Colac (V.), 88.
Colebrook (T.), 54.
Coleraine (V.), 88.
Collie R. (W.A.), 108, 109.
Colliefields (W.A.), 108, 109.
Collingwood (N.Z.), 28.
" B. (N.Z.), 24.
Colton (S.A.), 100.
Comet R. (Q.), 63.
Conadilly R. (N.S.W.), 61.
Conara (T.), 55.
Condamine R. (Q.), 62.
Condobolin (N.S.W.), 67, 68, 69, 73, 78.
Condon (W.A.), 104, 105.
Conflict I., 18.
Cook, Captain J., 8, 40, 41.
" Islands or Cook's Islands, 7.
" Mt. (N.Z.), 24, 25.
Cookbundoon Pass (N.S.W.), 74.
Cook's Strait, 25, 29.
Cooktown (Q.), 48, 49, 50, 51, 65, 73, 74.
Coolgardie (W.A.), 112, 113, 115.
Cooma (N.S.W.), 60, 68, 69.
Cooper's Creek (Q.), (S.A.), 72, 97.
Cootamundra (N.S.W.), 67, 74, 78.
Cooyar Range (Q.), 63.
Corangamite, Lake (V.), 88.
Corinna (T.), 57.
Corner Inlet (V.), 81, 83.
Coromandel Peninsula (N.Z.), 23, 31, 33, 36.
Corowa (N.S.W.), 67, 73, 79.
Cossack (W.A.), 104, 105.
Cox, G. W., 100.
Creswick (V.), 86, 87.
Cromwell (N.Z.), 28.
Croydon (Q.), 73.
Crystal Brook (S.A.), 96.
Cudgegong (N.S.W.), 67.
" R. (N.S.W.), 60.
Cue (W.A.), 112, 115.
Cunnamulla (Q.), 70, 75.
Cunningham, Allen, 68.
Currie, Captain, 68.

Dalby (Q.), 70.
Dalgetty (N.S.W.), 59.
Daly R. (N.T.), 99.
Dandenong Mountains (V.), 81.
Dannevirke (N.Z.), 29.
Dargaville (N.Z.), 32, 37.
Darling Downs (Q.), 48, 51, 62, 64, 65, 70, 71.
Darling Downs District (Q.), 62.

Darling Range (W.A.), 106, 108, 111.
Darling R. (N.S.W.), 61, 62, 63, 67, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77.
Daru I. (N.G.), 22.
Dawes's Range (Q.), 63.
Dawson R. (Q.), 63, 71.
Day Dawn (W.A.), 112.
Daylesford (V.), 89.
Deboyne I., 18.
De Grey R. (W.A.), 104, 105, 106.
Deloraine (T.), 56.
Deniliquin (N.S.W.), 79.
Denison Plains (W.A.), 64.
D'Entrecasteaux I, *see* Fergusson, Goodenough, Normanby, &c.
Derby (T.), 55.
,, (W.A.), 104, 110.
Derwent R. (T.), 53, 54.
Devonport (T.), 56, 57.
De Witt's Land (W.A.), 103.
Diamantina R. (Q.), 64, 72, 73, 78, 96, 97.
Dimboola (V.), 86.
Dinner I, *see* Samarai.
Diorite King (W.A.), 112.
Dolgelly (N.S.W.), 78.
Donald (V.), 86.
Dongara (W.A.), 107.
Donnybrook (W.A.), 109, 111.
Dorrigo Valley (N.S.W.), 69.
Drayton (Q.), 70.
Dreke ni Wai River in Vanua Levu Island, 11.
Dreketi R. in Vanua Levu I., 11.
Drouin (V.), 82.
Drummond Range (Q.), 63, 64.
Drury (N.Z.), 33.
Dubbo (N.S.W.), 67.
Duff Islands, 14.
Dumaresq R. (Q.), 62.
Dundas (T.), 57.
,, (W.A.), 112.
Dunedin (N.Z.), 26, 27, 29.
Dungeness (Q.), 48, 49, 51.
Dunolly (V.), 86.
Dutton, F., 94.

Eaglehawk (V.), 85.
East Cape (N.Z.), 30.
,, I., 18.
Echuca (V.), 79, 82, 84, 85.
Echunga (S.A.), 92.
Eddystone I, *see* Narovo.
Edelland (W.A.), 110.
Eden, *see* Twofold Bay.
Edithburgh (S.A.), 93.
Eendraght Land (W.A.), 105.
Efate, *see* Fate.
Egmont, Mount (N.Z.), 32, 33.
Eighty Mile Beach (W.A.), 104.
Ellice Islands, 2, 7.
Ellis, Rev. Wm., missionary, 3.
Elliston (S.A.), 100.
Elsey Creek (N.T.), 97, 98, 99, 104.
Eltham (N.Z.), 33.
Emerald (Q.), 71.
Emmaville (N.S.W.), 68.
Emu Plains (T.), 56.
,, R. (T.), 56, 57.
Eromanga (Q.), 72.
,, I. (N.H.), 15, 16.
Esk, North, R. (T.), 54, 55,
,, South, R. (T.), 54, 55.
Esperance Bay (W.A.), 110, 112, 115, 116.
Espiritu Santo I. (N.H.), 15.
Etheridge R. (Q.), 73.
Eua I. (Tonga I.), 7.
Euabalong (N.S.W.), 76.
Eucla (W.A.), 101, 110.
Eudunda (S.A.), 93.
Eulo (Q.), 71.
Euroa (V.), 84.
Expedition Range (Q.), 63.
Eyre, Lake (S.A.), 95, 96, 97, 98, 102, 103.
Eyre's Peninsula (S.A.), 100–102.

Falcon I. (Tonga I.), 5.
Farina (S.A.), 97.
Fate I. (N.H.), 15–16.
Fauro I. (Solomon I.), 7, 11.
Feilding (N.Z.), 29.
Fergusson I., 18.
Fernmount (N.S.W.), 69.
Field's Find (W.A.), 112.
Fiji Islands, 6, 7, 9–12, 30, 32, 42.
Fila, capital of Fate and N.H., 15.
Fingal (T.), 55.
Finke R. (S.A.), 96.
Finley (N.S.W.), 79.
Fitzroy R. (Q.), 48, 49, 63, 71.

Fitzroy R. (W.A.), 103, 104.
Flinders Range (S.A.), 95.
,, R. (Q.), 72.
Flint Island, 3.
Florida Islands (Solomon I.), 7, 13, 14.
Fly R. (N.G.), 18–20, 41.
Forbes (N.S.W.), 67.
Forest Creek (V.), 85.
Forrest, Sir J., 100, 102, 114, 115.
Fortescue R. (W.A.), 104, 105.
Forth R. (T.), 56.
Foster (V.), 83.
Foveaux Strait (N.Z.), 24.
Fowler's Bay (S.A.), 101, 102.
Foxton (N.Z.), 29, 38.
Frances (S.A.), 90.
Franklin (T.), 54.
,, Harbour (S.A.), 100.
Fremantle (W.A.), 108, 109, 116.
Frome, Lake (S.A.), 95, 96.
Funafuti I. (Ellice I.), 2, 3, 17, 18.
Furner (S.A.), 90.
Futuna I. (N.H.), 16.

Gairdner, Lake (S.A.), 96.
Gambier Mt. (S.A.), 90; *see* Mount Gambier.
Gascoyne R. (W.A.), 105.
Gate Pa, 42.
Gavotu Harbour (Florida I.), 14.
Gawa I, *see* Jouvency I.
Gawler (S.A.), 93.
,, Range (S.A.), 100.
Geelong (V.), 85, 86, 87, 89.
George, Lake (N.S.W.), 59, 68.
Georgetown (Q.), 73.
,, (T.), 54.
Georgina R. (Q.), 64, 73, 96, 97.
Geraldine (N.Z.), 28.
,, (W.A.), 105, 106, 111.
Geraldton (Q.), *see* Johnstone River.
,, (W.A.), 107, 108, 115.
Geringong (N.S.W.), 60.
Gilbert Islands, 2, 7.
,, R. (Q.), 73.
Giles, E., 101, 102.
Gilgunnia (N.S.W.), 76.
Gippsland (V.), 81, 82–3, 114.
Gira R. (N.G.), 20.
Gisborne (N.Z.), 30.
Gizo I. (Solomon I.), 14.
Gladstone (N.S.W.), 69.
,, (Q.), 48, 63, 70.
,, (S.A.), 96.
,, (T.), 55.
Glenelg (S.A.), 92.
Glenelg R. (V.), 82, 87, 88.
Glen Innes (N.S.W.), 68, 69.
Glenorchy (V.), 86.
Golden Valley (W.A.), 112, 113.
Goodenough I., 18.
Goolwa (S.A.), 91, 93.
Goomallyn (W.A.), 108.
Goongarrie (W.A.), 112, 113.
Gore (N.Z.), 28.
Gormanston (T.), 57.
Goroke (V.), 86, 88.
Gorst, Sir J., 41.
Gosse, W. C., 102.
Goulburn (N.S.W.), 59, 60, 61, 67.
,, R. (V.), 52, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84.
Grafton (N.S.W.), 69.
Grampian Mountains (V.), 82, 91.
Granville R. (Sa. Cruz I.), 15.
Great Australian Bight, The (S.A.), (W.A.), 101, 109, 110, 113.
Great Dividing Range (N.S.W., Q., &c.), 49, 50, 51 et seq., 58–65, 66 et seq., 74.
Great Sandy Desert (W.A.) 99, 101, 102.
Greenbushes (W.A.), 108, 109, 111.
Greenough (W.A.), 107, 108.
Gregory, Lake (S.A.), 96.
,, Range (Q.), 65.
Grey, Mt. (N.Z.), 26.
,, Range (N.S.W.), (Q.), 76, 78, 114.
,, River (N.Z.), 26.
Greymouth (N.Z.), 26, 32.
Greytown (N.Z.), 29.
Grim, Cape (T.), 53, 57.
Guadalcanar I. (Solomon I.), 13.
Guildford (W.A.), 108.
Gulgong (N.S.W.), 67.
Gullewa (W.A.), 112.
Gumeracha (S.A.), 93.
Gundagai (N.S.W.), 60.
Gunnedah (N.S.W.), 67.

Gwydir R. (N.S.W.), 61, 67, 74, 75.
Gympie (Q.), 49, 70.

Haast's Pass (N.Z.), 26.
Haddon Downs (S.A.), (Q.), 97.
Hahndorf (S.A.), 92.
Hall Sound (N.G.), 20, 21.
Hall's Creek (W.A.), 104.
Hamelin (W.A.), 109.
Hamilton (T.), 54.
,, North (T.), 56.
,, (V.), 88.
Hampshire Hills (T.), 56.
Hampton Tableland, *see* Premier Downs.
Harper, Mt. (N.Z.), 25.
Hastings (N.Z.), 29.
,, I., 18.
,, Range (N.S.W.), 61.
,, R. (N.S.W.), 61, 69.
Hauraki Gulf (N.Z.), 31, 32, 33, 40.
Havannah Harbour in Fate I., 15.
Havelock (N.Z.), 28.
Hawera (N.Z.), 33.
Hawker (S.A.), 97.
Hawke's Bay (N.Z.), 30.
,, ,, province (N.Z.), 29.
Hawkesbury R. (N.S.W.), 66, 67, 68.
Hay (N.S.W.), 78, 79.
,, R. (S.A.), 96.
Hayes Find (W.A.), 112.
Heathcote (V.), 89.
Heemskirk Mt. (T.), 57.
Helena R. (W.A.), 115.
,, Vale (W.A.), 108.
Helensville (N.Z.), 32, 37.
Henry of Eromanga, 16.
Herbert R, *see* Georgina.
Herberton (Q.), 73.
Hergott Springs (S.A.), 97.
Hervey Islands (in Cook Islands), 2.
Heu Heu, Te, 40.
Hikurangi (N.Z.), 33.
Hillgrove (N.S.W.), 67, 68.
Hindmarsh, Lake (V.), 86, 96.
Hobart, capital of T., 54, 55.
Hobson's Bay (V.), 80.
Hochstetter, F. von, 23, 31.
Hodgkinson R. (Q.), 50.
Hokianga (N.Z.), 32.
Hokitika (N.Z.), 22, 26, 32, 41.
Hood Bay (N.G.), 21, 22.
Hope, Lake (S.A.), 96.
Hope's Hill (W.A.), 112.
Hopetoun (V.), 86.
Hopkins R. (V.), 87.
Horowhenua R. (N.Z.), 29, 40.
Horsham (V.), 86.
Houtman's Abrolhos (W.A.), 105.
Howe, Cape (N.S.W.), 52, 59, 80, 81.
Hughenden (Q.), 72, 73, 75, 76, 104.
Huiarau Range (N.Z.), 25.
Hume, Hamilton, 68, 79.
Hummock Range (S.A.), 95.
Humphrye Island, *see* Manahiki.
Hunga I. (Tonga I.), 4.
Hungerford (Q.), 71.
Hunter Range (N.S.W.), 60.
,, R. (N.S.W.), 61, 66, 67, 69.
Hunterville (N.Z.), 37, 38.
Huntly (N.Z.), 33.
Huon R. (T.), 53, 54.
Hutt, Mt. (N.Z.), 25.
,, River and valley (N.Z.), 25, 29.

Ilfracombe (Q.), 72.
Illawarra, Central (N.S.W.), 60.
,, District, 60, 66.
,, North (N.S.W.), 60.
,, Range (N.S.W.), 60.
Indigo (V.), 84.
Inglewood (V.), 85.
Innamincka (S.A.), 97.
Invercargill (N.Z.), 26.
Inverell (N.S.W.), 68.
Ipswich (Q.), 70, 71.
Irwin R. (W.A.), 107.
Isaacs R. (Q.), 63.
Islands, Bay of (N.Z.), 32, 33, 40.
Israelite Bay (W.A.), 101, 110.
Iwa I, *see* Jouvency I.

Jackson (W.A.), 112.
Jarrah, 46, 109.
Jarrahdale (W.A.), 109.
Jarvis I., 3.
Jeparit (V.), 86.
Jerilderie (N.S.W.), 79.

Johnstone River (Q.), 49, 51.
Jouvency I., 18.
Jumbunna (V.), 83.
Jundah (Q.), 72.
Junee (N.S.W.), 67.

Kadina (S.A.), 93.
Kaiapoi (N.Z.), 28.
Kaikoura Mountains (N.Z.), 24, 25.
Kaikoura Peninsula (N.Z.), 27, 41.
Kaileuna I, *see* Trobriand I.
Kaimanawa Mountains (N.Z.), 25, 35, 36.
Kaingaroa plain (N.Z.), 35, 36.
Kaipara estuary (N.Z.), 32, 37.
Kaitangata (N.Z.), 28.
Kalgoorlie (W.A.), 112, 113, 114, 115.
Kalicoso plain in Vanua Levu I., 11.
Kamo (N.Z.), 33.
Kandavu I. (Figi I.), 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17.
Kangaroo I. (S.A.), 94.
Kanowna (W.A.), 112, 113, 115.
Kapiti I. (N.Z.), 41.
Kapunda (S.A.), 93.
Kara Kara, Cape (N.Z.), 31.
Karioi Mountain (N.Z.), 33.
Karri, 46, 109.
Karridale (W.A.), 109.
Katanning (W.A.), 109.
Katikati (N.Z.), 23.
Katoomba (N.S.W.), 66.
Kavo Mt. in Guadalcanar I., 13.
Kawa Kawa (N.Z.), 32, 33.
Kawhia (N.Z.), 23, 31, 32, 33.
Kellerberrin (W.A.), 108.
Kempsey (N.S.W.), 69.
Kemp Welch R. (N.G.), 21.
Keppel I., *see* Niuatabutabu.
Kerang (V.), 85.
Kermadec Islands, 5, 35.
Kiama (N.S.W.), 60.
Kidnappers, Cape (N.Z.), 29.
Kiewa R. (V.), 79, 82.
Kilmore (V.), 84.
Kimberley District of W.A., 103–4, 105, 116.
King R. (V.), 82.
Kingston (S.A.), 90.
Kirby or Kirby's Range (Q.), 64.
Kiriwina, *see* Trobriand.
Kitawa I, *see* Jouvency I.
Kiwai I. (N.G.), 19.
Koa I. (Tonga I.), 5.
Kojonup (W.A.), 109,
Kokoda (N.G.), 22 *n.*
Koondrook (V.), 79, 85.
Kooringa (S.A.), 93, 94, 95.
Kooweerup swamp (V.), 83.
Koro Sea, 9, 12.
Koroit (V.), 88.
Korong (V.), 85.
Kororarika (N.Z.), 33.
Korumburra (V.), 83.
Kosciusko, Mt. (N.S.W,), 51, 52, 81, 91.
Kotu I. (Tonga I.), 7.
Kuiti (Te) (N.Z.), 37.
Kulambangra I. (Solomon I.), 5
Kumara (N.Z.), 26.
Kumusi R. (N.G.), 21, 22.
Kurnalpi, 112, 113.
Kwaiata I, *see* Jouvency I.
Kyneton (V.), 84, 85.

Lachlan R. (N.S.W.), 60, 67, 74, 75, 78; *see* Riverina.
Lakekamu R. (N.G.), 20.
Lakemba I. (Fiji I.), 7, 9.
Lakena I. (Ellice I.), 3.
Laloki R. (N.G.), 21.
Lambasa R., in Vanua Levu I., 11.
Landsborough, W., 72.
Lang, Rev. J. D., 47, 69.
La Pérouse, 14.
Latrobe (T.), 56.
Latrobe R. (V.), 81.
Laughlan Islands, 17.
Launceston (T.), 46, 54, 55, 56.
Laura (S.A.), 96.
Lautoka in Viti Levu I., 10.
Laverton (W.A.), 112, 115.
Lawlers (W.A.), 112.
Lawrence (N.Z.), 28.
Leake, Mt. (S.A.), 90.
Leeuwin, Cape (W.A.), 111.
Leeuwinland (W.A.), 110.
Lefroy (T.), 54.
Leonora (W.A.), 112, 113, 115.
Leven R. (T.), 56.
Levin (N.Z.), 29.
Levuka in Ovalau I., 12.

Lifuka Islands (Tonga I.), 8.
Lismore (N.S.W.), 69.
Lithgow (N.S.W.), 66.
Liverpool (N.S.W.), 67.
,, Plains (N.S.W.), 61, 67.
,, Range (N.S.W.), 59, 61.
Loddon R. (V.), 52, 80, 82, 84, 85, 86.
Lombok Strait, 44.
Londonderry (W.A.), 112, 113.
Longford (T.), 56.
Longreach (Q.), 72, 75.
Lopevi Mt. and I. (N.H.), 15.
Lord Howe I., 7.
Louisiade Archipelago, *see* Misima, Rossel, Sudest, &c.
Lovett (T.), 54.
Lucindale (S.A.), 90.
Lusancy I., 18.
Lyttelton (N.Z.), 23, 25, 27, 92.

Mabudauan Hill (N.G.), 51.
McArthur R. (N.T.), 99.
Macdonnell (S.A.), 90.
Macdonnell Range (N.T.), 98, 106.
Mackay (Q.), 49, 51.
Mackenzie R. (Q.), 63, 71.
Maclean (N.S.W.), 69.
Macleay R. (N.S.W.), 69.
McMillan, Angus, 83.
Macpherson Range (Q.), 62, 63.
Macquarie Harbour (T.), 57.
,, R. (N.S.W.), 60, 61, 67, 75.
Mae I. (N.H.), 15, 16.
Mai Kussa R. (N.G.), 19.
Maitland (N.S.W.), 67.
,, (S.A.), 93.
Majorca (V.), 86.
Maketu R. (N.Z.), 36.
Mala I. (Solomon I.), 13.
Maldon (V.), 85.
Malicolo I. (N.H.), 15.
Mallina (W.A.), 105.
Malmesbury (V.), 84, 85.
Malvern Hills (N.Z.), 25, 26.
Mambare R. (N.G.), 21, 22.
Manahiki or Manihiki Island, 3, 7.
Manahiki or Manihiki Islands, 2, 3.
Manawatu R. (N.Z.), 25, 29, 30, 37, 41.
Mandurah (W.A.), 108.
Manero Plains (N.S.W.), 59, 60.
,, Range (N.S.W.), 52, 59, 64, 74.
Mangaia I. (Cook I.), 4, 6, 7, 18.
Mangana (T.), 55.
Mangaweka (N.Z.), 37, 38.
Mangawhitikau (N.Z.), 37.
Mango I. (Tonga I.), 7.
Manning R. (N.S.W.), 61, 69.
Mannum (S.A.), 91, 93.
Manakau Estuary (N.Z.), 31, 32.
Maranoa R. (Q.), 70.
Marau Sound (Guadalcanar I.), 14.
Marble Bar (W.A.), 105.
Margaret R. (W.A.), 103.
Mariner, W., 5, 8.
Marlborough Province (N.Z.), 26.
Marshall R. (S.A.), 96.
Marton (N.Z.), 37, 38.
Maryborough (Q.), 48, 49, 51, 63, 70.
Maryborough (V.), 86, 87.
Mary R. (Q.), 49, 63, 70, 71.
Masterton (N.Z.), 29.
Mataura (N.Z.), 28.
Mathuata Province in Vanua Levu I., 12.
Matthina (T.), 55.
Matuku I. (Fiji I.), 6, 9.
Maude's Landing (W.A.), 105.
Maunganui (N.Z.), 40.
Maungataniwha Mountain (N.Z.), 31.
Maungatautari Mountain (N.Z.), 36.
Maytown (Q.), 73.
Mba, N.W. province in Viti Levu I., &c., 12.
Mba R. in Viti Levu I., 9, 10, 11.
Mbau I. (near Viti Levu I.), 10, 12.
Mbengga I. (Fiji I.), 6, 12.
Mbua R. and Bay in Vanua Levu I., 11.
Mbua, W. province in Vanua Levu I., 12.
Mekeo (N.G.), 22.
Melbourne, capital of V., 47, 56, 69, 79, 80–1, 90.
Melrose (S.A.), 96.
Melville (W.A.), 112.
Mendaña, Cape (Santa Cruz I.), 15.

Menindie (N.S.W.), 75.
Menzies (W.A.), 112, 113, 115.
Mercer (N.Z.), 33.
Mersey R. (T.), 56.
Middlesex Plains (T.), 56.
Mikronesians, 7.
Milang (S.A.), 91, 93.
Mildura (V.), 79, 80, 86, 91.
Millicent (S.A.), 90.
Milparinka (N.S.W.), 76.
Milton (N.Z.), 28.
Minlaton (S.A.), 93.
Mirboo (V.), 83.
Misima I., 18.
Mitchell (Q.), 70.
„ R. (Q.), 50.
„ R. (V.), 81.
„ Sir T. L., 63, 68.
Mitta Mitta R. (V.), 52, 82, 83.
Moala I. (Fiji I.), 6, 9.
Moama (N.S.W.), 79.
Moe (V.), 82.
Mohaka R. (N.Z.), 25, 36, 39.
Mokau R. (N.Z.), 35, 37, 39.
Mokoia I. (N.Z.), 40.
Moonta (S.A.), 93.
Moore R. (W.A.), 107.
Moorina (T.), 55.
Mooroopna (V.), 84.
Moree (N.S.W.), 67, 78.
Morehead R. (N.G.), 19.
Moreton Bay (Q.), 70.
Morgan (S.A.), 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.
Morpeth (N.S.W.), 67.
Moruya (N.S.W.), 60.
Morwell (V.), 82.
Mota I. (N.H.), 6.
Motaremo I. (N.Z.), 40.
Motiti I. (N.Z.), 40.
Motueka (N.Z.), 28.
Moulamein (N.S.W.), 79.
Mount Barker (S.A.), 92.
„ „ (W.A.), 109.
Mount Bischoff (T.), 53, 57.
Mount Boppy (N.S.W.), 76.
Mount Gambier (S.A.), 89.
Mount Hope (N.S.W.), 76.
Mount Lofty (S.A.), 94.
„ „ Range (S.A.), 76, 92.
Mount Lyell (T.), 57, 76.
Mount Magnet (W.A.), 112, 115.
Mount Malcolm (W.A.), 112, 113.
Mount Margaret (W.A.), 112.
Mount Morgan (Q.), 48, 49, 71, 85.
Mount Morgans (W.A.), 112.
Mudgee (N.S.W.), 67.
Müller, Sir F. von, 46.
Mulwalla (N.S.W.), 79.
Murchison R. (W.A.), 105, 106, 107, 116.
Murray Bridge (S.A.), 91, 93.
„ I. (Solomon I.), 5.
„ R. (N.S.W., &c.), 51, 52, 59, 67, 75, 82 et seq., 89 et seq., 103 ; *see* Riverina.
Murray R. (W.A.), 108, 109.
Murrim Murrim (W.A.), 112.
Murtoa (V.), 86.
Murua, *see* Woodlark.
Murrumbidgee, R. (N.S.W.), 60, 67, 75, 78 ; *see* Riverina.
Murrumburrah (N.S.W.), 67.
Murrurundi (N.S.W.), 67.
Muswellbrook (N.S.W.), 67.
Muttaburra (Q.), 72.

Nada, *see* Laughlan I.
Nadronga, W. province in Viti Levu I., 12.
Nairne (S.A.), 92.
Naitasiri, E. province in Viti Levu I., 12.
Nambucca R. (N.S.W.), 69.
Namoi R. (N.S.W.), 67, 74, 75.
Namosi, S. province in Viti Levu I., 12.
Nandi R. in Viti Levu I., 9, 10.
Nannine (W.A.), 112, 115.
Nanuku I. (Fiji I.), 9.
Napier (N.Z.), 29, 30, 41.
Naqara, in Viti Levu I., 10.
Narovo I. (Solomon I.), 5, 13, 14.
Narrabri (N.S.W.), 67, 68.
Narracan (V.), 83.
Narracoorte (S.A.), 90.
Narrandera (N.S.W.), 78.
Narrogin (W.A.), 109.
Naseby (N.Z.), 27, 28.
Natewa Bay and Peninsula in Vanua Levu I., 11, 27.
Natimuk (V.), 86.
Navua R., in Viti Levu, 9, 10.
Neiafore Harbour, in Vavau I., 4.
Nelson (N.W.), 26, 29.
Nelson, Cape (N.G.), 18, 21, 22.

Newcastle (N.S.W.), 66, 67, 68, 70, 77.
Newcastle (W.A.), 108.
,, Waters (N.T.), 97, 98.
New England District (N.S.W.), 61, 62, 67, 68, 70.
New England Range (N.S.W.), 59, 61, 62.
New Georgia I. (Solomon I.), 5, 13.
New Guinea, chapter II, 23, 51–2.
New Hebrides Islands, 6, 7, 12, 15, 16.
New Norfolk (T.), 54.
New Plymouth (N.Z.), 32, 33.
New Zealand, 16, chapter III, 44–8, 58.
Ngaere, Te (N.Z.), 42.
Ngaloa Bay, in Kandavu I., 7.
Ngaruawahia (N.Z.), 35.
Ngau I. (Fiji Islands), 6.
Ngauruhoe Mountain (N.Z.), 35, 36.
Nhill (V.), 86.
Niagara (W.A.), 112.
Nicholas, Mount (T.), 55.
Ninety Mile Desert (S.A.), 91.
Niuafoou I., 5.
Niuatabutabu I., 5.
Niue I., 3, 4, 6, 8, 18, 101.
Noarlunga (S.A.), 92.
Nogoa R. (Q.), 63.
Nomuka I. (Tonga I.), 3.
,, Islands (Tonga I.), 8.
Norfolk I., 7, 16.
Norman R. (Q.), 73.
Normandy I., 18.
Normanton (Q.), 73.
Norseman (W.A.), 112, 115.
Northam (W.A.), 108, 109.
Northampton (W.A.), 107, 111.
North Cape (N.Z.), 31, 38.
Nowra (N.S.W.), 60.
Nui I. (Ellice Islands), 3.
Nullagine, 105, 113.
Nullarbor Plain (S.A.), 101, 115.
Numurka (V.), 84.
Nuriootpa (S.A.), 93.
Nymagee (N.S.W.), 76.
Nyngan (N.S.W.), 67, 68, 69, 73, 75.

Oaklands (S.A.), 93.
Oamaru (N.Z.), 27, 28.
Oatlands (T.), 54.
Obree Mount (N.G.), 21.
Okaihau (N.Z.), 42.
Old Man Plain (N.S.W.), 45.
Olosenga I., 3.
Omba I. (N.H.), 15.
Omeo (V.), 83.
Ongarue R. (N.Z.), 35.
Ongtong Java Islands (Solomon I.), 2, 8, 16.
Ono I. (Fiji I.), 6.
Onslow (W.A.), 104, 105.
Oodnadatta (S.A.), 97, 98, 115.
Opotiki (N.Z.), 30, 38.
Orakau (N.Z.), 42.
Orange (N.S.W.), 67.
Orbost (V.), 83.
Ord R. (W.A.), 103, 104, 105.
Orroroo (S.A.), 95.
Otago Peninsula (N.Z.), 27, 28, 41, 58.
Otago province (N.Z.), 26, 28, 38–9.
Otaki (N.Z.), 29.
,, R. (N.Z.), 29.
Otway, Cape (V.), 52, 81, 88.
Outtrim (V.), 83.
Ovalau I. (Fiji I.), 9, 10, 12, 15.
Ovens R. (V.), 52, 79, 82, 84.
Oxford (N.Z.), *see* Tirau.
Oxley, John, 68.

Paddington (W.A.), 112, 113.
Paeroa (N.Z.), 33.
,, Ridge (N.Z.), 36.
Pahiatua (N.Z.), 29.
Palmer (Q.), 73.
,, (S.A.), 93.
,, R. (Q.), 50.
Palmerston, on the Manawatu (N.Z.), 29.
Palmerston (N.T.), *see* Port Darwin.
Panaeati I., 18.
Pandie Pandie (S.A.), 97.
Pandora's Pass (N.S.W.), 74.
Panniet, *see* Panaeati.
Papangi (N.G.), 22.
Paramatta (N.S.W.), 67.
Parker's Range (W.A.), 112.
Parkes (N.S.W.), 67.
Paroo R. (Q.), 70, 71.

Patea (N.Z.), 33.
,, R. (N.Z.), 33.
Patetere plateau (N.Z.), 35, 36.
Pavudu I., *see* Russell I.
Peak Downs and Range (Q.), 63, 71.
Peak Hill (W.A.), 105, 112, 116.
Peel, Mount (N.Z.), 25.
,, R. (N.S.W.), 61, 67.
Penguin (T.), 56.
Penola (S.A.), 90.
Penrhyn Island, *see* Tongarewa.
Penrith (N.S.W.), 66.
Penshurst (V.), 88.
Pentecost I. (N.H.), 15.
Perry, Mount (Q.), 49.
Perth (T.), 56.
,, capital of W.A., 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 115, &c.
Petermann Range (S.A.), 116.
Petersburg (S.A.), 95, 96.
Phillip, Captain A., 66.
Phillips R. (W.A.), 112, 116.
Phœnix group of islands, 8.
Picton (N.S.W.), 67.
,, (N.Z.), 28.
Pieman R. (T.), 57.
Pilbarra (W.A.), 105.
Pillinger (T.), 57.
Pine's Creek (N.T.), 98, 100.
Pingelly (W.A.), 109.
Pinjarrah (W.A.), 108, 109.
Pioneer (T.), 55.
Pipiriki (N.Z.), 37.
Pleasant Point (N.Z.), 28.
,, I., 4.
Point Danger (Q.), 62.
Pooncarrie (N.S.W.), 75.
Port Adelaide (S.A.), 92, 100.
Port Albert (V.), 83.
Port Augusta (S.A.), 95, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 115.
Port Broughton (S.A.), 95, 96.
Port Chalmers (N.Z.), 27.
Port Dalrymple (T.), 53, 54.
Port Darwin (N.T.), 97, 98, 100, 108.
Port Davey (T.), 53.
Port Douglas (Q.), 48, 49, 51, 65.
Port Elliott (S.A.), 91, 92.
Port Fairy, *see* Belfast.
Port Germein (S.A.), 93.
Port Hedland (W.A.), 104, 105.
Port Jackson (N.S.W.), 66, 81.
Portland (V.), 87, 88.
Portland, Cape (T.), 52, 54.
Port Lincoln (S.A.), 100, 102, 108.
Port Lyttelton (N.Z.), 23, 25.
Port Macquarie (N.S.W.), 69.
Port Melbourne (V.), 80.
Port Moresby (N.G.), 21, 22.
Port Nicholson (N.Z.), 25, 29, 41.
Port Phillip (V.), 80–1, 86, 88, 89.
Port Pirie (S.A.), 95, 96.
Port Sandwich, in Malicolo I., 15.
Port Victor (S.A.), 91, 92.
Port Wakefield (S.A.), 93, 94.
Powell's Creek (N.T.), 97.
Premier Downs (W.A.), 101.
Puketeraki Range (N.Z.), 26.
Puketoi Range (N.Z.), 29.
Purari R. (N.G.), 20.
Pureora Mountain (N.Z.), 32, 35.
Pyap (S.A.), 91.

Queanbeyan (N.S.W.), 60.
Queenstown (N.Z.), 28.
,, (T.), 57.
Quirindi (N.S.W.), 67.
Quorn (S.A.), 95.

Ra, N. province in Viti Levu I., &c., 12.
Rainbow (V.), 86.
Rakaanga I. (Manahiki I.), 7.
Raki Raki R. in Viti Levu (Ra district), 9, 10.
Rambi I. (Fiji), 6.
Rangiora (N.Z.), 28.
Rangipo 'desert' (N.Z.), 35.
Rangiriri (N.Z.), 42.
Rangitaiki R. (N.Z.), 35, 37, 39.
Rangitikei R. (N.Z.), 35, 37, 39.
Rangitoto Mountain, near L. Taupo (N.Z.), 32.
Rarawai, in Viti Levu I., 10.
Rarotonga I. (Cook I.), 4, 6, 7, 11.
Raukumura Range (N.Z.), 25.
Ravenswood (Q.), 72.
Raywood (V.), 85, 87.
Real I., 18.
Red I. (N.Z.), 30.
Redlick I., 18.
Redscar Bay (N.G.), 20, 21.

Reefton (N.Z.), 26.
Rendlesham (S.A.), 90.
Rendova I. (Solomon I.), 5.
Renmark (S.A.), 91.
Rennell I. (Solomon I.), 16.
Rewa, S.E. province in Viti Levu I., &c., 12, 41.
Rewa R., in Viti Levu I., 9, 10.
Richmond (N.S.W.), 67.
,, (Q.), 72, 75.
,, (T.), 54.
,, R. (N.S.W.), 69, 70.
Rierson I., *see* Rakaanga.
Rigo (N.G.), 22.
Ringarooma (T.), 55.
,, R. (T.), 54.
Riverina District (N.S.W.), 75, 78–80, 81, 84–5.
Riverton (N.Z.), 27, 28.
Robe (S.A.), 90.
Rochester (V.), 84.
Rockhampton (Q.), 48, 49, 50, 51, 63, 64, 70, 71, 72, 73.
Rockingham (W.A.), 109.
Rodney, Cape (N.Z.), 31.
Roebourne (W.A.), 103, 104, 105, 116.
Roebuck Bay (W.A.), 104.
Roma (Q.), 70.
Roper R. (N.T.), 99.
Rossel I., 18.
Rothesay (W.A.), 112.
Rotoiti, Lake (N.Z.), 34*n*.
Rotomahana, Lake (N.Z.), 5, 36.
Rotorua, Lake (N.Z.), 5, 37, 38.
Rotumah I., 6, 7, 8, 10, 12.
Round I. (Fiji I.), 9.
Roxburgh (N.Z.), 28.
Royal Mount (N.S.W.), 61.
Ruahine Range (N.Z.), 25.
Ruapehu Mountain (N.Z.), 35.
Rubiana bay and lagoon, New Georgia, 13, 14.
Ruku Ruku R., in Viti Levu I., 9.
Runaway, Cape (N.Z.), 25.
Russell, *see* Kororarika.
Russell I. (Solomon I.), 5.
Rutherglen (V.), 84, 87.

St. Arnaud (V.), 86.
St. Joseph R. (N.G.), 20.
St. Lawrence (Q.), 49, 51.
St. Mary (T.), 55.
St. Philip and St. James Bay, in Espiritu Santo I., 15.
St. Vincent's Gulf (S.A.), 93.
Sale (V.), 83.
Samarai I. (N.G.), 18, 22.
Samoa Islands, 35.
San Cristoval I. (Solomon I.), 13.
Sandy Cape (Q.), 48, 49, 62.
Santa Ana I. (Solomon I.), 13, 14.
Santa Cruz I., 14–15.
,, ,, Islands, 14–15.
Santo, *see* Espiritu Santo.
Savage I., *see* Niue.
Savo, I. and Mt. (Solomon I.), 5
Savu Savu Bay, in Vanua Levu I 11.
Scarburry (Q.), 72.
Schank, Mount (S.A.), 90.
Scone (N.S.W.), 67.
Scottsdale (T.), 55.
Scratchley, Mount (N.G.), 17.
Sealake (V.), 85.
Sebastopol (V.), 86.
Selwyn Range (Q.), 64.
Serua, S. province in Viti Levu I., 12.
Serviceton (V.), 86, 88.
Seventy Mile Bush (N.Z.), 29.
Seymour (V.), 84.
Shark's Bay (W.A.), 105, 113.
Shellharbour (N.S.W.), 60.
Shepparton (V.), 84.
Shoalhaven R. (N.S.W.), 59, 60, 66.
Shortland (N.Z.), 33.
Siccus R. (S.A.), 96.
Sidney I., 18.
Silverton (N.S.W.), 76.
Simbo, an islet off Narovo I., 13, 14.
Singatoka R. (Viti Levu), 6, 9, 10.
Singleton (N.S.W.), 67.
Sir Samuel (W.A.), 112.
Snares Islands, 23.
Snowy R. (N.S.W. and V.), 52.
Sogeri (N.G.), 22.
Solomon Islands, 5, 6, 7, 12–14, 22, 42.
Somers, Mount (N.Z.), 25.
Somerset (Q.), 49.
Somo Somo, in Taviuni I., 12.
Sorrell (T.), 54.

Southern Alps (N.Z.), 24, 25, 26, 27.
Southbrook (N.Z.), 28.
Southern Cross (W.A.), 112, 114, 115.
Southland province (N.Z.), 26, 28, 58.
Spencer's Gulf (S.A.), 93–4, 95.
Springfield (N.Z.), 26.
Springsure (Q.), 71.
Stansbury (S.A.), 93.
Stanthorpe (Q.), 70.
Stawell (V.), 86, 87.
Stewart I. (N.Z.), 23, 24, 25, 30.
Stirling Creek near Barrow's C. (N.T.), 97.
Stockport (S.A.), 93.
Strahan (T.), 57.
Stratford (N.Z.), 33.
Strathalbyn (S.A.), 92.
Streaky Bay (S.A.), 100, 101.
Sturt, Captain C., 68, 77, 97, 100.
Sturt's Creek (W.A.), 103, 104.
Strzelecki, Count, 83.
Sudest I., 18.
Surrey Hills (T.), 56.
Suva, capital of Viti Levu, 10, 12, 22.
Swallow Islands (Santa Cruz I.), 14, 16.
Swan Hill (V.), 79, 82, 84, 85.
,, R. (W.A.), 107, 108.
Sydney, capital of N.S.W., 47, 60, 66–7, 68, 69.

Tafahi I., 5.
Tai Levu, an eastern province in Viti Levu I., 12.
Tait R. (N.G.), 19.
Tamar R. (T.), 53, 54, 56, 57.
Tamata (N.G.), 22.
Tambo (Q.), 72.
,, R. (V.), 81.
Tammin (W.A.), 108.
Tamworth (N.S.W.), 67, 68.
Tanna I. (N.H.), 15, 16.
Tantanoola (S.A.), 90.
Tanunda (S.A.), 93.
Tapanui (N.Z.), 28.
Tapirimoko Mountain (N.Z.), 33.
Taranaki, *see* New Plymouth.
,, province (N.Z.), 32, 33, 38, 41.
Tararua Range (N.Z.), 25, 29, 41.
Tarawera Mountain (N.Z.), 36.
,, R. (N.Z.), 36.
Tarcoola (S.A.), 102.
Tarnagulla (V.), 89.
Tasman Bay (N.Z.), 24, 26.
Tasman's Peninsula (T.), 52, 55.
Tate R. (Q.), 50.
Taupiri Mountains (N.Z.), 31, 35, 38.
Taupo (N.Z.), 37, 38.
,, Lake (N.Z.), 34, 36, 37, 40.
Tauranga (N.Z.), 30, 37, 38, 40.
Tauri R. (N.G.), 20.
Taviuni I. (Fiji I.), 7, 9, 10, 12.
Tavuki Bay, in Kandavu I., 7.
Tawarau, in Viti Levu I., 10.
Teetulpa (S.A.), 95.
Temora (N.S.W.), 74.
Temuka (N.Z.), 28.
Tennant's Creek (N.T.), 97, 99.
Tenterfield (N.S.W.), 68, 69.
Terang (V.), 88.
Teste I., 18.
Thakandrove, S. province in Vanua Levu I., &c., 12.
Thames (N.Z.), 33, 133.
,, R. (N.Z.), 32, 36, 37, 41.
Thargomindah (Q.), 71.
Tholo provinces in Viti Levu I., 12.
Thombia I. (Fiji I.), 6.
Thomson R. (Q.), 64, 72, 73, 96.
Three Kings Islands (N.Z.), 31.
Thursday I. (Q.), 49, 50, 51.
Tibooburra (N.S.W.), 76.
Tikopia I., 14, 16.
Timaru (N.Z.), 25, 28.
Tinakula I. and Mt. (Santa Cruz I.), 5, 14.
Tingha (N.S.W.), 68.
Tipuna I. (N.Z.), 40.
Tirau (N.Z.), 37.
Toa clan, 41.
Tocumval (N.S.W.), 79.
Todd, R. (S.A.), 96.
Tofua I. (Tonga I.), 5.
Tokelau Islands, 2.
Tonga Islands, 8, 12, 35.
Tongarewa I. (Manahiki I.), 3, 8.
Tongariro Mountain (N.Z.), 32, 35.

Tongatabu I. (Tonga I.), 4, 5, 8, 10, 18.
Toowoomba (Q.), 70.
Torlesse, Mount, (N.Z.), 26.
Torrens, Lake (S.A.), 95, 96, 97, 102.
Torrens R. (S.A.), 92, 93.
Torres Islands (N.H.), 14.
,, Straits, 49, 51, 52.
Totoya I. (Fiji I.), 6, 9.
Tower Hill (T.), 55.
Townsville (Q.), 48, 49, 50, 51, 64, 72, 73.
Traralgon (V.), 83.
Treasury I. (Solomon I.), 13, 14.
Trobriand Islands, 18.
Truro (S.A.), 93.
Tuitonga, 5.
Tulagi I. (Solomon I.), 14.
Tumby Bay (S.A.), 100.
Tungkillo (S.A.), 93.
Turama R. (N.G.), 20.
Tutamoe Mountain (N.Z.), 31.
Tweed R. (N.S.W.), 70.
Twofold Bay (N.S.W.), 59.
Tyrrell, Lake (V.), 96.

Ugi I. (Solomon I.), 13, 14.
Ulaua I. (Solomon I.), 13, 14.
Ulladulla (N.S.W.), 60.
Ulmarra (N.S.W.), 69.
Ultima (V.), 85.
Ulverstone (T.), 56.
Union Islands, *see* Tokelau.
Uriwera clan, 42.
Utupua I. (Santa Cruz I.), 14.

Vanapa R. (N.G.), 20.
Van Diemen's Land Company, 56, 57.
Vanikoro I. (Santa Cruz I.), 14.
Vanua Lava I. (Banks's I.), 15.
Vanua Levu (Fiji I.), 6, 9–12, 13, 15, 27.
Vanua Mbalavu I. (Fiji I.), 6.
Vasse R. (W.A.), 108.
Vaté, *see* Fate.
Vavau I. (Tonga I.), 3, 4, 8.
Vella Lavella I. (Solomon I.), 5, 13, 14.
Verata Point, in Viti Levu I., 12.
Victor Emmanuel Mountains (N.G.), 20.
Victoria (T.), 54.
,, Desert (W.A.), 101, 102.
Victoria, Mount (N.G.), 17, 21.
Victoria, Mount (T.), 54, 55.
Victoria, Mount in Vitu Levu, 9, 10.
Victoria Plains (W.A.), 107.
,, R. (N.T.), 99.
Victory Mount (N.G.), 18.
Viti Levu I. (Fiji I.), 6, 9–12, 17.
Viwa I, near Viti Levu I., 10, 12.

Wagga Wagga (N.S.W.), 60, 67, 68, 69, 73.
Wagin (W.A.), 109.
Wahgunyah (V.), 79, 80, 84.
Waiamate (N.Z.), 28.
Wai Delice R., in Viti Levu I., 9.
Waihi (N.Z.), 34.
Waikare Moana Lake (N.Z.), 30.
Waikato R. (N.Z.), 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42.
Wai Ndina R. (Viti Levu I.), 6.
Wainunu R. (Vanua Levu I.), 11.
Waiotapu R. (N.Z.), 36.
Waipa R. (N.Z.), 35, 37, 41.
Waipara R. (N.Z.), 25.
Waipawa (N.Z.), 29.
Wairarapa Lake and Plain, 29.
Wairau R. (N.Z.), 26.
Wairoa Range (N.Z.), 23, 31.
,, R., east (N.Z.), 37.
,, R., north (N.Z.), 32, 37.
Waitara (N.Z.), 33.
,, (N.Z.), 33, 37.
Waitemata Harbour (N.Z.), 31, 33.
Waiwiri (N.Z.), 40.
Wakatipu, Lake (N.Z.), 27, 28.
Walgett (N.S.W.), 67, 68, 69, 73, 74.
Walhalla (V.), 83.
Wallaroo (S.A.), 93, 94, 95, 96.
Wallerawang (N.S.W.), 66, 67.
Walsh R. (Q.), 50.
Wanaaring (N.S.W.), 71.
Wanaka Lake (N.Z.), 28.
Wangaratta (V.), 84.
Wannon R. (V.) 82.
Warburton Range (S.A.), 102, 115.
Warracknabeal (V.), 86.
Warragul (V.), 82.
Warrawoona (W.A.), 105.

Warrego Range (Q.), 63, 76, 91.
„ R. (Q.), 63, 64, 70.
Warren (N.S.W.), 67.
Warrnambool (V.), 87, 88.
Warwick (Q.), 70.
Washington I., 3.
Waukaringa (S.A.), 95.
Wedderburn (V.), 85.
Weldborough (T.), 55.
Wellington (N.S.W.), 67.
„ (S.A.), 91, 93.
„ (capital of N.Z.), 29, 30.
Wellington, Mount (T.), 53.
Wentworth (N.S.W.), 75, 79, 91.
Wentworth, W. C., 68.
Westbury (T.), 56.
Western Plain (N.S.W.), 73 et seq.
Western Port (V.), 81, 83.
Westport (N.Z.), 26, 32.
Westland province (N.Z.), 26.
Whaingaroa (N.Z.), 31, 32, 33.
Whaiti (Te) Mountains (N.Z.), 25.
Whakatane (N.Z.), 30, 37.
„ R. (N.Z.), 30.
Whangaehu R. (N.Z.), 35.
Whanganui (N.Z.), 37.
„ R. (N.Z.), 35, 37, 39.
Whangarei (N.Z.), 31, 33, 34.
Whangaroa Bay (N.Z.), 33.
Whangaruru (N.Z.), 33.
White I. (N.Z.), 5, 34, 35.
Widgemooltha (W.A.), 112.
Wilcannia (N.S.W.), 75.
Williams R. (W.A.), 109.
Williamstown (V.), 80.
Willochra Creek (S.A.), 96.
Willunga (S.A.), 92.
Wilson's Promontory (V.), 52, 81, 83.
Wimmera R. (V.), 82, 86.
Windorah (Q.), 72.
Windsor (N.S.W.), 67.
Winton (N.Z.), 28.
„ (Q.), 72, 75, 78.
Wiwiki, Cape (N.Z.), 31.
Wodonga (V.), 84.
Wollongong (N.S.W.), 60.
Wolseley (S.A.), 90.
Wonnangatta (V.), 83.
Woodarra (W.A.), 112.
Woodchester (S.A.), 92.
Woodend (V.), 84.
Woodlands (N.Z.), 28.
Woodlark I., 18, 22.
Woods, Lake (T.), 53.
Woodville (N.Z.), 29.
Wyalong (N.S.W.), 74, 76, 78.
Wycheproof (V.), 85.
Wyndham (W.A.), 104, 110.

Yackandandah (V.), 84.
Yalgoo (W.A.), 112, 113, 115.
Yankalilla (S.A.), 92, 94.
Yarra Yarra R. (V.), 46, 80, 81.
Yarrawonga (V.), 79, 80, 84.
Yasawa Islands (Fiji I.), 12.
Yass (N.S.W.), 60, 67.
Yatheroo (W.A.), 107.
Yea (V.), 84.
Yerilla (W.A.), 112, 113.
Yodda Valley (N.G.), 22.
York (W.A.), 108, 109.
York, Cape (Q.), 48.
„ „ Peninsula (Q.), 50, 65, 73.
Yorke's Peninsula (S.A.), 93, 94, 95, 96.
Yorketown (S.A.), 93.
Youndegin (W.A.), 108.
Young (N.S.W.), 67.
Ysabel I. (Solomon I.), 13.
Yudanamutana (S.A.), 97.
Yule I. (N.G.), 18.
„ R. (W.A.), 104, 105.

Zeehan, Mt. (T.), 57.

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